Jewish identity and positive distinctiveness: An exploratory study of the subjective importance of being Jewish using Q Methodology

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ABSTRACT

By conceptualising Jews as an ethnic minority, this study attempts to assess the subjective importance of being Jewish for a sample of Jewish South Africans residing in Cape Town (n=51). The psychological processes by means of which group identity may be understood are examined using Tajfel's Social Identity Theory. Three different perspectives about being Jewish are identified by means of Stephenson's Q Methodology. (Q statements are based on open-ended interviews with additional subjects who were not included in the final study (n=14)). The three perspectives assert: (a) the importance of belonging to a Jewish group; (b) the need for individual Jews to define themselves on their own terms and; (c) the importance of literal separateness between Jews and non-Jews. It is suggested that all three perspectives may be representative of attempts at securing positive group identity and the mediating role of group affiliation is discussed in this regard.

It is further argued that data may be explained in terms of : (a) the extent of group affiliation; (b) the subjective importance of the Jewish group as a social group; and (c) the possibility that subjective and individualised meanings of group identity may exist which affect the validity of the former two explanations. Considerations for future research are examined and it is argued that whichever direction such research takes (in terms of socially constructed theories and methodologies or towards a more cognitive redefinition of group and personal identity) it will have to take cognisance of the subjective importance of Jewish identity rather than assessing who is Jewish in terms of observable cultural, religious or behavioural practices.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

1 INTRODUCTION

"Asked his religion, Woody Allen says 'Jewish-with an explanation'" (Norden, 1991, p.36).

In an article in the journal *Commentary*, Norden (1991) suggests that "Jewishness, once a condition or fate or vocation, has become an option" (p.36) and he poses the following question : "How can we count the Jews when we don't even know who they are anymore ?". In a less complicated society, people were born Jewish and all knew that they were Jewish. They associated with other Jews and lived or worked with Jews. The label "Jewish" was conventionally understood to have a certain meaning. Imbued in that meaning was the idea, also, that Jews are different from non-Jews, and lived different lives.

As society became more modernised and cosmopolitan, the lines between being Jewish and being South African become blurred (Hoffman & Fischer, 1988). Outwardly, there is no objective difference between the average South African Jew, and any other White South African. In his article, Norden (1991) suggests that we may need new rules to decide who belongs where, and that those rules must come from the group under discussion. Jews have to decide for themselves, he suggests, what it is that makes them Jewish; each individual member of the religious/social group known as Jews must define his/her own criteria. This is what is meant by Jewish becoming a choice. If one wishes to define oneself as Jewish, one needs, especially in a complex and multi-cultural society, new reasons, incentives and motivations to remain Jewish. Simply acknowledging that one is Jewish by accident of birth is not sufficient to provide oneself with a 'Jewish identity'(Norden, 1991).

This blurring of lines between being Jewish and being South African (or American, French, Australian, English etc.) is not limited to Jews in the sense that they are the only minority group who become 'ambiguous'. That is, this 'blending' into the majority culture is not a phenomenon that Jews can claim as exclusively theirs, it is noticeable in all societies, wherever there is a minority group which is active in society in general. Hutnik

(1991) has noted that as generations begin to settle in their new homes, assimilation of some sort is bound to set in, and, consequently, the division between groups becomes indistinct.

Indistinct that is, for outsiders. This is not to say that the Jews in Cape Town (the sample used in this thesis) begin to doubt that they *are* Jews, but rather that it becomes difficult to state exactly *why* they call themselves Jews after the statement 'because I was born Jewish' is made.

At present much of social psychology is concerned with the 'social construction of reality', with the idea that what takes place within a group or social situation is best understood through the experiences and behaviour of group members. The focus it is claimed, should be on those who take part, understanding why they take part in the specific situation, their motivational processes, their own conception of the 'social reality'. What this implies for this study is that, on a social-psychological level, if we are to ask the question 'What does being Jewish mean to you?", we have to acknowledge that present social realities, as they are perceived by the subjects, will be paramount to their understandings of this. Being Jewish does not only mean being an adherent of Judaism, it also means *not* being an adherent of other religions, and for some, perhaps not of other cultural norms. It also means being South African, or perhaps even more specifically, being Capetonian.

As Norden (1991) suggests, such multiple group membership and meaning involves far more than a head-count when it comes to assessing who is Jewish and why they are Jewish. How the individual chooses to describe his or her Jewish identity is one of the issues which this study addresses. How this can be examined without circumscribing rigid categories and allowing the individual Jew to conceptualise his/her Jewish identity in the manner he/she feels to be most appropriate, is another. Subjects are asked what being Jewish means to them, and how that differs from their membership in other social and cultural groups. In more general terms, it might be asked how it is possible for individuals to express what being a group member means to them without having to disacknowledge their individuality ("I'm a Jew, but I'm other things too. And I define myself as being Jewish according to my beliefs and experiences").

For the purposes of this study then, it can be noted that Jewish identity as it is observed, becomes less and less of an entity easily circumscribable and more and more of a multi-faceted, dynamic process. That ability to clearly circumscribe where Jewish identity begins and other aspects of group identity end seems as difficult for the researcher as it is for the individuals involved. Furthermore, this difficulty is not limited to describing those aspects which may be Jewish and not Jewish. Within the context of Jewish identity there are further divisions (culture, religion, Zionism, discrimination, family life, elitism) which some feel act as motivating processes and contribute to an understanding of what being Jewish means to them.

In this thesis I shall begin with a literature review of the issues, the starting point for such a discussion in a social-psychological framework being with the most basic aspect - the group in society, and then, with the inter and intra-individual properties of the group. To this end Tajfel's Social Identity Theory has been used as a theoretical framework of how the individual identifies with the group in general, the ethnic group in particular, and then the ethnic minority group. From there the discussion moves into the specificities associated with Jewish identity, and a summary of previous literature which has dealt with that issue. Following that I shall introduce the questions which the thesis attempts to answer and the chosen methodology - Q methodology.

The sentiment that remains consistent throughout these chapters, it will be seen, is, that taking our cue from social psychology in general, a theory or exploration of Jewish identity which is most useful, must contain the aspect of *choice*. People choose to remain Jewish in much the same way that they choose to be South African, to be politically active. Identifications with specific attributes of the Jewish group (previously understood to be immutable) are no longer present. These identifications move, change, and adapt for some, while for others they are exactly the same as they have ever been for Jews anywhere.

In the Results chapter it will be shown that subjects have divided their opinions in terms of two main areas of difference, and a third option which has aspects of both, and some unique properties of its own. Those two opinions are, to use Norden's (1991) metaphor, that, on the one hand, I am Jewish and wish to be acknowledged as such. On the other hand there is the opinion which seems to suggest that it is not possible to "count

heads" based on 'popular' criteria. This opinion seems to resist the idea that Jews are somehow different from non-Jews. Norden's (1991) suggestion that being Jewish has become an option for some individuals seems plausible in the sense that although one may be born Jewish, one's conceptualisations of being Jewish may change.

2 THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF GROUPS

It is not the intention of this chapter to provide a complete history of social psychology and its concern with the behaviour of groups. Far more extensive reviews exist for that purpose (for example Allport, 1965; Billig, 1976; Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn & Walkerdine, 1984; Steiner, 1974; Parker, 1989; Turner & Giles, 1981). However, it is necessary to understand what prompted Steiner (1974) and more recently Rijsman and Stroebe (1989) to speak about two types of social psychology: those that were concerned with individual behaviour, and those that were concerned with group behaviour.

The aims of this chapter are to contextualise Social Identity Theory as a response to the aforementioned types of social psychology and to provide a theoretical overview. To contextualise the role of Social Identity Theory in the sphere of social psychology, it is necessary to begin with an examination of the popular trends in social psychology which precede it.

Social Identity Theory's intentions are to provide an indication of how social phenomena can structure individual perspectives, and provide the individual with a sense of being a product of society (Marshall & Wetherell, 1989). It deals with the study of groups and the interaction between individuals and the groups to which they belong (Tajfel, 1982). Social Identity Theory is also a response to previous theories of social interaction (such as Frustration-Aggression theory, Sherif's Realistic Conflict Theory, Festinger's Social Comparison Theory etc.) which concentrate primarily on the role of the individual (de la Rey, 1991; Taylor, Buunk & Aspinwaal, 1990). It is also a response to the social problems of prejudice and discrimination, and an attempt to understand how groups discriminate against other groups (Tajfel, 1981). Later in this chapter the discussion will focus on these concepts and Social Identity Theory's responses to them. For the present, the focus is placed on themes in social psychology which lead to this theory.

2.1 Individuals and Groups

One of the most important works in social psychology to deal with prejudice and discrimination is Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford's (1950) *The authoritarian personality* (Billig, 1985). Adorno et al's (1950) contribution to social psychology through this work was the identification of an intra-psychic model of discrimination, where prejudice is considered to be a reflection of authoritarian personality traits and prejudiced attitudes held by the individual (Christie & Jahoda, 1954).

Social psychology was concerned with individual differences (Sherif, 1948) and the discipline assumed that research which was found useful for other areas of psychology, could be equally useful in the field of social psychology (Sherif & Sherif, 1964). By the mid 1960's, with social psychology's base firmly entrenched in the United States, two aspects of this discipline were clearly visible (Henriques, 1984):

1. Aspects of prejudice, discrimination and general 'amoral' social behaviour are caused by the "one rotten apple" in the bunch, i.e. deviancy is the mark of the individual and society is essentially stable.
2. The work of Adorno et al (1950) and Allport (1965) which perpetuated the idea that social psychology was representative of a democratic ideology, and that research in psychology would provide a means to protect that democratic ideology from reprobate individuals.

Furthermore, it was believed that the differentiating factor between individual and social psychology was that when in groups, individuals behave differently, and this is where the focus of social psychology should be. As Allport (1965) suggests:

> "Social psychology is an attempt to understand and explain how the thoughts, feelings and behaviour of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others." (p.3).

Social psychology's task was to create predictive laws and rules governing that behaviour (Steiner, 1974). The group, it was suggested, could become dangerous, and social psychology's task was to protect the individuals from the group (Le Bon, 1986). The group,

however, did not think, it merely acted (Jackson, 1988), and so the focus of research had to be the individual. Furthermore, the ".. current trend in social psychology" Allport (1965) predicted, "is toward the objective .... study of social behaviour" (p.68). Accordingly, social psychology's data base was in the laboratory (Danziger, 1990) and was considered a science (Berman,1968).

Despite such claims, individual psychology still brought much pressure to bear on social psychology, arguing that it was both irrelevant and unscientific (Berman, 1968). And notwithstanding social psychology's assertions to the contrary, by the time the movement reached the 1960s, claims Steiner (1974), it had lost its group focus almost entirely.

This unpopularity of the group approaches to social psychology, suggested Steiner (1974), was due to the fact that groups are not always visible.

> "Social systems lack denotability; their essence inheres in the patterned, mutual reponsivity of their parts. And our sense organs are rather inept at recognizing such social phenomena." (p.96).

For social psychology to focus on individuals was more natural and feasible. To study groups in their natural surroundings, besides being unscientific (Innes, 1980), would also require a means of identifying groups as separate from collections of individuals. We cannot see groups, but we can see the results of their actions. Individuals, however, are easily observable, and so we focus on what they might teach us *about* the group. Individualist psychology's critiques against social psychology, pervasive as they were, did not precipitate the change in social psychology that came about during the following decade (Henriques, 1984). A far more important source of criticism came from within, from social psychology itself.

2.2 *The 'crisis' in social psychology*

Henriques (1984) argues that until 1970 the role of social psychology had been to perpetuate the status quo. Consequently, social psychology disregarded its political responsibility (Sedgewick, 1974) in terms of assessing societal attitudes and changes and encountered a crisis of confidence in its abilities (Foster, 1991). Social psychology's

relevance was questioned from within the movement (Wexler, 1983), notably by the European social psychologists.

The reasons that social psychology did not address the wider social issues in favour of simply perpetuating them, Steiner (1974) theorised, was that it's focus was, due to the ideological concerns of the time, necessarily limited. Society's problems were thought to be caused by 'problematic individuals'; the bad apples. The possibility that somehow the entire society had changed and adapted was never considered, to the detriment of research in social psychology (Armistead, 1974).

In times of placidity and general adherence to the status quo, suggests Steiner (1974) there are two aspects of society which social psychologists can observe: The first is that the vast majority of individuals are all echoing each others' behaviour; and the second is the extremely small minority who insist on deviating from social norms (Steiner, 1974).

In times of social upheaval however (such as the 1960s), which was assumed to be the fault of the individuals and no reflection on society as a whole, the focus turns to the individual social deviants, and completely ignores the groups and social systems (Steiner, 1974). Instead of nearly all of the population adhering to identical patterns of behaviour, there exists a multitude of different groups, and social psychologists, in keeping with their role, attempt to identify those individuals who are causing the disruptive social attitudes.

These developments, primarily in the United States (Foster, 1991; Parker, 1989) were what came to be known as the *crisis in social psychology*. Steiner's (1974) description as to why groups disappeared as a subject of theory and research is echoed by Taylor and Brown (1979) who suggest that it was not so much the observable behaviour of the population at the time which caused this focus, but the societal ideologies. American ideology is steeped in a tradition of democracy and independence (Taylor & Brown, 1979) and would therefore be naturally attracted to an individualist social psychology. The Europeans had spent the preceding two decades reconstructing their territory after the war, and coming to terms with the vast implications that social forces would have for social psychology. Society is no longer understood to be stable, but dynamic, and the European social psychologists (Harre & Secord, 1972; Israel & Tajfel, 1972; Tajfel, 1972; Turner, 1975 etc.) took it upon themselves to redress the deficiencies of American social

psychology and implement a shift in focus back to the group and away from the individual (Doise, 1988).

The two most important works (according to Foster, 1991) which categorised the period of the crisis were books by Israel and Tajfel (1972) and Harre and Secord (1972). These authors focused on social behaviour rather than on individual behaviour. As Tajfel (1972) suggests:

> "Ideally the central issue of social psychology should be the study of psychological processes accompanying, determining and determined by social change" (p.4).

The major concern of the European movement was not to focus on the idiosyncratic behaviour of individuals; social psychology should address issues which are relevant (Foster, 1991; Taylor & Brown, 1979) - social movements, dynamic societies etc. In the previous year, the Europeans had produced what they felt to be a complete shift in understanding the role of social psychology (Rijsman & Stroebe, 1989). This input found expression in *The European Journal of Social Psychology* . The Europeans' focus was far more on language, discourse, ideology and power (Parker, 1989; Parker & Shotter, 1990; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Resler & Walton, 1974; Sedgewick, 1974) than was the Americans', and attempted to present social psychology with a new way of looking at itself. For the European social psychologists, social psychology had a new content (social behaviour) and a new area of focus (the group in society).

2.3 Social Identity Theory

It is from this context that Social Identity Theory emerges as one response to the crisis in social psychology. In the following section some of the fundamental aspects of Social Identity Theory are examined. Some of the critiques which followed Social Identity Theory following its inception, as well as current critiques are discussed. It is argued that in spite of the critiques levelled against Social Identity Theory in terms of both its methodological and theoretical basis, it remains useful for the purposes of this study.

2.3.1 Theoretical Overview

One of the major concerns of social psychology was that it be considered a science, not least of all by individual psychology (Berman, 1968). Hence much of the research which attempts to address the individual/group focus of social psychology is experimental in the sense that it is initially based on laboratory-type work using control and experimental groups (Semin & Manstead, 1979; Suls & Gastorf, 1980). It is with this emphasis on experimental research that Tajfel (1970b) introduced a new type of methodology upon which Social Identity Theory is based - the minimal group paradigm.

(1) The Minimal Group Paradigm

A 'minimal group' refers to a group where members are minimally different from both each other, and from members of other groups (de la Rey, 1991). In these experiments, subjects are randomly assigned to different groups (Tajfel, 1970b). There is no face-to-face interaction with other group members, and subjects have no way of knowing which subjects are in their group, they are merely instructed that they belong to a group. They are then requested to divide money (or another similar property) amongst anonymous members of the ingroup and outgroup according to various possible allocations. They may choose: (a) to divide the money equally amongst the groups: (b) to allocate the maximum amount for themselves, personally; or (c) to allocate in such a way that their own groups - which Tajfel (1970b) refers to as the 'ingroup' - receive the maximum amount in favour of other groups -the outgroups.

The minimal group experiments have been repeated with considerable frequency (for example: Bartsch & Judd, 1993; Billig & Tajfel, 1973; McGarty, Turner, Oakes, & Haslam, 1993; Mumendy, Simon, Dietze, Grunert, Haeger, Hessler, Lettgan & Schafferhoff, 1992; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy & Flament, 1971; Vivian & Berkowitz, 1993) and with few exceptions (for example, Rabbie, Schot & Visser, 1989) consistently provide evidence for the following result: Without knowledge of who their fellow group-members

are, subjects are shown to consistently favour the ingroup and discriminate against the outgroup, often at the expense of personal gain (de la Rey, 1991).

For Tajfel and his colleagues (Tajfel, 1970b; Tajfel et al, 1971) the minimal group experiments were initially an attempt to provide a social psychological framework for the explanation of group prejudice and discrimination. Tajfel's findings, that merely perceiving oneself as being in a group which is different from others will precipitate ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination, led to the development of the concept of *social categorization* (Tajfel, 1981). Social categorization is defined as identifying one's own position in society (which groups one belongs to, which groups one perceives as different to one's own etc.) and subsequently identifying the position of others. From this concept, Tajfel (1972) expanded upon three other concepts which form the basis of Social Identity Theory.

(2) 'Mini-theories' of Social Identity Theory

The following concepts are described by Foster (1991) as mini-theories in that while they all relate to one another, it is important to understand them as separate psychological processes which result in the formation of an identification with groups in society. These concepts are:

- social categorization
- social comparison
- psychological group distinctiveness
- social identity

Social categorization is primarily a description of the process which creates ingroups and outgroups. Besides being the group against which one discriminates, the outgroup is also that group with which one identifies to a lesser extent; the ingroup is that group with which one identifies to the largest extent (Der-Karbetian & Balian, 1992).

Social comparison builds on social categorization and asserts that not only do we see ourselves and our ingroups as merely different, as belonging to different categories, we

also evaluate that difference qualitatively. Social comparison is about how we identify our positions in society, and consequently the positions of others in relation to us as either more or less favourable.

Psychological group distinctiveness Tajfel (1978) defines as the extent to which we evaluate our own social group(s) as distinct from others:

> "A social group will ... be capable of preserving its contributions to those aspects of an individual's social identity which are positively valued by him only if it manages to keep its positively valued distinctiveness *from other groups*" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 103, my emphasis).

An individual's group can therefore be considered to have an influence on that individual if it successfully differentiates itself from other groups. This differentiation takes place based on both social categorization and social comparison (Billig, 1976). The fourth concept of *social identity*, Tajfel (1982) describes as the combination of all social categories to which one belongs. Social identity is the internalisation of social categorization (Billig, 1976), and is only as effective as it is distinctive from other identities. Should the means of asserting that distinctiveness become lost or assimilated, it will weaken the extent to which an individual can conceive of him/herself as salient from wider society (Tajfel, 1972). For example, a group like the Jewish community of South Africa was once distinguishable from other individuals of similar appearance (socially speaking), by the fact that they spoke a different language - Yiddish. Now that the majority of the South African Jewish population are English speaking (Dubb, 1977) it is likely that they have had to utilise other group referents to establish distinctiveness.

The processes by which one develops one's own sense of group and social identity are primarily cognitive (Marshall & Wetherell, 1989). What differentiates the above from previously mentioned theories of social psychology is that earlier theories asserted that self-interest was the motive for distinctiveness for being in a separate group (Sherif & Sherif, 1964). For Social Identity Theory, that motive is self-*evaluation* (Turner, 1975): what does being in a separate group mean for me, and how does it affect my standing both as a group member, and as an individual? Not only does one evaluate oneself, one also evaluates the groups to which one belongs (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

One of the key tenets of Social Identity Theory is this evaluative component called *positive social identity*. Social Identity Theory is based on the assumption that individuals

prefer a positive to a negative self-image (Tajfel, 1981). An individual evaluates his/her self-image by using social categorization as a tool to differentiate between individuals in normal, everyday life. Social comparison is then used to evaluate that difference (Israel & Tajfel, 1972). This notion of positive identity will be discussed in some detail in the subsequent Results and Discussion chapters- but for now the discussion concentrates on the idea that one *prefers* a positive to a negative self-image.

It is suggested that a group will not attempt to redress the imbalance between the ingroup and the outgroup (Turner, 1980). That is, groups will not attempt to place themselves on par with either higher or lower status groups. If anything, they will evaluate their own group as more favourable than others.

By exhibiting ingroup favouritism, one is asserting that being a member of a group somehow contributes to one's own sense of positive evaluation. One's social identity contributes to one's sense of belonging, but also to one's sense of self-evaluation. If one favours one's own group, one favours, by extension, one's self (Tajfel, 1978).

(3) Intergroup Identity and Interpersonal Identity

One of the strengths of Social Identity Theory, and for this study in particular, is that it does not focus exclusively on group behaviour, but rather considers that there is an interaction that is constantly evaluated between one's status as a group member and one's status as an individual (Baker, 1989). That relationship centres around the cognitive strategies that the individual employs when evaluating him/herself in relation to the group (Abrams, 1989; Mullen, 1991; Skevington, 1989). How one evaluates one's own social identity depends on the extent to which one affiliates oneself with the group (Turner, 1975).

To explain this interaction, Tajfel postulated the existence of a behavioural continuum on the one end of which is *interpersonal behaviour*, on the other *intergroup behaviour* (Tajfel, 1981). The poles of the continuum are inversely reciprocal to each other in that the more one evaluates oneself exclusively in terms of the group, the less one is thought to evaluate oneself as an individual (Oakes & Turner, 1980).

(4) Social Mobility and Social Change

The ability of the individual to move from one group to another is affected by the social belief systems to which the group ascribes, or by the social context in which the group exists, and is manifested in another continuum. On the one hand, *social mobility* (Tajfel, 1975; 1981) asserts that one is able to move from the ingroup to another group with relative ease. Social mobility is usually the means of moving from a negatively valued group to a more positively valued one. It further carries the implication that even though one may presently be in the ingroup and hence already imbued with greater status, there may be something better for the individual (Lalonde, 1992). This strategy suggests that the individual may dissociate from the ingroup and move to an even higher position of personal self-esteem (Lalonde, 1992), and is hence firmly influenced by individualistic strategies rather than group strategies. Individuals who evaluate their own position in terms of social mobility are likely to be evaluating their own group position in terms of the inter-personal side of the interpersonal/intergroup continuum (Abrams, 1989).

On the other hand *social change* suggests that boundaries between groups will be relatively difficult to by-pass and change depends on the ability to adjust the status quo (Tajfel, 1975). This will be only **relatively** difficult because "the psychological existence of a group for it's members is a complex sequence of appearances and disappearances" (Tajfel, 1982). Events change and groups change and it is important to keep in mind that groups are relational to the social world, and not to an absolute reality (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987).

Positive identity is, therefore, an aspiration and may be hindered by the extent to which one considers oneself inextricably affiliated to the group (intergroup behaviour) or relatively free to evaluate oneself as an individual (inter-personal behaviour). More importantly, this may depend on the *extent* to which one affiliates with a given group (Shaffer, Pergalis & Cornell, 1991). If one considers one's behaviour exclusively in terms of group affiliation, and if the group to which one is affiliated is perceived to be in a sub-

ordinate position in terms of social status (for example), this will hinder one's sense of positive social identity.

Social identity however, refers to the sum total of *all* groups to which one belongs (Tajfel, 1982). Negative social identity may be experienced on the basis of belonging to one group, but it will not necessarily remain so if one were to evaluate one's sense of positive social identity in terms of *other* groups to which one is affiliated. As an example of this, Garza and Borchert (1990) hypothesised that women in a high status group would tend to seek competition from men in a lower status outgroup. Inherent socialisation of inferiority would, it was supposed, teach the women that competition with men in their own group could only be counter-productive, and that engaging in such competition would lead to the development of a negative social identity because the subjects (women) were comparing their status to that of men. But engaging in competition with men from a lower status group would be supported by the group's higher status and therefore result in a heightened sense of positive social identity.

Their findings indicate, however, that even with the possibility for increased positive social identity on the basis of their social (not gender) group, the women chose to retain the status quo. Their explanation for this , that the inter-personal attraction between men and women was too confounding a variable, has received some support from Hogg (1992).

In this study, it will be argued that for some Jews, Jewish group identity is perceived as subjectively more important than the identity which is derived from other social groups to which they might belong (White, South African, English-speaking etc.). The relevance of the Garza and Borchert (1990) study is that it specifically highlights the possibility that even though one belongs to many social groups, some will be perceived as more important in the process of social comparison. Moreover, there appears to be reason to suspect that some individuals will continue to evaluate themselves in terms of a social group which does *not* consistently facilitate positive social identity (Christie, 1992). For some subjects in the current study, being Jewish is more important than being South African, and they will evaluate their own position in society with reference to that particular social group, to the Jewish group. In the Garza and Borchert study (1990), women from a high status group interact with men from their own ingroup rather than with

men from another outgroup, utilising the social identity from their *hierarchical* group, rather than the social identity from their *gender* group. For these subjects, even though competing with men from a lower status group might promote positive social identity, they prefer to interact with men from the same status group and evaluate themselves in terms of the group identity derived from that social group.

(5) Psychological Groups

For various reasons, individuals consider their groups as important and as distinct from other groups. Group membership, it is therefore assumed, will fulfil certain needs for the individual, such as positive social identity, which might remain unfulfilled on an individual level only (Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam & Lalonde, 1990). Hogg (1992) refers to two criteria which must be fulfilled before a collection of individuals can be considered a group: (a) the individuals must recognise themselves as comprising a group; and (b) an additional outside entity must acknowledge it (Hogg, 1992). This is true of any type of group, from an internationally recognised nation, to a social club.

This concept of becoming a group has been described by Turner (1981) as *referent informational influence* which he defines as consisting of three stages : (a) the individual defines him/herself as a member of a distinct social category or group; (b) the group/category's stereotypic norms are learned and internalised; and (c) those norms are assigned to oneself through self-stereotyping. What this may imply is that group behaviour has superordinate or suprapersonal properties which cannot be reduced to interpersonal relationships (Turner, 1981· Tajfel, 1981). The relevance of such an application is feasible only insofar as the group in question may be perceived as distinct from others (Turner, 1981) and subjectively important for the individual.

Individuals must consider their groups to be fulfilling a need which cannot be met by individual interaction. The process by which groups form on an inter-individual level is known as *group cohesiveness* (Hogg, 1987; 1992).

The concept of group cohesiveness is described by Hogg (1987) as having a reciprocal relationship with *individual psychological cohesiveness* - which he terms

interpersonal attraction. In more recent work, Hogg (1992) refers to two different forms of inter-individual attitude: *social attraction* - referring only to group solidarity and cohesiveness; and *personal attraction* which "has nothing to do with groups" (p. 108).

What this implies is that one can experience social attraction to another group member and evaluate that individual positively as a fellow member, while actively disliking them as an individual, an idea originally presented by Hogg and Hardie (1991).

The point which Hogg (1992) makes is that by identifying a variable like social attraction which is, to a certain degree, neutral, it is possible to extract functions of a group which finally transcend the interpersonal and begin to probe the far end of Tajfel's interpersonal-intergroup continuum. The example is given (Hogg and Hardie, 1991) of a football team where, although the individuals may not like each other personally, they acknowledged that each had a role to play in the effective functioning of the team. Social attraction may therefore be understood as an inter-personal interaction which is in the service of social or group identity, as opposed to feelings of affection which are in the service of personal identity.

2.3.2 Social Identity

> "..social identity is that part of an individual's *self concept* which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the *value and emotional significance* attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 225, my emphasis).

Tajfel (1981) asserted that it is the essential paradox of social psychology that the discipline's methodology precludes (by definition) the use of individuation for drawing inferences. The object of interest in social psychology is social and not individual; but the theories upon which we base our experiments to generate this data are all concerned with what was once the introspective inferences of the original theorists (Tajfel, 1972). Social Identity Theory explains that paradox by placing the group in the individual; by assessing the psychological processes that precipitate group behaviour (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

"Social identity" suggested Turner et al (1987, p.21) " is the *cognitive* mechanism which makes group behaviour possible".

At all times, the focus is on the evaluative component of the group's processes. As one's affiliations with certain groups change, so one's social identity changes, and in evaluating that social identity, the individual is constantly assessing his/her position in relation to the group (Turner, 1981).

In chapter three on minority identity, I shall return to this aspect of social identity and consider how one's status as a minority group member is affected by the many groups to which one may belong. For the moment though, it is prudent to examine some of the critiques of Social Identity Theory and assess it's usefulness for this study.

2.3.3 Critiques of Social Identity Theory

In this section, critiques of Social Identity Theory are divided into two distinct but not unrelated categories, namely methodological and theoretical.

(1) Methodological

Due to the extent to which research in Social Identity Theory tends to make use of the minimal group paradigm, it is unsurprising that much criticism of the theory focuses on it's basis in 'artificial' experimentation; use of control groups, laboratory based research etc. (Rabbie & Horwitz, 1988). In terms of the social context in which these experiments were performed and social psychology's prior aspirations to become a science, it is clear that to achieve the impact that it did, Social Identity Theory needed to exhibit a sense of 'real' research (in terms of a natural science paradigm) (Semin & Manstead, 1979). Tajfel's basis in quantitative research (e.g. Tajfel, 1959) and the emphasis that social psychology had placed on individual-based research would, it seems, virtually necessitates such a starting point.

Similar critiques of this use of 'scientific' methodology (Henriques, 1984; Rabbie et al, 1989) have further suggested that it is precisely because of the way that variables are manipulated and controlled for in the minimal group paradigm that makes the finding of unsolicited social categorization particularly unremarkable. Tajfel's (1970b) suggestion that his findings are not accounted for by any rational explanation have been dismissed by Rabbie et al (1989) who ask "what could be more rational than wanting monetary rewards?" This critique of the minimal group paradigms may be weakened, however, by the assertion that it is often the case that subjects choose to favour their ingroup when doing so will result in a smaller personal reward (de la Rey, 1991). Their choice remains group rather than individually based and is therefore perhaps less rational than Rabbi et al (1989) suggest.

Notwithstanding these explanations however, in terms of a more relevant social psychology, the critique's validity in terms of previous research and the impetus of 'scientific' social psychology cannot be dismissed. Skevington (1989) in particular has argued for a more socially constructed basis for studies that use Social Identity Theory as well as the use of more naturalistic groups. Much research that does utilise this theory has moved out of the laboratory however, and into more natural settings (for example: Tajfel, 1970a; Tajfel, Jahoda, Nemeth, Campbell & Johnson, 1970; Hogg, 1992; Hogg & Hardie, 1991).

(2) Theoretical

If the focus of such experimentation is on individual assessment, which it must be by necessity (Tajfel, 1979), then that may imply that Social Identity Theory may make no claims to have advanced beyond a theory of how the individual is affected by the actual or imagined presence of others (Taylor & Brown, 1979).

Taylor and Brown's (1979) argument concerning the role of Social Identity Theory is based on two assertions: The first is that a theory of social psychology that attempts to shift the focus exclusively onto groups runs the risk of becoming irrelevant to psychology and might be

more applicable to disciplines such as sociology and social anthropology. Their second concern is that, to remain relevant and meaningful, the theory must be able to clearly demarcate where group behaviour ends and individual behaviour begins. Social Identity Theory's approach is hence highly individualised in terms of the concepts of social categorization, social comparison and psychological distinctiveness, and importance is therefore placed on the individual, and not on the social system or groups to which the individual may belong (Taylor & Brown, 1979).

Tajfel's (1979) counter argument is to suggest that what Taylor and Brown (1979) have ignored is that firstly, the concepts of social change and social mobility clearly place the focus as interactive between individuals and groups rather than exclusively on one or the other. The concepts further act as mediating effects, highlighting the importance of a social system which is dynamic. Secondly, social categorization and social comparison are necessary *but not sufficient* for the formation of a social identity. The extent to which the group considers itself a group, exhibits group cohesiveness etc., are equally important to the theory and without those concepts, it is possible that the theory could be examining individual processes only (Tajfel, 1979).

Taylor and Brown's (1979) argument therefore suffers from the exclusion of the above two points, and hence is not a comprehensive understanding of the theory. Turner (1988) has further argued that when groups are formed, the point of focus for Social Identity Theory is the *shared* social identity of the group's members. Social identity is only possible if one perceives that one has something in common with others, and Social Identity Theory is therefore not a strictly individualised theory.

A second and perhaps more useful criticism concerns the theory's emphasis on cognition. Taylor and Brown's (1979) criticisms are useful to the extent that they raise the idea of Social Identity's successful departure from an existing individualised paradigm in social psychology. For theorists such as Henriques (1984) that question is directly related to Tajfel's use of a cognitive perspective, or as he refers to it :"the conceptual poverty of cognitivism" (p. 62). Tajfel's (1979) contention was that although social categorization and social comparison are not sufficient to produce social identity, they are sufficient to produce outgroup discrimination. Implicit in that assertion is that social categorization *by itself* will necessarily precipitate a situation of ingroups/outgroups (Tajfel, 1979; 1981; 1982).

For Henriques (1984) and Billig (1985) such a suggestion, imbedded as it is in cognitivist strategies, implies that, as Adorno et al (1950) initially suggested, prejudice is indicative of an individual mindset. The difference between Tajfel and Adorno's perspective is that for Adorno et al (1950) prejudice indicates an immoral and 'unnatural' attitude. For Tajfel (1970b) prejudice is indicative of a natural reaction to the desire to belong to the ingroup. This situation will occur regardless of the groups in question, and ignores the particular attributes of specific groups (Griffin, 1989).

For Rabbie and Horwitz (1988) the implication of this suggestion is that the minimal group experiments were not so much concerned with social groups as they were with simply categories - they were merely counting heads, to use Norden's (1991) metaphor. This criticism, suggests Billig (1985) points to a considerable flaw in Social Identity Theory because it fails to take into account situations where discrimination against other groups does not occur; it ignores the possibility of tolerance.

Billig (1985) argues that if we move from a strictly cognitive, and therefore inflexible, mode of categorization to a more flexible one, this will entail the use of language and rhetoric. If we use language as the basis of assessing prejudice rather than cognitive categorization, we will be able to differentiate between the *content* of social groups rather than with the *form* they take. Cognitive categorization assumes that there are different types of thinking (Billig, 1985), one of which is prejudiced thinking. Using language to examine the content of categorization, we find evidence of what Billig (1985) terms *particularization,* which he defines as examining the specific aspects of group behaviour. Group behaviour can be examined in terms of how the groups describe each other, the *content* of their descriptions. In this way, groups and individuals are able to describe each other in very particular terms (Skevington, 1989) rather than simply assuming that they will define each other as outgroups and ingroups.

Billig's (1985) argument places the focus on the psychological processes that occur on an inter-group level. On the intra-group level however, Skevington and Baker (1989) suggest that this focus may be just as rigid. They argue that the problem with Social Identity Theory is that it assumes that all group members have an identical understanding of what group membership entails. Merely asserting that individuals have strong affiliatory ties to the group may be sufficient for theoretical group studies, but to extend the argument into areas of specific groups renders it problematic because it assumes that all groups are

uniform (Skevington & Baker, 1989). To claim, for example, that some Jews define their Jewishness as meaning strong identification to the Jewish group is perhaps only half an answer. What must also be assessed is an understanding of what that Jewish group *is*.

In a discussion on the changing social identity of women, Condor (1989) has argued that:

> "individuals cannot be said to simply 'have' stable group identifications ..... The assumption that variability in gender categorization can be understood primarily in terms of a distinction between presence and absence [of group affiliation] again precludes a consideration of the potential flexibility of the *meanings* associated with the social category Women" (pp. 26-27).

In terms of this study, it is argued that the phrase 'subjective importance of Jewish identity' takes into the consideration that the process of identifying with the Jewish group takes place on two levels. Firstly, in terms of Social Identity Theory, it is argued that one is constantly identifying more or less with the Jewish group. Secondly it is argued that the *meaning* of what that Jewish group is may change. For Condor (1989) the fact that women constitute a social group means that for an understanding of how individuals affiliate with that group it is necessary to understand how they define that group. To extend her argument to Jews it is suggested that while Jews are a cultural, religious and ethnic group, they are also a social group. How individual Jews define Jews as a social group will, to some degree, determine the extent to which they identify with the Jewish group.

Just as it is problematic to categorize individuals as being either part of the ingroup or part of the outgroup, so too is it problematic to suggest that either individuals identify with the group or they do not. Both cases ignore the possibility of specific individuals and the specific social situation; the former on an intergroup level the latter on an intra-group level . For discrimination there exists the possibility of particularization, for group affiliation there exists the possibility of specified meaning of what that group is.

Parker (1990b) suggests that in the 1980s, social psychology was characterised by two types of research: strictly individualised and therefore 'trivial' (Parker, 1990b. p. 229) research; and the more 'radical' intergroup studies of the Tajfellian school. Other theories are shown to have some influence on the Social Identity Theory experiments (such as Attribution Theory and

Social Cognition), but none are as 'threatening' (Parker, 1990b, p. 229) to Social Identity Theory as discourse analysis (Parker, 1990b). This is because discourse analysis in particular, and studies of language, text and rhetoric in general, can succeed in moving social psychology to it's new paradigm by assisting in a deconstruction of ideological issues and a re-construction of social reality as subjects of research perceive it (Parker, 1989;1990a; Parker & Shotter, 1990).

It is towards a redefinition of the social reality of what being a Jew means that this study endeavours. What may be required, argues Parker (1990b) is for group members to construct their own social reality in terms of the groups to which they belong. Social Identity Theory may be able to explain the processes of individual behaviour within groups - social categorization, social comparison etc. - but it fails to take into account that members within a group may not all be identifying with the same thing. Research in Social Identity Theory tends to ask 'how much' social identification is manifest rather than 'in what way is it manifest ?' (Condor, 1989). For some, being Jewish means strong identification with religious Judaism, for others that identification may be with Zionism, Jewish culture or even with the liberal humanism that some assert is a tenet of Judaism (Mirelman, 1990). In the Discussion chapter this idea will be reassessed in terms of the resultant data where it is argued that not only is it possible that identification takes place to a greater and lesser extent, but also that there *are* differences between individuals as to what they perceive themselves to be identifying with.

For Parker (1990b) the only way to resolve these difficulties on both an intra and inter group level is a complete deconstruction of theory and re-evaluation in terms of a new paradigm. In response to his assertions, Abrams and Hogg (1990) suggest that to follow such a direction in social psychology would be akin to declaring all that Social Identity Theory has accomplished as null and void. The tendency for Social Identity Theory to assume the existence of uniform cognition, irrespective of the groups in question is criticised by them (Abrams & Hogg, 1988), but they suggest that discourse analysis and language based research are perhaps more useful as complementary aspects of research in social psychology than as an across-the-board replacement (Abrams & Hogg, 1988). Social Identity Theory, it's problems notwithstanding, can provide a very useful basis for extrapolation - perhaps through discourse analysis- by presenting the researcher with reliably measured psychological processes (Abrams

& Hogg, 1988; Turner et al, 1987). The content of those groups, and reasons for this categorization, might be better explained by more particularized theories (Abrams & Hogg, 1990).

To return to the central question of this debate -if Social Identity Theory does have these limitations, is it prudent to use the theory at all ? In the Methodology Chapter it is argued that a method is required which can address two questions:

- Does being Jewish necessarily mean being different to non-Jews?
- If not, to what extent do individuals who do not perceive of themselves as different still identify with the minority group of Jews ?

The theory is therefore useful in that it *is* shown to address these two questions, as well as allowing the researcher to understand how the specifics of being Jewish mediate the above two aspects. Furthermore, the theory is equally useful in that it does provide, as shall be argued in the Discussion chapter, a very useful distinction between intergroup and interpersonal behaviour, concepts which are drawn upon quite heavily in the final chapters of this thesis.

(3) Addressing the Crisis in Social Psychology

For the purposes of this thesis, whether or not Social Identity Theory succeeded in overcoming the crisis in social psychology at all its various levels of discourse, power and social constructionism is not important. What is important is that Social Identity Theory is capable of a more than adequate response to the problem of understanding individual and social behaviour by looking at them as interconnected to each other. The debate concerning the future direction of Social Identity Theory (discourse analysis, language, rhetoric or even more exclusively cognitivist) although interesting, is beyond the scope of this study and is dealt with extensively by other reviews (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Danziger, 1990; Henriques, 1984; Parker, 1990b; Turner, 1988; 1991).

The aims of this chapter as they were outlined in the opening paragraph were to describe the movement and growth of Social Identity Theory in the context of social

psychology. The focus now turns to the processes that occur within the specific group, and which may be mediated by specific social influences. In doing this it is necessary to move away from Social Identity Theory and focus on the more sociological and anthropological aspects of the group in question. As shall be discussed in the following two chapters, to understand merely the group's processes without a clear understanding of its social norms is to misrepresent it entirely.

SUMMARY

A brief discussion concerning the social context out of which Social Identity Theory emerged is considered and the individual/group debate within social psychology is examined. Originally conceptualised as a theory of inter-group behaviour, Social Identity Theory's usefulness for the present study is argued and the concepts of social comparison, social categorization, psychological distinctiveness and social identity are discussed. A few criticisms of the theory are considered, most important of which is Condor's (1989) suggestion that we be concerned not so much with the extent as with the meaning of group identity.

3 ETHNIC AND MINORITY IDENTITY

In the previous chapter, with one notable exception (i.e. the Garza and Borchert, 1990, study) groups have been discussed in fairly theoretical terms. To this end, Social Identity Theory was examined as a means by which the psychological group may be delineated and discussed. The participants in this study however, belong to a rather more specific group, and in chapter four, the specific group in question is brought under discussion - namely the Jews. However, in addition to being a psychological group, the Jews are also, I shall argue, both an ethnic group and a minority group. An interim discussion to contextualise Jewish South Africans in that regard is therefore warranted.

Jews are discussed in terms of their status as an ethnic minority group because, as was argued with regard to Social Identity Theory, social identity is considered to be affected by the sum total of *all* groups to which an individual belongs (Tajfel, 1982) : religious, political, gender, racial, national, ethnic etc. Thus by identifying the participants in this study as members of an ethnic and of a minority group, some additional insight may be provided in terms of those criteria.

It is argued in the Discussion chapter however, that individuals differ in terms of the *meaning* that they attribute to their understanding of their groups. This assertion is based partly on Condor's (1989) criticism of Social Identity Theory as well as on some of the work discussed in terms of ethnic and minority identity. That is, being identified by *others* as Jewish has very different connotations for specific individuals, even though the individuals may identify *themselves* as Jewish. Similarly, being identified by others as members of an ethnic or minority group may be different to an individual understanding of what being an ethnic minority group member is.

This chapter focuses first on the more salient aspects - identifiable by others - for both ethnic and minority groups and then discusses the more individualized and subjectively meaningful aspects of such group membership.

3.1 The Ethnic Group

The group that is the focus of this thesis is the Jewish community of Cape Town. In defining aspects of ethnicity, it therefore seems prudent to identify those aspects which show that Jews *are* an ethnic group. In this section, various aspects of ethnicity are examined and the usefulness of these aspects in differentiating Jews in South Africa from other ethnic groups is considered.

3.1.1 Aspects of Ethnicity

The term "ethnic" is conventionally understood to be pertaining to race or nationality (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975). Yet there are many more aspects of ethnicity which do exist and which are not covered by this definition. Racial ethnicity implies that the ethnic group is of a different race - but to claim, for example, that all black South Africans belonged to the same ethnic group because they are all black would certainly not be accurate. National ethnicity might suggest that different nations are defined as separate ethnic groups. To use the same example, it would be difficult to adopt a position suggesting that all South Africans have a shared ethnicity. Language too, it can be argued, is useful as a demarcation of ethnicity but only to a limited extent (Giles & Johnson, 1980) as not all ethnic groups speak a different language. Language does not therefore, contribute to an understanding of Jewish ethnicity in the South African context by virtue of the fact that most South African Jews are English speaking. These pitfalls of an all-encompassing definition of ethnicity lead to the first major obstacle in identifying the ethnic group:

> "One of the chief hindrances in the understanding of ethnicity has been the premature drive to forge a general, all-encompassing theory. This could not be done, and cannot be done, without a more general theory of social, cultural, and psychological systems. The later trinity of theories, or a general all inclusive social science, does not yet, and may never, exist." (Nash, 1989, p.3).

The implications, it seems, of Nash's comment, are that ethnicity, like other identificatory referents, are not all-encompassing and universal. When examining an ethnic group for the purposes of social and personal identity, different aspects of the concept 'ethnic group' will have, as has been argued, different connotations for individuals (Hunt & Walker, 1974). For some, for example, being a member of an ethnic group may be entirely a source of pride (Levinson, 1950b). Until there is a clear understanding of the variables which might indicate ethnicity, it would be impossible to attempt to understand which aspects of ethnicity are being utilised by the ethnic group in question (Giles & Johnson, 1980).

A definition of ethnicity for the purposes of this discussion includes the aspects of a social group already mentioned in the previous chapter. I include those concepts of social comparison, social identity, social categorization and group distinctiveness because it becomes apparent in the more recent works on ethnicity (e.g., Hutnik, 1991; Judd, 1990; Levine, 1993) that membership of an ethnic group is as much a *choice* for the individual as membership of any other kind of social group. That is, although one may be born into an ethnic group, the extent to which one *continues* to affiliate with that group may depend entirely upon how the individual evaluates him/herself as a member of that group. The aspects to be examined are those of ancestry and biological self-perpetuation, name, religion and culture.

(1) Ancestry and Biological Self-Perpetuation

Hutnik (1991) identifies an ethnic group as a people who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of their common *ancestry*, real or fictitious, and who are regarded as such by others. To ancestry, Barth (1969) adds the concept of *biological self-perpetuation.* By this is not meant the notion of any kind of *racial* characteristic. Race, or 'colour', is not seen as an aspect of ethnicity (Hutnik, 1991; Nash, 1989; Noel , 1968) but rather the fact that the children of parents with a shared ethnic background are, by definition, also of that ethnic background. (Nash (1989), refers to the same characteristic as "blood" (p. 6) which he later clarifies as meaning kinship; Parsons (1975) refers to "transgenerational solidarity" (p. 57); and Sherif and Sherif (1964) refer to "pseudo-biology" (p.139)). Based on these

criteria, it seems acceptable to consider ancestry and biological self-perpetuation as aspects of Jewish ethnicity.

That race is not an aspect of ethnicity is not a viewpoint held by all scholars of ethnicity. Isaacs (1975) for example cites as the two most important aspects of ethnic identity, body and name. Body is seen as "..the physical characteristics [which] serve as a badge of identity" (Isaacs, 1975, p. 39). In terms of Jewish South Africans, race is an unacceptable characteristic of ethnicity. All South African Jews may be white, but this does not indicate that all non-Jews in South Africa are non-white.

(2) Name

Isaacs' (1975) second aspect, name, can be incorporated into the previously mentioned concept of ancestry, but only to a limited extent. For the group under discussion, this would indicate the fact that individuals named 'Cohen' or 'Kaplan' are easily identified by others as Jewish, or, as is common amongst Jews, children are given Hebrew or Yiddish names. Often, however, a parent will give their child a name which is specifically designed to draw attention *away* from the ethnic qualities (Hutnik, 1991) or will change their own family name. Examples of this in the Jewish South African context would be the case of early immigrants to South Africa who changed their more unusual and salient family names to ones which were more common, such as Smith or Jones. Name, although useful, is not exclusive enough a concept for it be accepted as an a priori factor in identifying ethnicity. If it is a demarcation, then it is symbolic rather than actual (Nash, 1989) and too many exceptions are evident for name to be an acceptable attribute of Jewish ethnicity.

(3) Religion

In terms of a broad definition of ethnicity, religion might not normally be considered a particularly useful demarcation of ethnicity, but it is in a South African

context. Islam as it is practiced in South Africa is not the exclusive domain of any one ethnic group, nor is Christianity or even the denominations of Christianity. Catholicism is practiced by many ethnic groups in South Africa (Italians, Portuguese, Black South Africans to some extent); Islam is practiced also by Black, Indian and Coloured South Africans. As Hunt and Walker (1974) suggest, while most ethnic groups have a religion, not all of them have a *different* religion. Jews in South Africa, however, can define their ethnicity and social distinctiveness (and, to return to Social Identity Theory, their psychological group distinctiveness) in terms of religion because there are no other ethnic groups in South Africa which practice Judaism . Here the social context is of vital importance. Outside of South Africa there are numerous, races, cultures and ethnic groups which, while still Jewish, are extremely different from the white English speakers of South Africa. This does not make Jews unique from a social-psychological perspective, just distinctive as a group. Religion is therefore included as an aspect of ethnicity that is especially applicable to Jews in South Africa.

(4) Culture

To utilise culture as a distinctive group referent would be to imply that culture is understood conventionally across groups. More will be said about culture in the sections on minority identity and the following chapter where it will be shown that the above suggestion is problematic, even on the intra-group level. Erlmann's (1992) definition of culture as "a condensed master narrative of the social universe" (p. 688) is considerably more applicable to the African tribal dancing traditions upon which it is based than to the practice of Judaism.

Furthermore, to argue that culture is a salient characteristic of ethnicity is perhaps only true in the sense that culture consists of other salient characteristics (language, religion, social norms etc.). Of particular relevance for this study is the assertion that religion and culture are often confused; both by members of the ethnic group and outside observers (Kilpatrick, Sutker & Sutker, 1970).

Many studies have, however cited culture as a salient aspect of ethnicity (Barbrook, 1992; Barth, 1969; Glazer & Moynihan, 1975; Levinson, 1950b, Smith, 1992) and it is

therefore tentatively accepted on the basis of previous work, particularly that which refers to "Jewish culture" and "Jewish cultural practices"(e.g. Dubb, 1977; Karklins, 1987; Kristol, 1991; Ostow, 1983). This issue shall be discussed further in the section on minority identity and in the following chapter.

This section provides a very brief look at aspects of identity which might be employed by the ethnic group to define themselves as different from others. Based on the more 'objective' and observable differences between Jews and non-Jews in South Africa, it can therefore be seen that only ancestry, biological self-perpetuation, religion (and to some extent - culture) are strictly acceptable as aspects of ethnicity for the Jewish group. In the following section, similar tangible criteria are examined in terms of the salience of the minority group.

3.2 The Minority Group

There are many features which can be viewed as distinguishing a minority group from other groups in a specific social context. These features which allow the minority group to exhibit it's distinctiveness are felt by the group to be increasingly important as their separate identity becomes increasingly threatened (Barbrook, 1992; Hutnik, 1991;). The specific features to be examined in this discussion are number, power and discrimination.

3.2.1 Aspects of Minority Group Identity

(1) Number

An ethnic group is not always a minority and it may easily be the accepted hierarchy. In this discussion, however, the ethnic group to be examined - the Jews - are minorities in both senses of the word (Tajfel, 1978). That is, not only are they in the numerical minority, but they are also not among the cultural ruling class (Yetman & Steele, 1975). Although they usually are a numerical majority, the ruling class 'majority' need not be. More obvious examples of this include the case of non-white South Africans who, until very recently, were a numerical majority but a hierarchical minority. The Jews in South Africa are a numerical minority.

(2) Power

A conventional understanding of the minority group normally includes the suggestion that the minority be in a sub-ordinate position in society in terms of politics, financial security, etc. In terms of Tajfel's (1981) continuum of social mobility and social change, it is suggested that those members of a minority group which are almost completely without any sense of political or economic power will find themselves on the social change side of Tajfel's (1975) continuum of social change versus social mobility. In the recent past of South Africa, those classified as non-White would have been in such a position. Their struggle against a social system which was perceived as illegitimate could, and did result, in severe punitive measures (Turner, 1975). Although not a numerical minority, non-White South Africans could be classified as a minority in terms of power until very recently.

The extent to which South African Jews might be classified as a powerless minority is debatable. In terms of economic power this is certainly not applicable (Arkin, 1994). In

terms of political power, South African Jews, being white, were not powerless in Apartheid South Africa, neither are they powerless now in a more democratic political system. Their lack of power, if any, stems more from a cultural perspective (Reisman, 1979) in a social system that previously defined them as *not* Afrikaner or *not* Christian (Bloomberg, 1990). This point is discussed in further detail in the section on ethnic minorities (3.3).

(3) Discrimination

A minority group, particular one which is in a position of no power, is often defined in terms of the majority groups which discriminate against it (such as referring to the powerless minorities in the old South Africa as *non*-White). Discrimination need not be overt (as in the case of South Africa) but might be particularly subtle and ideologically bound (Meech & Killborn, 1992). Thus discrimination could simply be the assertion by the majority that the minority are *not* the majority (Stringer, Cornish & Findlay, 1991). Due to the extent to which the majority group is traditionally in control and powerful, this is expected to result in feelings of inferiority from the minority group, where the minority group, through processes of social categorization, come to see themselves as an inferior/ low status group (an outgroup) and the majority as a superior/ high status group (an ingroup) (Tajfel, 1978).

The minority group, like other social groups, is thought to strive for a positive social identity (Tajfel, 1978). Minorities are hence thought to evaluate their own sense of positive social identity in terms of their perceived inferior status. Either minority group members accept their low status, or they reject it entirely (Hutnik, 1991). Should they accept it, they will either withdraw from society altogether; or they will assimilate completely and the group will disintegrate (Hutnik, 1991).

However, suggests Hutnik (1991), it is erroneous to assume that discrimination by the majority will automatically tend towards feelings of inferiority and subsequent assimilation into the majority:

> "The common failing of all these theories [including Social Identity Theory] is that they are built upon the unquestioned assumption that ethnic minority individuals, because of their relatively inferior status in society, must necessarily suffer a decrement of self-esteem, and that in order to escape this intense personal suffering, they have little option but to attempt to assimilate into the majority group". (p.58).

Hutnik (1991) criticizes other theories of the minority group (Erikson, Lewin and Taylor and McKirnan) for assuming that minority groups, faced with discrimination, will automatically tend to assimilate. It is not, however, a valid criticism in terms of Social Identity Theory because should the social system be perceived as illegitimate by the minority group , the minority group may *reject* it's perceived inferiority status (Tajfel, 1978) as has occurred with regard to South Africa. The minority group is hence expected to continue to assert it's group distinctiveness and individuals will evaluate their own positive identity as a result of affiliation with the minority group (Tajfel, 1978).

When faced with discrimination in a social system which is perceived as illegitimate, three options are available to the minority group (Skevington & Baker, 1989). The first possibility suggests Tajfel (1975,1978) is that in an attempt to remain distinctive, and with the belief that the minority group *is* able to provide a framework for positive social identity, individuals will employ *social creativity*. It involves the re-evaluation of group stereotypes as positive and (often) the creation of new group characteristics (de la Rey, 1991).

As an example of this it is useful to consider the situation as regards Jewish names. Although it has been argued that Jewish names are not a particularly salient aspect of Jewish ethnicity, it is possible that if the minority group member does evaluate him/herself favourably in terms of the minority group, then it is likely that they may name their children/themselves with a particularly distinctive, in this case, Jewish name. For the majority group referring to all Jews as the stereotypical "Hymie Cohen" is meant to be prejudicial and discriminatory. For the Jews themselves, adopting specifically 'Jewish' names is perceived as asserting a sense of pride in minority group status (Herman, 1970).

The second possibility is *social competition* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and occurs when groups attempt to redress the imbalance between themselves and other groups. It is not a particular popular option for Jewish South Africans as the emergence of social competition is normally precipitated by some sort of imbalance in social relations and there is little which Jewish South Africans - at least currently - would seek to rectify.

The third option is assimilation. For Tajfel (1978) assimilation, although contrary to the aims of a positive social identity based on minority identity, can and does occur. It is understood by Tajfel (1978) as transpiring in one of three ways:

1. Cases where individuals expect to assimilate, but fail to do so. These instances are categorized by a distinct lack of social mobility in the sense that the majority groups will not accept them and the status quo is rigidly adhered to.
2. Cases where group members exert pressure on the members who attempt to assimilate and so would-be assimilators are unable to do so. These instances are categorized too by a lack of social mobility, caused by the pressure exerted from within the group, rather than on the unwillingness of the majority culture to accept minority group members.
3. Cases where minority group members are completely assimilated. Such instances are characterized by social mobility and hence an extremely individualised strategy with little scope for group-based affiliations.

These cases are discussed in greater detail in Discussion chapter where subjects are seen to ally themselves to these strategies.

In the above discussion on ethnic and minority identity, some of the salient aspects of such identity have been discussed and it is suggested that by identifying the Jews as an ethnic minority, some of the more general aspects of an ethnic group (such as religion, ancestry or culture) and some of a minority group (such as assimilationist strategies) may prove useful in furthering an understanding of the Jewish subjects once data has been reported. In the following section the focus narrows to discuss the more important aspects of an ethnic minority which may prove useful in the same regard.

3.3 *The Ethnic Minority*

It remains a common feature of ethnicity studies (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975; Hunt & Walker, 1974; Peres, 1971; Radke-Yarrow, 1958) that ethnic minority groups are a threat to the majority. Minority groups are seen by majorities as an example of separate

groups who do not subscribe to the political and cultural hegemony of the majority and are thus often categorized by the majority as 'ethnocentric' (Nash, 1989). In terms of a social-psychological understanding of ethnocentrism as meaning the belief that one's ethnic group is in some way *superior* to the non-ethnic majority (Levinson, 1950b), this threat to the majority seems valid.

In the previous chapter it was argued that one's aspirations towards a positive social identity are not in terms of singular groups, but rather in terms of all groups to which one belongs. If positive social identity is not possible in terms of the minority group only, then individuals may tend towards assimilation. They may also, however, tend towards the establishment of some form of dual identity (Hutnik, 1991). In this section the argument is put forward that suggests that this aspiration for positive identity will result in the formation of dual alliances: simultaneous affiliation to both the minority and majority groups (Hutnik, 1991; Whittler, Calantone & Young, 1991).

3.3.1 Dual Alliances

Historically, many conceptualisations of ethnic minority identity have been assimilationist in that they expected the ethnic minority to blend in with the majority and lose it's salience (Isaacs, 1975; Sklare, 1958; Yetman & Steele, 1975). Tajfel's (1978) paper on minority identity is an exception in that it suggests that assimilation remains a last resort of the minority, and that minority groups will continue to strive for some form of social distinctiveness.

For some of these ethnicity theorists (e.g. Sklare, 1958) it has been postulated that if one is unable to assimilate one will develop a sense of self-hatred and lose one's self-esteem. This may be understood as the extreme example of a failure to achieve positive identity and presupposes that it is necessarily the *intention* of the minority ethnic group member to assimilate. As Hutnik (1991) suggests, however, dual affiliation is a particularly common alternative to assimilation for the ethnic group, and one will always display some degree of affiliation towards one's own ethnic group - regardless of whether or not it is of one's own choosing (Der-Karaebetian & Balian, 1992).

> "The theories and research arising from the theories have tended to confuse two different aspects of ethnic minority identity, namely, that ethnic minority identity is composed of two distinct and not necessarily related components: (1), a consciously articulated stance or strategy of self-categorization; and (2) an underlying system or body of beliefs, attitudes, values and behaviour - or a style of cultural adaptation. Both components are developed in relation to the ethnic minority group *and* the majority group in conjunction with each other." (Hutnik, 1991, p. 157).

What Hutnik (1991) is suggesting is that to assume that identification with the majority must include disassociation from the minority is false, and that both concepts are in operation in varying degrees (Hutnik, 1991). What this implies from the Social Identity Theory perspective is that the individual can be successful in his/her attempts to create psychologically distinctive groups, some existing to a greater degree than others.

It had been assumed that the relationship between how individuals self-categorize and how they adapt culturally was practically synonymous (Hutnik, 1991; Taylor,D. et al, 1990). Comparisons with higher level group members (in terms of Social Identity Theory - with the ingroup) were thought to be indicative of the process of minority ethnic acculturation. That is, individuals were expected to compare their own culture groups to the majority culture groups, and subsequently find their own groups wanting. From there it would be a short step to an attempt at social mobility (at worst) or at social creativity (at best). Social mobility would suggest that the individual abandon his/her minority group in favour of the majority group; while social creativity would imply that the individual re-think the position of the minority group and continue to feel positive social identity with regard to that minority group.

In terms of the twenty-something generation of Jewish South Africans this would seem, at face value, to be true. Such individuals are the second or third generation of Jews to be born in South Africa and they bear little resemblance in terms of cultural practice to their ancestors from Europe (Dubb, 1973). From that perspective they might indeed seem to have assimilated. But a description of that kind is superficial. It assumes that a continuos process of disassociation with the ethnic minority leads to a continuos process of majority acculturation. Such depictions of the case of ethnic minorities are unable to account for second and third generation members of an ethnic minority who, even though they have grown up in a culture far broader than the ethnic group's, can still identify with the minority (Hutnik, 1991). Theories which categorize ethnicity in terms of common culture *only* ; in terms of salient ethnicity only, are missing the point (Hutnik, 1991).

Furthermore, whether or not an ethnicity which is salient fosters or hinders assimilation or separatism is not affected by the above proposition. This is because ethnic identity is defined as a process of placing oneself in a situation according to *one's self-referendal knowledge of society and it's operations* (Hutnik, 1991). In other words, it is assumed that one will identify both with one's own minority culture and the wider majority culture (Hutnik, 1991). As Turner (1975) suggests, social categorization is a *self-*evaluative function. The extent to which I, as a Jew, observe the Sabbath, or festivals, or attend synagogue, is a yardstick for how salient my ethnicity is to others. It is not a yardstick for how I feel about the culture of the Jews or how I evaluate my own position.

Ringer and Lawless (1989) observed that a minority ethnic group such as Jews would be expected to assimilate to feel more a part of the society to which it belonged. According to Hutnik (1991) and Barth (1969), such assimilation may not be relevant because of the ability of individuals to diffuse their identity. Others, such as Smith (1992) suggest that non-assimilation has a more fundamental basis, and he argues that positive identity and persistence ('staying-power'), for minority ethnic groups, may be grounded in a sense of 'specialness'.

3.3.2 Ethnic Minority = Special

The question of *ethnic persistence* is dealt with by Smith (1992) who argues:

> "For the investigation of long term ethnic persistence, individual sentiments and attitudes, though important, are secondary. The focus here is rather on the social and cultural properties of ethnic communities, that is, collective cultural units claiming common ancestry, shared memories and symbols, whether they constitute majorities or minorities in a given state". (p. 437).

Smith introduces the concept of *ethnies* which he refers to as long-term affiliation ethnic groups. For an ethnic group to survive, in any form, it must cultivate a "myth of ethnic election" (Smith, 1992, p. 441) and ethnic group members will consider their own group as special and different. If such a myth is not prevalent amongst the ethnic group, that group will eventually assimilate into society.

For Smith (1992) then, the continuance of an ethnic minority group in a multi-cultural environment is more dependent upon a group identity than upon the efforts of

individual group members. The problem with Smith's argument is that he has chosen an either/or situation: Either ethnies cling steadfastly to their collective ethnicity and maintain a belief in their uniqueness, or they will assimilate. Hutnik's (1991) argument demonstrates, it seems, the fact that the issues are not as clear cut.

Some thirty years ago, the notion of ethnicity in academic literature underwent a change (Hutnik, 1991). It was assumed that an ethnic minority would eventually assimilate in the face of pressure from the dominant group in the society in which that minority found itself (Roosens, 1989) This phenomenon of a renewed interest in ethnicity has been referred to as "symbolic ethnicity" (Gans, 1979) in that what is perceived of as ethnicity are only symbols of a long standing cultural entity. In other words, current ethnicity is a clawing at symbols rather than an affirmation of separate identity. It is not a position which receives much empirical support, especially in the light of current political events (Russia, Croatia, Serbia, Somalia , Rwanda etc.). In the 1960s, though, all the evidence pointed towards the eradication of ethnicity (Roosens, 1989).

Social creativity provides an explanation for refuting this claim, or as Roosens (1989) suggests:

> "..ethnic groups are affirming themselves more and more. They promote their own, new, cultural identity, *even as their old identity is eroded*" (p.9, my emphasis).

As was previously discussed, the group will constantly find new ways to express it's own identity and different reasons will be provided depending upon the group to which one will claim membership. Different aspects will be seen as more or less salient, depending, to some extent, on the groups in question. Groups as a whole have some commonalties which most are seen to observe (reaction to threat; inter-group discrimination; intra-individual group dynamics etc.) and yet most groups do possess characteristics which are expressed as more important, more salient, more "necessary" in their reification of group identity. For the individual group member this has manifested itself in the continuum of personal-social identity. At times, evincing strong identificatory ties with the group and focusing on group identity; at others disregarding that minority group entirely for the positive identity offered by the majority group.

The following chapter deals with the specific group which is the focus of this study - the Jewish group - as representative of an ethnic minority, and in the chapter on methodology which introduces the research question of this thesis, two concepts will be

introduced, namely 'separatist' and 'cosmopolitan'. Their use will be dealt with again in the chapter on method, but for the moment, I believe it would be useful to relate them to the foregoing concerns of this chapter. A cosmopolitan framework mainly represents the point of view expressed by Hutnik (1991), that individuals who belong to an ethnic minority are not limited by their group's frame of reference in their self-identification as members of an ethnic minority. That is, a cosmopolitan perspective suggests that simply because one is a member of an ethnic minority based on the concepts mentioned in the chapter on ethnicity (such as ancestry, religion, culture), it is not compulsory that one enhance that sense of differentness at all times. Even without the external salience, ethnic minority identity can still maintain it's place of subjective importance for the individual. A separatist framework is more representative of Smith's (1992) opinion, namely that the existence of a group identity is contingent upon, at least to some extent, exclusivity.

So the use of delineating aspects of both ethnic and minority identity, that which might be termed the more objective criteria for membership in such groups, are useful as a basis for determining an ethnic minority group, but may be incomplete. A more comprehensive basis for understanding requires an understanding of both the more objective aspects of memberships of an ethnic minority, and the subjective importance of such attributes - what being a member of such a group means to an individual. In the following chapter I shall again discuss some of the more salient aspects of Jewish identity as well as form an introduction to the central question of this study. The argument is continued that although salient aspects of Jewish identity can only contribute to an effective understanding of what it means to be Jewish, more subjective conceptualisations are required for a more complete understanding.

SUMMARY

Through a discussion of the aspects of both the ethnic and the minority group, the status of Jews as members in both groups is assessed and it is argued that although such considerations are useful, a subjective understanding of the meaning that the Jewish individual attributes to his/her own group may still be required. The group processes of

assimilation, social creativity and social competition are mentioned as they are described by Social Identity Theory. The argument concerning the individual ethnic minority group member's status as being both within the ethnic minority and the majority social group is considered and is argued that ethnic minority identity can be conceptualised as the extent to which one identifies with both groups simultaneously. In terms of future methodological concerns, the concepts of 'separatist' and 'cosmopolitan' are introduced.

4 JEWISH IDENTITY

"Jews do not, as their forbears did, conduct their lives according to norms and criteria exclusively derived from Judaism and the Jewish experience." (Mendes-Flohr & Reinharz, 1980, p.3).

In keeping with the current discussion, it is noted that while Jews will be observed to be maintaining their Jewish group identity as members of a minority ethnic group (Agus, 1978), they will also be observed to be defining themselves in terms of their White South African identity. South African Jews are a minority ethnic group; their minority status is derived mainly from a position of size, not economic or financial power (Arkin, 1994). Their ethnic status is due to their having a different religion, ancestry and culture. In terms of a general Social Identity Theory framework, the position is maintained that group distinctiveness remains an aim of the Jewish group.

4.1 Jewish Group Identity

According to Redhill (1983) Jewishness is neither racial, religious nor cultural, yet somehow all these aspects will contribute to the individual's subjective understanding of being Jewish. Herman (1977) suggests that Jewish Identity can be understood as either one of two things: attributes of the individual which characterise the Jewish group; or how the individual relates to the group and the reflections in him/her of the group's attributes (in social psychological terms - referent informational influence - as was suggested earlier by Turner (1981). The former definition, however, is no reflection of social identity because it lacks the vital element of social contextualisation that Tajfel (1979) insisted was necessary to move from mere social categorisation to social identity. To characterise Jewish identity as the attributes of the individual which are observed to be present in the Jewish group is a rather confusing definition, and one which implies that Herman's (1977) social psychological focus may be firmly on the individual.

Referring back to Hutnik (1991), it can be seen though that there is no reason to presume that both aspects should not be in operation; and Jewish identity, for the purposes

of this study, may be defined as *the extent to which an individual identifies with the ethnic minority known as South African Jews*. Before examining the criteria for membership in the Jewish group, it is perhaps useful to place South African Jews in historical perspective.

4.1.1 South African Jews or Jewish South Africans: More Dual Loyalties

At a time of intense and violent anti - Semitism, namely the pogroms of Russia and Eastern Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, many Jews decided that to continue living in Europe would pose a physical threat to themselves, and began a mass exodus (Schwarz, 1943). Most went to America, England and South America, but a great deal emigrated to South Africa, most in the early years of this century (Shimoni, 1980).

Historically, Jews have always been known as a 'wandering people', and their loyalties have primarily been to their own socio-religious group (Katzew, 1955; Krausz, 1986; Levensohn, 1941). In terms of the situation in South Africa, and the questions of general group affiliation already expressed in this study, there has been some fluctuation which might be expressed in the following question: Should Jews affiliate only with Jews and withdraw from the broader South African context, or should they attempt to forge loyalties with wider society (Shimoni, 1980) ?

Tension existed between the Jews of South Africa and the Afrikaner government following the latter's support of the Axis nations during the Second World War. Consequently, South African Jews were considerably sceptical about their role as South African citizens (Bloomberg, 1990). In 1948, following the establishment of the State of Israel, Malan, the current prime minister of South Africa expressed the wish that the "Jewish Question" would disappear for good. He referred to the confusion amongst South Africa's Jewish citizens concerning their national and religious loyalties, and asserted that there was no reason why South African Jews could not be 'good South Africans and good Jews' (Bloomberg, 1990). Their status as Jews should not, he contended, affect their status as South African citizens, and to promote his goodwill towards the Jews of South Africa he

became the first international head of state to visit the newly established country (Shimoni, 1980).

As with other minority ethnic groups in South Africa, there is a sense of dual loyalties - of being both South African and Jewish (or Greek, Italian, Portuguese, etc.). This sense of dual loyalty is asserted even though other ethnic minorities are conventionally of a dual nationality (South African Jews are not, by definition Israeli; and research in this area suggests that there is a considerable difference between the group identity of Israelis and that of Diaspora * Jews) (Frankental, personal communication, 12 September 1994).

Group affiliations are hence fairly broad amongst South African Jews although in the subsequent history of South African Jews, their alliance is more with the English speaking white population and so it has remained. South African Jews are mostly identifiable as white English speakers (Shain & Frankental, 1991; Silber, 1990;). They currently number approximately 76 000 people (Arkin, 1994), 62,6% of whom reside in Johannesburg, 24,3% in Cape Town, with the remaining 13,1% spread out in the rest of country (statistics are for 1991). It is estimated that numbers have not differed greatly and, if anything, have decreased since then (Dubb, personal communication, August 1993).

4.2 *Aspects of Jewish Identity*

A criterion for " a relationship to the [Jewish] group in full compass" (Herman, 1977, p. 49) requires that the individual align him/herself with all Jews and with the past, present and future of Jewish history. The extent to which individual Jews will feel the necessity to do this to ensure that he/she possess a Jewish identity which is subjectively meaningful or even salient to others is, I believe, questionable. The extent to which this is seen to occur both in previous studies which have examined aspects of Jewish identity, and in this thesis, is limited. Further, much support is available for the idea that different aspects of being Jewish are understood as important for different Jews (Mirelman, 1990) and studies of Jewish identity as indications of a process of group affiliation have covered

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* *The Diaspora is the name given to all areas of the world outside of Israel through which Jews are dispersed. Hence South African Jews live in the Diaspora until they emigrate to Israel.*

areas as diverse as the attitudinal/motivational process as regards learning Hebrew (Feuverger, 1989); to studies which hypothesise authoritarianism as a measurable aspect of Jewish identity (Adelson, 1958).

One of the more common aspects of such research though, has been the examination of the experience of prejudice and discrimination as they are currently manifested in the individual (Reisman, 1979). I will leave this aspect for later as I believe it to be conceptually better served as part of the concluding remarks for this section. Three other aspects will be dealt with first, namely, religion; culture and Zionism.

4.2.1 Religion

Religion both brings people together and separates them, sometimes with animosity. In keeping with the Social Identity Theory concept of context, our definition must therefore be in terms both of the theological and psycho-social functions of religion. In terms of this discussion, these two issues cannot, therefore be separated, and a dictionary definition of religion as the "practice of sacred rites" is not enough. Therefore religion is here defined as "the common norms, values, convictions and behavioural patterns that unite a religious group" (Human Science Research Council, 1987, p. 67).

This definition does sound as if it would be equally acceptable as a definition of culture. The overlap between religion and cultural practices though, especially within Judaism, require that a definition be as broad as it is. If it is the practice of a Jewish household to light candles on a Friday night, that is not in itself indicative of an adherence to religious rites, but perhaps more of an adherence to cultural norms.

Some studies though, have indicated that it is possible to differentiate, if not between religious and cultural aspects of being Jewish, then at least between Jewish cultural practices and behaviour which is not in the service of Jewish identity (e.g. Gottschalk, 1984). In terms of Social Identity Theory, that differentiation can often take the form of social creativity. Heilman and Cohen (1989), discuss the question of why Orthodox Jews in America have retained their religious orthodoxy and not simply assimilated. They come to

the conclusion that what Orthodox Jews have done in order to reconcile their Orthodoxy with the complexities of modern life is to compartmentalise their lives (Heilman & Cohen, 1989). South Africa's Jews are not, it is noted, particularly religious in the strict orthodox sense (Hoffman & Fischer, 1988). But, as in the Heilman and Cohen (1989) study, they do compartmentalise and express their religion at specific times (synagogue attendance, funerals, marriages etc.) (Dubb, 1977).

Support for this suggestion comes from Feuverger (1989) who claims that

> "the Canadian sub-identity of the students did not correlate with their Jewish sub-identity, suggesting that Jewish -Canadians value the compartmentalization of sub - identities as a possible strategy for group survival" (p.327).

Her implication for this argument is that Jews in the Diaspora compartmentalise their Jewish Identity, i.e., make it separate, to ensure group survival (Feuverger, 1989). That is, they successfully differentiate between aspects of group identity. The idea that individuals can adjust their ethnic affiliation has already been discussed in previous sections, but it is worth noting the explicit manifestation of this for Jews. This is, I think, in keeping with the complexities discussed in the conceptual overview of the differences between personal and social identity. That is, it may not be the individual's personal choice to be religiously observant, but it remains a group strategy for ensuring salience in wider society.

4.2.2 A Word on Culture

A culture which is expressly Jewish certainly exists, but most studies are hard put to differentiate between religion and culture. (for example: Davids, 1982; Krausz, 1986; Levinson, 1950a; Ostow, 1983; Redhill, 1983; Sofer , 1975). For that reason, and because there are better ways to acknowledge culture's existence as an aspect of Jewish identity (such as will be discussed in the following chapters), I shall not attempt to provide a complete delineation of Jewish culture.

Nevertheless, it is still worth emphasising that culture can be seen as a distinct referent for group identity, even if the individuals in question are unable to elaborate on it's express meaning. As a brief example, a study attempting to forge a relationship between religiosity, ethnocentrism and dogmatism of belief (Kilpatrick et al, 1970) indicates that Jews are particularly dogmatic about Judaism, and yet the authors later admit that it is possible that this may merely be an indication of observable cultural practices (such as not eating pork can be seen as a demonstration of both cultural and religious beliefs, even if the abstainer is not a particularly religious person).

The breakdown of culture into events is discussed in the following chapter on methodology and, as is shown, both religion and culture have a role to play in the establishment of group identity. Culture is too pervasive an issue to deal with as if there were readily accessible aspects of it which could be discussed. In light of this, and because salient aspects of culture are not necessarily the same as subjectively important aspects of culture, it has been left to the sample in this study to indicate what cultural aspects of Jewish life they believe to be important, or to be pertaining to a sense of Jewish identity.

4.2.3 Zionism

Zionism takes many forms (Shimoni, 1980), from an acknowledgement of Israel, to a determined conviction to make Israel one's home (Karklins, 1987). As an example of the extent to which measures of Zionism can differ, it is worth examining the following study. In a survey undertaken by the American Jewish Committee just after the establishment of the State of Israel, Sklare and Ringer (1958) compared the attitudes of Jews about Israel to other Jews and to non-Jews. Amongst their findings was the idea that half of the respondents reported feeling closer identificatory ties with other Jews after the establishment of a Jewish state (Sklare & Ringer, 1958). This was considered by the authors to be an expression of the increase in Zionism. Sklare and Ringer (1958) further suggested that it was the fact that there now existed a concrete icon to display as a common cultural artifact that made Israel a marker in defining Jewish identification.

This position is supported in Smith's (1992) discussion of ethnic minorities where he breaks patterns of persistence down into four separate categories, one of which he defines as "Diaspora-restoration" (p. 444). Nationalism, he argues with specific reference to the Jews, is a panacea to all the problems associated with ethnies and their search for stabilisation. For an ethnic group to continue to survive it must live in, or at least have access to, a demarcated territory.

According to Rabbi Ady Assabi, the rabbi of an independent conservative synagogue in Johannesburg, South African Jews are not Zionists in the sense that they are going to emigrate to Israel (personal communication , September, 1992). The relationship that South African Jews do have with Israel is difficult to characterise as non-Zionist, however, when they contribute about $50 million a year to that country (Whitaker, 1992). The ties between South African Jews and Israel are very strong (Schwartz, 1984) and cannot be dismissed so easily. An understanding of that relationship lies within a definition of Zionism. I am content to use Herman's (1984) definition, being a belief in the state of Israel as a country for Jews. To that I would add any degree of positive affinity towards the existence of Israel. This is an attitude that the majority of South African Jews ascribe to (Dubb, 1977; Arkin, 1984; Hoffman & Fischer, 1988) and is suitably all-encompassing.

Keane (1989) and Louw (1990), in opposition to the opinion expressed by Smith (1992) question the assumption that the Jews may be described as an ethnic group on the basis of Israel. If Jews are an ethnic group, they argue, they should be residing in their own land. Hence Zionism can only be understood as a component of Jewish ethnicity as it is practised by Israelis and not Jews who live in the Diaspora. They are, however, in the minority, as many others suggest that affinity is as good a group reifier as residence (Herman, 1977; Feuverger, 1989; Krausz, 1986; Karklins, 1987).

Karklins (1987) in a study on the Jewish ethnicity of Jews in the Soviet Union, poses the question of how the Soviet Jews expressed their ethnic identity when all their cultural artifacts were taken away from them. Of the elements considered important as characteristic of Jewish ethnicity (knowledge and use of Jewish languages; religious identification and observance; intermarriage behaviour and attitudes; ethnic self-identification and passport identification) a considerable amount of emphasis is placed on Zionism. In the case of soviet 'refuseniks' (Jews who attempted to emigrate to Israel and

were refused permission and often incarcerated), affinity to a Jewish homeland is often the only option for continuation of any form of group identification.

4.2.4 Discrimination and Prejudice

For Judaism, Jewish culture and Zionism, there has always been an aspect of persecution (actual or symbolic) in operation (Herman, 1970). It is suggested that persecution is an integral part of Jewish identity, both in terms of itself and as a representation of an ethnic minority group identity. Herman (1970) suggests that the occurrence of the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel " have made it necessary for ... Jews everywhere.. to re-examine and redefine their Jewish identity" (p.8). That is, the impact of these two events have made it necessary for Jews, as a minority group, to re-assess their group identity. Rosenman and Handlesman (1990), argue that faced with past experience of discrimination and prejudice, Jews have two options: "an unmatched capacity for reparative, socially beneficial actions" (p.151) or fear and mistrust.

(1) Fear and Mistrust

It is suggested by Bauer (1984), that Jews use the Holocaust as a kind of justificatory platform - anything vaguely anti-Semitic is labelled "reminiscent of Nazism" and the aggressor invariably backs down. He calls this reaction "collective traumatisation" (p.219), suggesting that Jews utilise the Holocaust as a uniquely Jewish experience of persecution. As Krauthammer (1993) argues:

> "In an age where victimhood carries high status, the Jews are much and grotesquely *envied* for having suffered the greatest crime in history" (p. 68).

It is suggested that for many Jews perceive the relationship between themselves and other non-Jews as characterised by heightened differentiation and mistrust. Schmool (1991) has posed the question 'Will Jews in England identify themselves as Jews if you ask them this over the telephone'? Her results indicate that most of the time they will not. Further, in the 1991 South African census, where the respondent's were given the option of ignoring

the question on religion, results indicated that only 59 000 people recorded 'Jewish' as their religion. This in spite of the fact that other records had indicated that there were as many as 74 000 Jews in South Africa at the time.

Cooper and Morrison (1991) sustain this argument and continue by asserting that in wider society Jews are "more wary of letting their Jewishness show" (p.97) due to their own subjective experiences of anti-Semitism. It is possible, they argue, that Jews will be comfortable identifying themselves as Jews only in the social context of other Jews, and in broader social gatherings are less inclined to provide salient clues to their own Jewishness.

Jews in South Africa (or America and Great Britain) have had little or no exposure to anti-Semitism when compared to their ancestors in Europe (Cooper & Morrison, 1990; Kristol, 1991; Hoffman & Fischer, 1988). In terms of the fear and mistrust response, it seems at least possible that limited personal exposure may elicit the feeling that discrimination is directed at the group and hence make individuals wary of non-group members.

(2) Socially Beneficient Action

It has been suggested that often the most meaningful experience of "Jewishness" would be found "on the ....liberal barricades" (*The Economist*, 1991, p. 102). Furthermore, Mirelman (1989) makes the claim that the Jews of Buenos-Aires, because of their own history of anti-Semitism, aspire to higher morality. Kristol (1991) too argues that the most meaningful way to overtly indicate that one possesses a Jewish identity may be from a non-religious standpoint, emphasising "secular humanist ... values" (Kristol, 1991, p. 24). Davids (1982) has expressed a similar opinion, as have Ringer & Lawless (1989) who point to the disproportionate number of Jews in the membership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (the civil rights movement of the American black population). It is not surprising, they claim, because, based on their shared experience of prejudice, it is "logical for Jews and Negroes to co-operate" (p. 208) (A similar sentiment is expressed by Schoem and Stevenson, 1990).

From the standpoint of positive social identity, it might seem logical that Jews would adopt the second option of socially beneficient action. And yet, in "Where is the voice of the Jewish community ?" (*Weekly Mail*, 6-12 August, 1993), Nell (1993) argues that the ethnic minorities of South Africa, Jews in particular, have a role to play in the democratisation process, one which they are not fulfilling. In terms of the above, if one subscribes to the view that Jewish South Africans should be both liberal and vocal, then it is surprising that Jews are not more involved as a group politically (Auerbach, 1991; Hoffman & Fischer, 1988; Segal, 1993). If Rosenman and Handlesman's (1990) assessment is correct, then we may expect the internalisation of oppression to be manifest in fear and mistrust. However, for Jewish South Africans, this is, hopefully, a question which the research may address.

An operationalisation of anti-Semitism, for the purposes of social psychology, should include the notion of group discrimination as a group strengthening process. This was discussed earlier in the section on ethnicity, but I believe it is important to understand it's application explicitly.

"Do the Jews still live in an atmosphere of discrimination?" is an often posed question amongst scholars of Jewish identity (Dubb, 1973: Krausz, 1986; Herman, 1984; Levine, 1993; Schmool, 1991). My own position, it will be seen, is that it is possible that the group processes which are normally manifest are present, even without the outward threat; that a sense of belonging and unity is a necessary reaction to threatened identity as well as to physical danger (Welsh 1988;1989) and vice versa. Should the individual members of a group feel threatened, this will heighten their sense of belonging in that group, regardless of how that threat is experienced. This is similar to Tajfel's (1978) suggestion that if one's sense of positive identity is threatened, this can lead to a heightened affiliation with the group - towards the intergroup-behaviour side of Tajfels' (1982) continuum. Thus it is suggested that for these individuals, perceived or actual experiences of anti-Semitism may result in a strengthening of group ties and a reliance on the Jewish group in terms of the evaulation of social identity.

For others who are perhaps less concerned with the past experiences of anti-Semitism, it is suggested that there is less reliance on group-based behaviour and more a sense that anti-Semitism is merely another form of discrimination. The similarities are also

seen between the former, more group based response in terms of Tajfel's (1975) conception of social change - or rather the lack thereof. Individuals who perceive their own position as defined primarily in terms of the group, it is argued, may have few options available to them but to remain with that group - even if there are occasions when that group-based identity confers upon the individual a sense of lessened positive identity.

For the more individual based assessment of discrimination, it appears that such individuals' behaviour may be influenced by a sense of social mobility, and less strict affiliation to the Jewish group. The two options of fear and mistrust and socially beneficient action are naturally not the only possible responses to prejudice and discrimination; but they are two of the most popularly expressed ones. Whether or not, for the more individually based individuals, this sense of lessened affiliation will in fact result in such individuals adopting the option of socially beneficient action based on their own subjective understandings of being Jewish is a question best left for the presentation of results and discussion (chapters 7 and 8).

4.3 *Differences and Similarities*

> "If the foregoing passages make the reader feel uneasy - or bristle with indignation - perhaps it is because we have embarked upon an almost forbidden topic: Jewish traits. In 1942 Riesman observed that it is consider illiberal to suppose that Jews are in any way different from anybody else. In 1948 Samuel Koenig argued that research on Jewish personality traits would be unwelcome since educated Jews place so much emphasis on acculturation, or adopting the traits of the dominant group". (Berman, 1968, p. 394).

For the school of thought that Berman (1968) is referring to, to suggest that there are Jewish traits which are somehow different from non-Jewish traits would be both inappropriate and, as he says "illiberal". Jews are not different, they have successfully adopted the westernised culture of their host countries, and should be seen as such. In this final section, we examine the suggestion that there is a clear difference in understandings of Jewish identity which stress, on the one hand, that Jews are different to others and have maintained their psychological group distinctiveness; and on the other, that Jews are the same as everybody else.

Rinder (1958), in a discussion of the Americanisation of various ethnic groups, suggests that changes in group identity of a minority group (such as the Jews) take place on the levels of both acculturation and identification; neither of which is necessary for a change in the other to occur. One need not be "more American" to be "less Jewish" and vice versa. Progressive change proceeds at different speeds for both processes, and deviation by the individual from the pace set (either completely naive or too clever for one's own good) is labelled as such by the group (Rinder, 1958).

In other words, change in group identity can be understood as moving either in the direction of acculturation into the majority group, or strengthened identification of the minority group. It is a concept already discussed, but one worth re-iterating since it places Jews well within this framework. That a minority group will take on some of the characteristics of the majority group is inevitable. That it will take on all of them at the expense of the traits of the minority group is not. What is of interest are the psychological processes which lead to a greater or lesser identification with the minority group; and the extent to which identification with the minority group is perceived as existing. When that identity is seen as markedly different from the current status of the identity of the minority group is when Jews accuse other Jews of being "too Jewish" (Rinder, 1958). The reverse is equally true: should so-called "mainstream Jews" find fault with the way others see fit to evaluate their own Jewish identity, they will be equally critical. The former would complain of individuals who, for example, are religious fanatics and out of touch with the modern world. The latter would complain of individuals who naively believe that "anti-Semitism can't happen to us".

For all intents and purposes, therefore, we cannot possibly speak of a phenomenon like "mainstream Jews". Judd (1990) and Levine (1993), for example, have argued that it is possible for Jews to marry non-Jews and maintain a sense of Jewish identity if they are still able to evaluate that identity in terms of a wider frame of reference (some subjects, for example, claim that giving to charity provides them with a sense of Jewish identity). Intermarriage, claims Levine (1993) may be the beginnings of an acceptance of multi-ethnicity and a more complex understanding of Jewish identity. Being Jewish, like membership in other groups, involves choices and personal understandings. The position that I have taken is one which asserts that definitions of ethnic groups in terms of only what

everybody believes is common and ignores the possibility that one can be Jewish in terms of whatever way one chooses to define Jewish identity.

This is in keeping with the arguments raised in the previous chapter. While it is possible to delineate salient aspects of Jewish identity (like Judaism, Zionism or anti-Semitism), and it is useful to make use of these aspects in furthering a discussion on Jewish identity, it is still noted that individuals may have specified meanings for such aspects. They may even, as Condor (1989) has argued, have specified meanings for the composition of the entire group. And yet, to move from a discussion of the theoretical aspects of Social Identity Theory to the aims of the study would be to ignore the importance of contextualising the specific group under discussion. In the Discussion chapter, it is argued that both areas - both the external aspects and subjective importance - are required for a complete understanding, and in the following chapter, the means by which such subjectivity may be measured in terms of salient characteristics is discussed.

SUMMARY

Among the more salient aspects of Jewish identity, those of religion, Zionism, anti-Semitism and Jewish culture are examined, and it is argued that unitary definitions of Jewish identity may ignore the possibility that being Jewish means different things for different Jews. Some demographic and historical aspects about South African Jews were discussed. Of particular importance in this study is the role of anti-Semitism in the formation of Jewish identity and two responses to anti-Semitism were discussed. These are either socially beneficient action, or fear and mistrust. Based on previous studies, this area is expected to be particularly important to subjects.

5 METHOD

One of the more important features of the preceding three chapters has been the idea that there is no consensual definition of social identity, ethnic identity, minority identity or Jewish identity. Rather I have suggested that it is important to understand how different people will ascribe specific meanings to their group membership and to their own sense of group and social identity. Because there are no consensual definitions of Jewish identity does not, however, imply that these different perspectives on what being Jewish means to the individual can not, at some level, be assessed. What it does imply though is that it would be inaccurate to attempt such an assessment with *a priori* definitions. In this chapter, the aims of the study are outlined, the methods which are chosen to extract data from the population are introduced and a brief outline of the chosen methodology is provided within the confines of the presented data.

5.1 Aims of the Study

As was described in the previous chapter, it is possible to conceptualise Jewish identity from a variety of perspectives. Jewish identity is approachable from a religious angle (Gottschalk, 1984), from an anthropological angle (Hoffman & Fisher, 1988; Levine, 1993), from a sociological angle (Shimoni, 1980), from a psychoanalytic angle, (Ostow, 1983) and from a social-psychological angle (Herman, 1977). What all these have in common is that they all conceptualise the Jews as an ethnic minority. What they also have in common is that they provide possible definitions of what being Jewish might mean prior to actual investigation of the target population.

Herman's (1977; 1982) work in particular has approached being Jewish with the assumption that Jews are somehow *different* from other people, and that that sense of being

different is a necessary requirement for the formation of that which might be termed "Jewish identity". It is similar to the concept of psychological group distinctiveness in that Herman (1977) contends that Jews will attempt to remain salient within a wider social context.

In terms of both Hutnik's (1991) work and the criticisms of Social Identity Theory however, it seems that one cannot assume the existence of a unitary Jewish identity as separate from other aspects of the individual Jew's social identity. Moreover there are various aspects which are more or less important (such as religion, Zionism and anti-Semitism) for individual Jews in describing their Jewish identity and which are imbued with specific meanings for different people. For religion, for example, it was shown that in formal religious practices, researchers observed the subjects compartmentalizing the religious aspect of their group identity; separating it from other aspects of their group identity which, at that time, are not perceived as important (Feuverger, 1992). In terms of anti-Semitism, it has been argued that some considered their Jewish identity to be important in terms of their opposition to racism in all forms (Auerbach, 1991).

So, on the one hand, a method is required which allows individuals to state for themselves what the defining aspects of being a Jew are. On the other hand, a great deal of work in the area of social identity - and specifically in terms of ethnic identity - seems to have concentrated on the idea of difference, of 'them vs. us' , 'ingroups vs. outgroups' etc., and so a method is required which enables individuals to define for themselves whether being Jewish necessarily means being different. However, as we have seen in the previous chapters, minority groups ***are*** asserting their differentness, as well as the right to acknowledgement of that differentness in ways both aggressive and subtle. And of the latter we may wish to enquire as to the degree with which differentiation is possible without loss of individuality.

A method is clearly required which will allow for the individual declaration of Jewish identity that makes little or no assumptions about ***how*** the subjects understand their own Jewish identity. Contained within that are two ideas:

- Does being Jewish necessarily mean being different, and
- If it does, to what extent do individuals who do not perceive of themselves as different still identify with the minority group of Jews?

This latter idea, I would argue, is related to the idea proposed in chapter two concerning the content of groups: As there is no singular definition of what the Jewish group is, the extent of affiliation may well be mediated by this. If being Jewish means being religious, then religious Jews might consider their affiliation with the Jewish group high and the affiliation of non-religious Jews low. Conversely, if being Jewish means being a Zionist, then secular Zionist Jews might consider their own affiliation with the Jewish group to be high, while the affiliation of ultra-orthodox would be considered negligible as the concept of Zionism is anathema to the ultra-orthodox. These concepts of specified meaning and extent of affiliation become clearer once the data have been examined.

On a methodological level, the aims are as follows: Rather than a purely qualitative discussion on the declaration of identity, a more quantifiable understanding is required: a method by which Jewish identity can be expressed as a relatively empirical measure. Previous studies dealing with Jewish identity in South Africa have been either demographic delineations of the role of Jews in South Africa (e.g. Arkin, 1994; Dubb, 1977); or they have been "thought pieces" (Frankental, personal communication, 13 September 1994). These thought pieces are primarily discussions wherein the author's opinions about the population's point of view are expressed. What this study asks however, is how individuals feel that being Jewish contributes to their own understandings of themselves; what being Jewish *means* to them.

5.2 *Methodologies*

Studies of group identity have, in the past, made frequent use of both ***interviews*** (Agus, 1978; Elias & Blanton, 1987; Louw-Potgieter, 1988; Judd, 1990) and ***scales*** (Dubb, 1977; Feuverger, 1989; Herman, 1977; Karklins; 1987). A few reasons are provided here for why these two common methodologies have not been used as the primary instrument of gathering data.

Kerlinger (1986) suggests that interviews have three purposes. They can be the main research instrument, a supplementary means of gathering data, or a means of exploring the field of study. Interviews, as they are used in this thesis are only a means of canvassing opinions (the third purpose) rather than actually measuring them or attempting to provide them with meaning or subjective importance. Using interviews as the primary research tool exposes the researcher to problems of reliability and of validity. For these two areas to be adequately addressed requires that the interview schedule be as focused as possible (Kerlinger, 1986). At this stage of the study, the focus was to be as broad as was considered feasible so as not to bias further discussions.

On the other hand, normalised or conventional scales have additional problems: Firstly, the constructs that are measured by scales have *a priori* meaning for the researcher (Kerlinger, 1986). For example, Feuverger's (1989) Jewish Ethnodynamic Questionnaire, examines Jewish identity in terms of ethno-linguistic considerations only (Hebrew, French and English in a Canadian context). For her, language usage is an aspect of Jewish identity that she wishes to measure, and so she must define it beforehand. Kerlinger (1986) has referred to the "extrinsic" weakness of scales: because of the relative ease with which scales can be administered and data gathered, scales are often used indiscriminately without consideration of the difficulties associated with establishing norms and constructing items.

Secondly, scale norms that exist, do so for a specific population, and so results must take cognisance of the fact that, for example, Davids (1982) examination of Jewish identity, Jewish religiosity and Jewish school backgrounds is garnered from answers to a computer dating service questionnaire and is reliable only for singles (Davids, 1982). Scale items are valid only for that population from which they have been extracted, and only for

those constructs which have been already conceptualised.

A third difficulty of using scales concerns the invalidating *error of central tendency* (Kerlinger, 1986). This refers to the tendency of subjects to score items down the middle; to mark items as unimportant. As shall be discussed, this is a problem which Q Methodology - the chosen methodology for this study - can address particularly well by requesting that subjects compare items to one another.

A study such as this one which is exploratory in nature, cannot be too specific right from the beginning. Had the use of a scale been warranted, this thesis would have perhaps only been able to accomplish the construction of that scale, and probably not the actual use and application thereof. It was not my intention to construct a scale, but to explore Jewish identity.

For the abovementioned reasons, it was felt that interviews and scales were unsuitable for the purposes of this study. It was felt that, given the aims of this research study, Q Methodology, which also boasts a large amount of studies which assess identity and group behaviour (for example: Brown, 1980; Blyth, 1989; Marshall, 1986; Stephenson, 1982; Tetlock, Peterson, McGuire, Chang, & Feld, 1992) would be much more appropriate.

5.3 Q Methodology

A detailed description of the use and nature of Q Methodology is not, it is felt, within the scope of this study and other, more sophisticated reviews of Q Methodology are available for that purpose (Brown, 1968; 1980; 1986, McKeown & Thomas, 1988). The methodology is therefore described in terms of the research undertaken and is explained as it was used in this study.

Q Methodology is so named to distinguish it from the more conventional R methodology, where R is the expression of the correlation coefficient in factor analysis (Brown, 1972b). It is the aim of Q Methodology to gain an understanding of the subject's

"own point of view" in such a way that no *a priori* expectations are made of that point of view. Where Q differs from R is that whereas R uses constructs to measure traits within individuals, Q only constructs those traits after the experimental work is completed (Brown, personal communication, 3 August 1994).

The experimental work in Q Methodology requires individuals to rank order a series of statements (usually statements are used, but it is possible to use photographs, cartoons, newspaper clippings, etc. as well). The subjective importance that a statement has for the subject who rank orders it, is wholly dependent upon that subject and no attempt is made to universalize the subjectivity of the statement. It is therefore not possible to speak of the construct validity of statements, the only aspect which statements must be valid for applies to the meaning that those statements have for the subjects. This process of deciding which statements are meaningful and which are not is known as ***Q Sorting*** and is discussed in detail in later sections of this chapter.

The first step of the Q Methodology process is to find statements which are representative of the 'concourse'. Stephenson (1979) refers to the concourse as that area which comprises the subjects' beliefs, attitudes and opinions about the subject area which the researcher is interested in. For this study, the concourse would be a collection of statements reflecting feelings, emotions, attitudes etc. about being Jewish in South Africa. In order to establish such a concourse, a pilot study was performed to garner a collection of statements from the relevant population.

5.4 *Pilot Study 1*

The aim of the first pilot study was to identify those aspects of being Jewish which were described by the population as meaningful, and contributing to their sense of Jewish identity. To this end I interviewed 14 individuals who identified themselves as 'Jewish'. There were no strict definitions about what constituted a "Jew". If subjects stated that

they were Jewish, then their input was accepted as valid for the concourse.

5.4.1 The Sample

The 14 subjects used in the pilot study were chosen so as to canvass as broad a range of individuals as possible, including some who said that they were Jewish, but were unable to elaborate as to why they thought so. To this end people were chosen who were married, single, religiously observant, traditionally observant, irreligious, with and without children, and ranging in age from 22 to 64 years old. Most individuals in the pilot study were either middle-class/semi-professional and almost all were educated to tertiary level. In the sample for the final study, a similar demographic pattern does emerge. Considering the general demographic trend of Jews in South Africa as mainly middle class and educated (Arkin, 1984), this was not seen as a problem. The sample comprised of 6 women and 8 men, with a mean age of 38.

5.4.2 Procedure

Subjects were interviewed by myself at either their homes or their place of work. The conversations were captured on tape and later transcribed by myself (permission to record was received from all subjects). Subjects were asked a series of open-ended questions. The interviews varied in content, depending on a topic that the subjects expressed as most important to them. The topic under discussion was, broadly, "what makes you feel Jewish/ Why are you Jewish", and the subjects were asked the following questions (where subjects were either not interested or initiated other areas of interest, some exceptions were made):

- Are you Jewish?
- Why/why not ?
- What do you do that makes you Jewish?
- What do you believe in that makes you Jewish?

- Have you ever experienced anti-Semitism?
- Describe your experiences.
- What are your feelings towards Israel?
- Would you like to live in Israel?
- Have you ever visited Israel?
- What role do you think Israel plays in terms of the international Jewish community, if any?
- Are you religiously observant?
- Do you practice Judaism?
- Are there rituals in Judaism that you find particularly meaningful?
- What are your opinions concerning the Jews as the "chosen people"?
- How do you understand this concept?
- How do you think the outside community perceives Jews?
- What role does being Jewish play in your life?

The length of interviews ranged between half an hour to an hour and a half. No subjects who were interviewed took part in the final study, although four were used as subjects again in the second pilot study. Interviews were conducted from the 15th of May to the 20th of June 1993.

5.4.3 Results

Once the interviews had been transcribed, they were subjected to a very general content analysis. Specific issues which were mentioned by the majority of the subjects were compared to other subject's treatment of the same issues, resulting in table 5.2. Also mentioned with considerable frequency, were the following two aspects:

Table 5.1 Opposing Viewpoints in Pilot Study 1

	Frequency mentioned by subjects
Jews are different from non-Jews (behave differently, different values, different beliefs etc.)	85%
Jews are essentially the same as everyone else	64%

In table 5.1 it is shown that 85% of all subjects considered Jews to be different to non-Jews. This is understood in relation to table 5.2. Subjects consider Jews to be different to non-Jews in relation to specific aspects about being Jewish. For some, Jews are different with regard to all aspects, for other Jews are only different in terms of religion or Zionism. Similarly some consider Jews to be the same as non-Jews in terms of culture, but not in terms family life, so the percentages in table 5.1 reflect an overall opinion on the topics covered in table 5.2 and are not accumulative.

Table 5.2 Topics mentioned by the Subjects in Pilot Study 1

Themes mentioned by the sample	**% Frequency that theme is mentioned**
1. Religion	100%
2. Zionism	92%
3. Prejudice and Discrimination	92%
4. Jewish Culture (encompassing 4a,b,c,d,e & f)	92%
4a. Social interaction and everyday life, behaviour	71%
4b. Family Structures	58%
4c. Community Life	58%
4d. Education/ Children's welfare	50%
4e. Perception by non-Jews	50%
4f. Elitism	50%

The above points as they appear in tabular form are not representative of every single opinion expressed by the sample, but they do show the most commonly mentioned aspects of the concourse of statements (I have not mentioned ideas which less than half of the subjects referred to). Thus 100% of the participants cited religion as an aspect of being Jewish, while only 50% considered elitism to be subjectively important to their own conceptualisations of Jewish identity.

'Jewish culture' was mentioned by 92%, but few were able to say exactly what Jewish culture was. What was clear though, was that it comprised many areas (like

religion, family, behaviour, values) and so I have separated culture into six subsections so that it may be more clearly seen what culture incorporates, according to the views expressed by the subjects. Religion is kept separate because it is explicitly mentioned by subjects as a separate aspect of being Jewish.

These interviews formed the 'concourse' of Jewish identity, the emergent themes that might prove useful to an understanding of Jewish identity. At no time is it suggested however that the opinions expressed are entirely representative of the Jewish community of Cape Town. They are only representative of the concourse which is being used in this instance. Here we return to the rationale for not utilising interviews as the chosen methodology. The purpose of the interviews was to select a concourse of statements only. What has been done in this section is to *identify* those ideas which the concourse indicates are most important, not *measure* them. As the above table indicates, there are general areas that subjects feel are important. Those ideas in table 5.1 are applicable to *all* the ideas in table 5.2. What must now be accomplished is to identify *statements* that are representative of all the above themes, as well as the two major areas of differentiation (Jews are different; Jews are not different).

5.4.4 Emergent Categories from the Interviews

The list of statements which is given to subjects is known as the ***Q Sample*** and it is the task of the researcher to structure the statements in such a way that they will reflect the areas which emerged as important from the interviews. McKeown and Thomas (1988) refer to two distinct ways in which the Q Sample can be selected: structured and unstructured. Unstructured refers to a Q sample which makes no effort to ensure that all areas of the concourse are adequately covered. This would be the case if, say, I had randomly selected 66 statements (that being an arbitrarily chosen number) from the interview transcripts. In this case however, there are areas which have been identified as important and so some form of structure is required.

Referring to Table 5.1, it can be seen that one of most important areas of interest

for the interview subjects was the idea that Jews are somehow different from non-Jews. Based on the literature reviewed for ethnic minorities and Jews in particular, and the extent to which that aspect of "differentness" is explored, this was not seen as surprising. The following extracts from the interviews reflect this idea:

STEVE: If people do see you as Jewish, does that bother you ?
ANNE: Umm, I think so. I don't think they'd see me as whatever they typify as Jewish, if they did it might bother me. Because what I see of Jews in South Africa is not particularly nice..... I've done a lot of work for the churches in the course of my thing and usually when people say "Are you Catholic", and people who know me think that is kind of funny. ...It's also a complete mindset thing, that people who are constantly deciding how other people are different or the same from them are not into building a common society where everyone shares.

From this interview where the opinion was constantly expressed that she would rather that other individuals not regard her as Jewish was extracted the statement "It is more important for others to acknowledge you as a South African than as a Jew". Anne still saw her Jewish identity as defining her as different, but she's clearly uncomfortable with that. On other occasions, subjects expressed completely opposite opinions, for example:

GAVIN:...although I'm not entirely observant, inside of me I feel Jewish, I feel Israel's more my home than anywhere else. I automatically tend to befriend Jews more than other people. Jewishness: to me it's not just a religion, or, being circumcised, it's a whole race, it's a whole culture, it's being together as a nation. Different from other people, even though we're brought up the same way, there's something inside you that makes you different.

Or Carol's perspective:

CAROL: ...look: we are different, OK And we're each special in our own community. I'm just not saying that we are that unique above all else, you know what I'm saying? I mean I bring up my daughter to believe in the Jewish traditions and the Jewish culture and the Jewish heritage... And I'll tell her : That is special, and she's special in what she, you know, historically speaking. But I'm not gonna tell her that she's better than anyone else. Just different....That's what I'm trying to say.

These extracts typify the opinions expressed in the interviews, and it is the task of the researcher to sift through the transcripts and extract the areas that are being identified as important, which themes are emerging. It is on occasions such as this that Blyth (1989) advises those who set up a Q Methodology study that the selection of items is often the most difficult part, and requires much intuition on the part of the researcher.

From statements like those expressed by Carol, Gavin and Anne, it was possible to select areas of difference which were especially relevant for particular subjects, such as religion, Zionism and anti-Semitism. From the pervasiveness with which the idea of different versus the same as everybody else was expressed, it was found that there are aspects which reflect that difference within the sub-areas of importance, reflecting the idea that, for example, Judaism is a mark of difference between Jews and non-Jews as opposed to the idea that Judaism is merely a religion, like any other. Based on this, nine areas of interest were recognised within the concourse (as seen in table 5.2) and the following excerpts from the interviews reflect those areas. In all examples, there are at least two statements. The first reflects the idea that Jews are different, the second that Jews are not.

(1) Religion

For this category, the two opposing points of view are firstly, that Judaism is a unique religion, and that it is far more important for Jews than other religions are for non-Jews.

ERIC: The Jews live their religion; the gentiles do not... Jews should be living their lives with constant reference to Judaism and it's principles

Michael and Jonathan represent an opposing view point, namely that Judaism is a religion, like any other.

MICHAEL: I am Jewish .... [and] ...my religion is John Lennon's "Imagine".....It's the same as anybody else's religion.
JONATHAN : I don't know if it's worthwhile considering ...other religions... [but] I think that Judaism cannot claim to be a unique religion.

(2) Prejudice and Discrimination (anti-Semitism)

The opposing sides for this category seem to represent for those aligning themselves

with 'different' , the idea that anti-Semitism is somehow different from other forms of prejudice, and the idea that Jews are somehow more aware of prejudice than others.

GAVIN: ..the one thing that does, I've noticed in Cape Town, bring the Jews together, is any slight indication of anti-Semitism, it always seems to bring the biggest crowds, even people who will disacknowledge that they're Jewish because they're integrated into the society. It's only when they realise "I'm Jewish" is when there's a threat to us. I think that anti-Semitism definitely leads to a greater strength.

CAROL: I'm not worried about the fact that I'm white living in a black country... I'm more concerned about myself as a Jew, again, are they going to close the Jewish schools, are they going to let me go to shul* , which I never do anyway but I'll probably want to because there won't be a shul. Those things concern me..., and the fact that Jews are normally the first to be targeted in any situation

The opposing point of view is more in line with the idea that one need not be overly concerned with the threat of anti-Semitism, and that anti-Semitism is merely another form of discrimination.

SAUL: As I said, I think they're [South African Jews] getting off the sinking ship before everyone else does. They've got the information, and they've got the historical background to say: "Look, things look like they're going one way. Get out before you learn the hard way". And it's happened before.
STEVE: And if there is going to be trouble or danger, might it be directed at Jews ?
SAUL: I don't think specifically at Jews.

ANNE: I can recognise persecution of the Jews, I can recognise people being labelled as other and distrusted for that. I don't see it as different.
STEVE: No specific component in anti-Semitism ?
ANNE: No. I think if one looks at how Indian people are treated in South Africa, it's incredibly similar. It's a small group, different economic basis, the merchants the whatever. And what you do is you kick the nearest group that looks like it's doing quite well and it hasn't got great power in the whole system. So I think Indian riots in 1959 or whenever in Durban, it's pogroms. I mean, it's the same sort of thing.

(3) Zionism

An all-encompassing definition of Zionism is, as was shown in the previous chapter, almost impossible. In this regard, Zionism was expressed in the interviews as the idea that Israel is different to other countries, and that there is a need for a separate country for

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* *shul = synagogue*

Jews.

CAROL: ..Let's all have our own countries. We'd all be different, we'd all do our own thing and nobody would know anyone else - end of story. You know, so Israel to me is a wonderful country. And it's a good thing that we do have our own, that we have somewhere to go.

The opposing point of view contained aspects such as "Israel is simply a country, like any other" (such as Michelle's opinion) but it also contained aspects that suggested that Israel was not an extension of the Jewish people. What was also often noted with regard to this was that for those for whom Israel had little to offer, there was thought to be no conflict of interests for a Jew to be criticising Israel, such as Saul:

SAUL: ...I mean, let's say Israel does something you don't agree with, I mean, you'll criticise.
STEVE: And it doesn't damage Israel's reputation ?
SAUL: It probably does. But you must do what's right. You mustn't just do something because it's Israel. I wouldn't say it's untouchable. I wouldn't agree with that.

STEVE: ....and do you enjoy being in Israel ?
MICHELLE: Ja, it's great, but there's ..... just everybody's in Israel, all kinds. ...That's OK, ...Israel should be a country for everybody, not only for Jews

(4) Family Life

In this section, the opinions are expressed that, on the one hand, Jewish families are somehow different to other families; and on the other, that they are families like anybody else's families.

CRAIG:. I can't say it's [group identity] unique to Jews. For example the Greek community has strong community values. But I think the way Jews go about their group identity is unique, ja. In that it's family related, I think that's unique to minorities in South Africa.

CAROL: We're special possibly in the sense that our family ties are stronger; we've got certain things that are more important to us than other religions find important.

As for the alternative point of view,

STEVE: I've met with Jewish parents who say that they have a strong role as a cultural mediator, for you that's not an issue?
JOAN: No. in some ways it raises some awkwardness for me because I don't feel into it particularly. I would like to leave it up to my children to decide, but I sometimes find the questions - well my son is two and a half and he doesn't ask many questions - but my daughter does. She's at a pre-school and it's come up that there're Christians and Moslems and she says "I'm Jewish. I'm the only Jewish child who's there". She said that to me and I said to her" Well that's okay. If everybody's allowed to believe what they like then that shouldn't really be a problem for you". But I can see that she's interested, and if she became more interested, what do we do ? Do we start sending her to a cheder* , or a school. Do we take her to shul every Friday night if we ourselves don't particularly feel like going. She went once with my parents, my parents don't really go anymore, although they do go on the festivals. She went with them and she found it really boring. And I find myself feeling a bit relieved At least she found it boring so we don't have to keep on going, but that might be an age thing, she might find that at six it's boring and at ten it's not boring and then she asks to go again.....but I couldn't force her either way.

Joan and Carol take completely opposing points of view in this instance. For Carol, a Jewish family is important, and children must be shown that they're Jewish and experience that being in a Jewish family is different to being in a non-Jewish one. For Joan this is clearly less important, and it is a decision she feels her children should make themselves.

(5) Community Structures

Here we see the two sides debating the idea that the Jewish community is different to the non-Jewish one.

SAUL: ..and the Jews generally they look after their own. You know, not just in terms of family, but like, welfare organisations, all things like that, they really, uhh, are looking after their own.
STEVE: Does that hold for social structures as well ?
SAUL: I'd say so.
STEVE: That you have a protective unit no matter where you are because you're Jewish.
SAUL: Ja, Jewish people tend to stick together.

CAROL: Whereas in your non-Jewish community you've got so many different denominations, um, that I don't think they are a close-knit community. Maybe within each little denomination, but at the end of the day there're so many different, they all believe in different things and they've got different values and different everything...

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* *cheder = Hebrew school (for primary school children who do not attend a Jewish day school)*

Craig and Jonathan look at the Jewish community in a different way, for them, there is no reason why the Jewish community should be separate and isolated.

CRAIG: Think about it. If you were living in a neighbourhood where people didn't speak to anyone or excluded themselves, in the end you'd think that they were heathens, aliens. And obviously you'd turn to animosity. You'd become ridiculed etc. etc. You have to merge into the environment in which you live. You don't have to lose your Jewish Identity at all, but you've got to be realistic about the country that you're living in..... and be part of it.

JONATHAN: Jewish community leaders (rabbis, shul chairmen, Zionist Federation spokes-people) are not speaking for all the Jews; there is no truly representative body or person who represents all the Jews... There is no reason that a Jew should belong to a separate Jewish social community or organisation or anything like that instead of dealing only with Jews..... I'm not saying that's the case, though. They do belong to separate ones. I just don't see that they should..

(6) Social Interaction and Everyday Life

This section refers to how Jews and non-Jews appear and behave in common or everyday social situations.

SAUL: Jews will stand out. Plus the fact that most environments you look at, Jews do tend to stand out. They're louder. I think the family unit promotes them to question things. Their upbringing says "question things". Study, go become a doctor, or a lawyer, become a professional person. And that is the kind of person that's always going to stand out.

CAROL:.... you see a Jew and a non-Jew and you can tell the Jew apart from the non-Jew. You know, he talks with his hands (gestures), he's different. And not from the religious point of it, just from, the Jewish point of it.

Robert takes a different point of view:

ROBERT: You're living in the Diaspora.....you need to be diasporous. We're all people...all individuals.

There is a considerable degree of overlap between this and the previous sub-

category. The explicit differences are perhaps easier to see with regard to the actual statements that were selected to be sorted, but the essential difference is that the former refers to the actual workings of the Jewish community, the latter to the behaviour of Jews outside of the confines of the community.

(7) Education

Education refers specifically to the role that parents believe education should be playing as regards their children, and the need, for the former opinion, for a separate education system for Jews.

CRAIG: My role would be to show by example and ensure that your child gets a Jewish education in South Africa today. Perhaps in the past there were schools where government schools which were 80% Jewish anyway, but no longer.
STEVE: A Herzlia* is important in the future of Cape Town ?
CRAIG: Definitely. For me it's a worrying factor because people my age who are in Cape Town are not so sure that there will be something in Cape Town, there may not be enough to maintain a Herzlia. But I certainly see a role for a Jewish Day school in the community, without a doubt.

For Robert, who expressed the opinion that Jews should be 'diasporous', there is no need for such an institution:

ROBERT: For me Herzlia milks the Jewish community.... and ... monies that go into Herzlia can be better served if it went to Israel. .... We're all people, so why have a Jewish school ?

(8) Perception by Non-Jews

In this section, interviewees were speaking about the perception of Jews by non-Jews as either different or the same as everybody else.

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* *Herzlia = Cape Town's largest Jewish day school*

MICHAEL: You've been born Jewish, you were brought up as a Jew, that's where your culture comes into it, that is never ever going to leave you, and even if you think you've managed to discard every little bit of the culture that makes you Jewish, someone, somewhere will turn around and say "All Jews to stand to the left" and you, ..., are Jewish, so stand to the left. No matter how Jews choose to define themselves, they will always be Jews by the mere fact that everybody else had got their own definition of what's a Jew, and that's it.

Michael's point of view is perhaps more useful to consider in terms of prejudice and discrimination, but it is indicative of an opinion which suggests that Jews are viewed by the non-Jewish community as different. For Clive, it is even more than that, all Jews are lumped into the same category:

CLIVE: The Jews are often considered separate from your (*sic*) main society, if there are divisions in society, they'd probably still consider Jews different even if there were apparent divisions in Judaism, as there are apparent divisions in Christianity.....I think they're [irreligious, non-observant Jews] perceived as Jews, once you say " I am a Jew", it sort of groups you automatically whether you say religious Jew or irreligious Jew or secular or not, doesn't make any difference to the general sort of Gentile.

For others, like Anne, people don't see her as a Jew, but as a person:

ANNE: ..if you're not interested in the religion then you aren't a Jew and .... [Jewish identity is] just another form of apartheid.....Separating people and setting up ingroups and outgroups. And particularly in South Africa we didn't need that..... I'm just like everyone else.

(9) Elitism

The position as regards elitism is slightly different. The former 'different' opinion seems to think that Jews are special as well as different, whereas the latter cannot accept that Jews are unique in any way. The concept which was respectively accepted and rejected is the idea that Jews are God's "Chosen People".

GAVIN: I strongly believe that the nations need Jews. I actually do believe that there're nations that are going places have a very strong Jewish..... ummmm.....not structure....
STEVE: Factor ?
GAVIN: Ja, a Jewish factor. You do get slight exceptions, but they seem to go away. I'm talking very broadly now, obviously. So I suppose what I understand by it is that I really do believe that Jews are the

chosen people. Other religions believe that, so I don't really have to justify it. It comes out, in the fact that, whether they like it or not, *goy* * nations actually get strength from the Jewish people.

SAUL: I'm not the kind of person who thinks I'm better than someone else because I'm Jewish and they're not. And I think that by portraying that image that's where we've had a lot of problems with other religions in the past. It's by showing, like, we're the chosen people, like, who're you ?

From the above it can be seen that it is possible to structure the concourse in such a way that it represents two opposing points of view; and nine sub-categories which discuss the more specific ways in which the opposing viewpoints are presented. In the following section, those two opposing view-points are defined more specifically and the process by which actual items are selected is presented.

5.5 *Procedures of Q Methodology*

The first step in constructing a Q Methodology study is to define the concourse. This was the task of the first pilot study. The second step is to select statements from the concourse which are representative of the points of view expressed by the subjects.

5.5.1 Selection of the Q Sample

From the above interview extracts, it was seen that the sample could be seen as expressing two points of view: that Jews are different to other people, and that they are not. At this point, those two aspects are given different names to distinguish them from each other - separatist (different) and cosmopolitan (not different). These concepts were introduced in the section on minority identity where it was suggested that the cosmopolitan position is one which suggests that group identity is not an either/or situation. In the preceding examples, it has been shown that for some, being Jewish need not mean

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* *goy = gentile/non-Jewish*

confining oneself completely to the minority group. In rebuttal to this was the separatist perspective which advocated that Jews consider themselves distinct from non-Jews, and that their behaviour and attitudes would be equally distinct. In this section those concepts are elaborated upon in terms of their usefulness in defining a structure for the Q Sample.

Separatism and cosmopolitanism are not to be understood as discrete categories of which there is no overlap. As was seen in the interviews, it is possible that subjects will adopt a more separatist perspective in terms of one of the sub-categories, and a more cosmopolitan outlook in terms of others. Consider Michael's view of religion, and later his view on the perception of Jews by non-Jews. Other subjects showed themselves as being more consistent, and aligning themselves consistently with a separatist perspective, such as Carol; or with a cosmopolitan perspective such as Anne and Joan. Cosmopolitan and Separatist are therefore best understood as poles on a continuum, with different levels of the need to be seen as different (or the same) existing for the subjects depending on the specific topic being addressed.

A complete and structured Q Sample for this study which has 2 poles and 9 sub-categories, would require a minimum of 18 statements calculated as follows (Brown, 1980):

Q sample = (main effects)(sub-categories)

The term *main effects* refers to the two poles of the structure, namely cosmopolitan and separatist. They have been chosen based on a) their prevalence in the literature and b) their prevalence in the interviews. The sub-categories refers to those emergent categories which have been discussed in the previous sections. To differentiate items which refer to these two poles, they are henceforth referred to as A - for separatist - and B - for cosmopolitan. The following table provides a fuller picture:

example of what each of the *ac/bc/ad/bd* items represents:

Table 5.4 : Differentiating between separatist and cosmopolitan items

Separatist (a)		Cosmopolitan (b)	
ac	is a separatist's view Judaism as being unique and special. (All religions may have a moral basis but Judaism has the *best* descriptions and rules for implementing it)	bc	is a cosmopolitan's view of Judaism as just a religion, not superior to any other.(It is worthwhile considering what other religions may have to offer)
ae	is a separatist's view that he/she needs a Jewish homeland and the extent to which Israel is perceived of as sacred and beyond criticism, exclusive nationalism to a degree. (Before the establishment of the State of Israel Jews were defenceless against anti-Semitism)	be	is a cosmopolitan's perception of Israel as just another country. (There is no conflict of interests for a Jew to criticise the actions of Israel)

(Sentences in parentheses are an example of the item used - a complete list of these categories is provided in Appendix 1)

From the above examples it can be seen that the terms separatist and cosmopolitan extend slightly beyond merely different and not different respectively. They also refer to evaluating one's group identity in terms of exclusively Jewish criteria (separatist) and more flexible criteria (cosmopolitan). We shall discuss this aspect of the two poles in more detail in the following two chapters on results and discussion.

5.5.2 Q Sorting

Q sorting is the name given to the experimental work performed by the subjects in Q Methodology and consists of rank ordering the statements that have been selected from the concourse. Where it differs from normal ranking as would take place, say, on a Likert scale, is that subjects must rank all statements simultaneously. In this way subjects are able to indicate not only which items are important, but also which items are more important than other items. This is done in such a way that the resulting picture resembles an upside-down normal curve as in the figure 5.1.

In Figure 5.1, the X's represent items which have been placed in terms of importance to the sorter. The column -5 represents that with which subjects most strongly disagree; 5 represents that with which subjects most agree; and 0 represents those which the subjects consider to be completely unimportant. In the following example, the sorter has 58 statements (see frequency) to sort which he/she may place anywhere on the grid with the condition that the completed sort vaguely represents a normal curve.

Figure 5.1: A typical Q scoring sheet

Frequency	3	4	5	6	7	8	7	6	5	4	3	Frequency
Ranking	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	Ranking
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
			X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
				X	X	X	X	X				
					X	X	X					
						X						

5.6 Pilot Study 2

It was mentioned earlier in this section that because the items may be interpreted freely and placed - theoretically - anywhere on the grid that makes sense for the subjects, that it is not possible to speak of the items in the Q Sample as 'valid' according to the conventional understanding of the word. Nevertheless, the items should still show some form of face validity, and this is the reason why selection of items must be done with considerable care. By face validity is meant that the items should be seen as representative of the concourse and containing meaning for the subjects who participate. To ensure that the items had face validity, a second pilot study was done (N=10). This pilot study also served the purpose of familiarising myself with the procedure and gauging some idea of how difficult subjects might find the exercise, and how much time would be required (Q sorting has no imposed time limit (Brown, 1980)).

From the interviews, 66 statements were selected representing the eleven sub-categories and two poles of cosmopolitan and separatist. The score sheet looked as follows:

Figure 5.2 Score Sheet for the Second Pilot Study

Frequency	3	4	5	7	9	10	9	7	5	4	3	Frequency
Ranking	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	Ranking
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
			X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
				X	X	X	X	X				
				X	X	X	X	X				
					X	X	X					
					X	X	X					
						X						

5.6.1 The Sample

The ten subjects in the pilot study were drawn from the same population as both the interviews and the final study, mainly middle class Jewish people of both genders and various religious affiliations within Judaism.

5.6.2 Procedure

The results for the study were not analysed statistically and the pilot study served merely to observe the subjects in action and to find a suitable method of administering the Q Sample. The items were printed onto cards which could be handled and sorted by the subjects. In addition to the 66 cards to be sorted, a further 11 cards were printed which served as indicators of the eleven categories of agree/disagree (from -5 to 5 and including 0). These eleven cards are placed on an open flat surface - like a table-top - so that item cards can be placed underneath them in columns.

It is found that subjects find it easier to sort if they are first instructed to divide all items into three piles. These piles represent those they agree with, those they do not agree

with, and those they have no opinion for. Once three piles were created, the subjects were then asked to select from the agree pile those three items they agree with the most, and to select from the disagree pile those three items they agree with the least. Once that is accomplished the eleven header cards were indicated and subjects were requested to sort the remainder of the cards. Few subjects feel it necessary to deviate from the presented frequency distribution. In addition to the sorting, the subjects were asked some demographic details. The second pilot study was conducted from the 15th of February to the 1st of March 1994.

5.6.3 Results

After the pilot study, some items were adjusted as follows:

Table 5.5: Reshuffle of items for the Q sort

Items	Before Pilot	After Pilot
ac	4	3
bc	4	3
ad	5	4
bd	5	4
ae	6	6
be	6	6
af	4	4
bf	4	4
ag	3	3
bg	3	3
ah	5	4
bh	5	4
ai	2	2
bi	2	2
aj	2	2
bj	2	2
ak	2	2
bk	2	2
Total number of statements used	66	60

In total, six items were removed from the Q sample altogether, and two were re-worded slightly. Four of the six items were placed in column 0 by all subjects - indicating that they were unimportant to all subjects; and the remaining two in either column 1 or -1 (very slightly agree and very slightly disagree respectively). To ensure a balanced structure, if an item was removed which represented a cosmopolitan standpoint, another

from the initial Q sample, two had to do with religion; two with anti-Semitism; and two with social situations and everyday life).

The items that were reworded were described by the subjects in the pilot study as containing language that was too technical or confusing, for example, many people did not understand the meaning of the word "homogeneous" in the item "The Jews are incorrectly perceived by the non- Jewish community as a homogeneous entity". This was changed to the item "The Jews are incorrectly perceived by the non-Jewish community as being homogeneous; i.e., alike in their thinking and behaviour". A complete list of old items is in Appendix 2.

5.7 *The Final Study*

5.7.1 The Sample (P set)

The term used in Q Methodology to differentiate the person sample from the Q sample (of items) is the P set (Brown, 1980). In this study the subjects are represented by the following sub-categories of the Jewish population of Cape Town. Fifty-four subjects participated in the sorting procedure, three of whom were left out of the analysis at their own request.

As in the pilot studies and the interviews, most respondents were middle class, that being difficult to avoid for reasons already outlined. The percentages expressed are, to a large extent, representative of the actual demographic breakdown of Jews in Cape Town (Arkin, 1994; Dubb, personal communication, 20 August, 1993). That is, approximately 70% of Jewish Capetonians are Orthodox; approximately 10% are Sephardi (Suiza, personal communication, 15 July 1994). This demographic breakdown is used only to indicate that the more diverse areas of demography have been adequately represented by the sample. As will be seen in the section on results, with the exception of age, there is little discernible difference in how the different sectors of the Jewish population expressed themselves. That is, there is no difference between male and female subjects, between sephardi and Ashkenazi subjects etc.

The only age group which is not quite representative is the 60+ age group, many of whom declined to take part when asked.

In general, Q Methodology does not rely on large samples, needing only enough people to generate 'types' (Brown, 1980). That is, as will be explained more fully in the following chapter on results, a Q Methodology study is based on the interpretation of 'factors'. These 'types' (or 'factors' as they are more commonly known) are combinations of individual Q sorts which share a common perspective. All that is required of a person sample is that there enough people to generate evidence of the existence of types.

Table 5.6 : Demographic Breakdown of the Sample.

Category	Division	Percentage
Gender	Male	47%
	Female	53%
Religious affiliation *	Orthodox	70%
	Reform	8%
	Other	14%
	None	8%
Age	20-29	23%
	30-39	31%
	40-49	28%
	50-59	13%
	60+	5%
Origin**	Sephardi	10%
	Ashkenazi	90%

(the division between orthodox and reform is NOT a reflection of religiosity. The great majority of South African Jews define themselves as orthodox - irrespective of religious observance. For religiosity, the sample is approximately 50% medium and 25% for both high and low levels of religious observance. "Other" refers to those individuals who did not consider themselves to be either reform or orthodox, but who nevertheless did consider themselves to be practising Jews, and who did attend synagogue)*

*(** almost all Jews in South Africa are descended from immigrants from Europe and Russia who arrived in the early parts of this century (Dubb, 1977). Those from Russia and Eastern Europe constitute the great majority and are known as "Ashkenazi". Those from Western Europe, the Mediterranean countries and North Africa are known as Sephardi. The groups differ mostly in terms of cultural practices , the latter being also (originally) darker skinned. Sephardi Jews, for example, spoke the language known as Ladino, not Yiddish)*

5.7.2 Procedure

As in the pilot study, subjects were contacted telephonically and the Q sorts were administered to them in person either at their homes or place of work. Where possible, subjects were used who did not know each other, but this was rarely the case. The Jewish population of Cape Town is only between 10 000 and 15 000 people (Arkin, 1994), and social networks are extremely extensive. Subjects who were related to each other were not used, with one exception of a husband and wife. The actual sorting procedure proceeded in an identical manner outlined in the pilot study. (Raw data for the study is reproduced in Appendix 3 and 4) and the response sheet was altered so that it now reflected not 66 but 60 items, still presented as a normal curve.

The final study was conducted from the 18th of April to the 30th of June 1994. In the Conclusion chapter we shall have cause to indicate this time period as potentially problematic.

For purposes of statistical analysis, the raw data from the subjects' Q sorts was analysed using the FORTRAN program *QMETHOD*, developed for the VAX computer system by J. Atkinson of Kent State University, USA (Q-Method, 1992). Data are entered per subject and all calculations are automatically carried out. It's use is covered in more detail in the chapter on results.

5.7.3 Additional Questions

For the final study a set of additional questions not specifically relating to demography were asked. They were used to shed some light on the data which might emerge. The results of these questions appear in the following chapter on results, and a complete list of all questions appears in Appendix 5 where a sample answer sheet is shown. These questions were:

- Are you a member of any Jewish organisations, social or otherwise ?
- If yes, how many ?
- Are you a member of any non-Jewish organisations, social or otherwise ?
- If yes, how many ?
- Have you ever had any overt experience of anti-Semitism ?
- What proportion of your friends are Jewish ?
- Would you have any objection to marrying a non-Jewish person ?
- Would you have any objection to your children marrying a non-Jewish person?
- Do you live in a Jewish area?
- Would you prefer to live in a Jewish area ?
- When considering a place of employment, do you take into account that there may or not be other Jews currently employed there?
- Do you prefer to go to Jewish professionals? (Doctor/lawyer/accountant/pharmacist)

5.7.4 Analysis of Data

The means by which the raw data from the individual Q sorts is converted into the different 'types' mentioned in the section on the sample, is factor analysis. (For a more technical discussion of factor analysis and the processes it involves the reader is referred to Appendix 3)

Factor analysis as it usually understood in R methodology is used to determine the relationship between traits amongst the individuals who participate in the study (Cronbach, 1956; Kerlinger, 1977). Brown (1972a; 1980; 1986) has gone to great lengths to differentiate between the R and Q factor analytic methods, explaining how the normal matrix is inverted so that persons and not traits can be compared and highlighting the more 'holistic' nature of the operation. Fortunately the advent of increasingly powerful, yet easy to use, computer programs, such as *QMETHOD,* allows the researcher to bypass most of the mathematical and statistical knowledge required for a more complex understanding of the procedure and advance to the resultant data.

In the case of Q Methodology, where factor analysis studies the relationship between persons as opposed to between traits, the analysis is "person- by-person" rather than "item-by-item" (Stainton-Rogers, 1987, p. 138). The individual is compared to others in his/her entirety, and not based on his/her score for a particular trait. Factors which are extracted from the correlation matrix are indicative of the viewpoints held by individuals, rather than of a particular phenomenon which might manifest itself within an individual.

In Q methodological factor analysis, as in conventional factor analysis, the data is entered into a correlation matrix and then extracted as factors. In normal factor analysis, the scores (or loadings) to be compared are indicative of traits. In Q, the data represents individuals, and the loadings obtained are representative of how much each person has in common with a point of view expressed through the Q sorting process (Lanning & Gough, 1991). Those common points of view are combined so that they represent the types (Brown, 1980) that were previously referred to in the section describing the P Set. That process in which individual Q sorts are combined to form types is known as 'weighting' and all scores are converted to standard Z scores to allow for easier comparison.

In the case of this study, the computer generated analysis yields a correlation matrix of 51*51 (see Appendix 3), comparing every individual in the sample with every other individual in the sample.(The three subjects of the original 54 who requested not to be included in the study had already been excluded before data entry commenced).

QMETHOD then automatically extracts seven centroid factors. These factors are the 'types' or commonly held perspectives about what it means to be Jewish. They are representative of the extent to which a subject's personal score for say, item 16, is correlated with a common perspective. The researcher is then given the option of rotating the factors manually or performing a varimax rotation. Details of this process are provided in the chapter on results.

Once all the data has been statistically analysed (using QMETHOD), weighting is carried out automatically and an output of the types of perspectives result. For the duration of this thesis, the commonly held perspectives or points of view will be known as factors. (A complete list of all factors is provided at the end of Appendix 3 and in Appendix 6).

Hereafter, the methodological procedure is no longer concerned with what individual subjects have scored for a particular item. Rather we are concerned with which individuals have loaded onto a particular factor; that is which of the subjects in the sample have aligned themselves with which of the common perspectives (the seven centroid factors).

There remains though, one final step in the analysis of data before one is able to review the results. The factors that are identified are merely numbers, and it is necessary to be able to compare these factors with the items used. By comparing one factor's scores for an item with another's, we are able to see that factor's opinion on religion, or Zionism, or anti-Semitism etc. For convenience sake, the factors' scores for the items are reconverted from Z scores back to the original 5;-5 notation used by the subjects. Results are then displayed as follows:

Table 5.7: Sample presentation of the Factors and their Item Scores

Item	Q sort scores for each item (from 5 to -5)						
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
1	5	-5	5	-5	-5	-5	2
2	5	-5	5	-5	-4	-5	2
....							
20	2	-3	4	-3	-3	-3	5
....							
60	0	1	-1	0	0	0	-2

As can be seen by the above table, Factor 1's score for item 1 (All religions may have a moral basis but Judaism has the best descriptions and rules for implementing it) is 5: strongly agree, while Factor 3's score is -5 : strongly disagree. All factors are compared in this way until a more global understanding of each factor can be achieved. The results of these comparisons and the presentations of the factors' scores are discussed in the following chapter.

SUMMARY

The aims of this study are to explore how individuals might conceptualise their own Jewish identity without forcing *a-priori* definitions of the meaning of being Jewish on the participants in this study. Interview schedules and scales are rejected as methods of assessing this aim, and Q Methodology is discussed in terms of how it is used in this thesis. The two pilot studies and the final study are described, along with the procedures of Q Methodology and a description of how items were selected for the Q sample from the interviews is given. The use of QMETHOD is briefly discussed and the factor arrays (scores which the factors give the individual items) are introduced.

6 RESULTS

In the previous chapter, I discussed the process by which data was extracted, and indicated how that data was structured according to both interviews and previous literature. It was pointed out that the data processing consists of grouping subjects who have similar points of view. These groupings are called factors. Through weighting (Brown, 1980), a composite score is calculated and is applied to the data to reproduce item ratings which characterise the factor's sentiment. Before the types can be presented in this manner, it is first necessary to decide which factors will be used, that is, which types, generated by the sample, have shown significant loadings and may therefore be discussed as representative of the sample's points of view.

6.1 Statistical Results

Atkinson's *QMETHOD* computer program (Q-Method, 1992) produces seven unrotated centroid factors by default (see Appendix 3). This table of factors is produced by QMETHOD irrespective of the number of subjects or items in the Q Sort, and is adjustable if required. Douglas (personal communication, 14 August 1994) has, for example, extracted 25 factors using QMETHOD. For my data, seven proved sufficient and four were subsequently removed as they were not significant in terms of analysis.

Factors were selected firstly on the basis of the eigenvalues of the centroid factors presented. Table 6.1 is a list of each factor's eigenvalues. An eigenvalue of 1.00 or greater indicates that the factor loadings for that factor are significant (Brown, 1980;1986).

Table 6.1: Eigenvalues for Centroid Factors

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
Eigenvalue (sig > 1.00)	11.7809	7.4841	0.2575	1.6512	0.0674	1.6806	1.4276

From Table 6.1 it can be seen that Factors 3 and 5 did not have eigenvalues of 1.00 or greater, and by that criterion they were removed. The factors that remained were examined to see if the subjects display factor loadings that are statistically significant.

The equation for calculating significance comes from the Guilford-Lacey expression (Brown, 1980, p.283) for the standard error of estimate (SE). The SE is calculated as $\frac{1}{\sqrt{n}}$, where n is the number of subjects, in this case, 51. For a loading to be significant at the $p < .05$ level (that is 95 times out of 100), that figure is multiplied by 1.96 - the Z score associated with 5% significance (Brown, 1980). In this case, significance desired is at the $p < .01$ level (99%) where Z = 2.58. Significance is therefore calculated as $s = 2.58\left(\frac{1}{\sqrt{n}}\right)$ where n is the number of *statements* used in the Q sort rather than the number of subjects (Brown, 1980). (For a description of the process by which N changes from the number of subjects to the number of statements the reader is directed to Brown (1980, pp. 279-288)). Statistical significance for this study is hence calculated as approximately 0.33 where $p < .01$. This method of determining significance is a suggested criteria and not an absolute requirement (Brown, 1992).

A varimax rotation was performed and the remaining factors (1,2,4,6 and 7) were then examined in terms of their varimax factor loadings. At this stage, varimax rotated Factors 4 and 6 were removed due to their similarity to Factors 1 and 2 respectively as shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Some Example Item scores for remaining Varimax rotated Factors

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 4	Factor 6	Factor 7
Jews should be living their lives with constant reference to Judaism and it's principles	5	-5	5	-5	2
Given an opportunity, the potential for anti-Semitism is always there	3	-4	3	-4	1
Israel's actions should be defended at all costs, no matter what it does	-3	3	-3	3	-1
All religions may have a moral basis, but Judaism has the best descriptions and rules for implementing it	5	-5	5	-5	2

Factors 4 and 6 are identical on practically every item to Factors 1 and 2 respectively, so an analysis of Factors 4 and 6 would be redundant, (a complete list of all factor scores for all rotated factors appears in Appendix 6).

The remaining three factors (1, 2 and 7) are henceforth referred to as Factors A, B and C respectively, and a complete list of their individual Q sort loadings appears in Table 6.3.

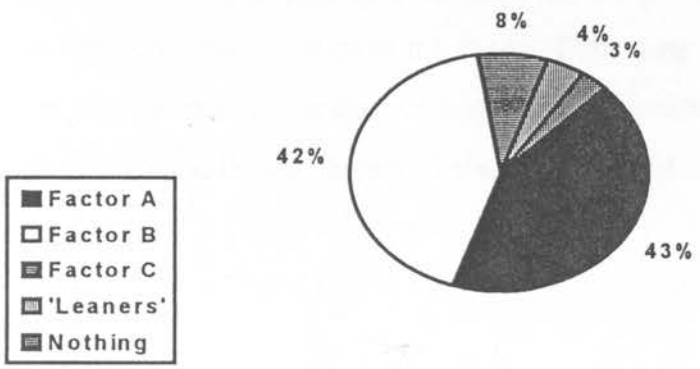
Table 6.3: Q sorts with their final factor loadings

Q Sort	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
	(Factor 1)	(Factor 2)	(Factor 7)
1	0.09	(0.62)	0.11
2	-0.12	(0.33)	-0.19
3	-0.09	(0.49)	0.16
4	-0.20	(0.39)	0.15
5	0.19	(0.62)	0.01
6	0.05	0.04	(-0.48)
7	0.03	(0.60)	0.00
8	0.28	-0.07	-0.02
9	0.10	(0.75)	0.11
10	0.10	0.32	0.16
11	(0.81)	0.01	-0.08
12	0.12	(0.42)	-0.02
13	(0.75)	0.00	-0.09
14	0.20	-0.27	0.27
15	(0.78)	0.11	0.15
16	(0.73)	-0.15	0.12
17	(0.43)	0.23	-0.05
18	(-0.36)	(0.60)	(-0.41)
19	0.28	0.06	(0.33)
20	-0.05	(0.73)	-0.18
21	-0.03	(0.64)	-0.06
22	(0.33)	0.07	0.19
23	(0.36)	0.16	-0.25
24	(0.46)	0.01	0.25
25	-0.05	(0.59)	-0.29
26	(0.73)	0.16	0.16
27	(0.73)	-0.11	0.01
28	(0.58)	(0.43)	-0.05
29	0.10	(0.44)	0.17
30	(0.64)	0.06	0.01
31	-0.03	0.23	0.12
32	(0.43)	(0.41)	(-0.32)
33	0.05	(0.48)	-0.14
34	0.32	0.06	-0.01
35	-0.31	(0.40)	-0.29
36	(0.67)	0.27	-0.07
37	-0.01	0.54	-0.01
38	0.26	0.27	0.21
39	(0.75)	-0.11	0.24
40	0.31	0.22	-0.25
41	0.20	0.11	-0.10
42	(0.45)	0.22	-0.14
43	0.22	0.27	(0.37)
44	(0.70)	-0.03	-0.06
45	0.13	(0.63)	0.01
46	(0.63)	0.12	-0.14
47	(0.73)	-0.01	0.05
48	(0.66)	-0.05	0.07
49	(0.70)	-0.13	0.02
50	0.18	(0.73)	0.03
51	-0.09	(0.55)	0.28
Eigenvalues	9.54	7.24	1.78

(Numbers in parentheses indicate significance at p<.01)

The proportion of factor representation is represented in Figure 6.1. As can be seen, the great majority of the subject's points of view are contained in Factors A and B (43% and 42% respectively), with Factor C representing only 8 percent. Three percent of the subjects are not associated with any common perspective, and a further four percent are known as 'leaners'. 'Leaners' (Kinsey, personal communication, 4 August, 1994) refers to those individuals who show a slight tendency (factor loadings of between .28 and .32) to associate themselves with established factors. Subject number 8 (in Table 6.3) for example, shows a factor loading of .28 for Factor A. Leaners are most useful when there are few subjects with significant loadings anywhere. In this study, however, there are sufficiently strong loadings for Factors A and B to constitute types, as well as a less strong, but still significant, tendency for Factor C. It is therefore unlikely that I shall return to the leaners for clarification or elaboration.

Figure 6.1: Proportional representation of the factors by the P set



I now turn to the presentation of the item scores for the factor, or, as they are known in Q terminology, the *factor arrays*.

6.2 Factor Arrays

Those items which will be of the greatest use in defining the factors are obviously those which the three factors consider to be the most important. That is, those items which the factors score in the three most important categories. In this study, that would be items

scored as strongly agree (as *5,4 & 3*) and as strongly disagree (as *-3,-4 & -5*). These items are then the 24 most important for the factors, and the remaining 36 will be discussed only in the following chapter. This data will be presented as it appears in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Sample presentation of factor arrays

	Factor Array score for:		
Item	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C

The number and actual item are presented, followed by the three factor arrays. Before referring to the previously mentioned separatist/cosmopolitan structure or any of the emergent themes mentioned in the section on method (religion, Zionism, anti-Semitism etc.), I shall first present the factor arrays by themselves to allow for a more general understanding. Only then shall I refer to the previously discussed sub-categories and structures. The initial focus is on Factors A and B (varimax rotated factors 1 and 2) as they provide the sharpest contrasts as well as the most consistent pictures. Factors A and B also represent the majority of the P set. Following that, the discussion addresses the emergent themes and categories and provide a summary of the result of the factor array data. To conclude this chapter, I shall take a brief look at the short questions answered by the subjects.

6.2.1 Global accounts

What seems amply clear from the beginning is that Factors A and B are clearly in opposition to each other. What is equally clear is that Factor A seems to be representing a point of view which insists that Jews are different, and Factor B a position which suggests that Jews are not. In order to assess this, the three items which each Factor both agree and disagree with most strongly (-5 and 5) are compared to each other, resulting in the following table:

Table 6.5: Initial differences between factors

Factor Structure	Item		A	B
ac	1	All religions may have a moral basis but Judaism has the best descriptions and rules for implementing it	5	-5
ac	2	Jews should be living their lives with constant reference to Judaism and it's principles	5	-5
ac	3	Religious Judaism is synonymous with caring for one's fellow man	5	-5
bc	6	Judaism cannot claim to be a unique religion in terms of its aims and principles	-5	5
bf	33	Children should be given the choice of whether or not they wish to involve themselves in Judaism	-5	5
bj	56	The Jews as a chosen people is an idea whose time has past no matter how it is defined	-5	4
bk	59	It is more important for others to acknowledge you as a South African than as a Jew	-3	5

(The term 'factor structure' refers to the division of themes which was discussed in the section on methodology.ac refers to 'separatist/religion', bc to 'cosmopolitan religion' etc.).

In terms of item content, Factor A consistently expresses the opinion that: Jews live their lives according to Judaism, Judaism is unique, the concept of the Chosen people remains relevant. In contrast to this, Factor B is asserting that: Judaism is not a unique religion and that it is more important to be regarded as being South African than being Jewish. Even without taking the structure into account, it seems clear that for Factor A, being Jewish means being different, and for Factor B, being Jewish does not necessitate being defined as 'other'. This pattern remains consistent for the next four choices as well (4 and -4) (see Appendix 7).

Table 6.6 Some additional important items

Factor Structure	Item		A	B
ak	58	Jews are being held up to a higher standard.than other groups	4	-2
ai	49	If one lives in the Diaspora, one should receive a separate Jewish education, eg) attend Herzlia.	4	-3
bd	14	There is no difference between the motives of Holocaust and those of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.	-4	3
bg	38	The image that the Jews should be conveying to the wider community is one of equality; that is, that they are the same as everybody else	-4	4
af	28	In a Jewish family there's more a sense of unity and togetherness than in other families	3	-4
bh	47	Being Jewish need not intrude on one's life much	-1	4

Here, with the exception of item 38, a picture which is more typical of other Q sorts is presented. It is unusual for factors to be opposed as strongly as they are for the same items as in Table 6.5; that is, for them to be complete opposites. It is more common

to find Factors strongly agreeing or disagreeing with different items. Nevertheless, what is presented is a very useful and consistent picture of Factors A and B, concentrating on the differences between Jews being different (Factor A) and Jews being the same as all other people or groups (Factor B). This is, in fact, explicitly stated in item 38.

Further, a look at the first column for both tables 6.5 and 6.6 provides an impetus for an even more general look. Factor A is showing a consistent pattern of agreeing with the items which are in the separatist part of the aforementioned factor structure; Factor B with the items which are in the cosmopolitan part. In Table 6.7, the degree to which each factor agrees or disagrees with the separatist cosmopolitan structure is shown. Included in this table is Factor C.

Generally, there seems to be a definite trend for Factors A and B to be supporting the cosmopolitan/separatist structure respectively. As can be seen, Factors C is also in relatively high agreement with the sentiments expressed by the items which I have called separatist (an agreement is calculated as a factor array score of 1 or greater; a disagreement is calculated as a factor array score of -1 or less. Scores of 0 have been omitted entirely).

Table 6.7: Factors and the Separatist/Cosmopolitan Structure

	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
Most Important Items (5,4& 3; -3,-4&-5)			
% that are consistent with Separatist	91%	16%	70%
% that are consistent with Cosmopolitan	9%	84%	30%
All Items			
% that are consistent with Separatist	67%	20%	63%
% that are consistent with Cosmopolitan	23%	70%	30%

(Consistent with separatist would entail either agreeing with main component A, or disagreeing with main component B. Consistent with cosmopolitan would entail either agreeing with main component B, or disagreeing with main component A).

Here there is evidence of a highly consistent picture - especially for Factor A. Factor C, while still providing reasonably strong agreement, shows the least consistency in terms of the structure. Table 6.8 displays Factor C's strongest opinions.

Table 6.8: Most important items for Factor C

Factor Structure	Item		C
bd	12	When people are actually organising themselves as Jews because they feel that they've got a history of discrimination then you can say "Why aren't you speaking out against discrimination in other situations"	5
ae	16	Somebody who's anti-Zionist is necessarily anti-Semitic.	5
bj	55	Jews are different but not special or unique	5
be	24	Jews are not obligated to be Zionists	-5
bh	47	Being Jewish need not intrude on one's life much	-5
bi	52	Funds raised by the Jewish community could be put to far better use than in supporting Herzlia	-5

Two things are immediately noteworthy about Factor C's choices: Firstly, the people in Factor C do not consider the same items to be important as were noted by individuals in the other two factors, these are six new items being presented. What is also noticeable about Factor C is that these people do not adhere to the structure in all their most important items (an aspect seen quite clearly in Table 6.7). Items 12 and 55 do not, in terms of how it has been structured by me, represent a separatist point of view. Item 12, however, is not a particularly easy item to understand, and this makes it's appearance as one of Factor C's top choices seem even more unusual.

Before too much emphasis is placed on Factor C, two aspects concerning this factor must be addressed: Firstly, the factor loadings for Factor C are much lower than for A and B. Secondly, Factor C comprises only 8% of the sample, so it's clearly a minority point of view and any generalisations which might be made must be tempered with these criteria. Nevertheless, Factor C cannot simply be ignored. It will be dealt with later in more detail, but for now it is more useful to concentrate on the differences between A and B, and their representativeness of the separatist/ cosmopolitan structure.

From a general perspective then, there is definitely an indication that, taking note of the Factors' most important items, the separatist/cosmopolitan structure is being reflected (Table 6.7). What is now useful is to examine the sub-categories of the structure, in order to ascertain if the ideas of being different and being the same are expressed in terms of any particular sphere for the factors. It is in the following sections that inconsistencies begin to appear amongst specific items. The following should be kept in mind when regarding those items which do not fit the general pattern expressed above:

More important than the way the items fit the structure is how the items are *understood* by the Factors. Explanations and discussions of how these items are understood are left to the following chapter. However, it is an assumption of Q Methodology that the items which are chosen by Factor X to be scored as Y are done so for a reason, and it is the task of the researcher to extract that reason based on prevailing trends and, if possible, on the structure (Block, 1978; Howes & Hamilton, 1992). In the forthcoming section, items are examined in as much detail as the currently examined data allows and built upon as trends become clearer.

6.2.2 Emergent Categories

I shall begin each of the sections concerned with the item's subcategories with a list of the factor scores for that category. Occasionally other items will be mentioned if it is felt that they can contribute to a clearer understanding of the sub-category.

(1) Religion

Items which reflect ideas about religion (*ac* and *bc*) are as follows:

Table 6.9: Religion

Item	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
All religions may have a moral basis but Judaism has the best descriptions and rules for implementing it	**5**	**-5**	2
Jews should be living their lives with constant reference to Judaism and it's principles	**5**	**-5**	2
Religious Judaism is synonymous with caring for one's fellow man	**5**	**-5**	2
Identification with the Jewish people is not the same as identification with the Jewish religion	1	-1	1
It is worthwhile considering what other religions may have to offer	-2	-1	**3**
Judaism cannot claim to be a unique religion in terms of its aims and principles	**-5**	**5**	**-3**

Of the 24 most important items for Factor A, 4 have been categorised as religion, 4 as prejudice and discrimination, and 5 as Zionism, with the remaining 11 items spread amongst the other 6 categories. But all four of the items on religion are categorised as either 5 or -5, indicating that they are the most important. The other two items which are scored with -5 by Factor A are:

- ñ 33 Children should be given the choice of whether or not they wish to involve themselves in Judaism
- ñ 56 The Jews as a chosen people is an idea whose time has passed no matter how it is defined

The items have not been explicitly categorised as such, but both do deal with the concept of religion. Item 33 suggests the importance of exposing children to Judaism. That they not be taught about Judaism is clearly something which Factor A protests. Item 56 is less explicit, but with Factor A's focus on religion, there is reason to suggest that this item is being interpreted in it's religious sense, that is, that the Jews are bound to God in a covenant, an idea expressed often in formal prayer (*Siddur Avodat Yisrael (*daily prayer book*)*, 1975). The people in Factor A have, we have seen, expressed the opinion that Jews are different, and that idea is easy to justify if one's being Jewish is tied up with one's status as a practitioner of Judaism; it can quite easily be argued that religion is the most salient area of difference between Jews and non-Jews

Factor B though, can also be examined in terms of religion, it's perspective being practically opposite to Factor A's, and for the same reasons. If Judaism is the area in which differences between Jews and non-Jews is most apparent, then we may expect the people in Factor B to be declaring those areas to be the ones with which they most disagree. Factor B's subjects prefer to concentrate on those aspects of Judaism which make it simply another religion, with the same aim as other religions. Hence the people in Factor B strongly disagree with the first three items which suggest that Judaism is a unique religion and strongly agree with item 6 - "Judaism cannot claim to be a unique religion in terms of its aims and principles. A look at the individual items in detail supports this.

1. All religions may have a moral basis, but Judaism has the best descriptions and rules for implementing it. 5 -5 2

Factor A's subjects indicate a high level of agreement, suggesting that such individuals do ascribe to Judaism some kind of special quality which makes it superior to other religions. Factor C seems to be indicating a sort of tacit agreement with this suggestion, not placing very much importance on this item. But Factor B is clearly not in agreement. Similarly so with the next item.

2. Jews should be living their lives with constant reference to Judaism and it's principles 5 -5 2

Factor A's subjects seem to support the idea that being Jewish implies more than religious observance, it is a way of life. So already there is a suggestion that while religion is the focus, there may be more at issue than simply the practice of Judaism.

3. Religious Judaism is synonymous with caring for one's fellow man 5 -5 2

Item 3, too, is consistent with the notion that there is more at stake than simply religious practice. If the people comprising Factor A believe that Judaism should be playing a guiding role in their lives, and that that guiding role is synonymous with caring for others, then Factor A, it would appear, has quite a high moral content. Factor B's consistent stance of disagreement can not though, be seen as indicative of an amoral position. Rather, it is seems more likely that Factor B's point of view is that Judaism not claim that it has any sort of monopoly on moral high ground. The people in Factor B's opinion has been that Jews are not different to non-Jews, so by extension, it seems that Jews are also not more moral than non-Jews, and simply being religious does not prompt any sort of morality.

But for those in Factor A it clearly does. Jews are different, and there is the suggestion that, through religion, being Jewish takes on aspects of responsibility and morality.

6. Judaism cannot claim to be a unique religion in terms of its aims and principles -5 5 -3

According to the people in Factor A, it certainly can, and also to a lesser extent for Factor C. As far as the idea of responsibility is concerned,

33. Children should be given the choice of whether or not they wish to involve themselves in Judaism -5 5 -3

Here Factor A is quite forthcoming, Jewish parents have a responsibility to involve their children in Judaism. And Factor B is equally straightforward - they do not. If Factor B is representative of a position that suggests that Jews are not different, then this is quite logical.

So for Factor A, religion defines being different, and being different is clearly an aspiration. For Factor C less so, but there is still support for this position, particularly in items 6 and 33. Factor B's subjects are completely opposed to these ideas, and almost as opposed to the following item which is the last of Factor A's most important items:

56. The Jews as a chosen people is an idea whose time has passed no matter how it is defined -5 4 -3

We already possess some idea that Factor A's differentness might be part of these individual's aspiration to a Jewish morality, which is, by extension, somehow different to the idea of morality in other religions. In traditional Jewish law, the concept of the chosen

seen as having entered into a covenant with God which expressly commands them to set an example to the other nations of the world. Further, this concept requires Jews to be the vicarious sufferers for the evil and sin that other nations and people might commit (Gottschalk, 1984). What is most important though, is that chosenness is explicitly not associated with elitism, but with responsibility, and so, Factor A is quite conceivably providing this item with a religious context and, by extension, Factor B is not. Formal religious practice and instruction are conceivably not important for the people in Factor B, so it seems unlikely that they would interpret this item as anything other than elitism - the Jews are not better than anyone else.

To summarise the Factors' stand on this issue then: Those in Factor A consider Jews to be different, especially in terms of their religion and the implications of that religion for the way they lead their lives. Being Jewish is more than following religious practices, and there is the sense that people who align themselves with Factor A are exhibiting some kind of moral responsibility through being Jewish. Factor B disregards all of this completely, and Factor C offers tacit support for Factor A (mainly 2's). Whether that support is more forthcoming in other sub-categories is not yet known.

(2) Prejudice and Discrimination

The items most explicitly concerned with prejudice and discrimination as described by the separatist/cosmopolitan structure are as follows (*ad* and *bd*):

Table 6.10 : Prejudice and Discrimination

Item	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
Because of their history of persecution, Jews should take great care to ensure that they are not currently persecuted	3	-4	1
Given an opportunity, the potential for anti-Semitism is always there	3	-2	1
Nobody reads about Mr. Marais and says "bloody Afrikaner", but let it be Mr. Nochomowitz, then it's a different story	-1	2	-2
There's always the possibility that at the end of the day Jews in South Africa are going to be singled out	0	0	2
Some of the reason for anti-Semitism is that there are Jews who will only stick to themselves and exclude everyone else	-1	2	-1
When people are actually organising themselves as Jews because they feel that they've got a history of discrimination then you can say "Why aren't you speaking out against discrimination in other situations"	2	-3	5
The Holocaust is a lesson not just for Jews but for everyone about what people will accept if it doesn't directly concern them	4	-4	4
There is no difference between the motives of Holocaust and those of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovinia.	-4	3	1

In the literature review, two responses to anti-Semitism were examined, to shelter oneself from the discrimination, or to oppose it actively. It was suggested at that time that the separatist response would be more in line with the former, the cosmopolitan response with the latter. It was further expected that individuals would consider this part of being Jewish to be especially important. In relation to religion though, prejudice and discrimination has been rated as far less important for Factors A and B, but there do remain some items which express strong opinions.

14. There is no difference between the motives of the Holocaust and those of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. -4 3 1

Based on current data, this seems quite consistent. For Factor A, the Holocaust may well be a Jewish experience, and for Factor B, it may simply be a case of 'ethnic cleansing', although those in Factor B do feel less strongly about this. There is some evidence though, which suggests that individuals in Factors A and B are not interpreting the items in the same way. This was not shown to be the case for religion, and it is perhaps worth emphasising at this point that all the Q sorts are capable of doing is reflecting the factors' points of view (Kitzinger & Stainton-Rogers, 1985). Factors A and B are certainly

in opposition in terms of their opinions on religion. However, subjects seem to understand this area in the same way.

For item 14, the data seems fairly straightforward. Factor A's disagreement with item 14, that the motives of the holocaust were the same as that of the war in Bosnia, remains consistent with it's position that Jews are different. The Holocaust is an example of anti-Semitism: the war in Bosnia is not. Factor B's subjects are similarly consistent: both are examples of discrimination. Impetus for the cosmopolitan position on anti-Semitism, it is recalled, came from Anne in the interviews. In the previous chapter Anne asserted that anti-Semitism was merely another form of discrimination. We may therefore expect Factor B's point of view to be one which suggests that same idea and consequently, we have reason to state that both factors score item 14 quite consistently. For item 13, this becomes rather more complicated.

13.	The holocaust is a lesson not just for Jews but for everyone about what people will accept if it doesn't directly concern them	4	-4	4

All that remains consistent in terms of presentable data is that Factors A and B are in opposition to one another. The content of the items, however, would seem to be in direct opposition to the scores on item 14. It is worth considering though, that the people in Factors A and B *understand* this item in very different ways. In the following chapter this item is seen to relate to Factor A in terms of elitism and morality; and to Factor B in terms of discrimination. To explain how that distinction between the factors is accomplished is not possible at this stage of this discussion because there is still a considerable amount of data to examine, but it is suggested in the following chapter that this may relate to the difference between specified *meanings* of Jewish identity.

Based on what is known though, the following two items can be considered:

7.	Because of their history of persecution, Jews should take great care to ensure that they are not currently persecuted	3	-4	1
8.	Given an opportunity, the potential for anti-Semitism is always there	3	-2	1

Here we find limited support for the suggestion that the separatist perspective will adhere to a position which suggests that 'fear and mistrust' is the appropriate response to anti-Semitism. And, consistently, subjects in Factor B disagree with the suggestion that Jews should take special care to avoid persecution, presumably because this would heighten

their differentness. We might also suggest that those in Factor A are concerned with the existence of anti-Semitism, if not overmuch, then at least more than the other two factors. That being said, there is only one more item which needs to be addressed in terms of prejudice and discrimination according to the item structure, (Many items in the section on Zionism overlap, and their use will be left until that section). The item of note is the following:

12.	When people are actually organising themselves as Jews because they feel that they've got a history of discrimination then you can say "Why aren't you speaking out against discrimination in other situations"	2	-3	5

This item stems from an interview in which the idea of socially beneficient action was raised by one of the interviewees and is presented here verbatim. That individuals in Factor B should choose to disagree with this is unusual, but all that has really been expressed about the Factor B perspective is that it does not consider Jews different, so perhaps there is little impetus for the subjects in Factor B to develop a conscience about such things. (In the Discussion chapter, this suggestion is argued in considerable detail). Where we may well have expected such a response is from Factor A with it's demonstrable moralistic leanings, but there is little room for general comment with a score of only 2.

It is possible that this item has been misunderstood by the Q sorters, or rather, that it is generally quite confusing. After both the pilot studies and the final study, subjects were given an opportunity to ask questions about the procedure and the study as a whole. Amongst the topics broached by the subjects was the origin of some of the items and possible ambiguity that some items might contain. Few, however, indicated that item 12 was confusing to them. Nevertheless, it seems that it may have been puzzling, and we may choose not to attach too much importance to it. Difficulties surrounding the use of verbatim and potentially confusing items are raised in the final chapter.

In this section, emphasis was placed on the idea that opposing item scores can only be understood if one has an understanding of what those Factors perceive the items to mean. In this case, subjects in Factors A and B consistently expressed the opinion that anti-Semitism was perceived as respectively a specific phenomenon directed against the Jews and separable from other forms of prejudice; and another manifestation of prejudice in one of it's many forms. An indication also exists that the people in Factor A believe that anti-

Semitism is a potential threat. It was further suggested that there are items which are less easily understood, but remain significantly different in terms of how the two factors perceive them, and that not enough is known about either to offer substantive explanations. There is therefore an indication, that there are specific aspects relating to the sub-categories that the Factors have picked up on, unlike religion where almost all items were seen as important. This trend continues in the section on Zionism.

(3) Zionism

The items which deal directly with Zionism (*ae* and *be*) are as follows:

Table 6.11: Zionism

Item	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
Before the establishment of the State of Israel Jews were defenceless against anti-Semitism	1	-2	3
Somebody who's anti-Zionist is necessarily anti-Semitic.	-2	-1	5
Jews need their own country to live in	3	-3	4
Every Jew in the Diaspora lives with the security of knowing that Israel's there for them if they need it's help	4	-4	3
Israel's actions should be defended at all costs, no matter what it does	-3	3	-1
Israel serves to protect the rights of Jews internationally	2	-3	4
There is no conflict of interests for a Jew to criticise the actions of Israel	0	1	-1
Nowadays Israel is just another country like any other	-3	1	2
Anti-Zionism means being a political critic of Israel	0	0	0
Jews are not obligated to be Zionists	-2	4	-5
You can't say that the government of Israel owes it to the rest of the world to set an example of any kind just because they're Jews	-4	3	1
Israel should be a country for everybody, not only for Jews	-2	3	-3

Initially, there are few inconsistencies in Factor A's selected items of importance for this sub-category.

17.	Jews need their own country to live in	3	-3	4
18.	Every Jew in the Diaspora lives with the security of knowing that Israel's there for them if they need it's help	4	-4	3

Both items are consistent with a separatist point of view: Jews are different and need their own country. Further, Israel has a role to play as regards the Diaspora community. That people in Factor B choose to disagree with both of these items is also expected. Of these two, 18 is the more important, and more elaboration might be required. It seems fairly straightforward to understand Israel as a manifestation of Jews' differentness, it being a country founded by Jews and, ostensibly, for Jews. Once again, much will depend on the definition of Zionism for the Factors. With their emphasis on religion, it is probable that

for those in Factor A, Zionism will imply some form of religious identification - the holy land. And conversely for Factor B, we might expect that it will not.

Appendix 1 contains operand definitions of the sub-categories, and Zionism is operationalised for the separatist perspective as indicative of some form of super-patriotism, This, apparently, is not supported by Factor A's opinions.

19.	Israel's actions should be defended at all costs, no matter what it does	-3	3	-3

But although this position is not consistent with the separatist definition of Zionism, it is consistent with Factor A's general position. Some support has already been received for the idea that Factor A maintains some form of moral position and therefore it is not inconsistent to expect those in Factor A to oppose this. Israel is not given carte blanche by the people in Factor A in spite of it's being a country of Jews. Or what seems more likely, Israel is not given carte blanche by Factor A's subjects *because* it is a country for Jews.

The people in Factor B, on the other hand, endorse this item and are therefore consistent in disagreeing continuously with those in Factor A. The reasons behind this are less easy to see then those who constitute Factor A's apparent reasoning; and there may be cause to suspect that the two factors do not understand this item in the same way. There is further no real evidence to suggest, say, that those in Factor B consider that because Israel is a country for Jews, that it should be entitled to do as it pleases. Clearly an alternative for Factor B's scoring of this item needs to be sought out.

25.	You can't say that the government of Israel owes it to the rest of the world to set an example of any kind just because they're Jews	-4	3	1

Here again we find support for Factor A's moral responsibility position. Because the government of Israel are Jews, they do owe it to the rest of the world to set an example. This item is a little simpler, and the point of view stemming from Factor B correspondingly so. Israel need not be seen as different, because Jews are not different - so by what reasoning need Israel make an extra effort?

Finally, for Factor A, there is the suggestion that being Jewish means that one has a special bond with Israel that one does not have with other countries:

22.	Nowadays Israel is just another country like any other	-3	1	2

For Factor B's other important items, a similar pattern of non-difference is seen:

20.	Israel serves to protect the rights of Jews internationally	2	-3	4
24.	Jews are not obligated to be Zionists	-2	4	-5
26.	Israel should be a country for everybody, not only for Jews	-2	3	-3

There is little about the choices for individuals affiliated to Factor B which would suggest a departure from what has already been suggested. Israel is a country, for all people; Israel has no role to play internationally, and Jews do not need to be Zionists. This last item is felt most strongly. It is in this sub-category that those in Factor C begin to express themselves more clearly. For Factor C there seems no single category where important aspects are focused upon, as do A and B, but Zionism is clearly an area of importance. For Factor B, it is fairly straightforward to understand why Jews need not be Zionists: it would be another area where differentness could be emphasised.

Factor C's adherence to Zionism (however such individuals may be understanding that concept) cannot be under-estimated though. The following is a list of Factor C's items for Zionism, presented without the comparison to other Factors:

Table 6.12 : Factor C and Zionism

Item	Factor C's Array Score
17 Jews need their own country to live in	4
24 Jews are not obligated to be Zionists	-5
26 Israel should be a country for everybody, not only for Jews	-3

So Factor C seems to be a proponent of Zionism in the sense that Zionism implies a country for Jews. Here we begin to get a sense that Factor C may be more an adherent of separatism than Factor A in the sense that separatism literally means keeping Jews separated from non-Jews. It is an idea that receives much support in the following two sections. Further, there is the sense that for Factor C, and to a limited extent for Factor A (consider item 18), Israel can be understood as a haven for Jews.

15.	Before the establishment of the State of Israel Jews were defenceless against anti-Semitism	1	-2	3

(4) Social Factors of Difference and Separateness

Table 6.13: Social Factors of Difference and Separateness

Item	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
AG			
One never sees Jewish beggars because invariably the community will take care of them	-3	2	-2
The Jewish community, unlike other minority groups, is self-supporting	0	1	-4
It's important that there be exclusively Jewish social groups	2	-2	0
BG			
The image that the Jews should be conveying to the wider community is one of equality; that is, that they are the same as everybody else	-4	4	-3
Jewish community leaders (rabbis, shul chairmen, Zionist Federation spokes-people) are not speaking for all the Jews; there is no truly representative body or person who represents all the Jews	-2	1	2
There is no reason that a Jew should belong to a separate Jewish social community rather than any other	-3	3	-2
AH			
Even people who aren't particularly observant, still somehow seem to know that they're Jewish and find other Jews easily	3	-2	1
Jewish people as a whole place a higher value on success, on recognition and on financial reward than do non-Jews	2	-3	3
A Jewish person has his own mannerisms that sets him apart	2	-1	2
All Jews want to succeed more than any other group of people in the world	1	-1	0
BH			
It's important that children be exposed to a wider arena of people than only Jews	1	0	-4
The Jews are incorrectly perceived by the non-Jewish community as being homogeneous; ie., alike in their thinking and behaviour	1	0	0
Being Jewish need not intrude on one's life much	-1	4	-5
A Jew who lives in the Diaspora should conform to the norms and standards of the particular country.	-1	1	-2
AJ			
It is always possible to identify non-Jews who have converted to Judaism	-2	1	4
Everyone in this world is jealous of the Jews	-1	2	-4
BJ			
Jews are different but not special or unique	-4	1	5
The Jews as a chosen people is an idea whose time has past no matter how it is defined	-5	4	-3
AK			
If one renounced one's Judaism, one would still be perceived by others as a Jew	2	-2	-1
Jews are being held up to a higher standard than other groups	4	-2	-2
BK			
It is more important for others to acknowledge you as a South African than as a Jew	-3	5	-4
Non-Jews don't think of the Jews as the chosen people	0	1	-2

Religion, Zionism and prejudice and discrimination are fairly easy to separate from the other sub-categories (with some exceptions). But for the remaining six sub-categories, there is vast overlap. More specifically, the items of greater importance (5,4 & 3; -3,-4 &-5 - what has been referred to as the top 24 items) are far more widespread over these categories than they were in the first three. For this reason, the remaining six sub-categories have been combined into two categories: social factors of difference and separateness ; and family, children and education . The former incorporates elitism (*aj* and *bj*); perception by non-Jews (*ak* and *bk*), everyday life (*ah* and *bh*) and community life (*ag*

and *bg*). The latter incorporates family life (*af* and *bf*) and education (*ai* and *bi*). The items for the first category presented in Table 6.13.

The items which Factor A feels are most important for this section are as follows:

55.	Jews are different but not special or unique	-4	1	5
58.	Jews are being held up to a higher standard than other groups	4	-2	-2

This too seems consistent with what has so far been presented for Factor A. Note also how items 55 and 58 seem to imply a reference to the earlier mentioned item 56 (the notion of the Jews as a chosen people is still relevant). The religious understanding of the chosen people was not one of superiority, but rather suggested a role as exemplar. This comes across quite strongly in item 58, and it is an idea we have already discussed with regard to Zionism and Factor A, that Israel needs to set an example. How item 55 is understood is less straightforward though, but we might suggest that Factor A's subjects does feel that Jews are special and unique. In light of their previous assertions, this would make sense. Item 41 continues to support Factor A's assertion of difference, and also makes a previous suggestion more concrete.

41.	Even people who aren't particularly observant, still somehow seem to know that they're Jewish and find other Jews easily	3	-2	1

This was mentioned earlier with regard to Factor A, that formal religious practice, although important, was not vital to an understanding of being Jewish. What Factor A also seems to be saying here is that Jews are recognisable even without the formal characteristics of religious observance. This is also possible support for what was previously suggested - that being Jewish is a way of life. We might have expected Factor B to disagree with this more strongly than it does, but, as we have already seen, it is not often that Factors, even if they are generally opposed to each other, regard the same specifics as important. The opening comments to the presentation of the factor arrays are very important, and for two factors to attach so much importance to the same items is unusual.

35. One never sees Jewish beggars because invariably the community will take care of them -3 2 -2

It was assumed from the operational definitions of the sub-categories that this item would be one that those in Factor A would have agreed with. Jews are separate and different, and it was a theme expressed quite strongly from the interviews that there existed a special Jewish support network. If that item is understood by the people in Factor A as reflecting a support network, then it seems that these people disagree (the other factors score too low to be important at this stage). How this item reflects Factor A's position is still not known, but it might be suggesting that there are Jewish beggars, just as there are non-Jewish beggars. This would seem to have little real impact on Factor A's position and shall be referred to again in the Discussion chapter.

36. The Jewish community, unlike other minority groups, is self-supporting 0 1 -4

Although this of no use for Factor A, the above item does strengthen Factor C's position for item 35: the Jewish community is not self-supporting. The possibility exists that what those in Factor C are referring to is the middle part of item 36, that the Jewish community is not unlike other minority groups. That these individuals consider Jews to be similar to other ethnic minorities is a point which shall be argued in the following chapter as well.

The next item of importance for Factor A adds little to our understanding of it and is fairly straightforward:

40. There is no reason that a Jew should belong to a separate Jewish social community rather than any other -3 3 -2

Again there is little to be said. If one is in a separate social community, one can more easily claim that those who are not in the community are different. Hence this is fairly strong support for Factor A's position being separatist - needing social cues that are Jewish, and that Factor B is more in line with a cosmopolitan position, and not needing to be with other Jews in social situations. This is also borne out in item 59

59. It is more important for others to acknowledge you as a South African than as a Jew -3 5 -4

This is clearly an important item for all three factors, particularly so for Factor B. And in this regard it seems clear that those in Factors A and B understand this item in much the same way. If one is, in a South African context, to be regarded as different, then both factors' choices for this item make sense and are consistent. Other items in this section which are important for Factor B are:

42. Jewish people as a whole place a higher value on success, on recognition and on financial reward than do non-Jews 2 -3 3

Stereotypically, Jews are known as wealthy - even miserly - and Factor B may be trying to rid itself of an aspect it may see as negative. Demographically though, on a national as well as international level, Jews do achieve success in business and science enterprises far beyond their proportional representation in any population (Schwartz, 1984). Whether that is indicative of a different value system that Jews may or may not possess is possible, but not yet certain. What is important is that, based on the data, those in Factor B seem unlikely to suggest that such a value system might exist. At the conclusion to this section, a table is presented of which areas the factors do find particularly important. So far though, there is little to suggest that materialism is an issue, and much to suggest that those in Factor A consider Jews to have a different value system, or at least, that they aspire to one.

Item 47 strengthens this assertion on B's part that there is no such thing as living a "Jewish" life which is distinct from any other non-Jewish person's.

47. Being Jewish need not intrude on one's life much -1 4 -5

In this item it is Factors B and C which present the opposing points of view. The position of those in Factor B is quite easy to explain: being Jewish is no intrusion because there is almost nothing which B does which would allow it to become an intrusion. Those in Factor A are clearly not interested, while those in Factor C strongly disagree: being Jewish is a considerable intrusion. Thus far there have been few items which clearly define Factor C to the point that A and B have been defined. All that has been said with any degree of surety is that Factor C tentatively supports A, that Factor C places little importance on religion, but much on Zionism and the idea that Jews are obligated to be Zionists. It is tentatively possible that individuals in Factor C feel that being Jewish is a

burden in some way, an idea certainly not forthcoming from any of the other Factors. More support for this may be forthcoming as we examine the items which Factor C considers most important for this section.

An item which has already been examined in terms of Factor A is item 56:

55. Jews are different but not special or unique -4 1 5

Here those in Factor C assert very strongly that Jews are different. It is also an opportunity to restate the suggestion that the the people who constitute the Factors do not all understand the same items in the same way. If those in Factor A understood this item as those in Factor C do, then we might argue that the former are suggesting that Jews are not different - something for which we have overwhelmingly support for the converse. What those in Factor C seems to be disagreeing with is the latter part of the statement, while the individuals in Factor A are agreeing with the former. Support for this comes from the other items which the people in Factor C find important,

53. It is always possible to identify non-Jews who have converted to Judaism 2 1 4

54. Everyone in this world is jealous of the Jews -1 2 -4

It seems that Factor C's subjects are considering a different element about being Jewish: being born Jewish. In the literature section, it was suggested that remaining Jewish is somehow a choice, consciously taken by some, and simply accepted or rejected by others. Factor C, it seems, is of the opinion that converts to Judaism are not quite the same thing as born Jews. Here we see more support for the suggestion mentioned in the final paragraph on Zionism - literal separateness. It is important for Factor C's subjects that Jews be considered separate; but on a different level to Factor A's subjects' understanding of the concept. If we look at item 55 again, this would seem appropriate. Jews are different because they are kept separate from non-Jews (or perhaps they should be) but they are not, as the opinion from Factor A strongly suggests, special or unique in any way. However, those in Factor C still consider, with all the separateness at issue, that this does not mean that people will be jealous of Jews. That statement, in terms of the aforegoing suggestions, is not consistent.

The final two items for section (4) offer clear support for the position of all three factors. For Factor A and C, an indication that being a **Jewish** South African is more important; for Factor B, that being a **South African** Jew is more important.

59.	It is more important for others to acknowledge you as a South African than as a Jew	-3	5	-4
38.	The image that the Jews should be conveying to the wider community is one of equality; that is, that they are the same as everybody else	-4	4	-3

(5) Family, Children and Education

As before, only those items with a score of 3 or higher (disagree or agree) are presented in any detail and it can be seen from the following table that there is little in this section which *is* seen as subjectively important by the factors.

Table 6.14: Family, Children & Education

Item	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
AF			
In a Jewish family there's more of a sense of unity and togetherness than in other families	3	-4	1
In Jewish families, everybody is more equal than in non-Jewish families.	0	-1	-1
Situations where parents leave their family, or divorce, or runaway children are rare in Jewish households	0	0	-1
Communication is normally better in Jewish families than in others	1	-1	-1
BF			
Jewish families are like any other families	-1	2	0
The responsibilities of a Jewish parent are identical to those of a non-Jewish parent	-1	0	0
Children should be given the choice of whether or not they wish to involve themselves in Judaism	-5	5	-3
Jews have as many domestic squabbles as non-Jews	-1	0	0
AI			
If one lives in the Diaspora, one should receive a separate Jewish education, e.g.) attend Herzlia.	4	-3	1
If children were in government schools, they would be exposed to more anti-Semitism than in Jewish day schools	1	0	0
BI			
Jewish schools promote a perception of exclusivity	1	-1	-1
Funds raised by the Jewish community could be put to far better use than in supporting Herzlia	0	2	-5

49. If one lives in the Diaspora, one should receive a separate Jewish education, e.g. attend Herzlia. 4 -3 1

For those in Factor A this is naturally an important aspect; if Jews are different, then we would expect them to require a different school. Factor B naturally disagrees with this item.

27. In a Jewish family there's more of a sense of unity and togetherness than in other families 3 -4 1

Jewish families, for Factor A's subjects, are not the same as other families in terms of unity and togetherness. Although 'Family' is a separate sub-category in terms of item structure, there is little else to be added to this as it was considered the least important category for all three Factors, containing most of the 0s, 1s and -1s. So it is possible that the people in Factors A and B are homing in on the unity aspect, and not families per se.

Factor C's subjects, alternatively, concentrate on these two items:

45.	It's important that children be exposed to a wider arena of people than only Jews	1	0	-4
52.	Funds raised by the Jewish community could be put to far better use than in supporting Herzlia	0	2	-5

Again we see that those in Factor C are quite strong proponents of the suggestion that Jews should be kept separate from non-Jews. For the other two Factors, these items are not seen as important, but for Factor C's subjects, there seems to be an indication that Jews be apart from non-Jews, as other data has already shown.

6.2.3 Summary of Factor Array Data

Table 6.15 provides a summary of where the factors have placed their emphasis in terms of the above five sections. Only the 24 most important items for each factor have been drawn upon for this table.

Table 6.15: Areas of Focus for the Factors

Factor	Religion	Prejudice & Discrimination	Zionism	Social	Family
A	25%	16%	21%	29%	9%
B	21%	16%	29%	25%	9%
C	13%	13%	29%	37%	9%

(Items have been categorised in terms of where they have been used in the above five sub-sections and reflect the three most important categories only)

There is clearly little that can be differentiated between Factors A and B in terms of focus, but Factor C's focus stands out quite clearly in the area of social factors which distinguish between Jews and non-Jews. There is no area in which Factor B focuses more on one aspect than the other two factors. Factor A shows itself to consider religion as more important than the other two, and even that narrow (4%) margin between itself and Factor

B does not express the extent to which Factor A concentrates on religion in general, and the morality that apparently lies beneath religion. (This is an aspect which is discussed in the following chapter where it is argued that of the different meanings that are possible for Jewish identity, those in Factor A consider being Jewish to go hand-in-hand with a sense of moral responsibility). Overall though, if we look at Factors A and B, we can see that in general they concentrate on similar areas, the only big difference being as regards Zionism. Before turning attention to the data which is forthcoming from the short questions, it is perhaps useful to provide a summary of the three factors.

(1) Factor A

Factor A is distinguishable as the point of view which argues that Jews are different to non-Jews. In that there has been much support that Factor A is representative to quite a large extent of the separatist opinion. In terms of religion and social factors, Factor A has shown that there is a difference between Judaism and other religions in terms of focus, and has expressed a considerable amount of interest in the idea that Judaism upholds a form of morality that is somehow different from the ideas expressed by other religions.

In light of this, Factor A asserts that Israel serves as an example to the rest of the (non-Jewish) world from it's position as a country of Jews. Factor A is therefore in disagreement with the separatist possibility of Zionism being a form of super-patriotism; Factor A is clearly opposed to the idea that Israel is beyond criticism in all it's actions.

Factor A seems to believe that there is a certain "Jewish way" of doing things, of going about one's life and we have reason to suspect that this may relate to Factor A's suggestion that being Jewish implies the existence of a different value system. In terms of prejudice and discrimination, Factor A believes, possibly due to the differences between Jews and non-Jews, that anti-Semitism may always be present in society, and is shown to be relatively wary of the emergence of anti-Semitism. Factor A's position is most aptly expressed through item 2 with which it agrees most strongly (5): *Jews should be living their lives with constant reference to Judaism and it's principles*

(2) Factor B

Factor B is indicative of a position quite in line with the cosmopolitan perspective, and disagrees with A on practically every aspect. For Factor B, Jews are the same as other people, and there is no reason to believe that they should be different (Factor A) or that they should be separated from non-Jews (Factor C). Factor B has placed much attention on Zionism and religion, presumably as they are both indications of possible areas of "objective" difference between Jews and non-Jews; Judaism's rituals are different and Israel is a different country to South Africa. There is data to support the contention though that Factor B considers the aims of Judaism identical to the aims of other religions, and the aims of Zionism identical to other forms of nationalism. In that sense, there is also support for the idea that Factor B is not overly concerned with the existence of anti-Semitism and considers it to be merely a manifestation of racism. Factor B's position is best expressed in terms of item 59, with which it most strongly agrees (5): *It is more important for others to acknowledge you as a South African than as a Jew.*

(3) Factor C

Factor C is by far the most complex of the Factors, possibly because it is also indicative of the least popular point of view and statistically, the least reliable. Factor C attaches little or no 'specialness' to being religious (as Factor A does and Factor B strongly does not) and there is the sense that one simply is Jewish, and is thereby obligated to behave in a certain manner which is different. Factor C's understanding of Zionism seems to be that Zionism is a necessary part of being Jewish because it led to the establishment of Israel, a Jewish country. Israel is seen as a country where Jews belong, and non-Jews do not. Factor C places most of its important items in the fourth section (social factors which reflect difference) and seems concerned with the idea that Jews should be kept physically separate from non-Jews.

Where Factor C is particularly confusing is in terms of it's choices for most important items, and comments made at this stage of Factor C are clearly less certain than those made for the other two Factors. It has been noted that this confusion may be due to a

weakness in the actual items themselves. Factor C's position is difficult to express through one item only and so far, seems to best represented by, firstly, item 47, with which it strongly disagrees (-5): *Being Jewish need not intrude on one's life much;* and secondly item 55, with which it strongly agrees (5): *Jews are different, but not special or unique.*

In the following and final section of this chapter, the results to the short questions asked (see Appendix 5) are considered.

6.3 Short Questions and additional Demographic Data

In this section, a review of the data collected from the short questions is presented in tabular and graphical format. All figures which appear below are summaries of the completed tables which appear in Appendix 6. For convenience sake, the data is presented in terms of the Factors, and excludes those individuals who have not loaded significantly onto any one factor.

Figure 6.2: Age spread of the Factors

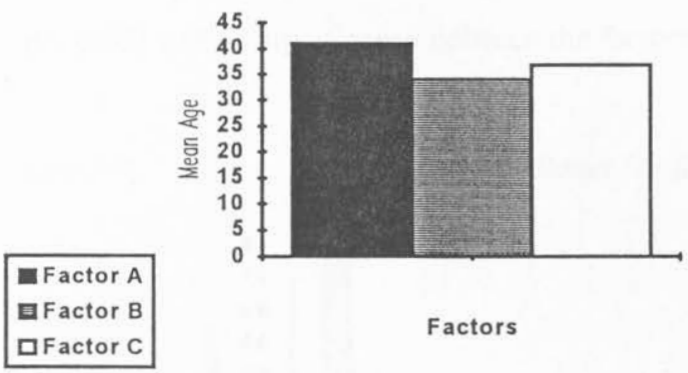
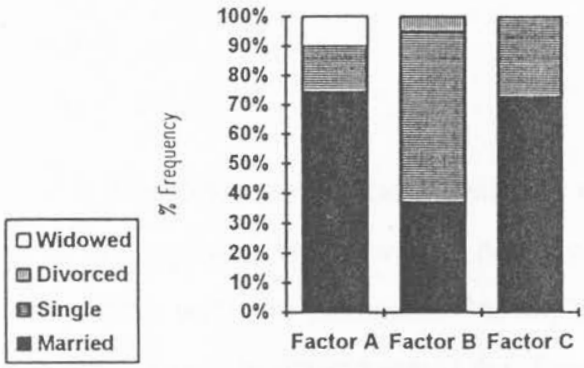


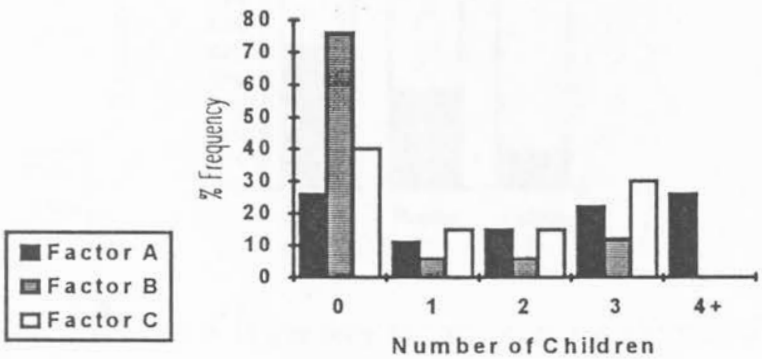
Figure 6.2 shows the mean age of the subjects who comprise the factors, with Factor A's subjects being the oldest and Factor B's the youngest. The mean age for the factors is 41, 34 and 36,7 respectively for Factors A, B and C with s = 11,3, 14,2 and 9,7 respectively. A one-way anova was performed for this data. Critical values for F (df=2;42) are 5,18 ($p<.01$) and 3.23 ($p<0.05$) while the F score is found to be 1,15562. Hence no significant difference was found between Factors in terms of age. Figure 6.3 indicates the percentage of the subjects who are married, single, divorced or widowed.

Figure 6.3: Marital Status of Subjects by Factor



As can be seen, the majority of Factor A and C's subjects are married, while the majority of Factor B's subjects are single. Factor A also contains the only component of widowed subjects, which is not unusual seeing as they are the oldest group of subjects. Nevertheless, a chi-square test for significance was performed (df=6; critical value=12,59 at $p<0.05$) and no significance between the factors was found ($x^2 = 11,45496$).

Figure 6.4 Percentage of Children for the Three Factors

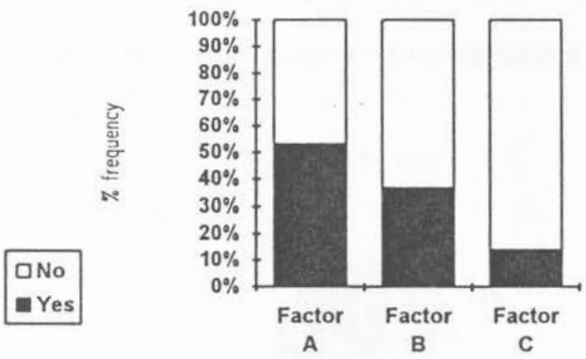


In figure 6.4, where the X axis indicates the number of children and the Y axis indicates the percentage of the Factor who have that number of children, the same pattern emerges: a tendency to have either no children or many. Factor A's subjects have the most, Factor B's the least, and this is logical considering that Factor A's subjects are mainly older than B and C's. Also, as previously indicated, Factor A contains the highest proportion of religious people, so we might expect them to place more emphasis on marriage and children. Furthermore, an anova to determine significance indicates that there

are significant differences between the factors. Critical values for F (df=2;42) are 5,18 ($p < .01$) where the F score is found to be 6,96459.

The following questions deal with the extent to which individuals socialise and have other dealings with both Jews and non-Jews. The exception to this is the first question which deals with anti-Semitism. One slightly surprising result from the factor arrays has been the extremely limited extent that Factors have focused on the issue of prejudice and discrimination. This is especially so in light of its prominence in the literature and the presence of emerging themes in the interviews. For figure 6.5, individuals were asked if they had had any personal experience with anti-Semitism. The results are as follows:

Figure 6.5: Experience of anti-Semitism

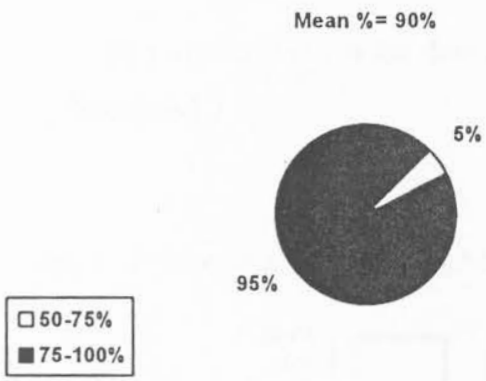


Factor A is the only factor whose members who have experienced anti-Semitism exceed those who haven't. This may be due in part to the fact that Factor A contains the oldest subjects, and therefore more likely to have been exposed to anti-Semitism. It may also be due to the fact that Factor A's subjects are, in general, more concerned with family life and children. What is most likely though is if we look at this in relation to what has already been said about Factor A through the factor arrays: that Factor A *perceives* anti-Semitism to be a legitimate concern in South Africa. It is therefore possible that Factor A merely perceives that it has more exposure to anti-Semitism because we suspect it may be currently concerned with anti-Semitism. Those in Factors B and C are not seen to be placing much emphasis on the potential threat of anti-Semitism, and so their response here is equally consistent. To determine whether or not this difference is significant a chi-

square was performed (df=2; critical value=5,99 at $p < .05$) and scores 3,2706776. Statistically it seems as if there is no significant difference between the factors.

The second question deals with the issue of Jewish friends. In terms of the three factors results may be displayed as follows:

Figure 6.6.1: Proportion of friends who are Jewish (Factor A)



(there are no subjects in Factor A for whom less than 50% of their friends are Jewish)

Figure 6.6.2: Proportion of friends who are Jewish (Factor B)

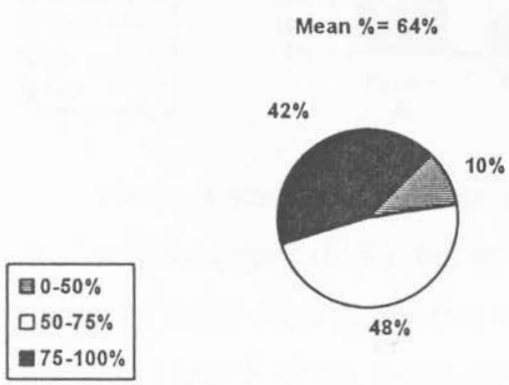
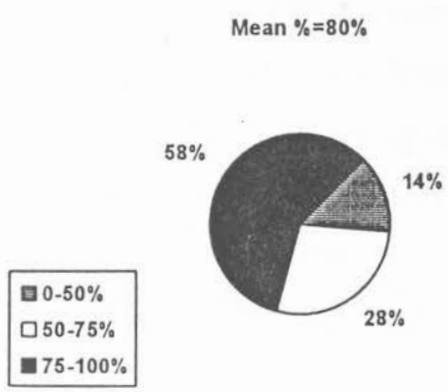


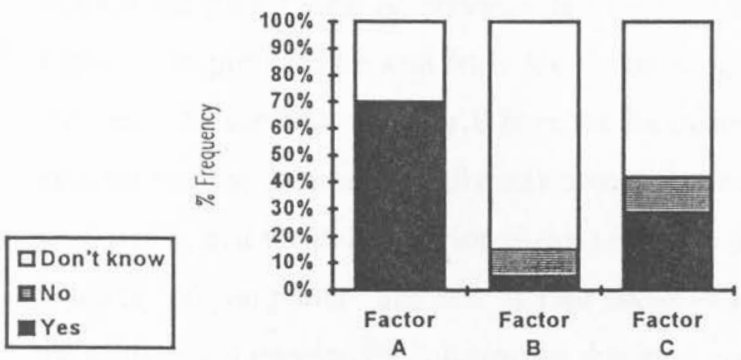
Figure 6.6.3: Proportion of friends who are Jewish (Factor C)



Not surprisingly, the highest proportion of Jewish friends is to be found in Factor A, and the smallest in Factor B. Also unsurprising is the relatively low standard deviation for Factor A of 8,54 as compared to that of Factors B and C (25,04 and 19,24 respectively). An anova was performed to determine significance and it is found that at the 0.01 level (df=2;42, Critical value = 5,18) that there is a significant difference (F = 8,731533) between factors.

In a similar vein is the data corresponding to the question : Do you live in a Jewish neighbourhood ?

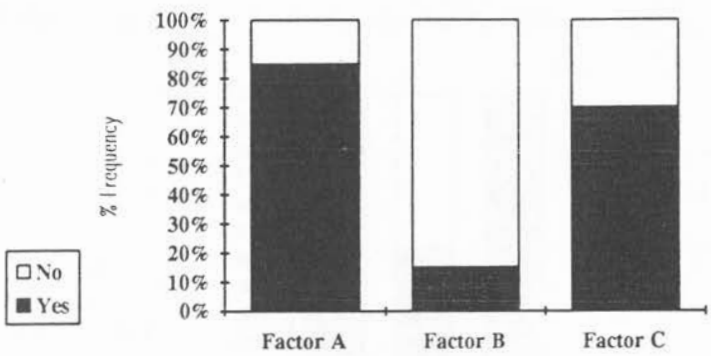
Figure 6.7: Live in a Jewish neighbourhood



Factor A stands out in terms of representing those individuals who do live in a Jewish neighbourhood (64%); but no Factor (which we might have expected from Factor B) suggests to any large degree that they do not live in a Jewish neighbourhood. What is clear from Factor B is that these subjects overwhelmingly (90%) indicate that whether or not Jews live in the same neighbourhood as they do is unknown. This is also quite evident for Factor C, which is unusual seeing as how we might have expected Factor C to be concerned with living in the same areas as Jews. For Factor A though, it is clearly not surprising - we expect the subjects to be close to other Jews, and consequently, close to Jewish communal areas (synagogues, community halls etc.). To determine whether a significant difference exists between the factors, a chi-square was performed (df=4; Critical value = 13,28 at $p<0.01$) and a significant difference is found ($x^2 = 17,626$)

Further data of this nature relates to the question: Do you prefer to go to Jewish professionals (doctors, lawyers, accountants) ?

Figure 6.8: Prefer to go to Jewish professionals



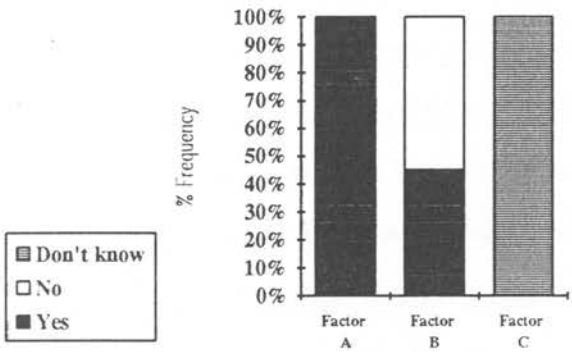
Here we see a completely inverted picture for Factors A and B. Eighty-five percent of Factor A indicated 'yes' and the same percentage for Factor B indicated 'no'. That is to be expected from Factor A, previous data has indicated that those individuals who comprise Factor A do prefer to be with other Jews, extending apparently, to the level of professional services. The subjects in Factor B have, in discussions with me during this questioning, asserted that for them it generally makes no difference as to the religion of the professional in question; that the only criterion is that he/she be competent. However, the question asked is "do you prefer" and not "is your doctor/dentist/lawyer etc. Jewish". Almost all the subjects volunteered the information that their professional requirements were in fact met by Jews. This is worth noting due to the quite disproportional (to population) number of Jewish doctors, lawyers, accountants, dentists etc. that exist in South Africa. In other words, whether or not the people in Factor B prefer to see Jewish professionals is not the same as asking whether or not the people who comprise Factor B actually do go to Jewish professionals anyway. In terms of that, a chi-square was performed (df=2; Critical value = 9,21 at $p < .01$) and results are found to be significantly different ($x^2 = 18,95945$).

Subjects were also asked whether or not they would prefer their children or themselves to marry Jewish people. Few declared that their answers would be consistent and maintained that they felt that it would most often depend on the individual and the circumstances.

In the case of whether or not the subjects themselves would prefer to marry Jews, only 6% of those individuals who were already married were married to non-Jews. Figure

6.9.1 reflects the opinions of those subjects who were presently not married. No subjects in Factor A were married to non-Jews:

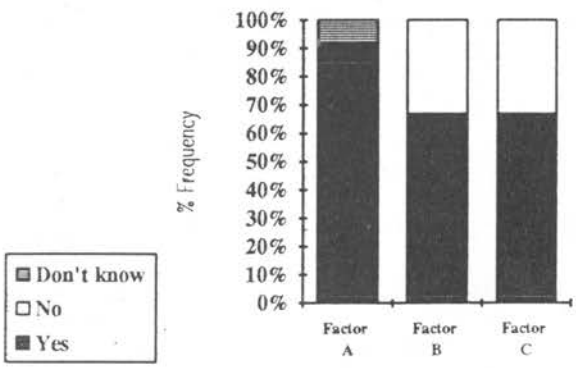
Figure 6.9.1 *Prefer to marry Jews*



Factor C's data is not very useful, and Factor A's data is quite consistent: it is important to marry Jews. We may have expected less accordance with marrying Jews from Factor B, but those that do not find it important remain in the majority (55%), albeit very slightly.

Figure 6.9.2 shows those individuals who would prefer their children to remain Jews. Here the data is slightly misleading in the case of Factor B. Here most parents indicated, as was mentioned before, that they felt it would definitely depend on the individual. Their responses are therefore not perfectly representative. Factor B's respondents, for example, stressed that these responses would be the case in an ideal situation, but they would not be particularly upset if their children chose non-Jewish partners. Factor A and C's subjects suggested that if their children were to marry non-Jews, it would be particularly upsetting for them.

Figure 6.9.2: *Prefer Children to marry Jews*

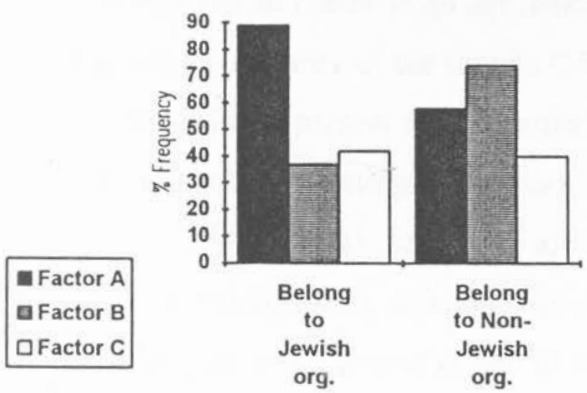


Factor A's subjects' assertion that they would prefer their children to marry Jews is not surprising (92%) and neither is Factor C's (67%). What is unusual is that 8 percent of Factor A's subjects indicated that they were unsure and that the majority of Factor B's subjects indicated a preference for their children to marry Jews. We would have expected less in this regard from Factor B, but it must be remembered that even with their stated factor array scores, most of Factor B's subjects who do have children are themselves married to Jews. Also, the above does not include Factor B's subjects who do not have children. Subjects who did not have children requested that they not answer this question as they felt that there was much to consider about such a decision that they did not know.

Furthermore, the number of subjects for both groups is considerably less and it seems as if it may not amenable to statistical analysis.

The final two sets of questions which were asked remain consistent with all that has been said before. In the first instance, subjects were asked if they belonged to either Jewish or non-Jewish informal organisations (social clubs, charity organisations, community services etc.). Some professionals belonged to their professional associations (lawyers, teachers etc.) which by definition cannot be Jewish. The results are as follows:

Figure 6.10: Membership of Jewish and non-Jewish organisations

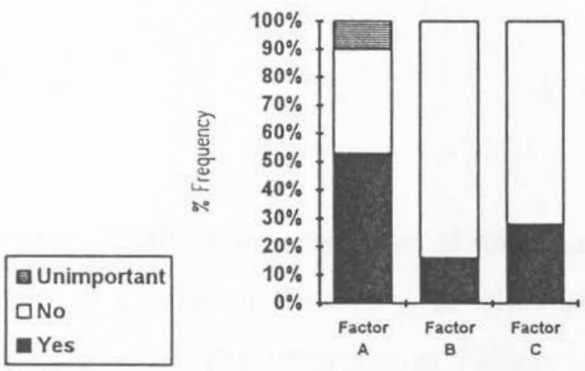


Factor A shows that the greatest percentage of it's supporters do belong to a Jewish organisation of some kind (almost 90%), but a surprisingly large 58% also belong to non-Jewish organisations as well. Factor C remains fairly constant (42% belonging to a Jewish organisation; 40% belonging to a non-Jewish organisation). Only 37% of Factor B belong to Jewish organisations. Seen on its own, that figure might seem slightly high, but it is

still reasonably low when compared to Factor A's score. Results, however, are not statistically significant. A chi-square was performed (df=2; Critical value = 5,99 at $p < .01$) and scores less than the critical value at even the 0.05 level ($x^2 = 3,761905$)

The next question which was posed was: when considering a place of employment, does the fact there are or are not other Jews currently employed there play any part in your decision. Here there is some surprise, in that the only group who indicated that it was not applicable to them, or that they did not care, was Factor A, who might have been expected to show support for the presence of fellow Jews. Graphically, the results are as follows:

Figure 6.11: Prefer to be Employed with other Jews



That those in Factor A do not indicate a greater desire to work with Jews is perhaps unusual, but the majority of the sample (53%) do indicate that they would prefer it. Note too that indecision is present only in terms of Factor A, for Factor B, no subjects indicate that there might be mitigating factors. So Factor B too provides a most consistent picture. Factor C is a little unusual, bearing in mind that it was found to possess a predilection for keeping Jews and non-Jews separate. Apparently this does not hold true for the work place. Results are significant however ($x^2 = 10,20032$) but only at the 0.05 level (df=4; Critical values = 9,49 where $p < .05$ and 13,28 where $p < .01$). This significant difference may be influenced by the fact that Factors B and C have not responded to the third option of unimportant and display empty cells for the chi-square test. Results are therefore not accepted without reservation in cases like this (McCall, 1990).

With some fluctuation, the above graphs provide a useful summary of the sample as it is reflected through the Factors, and seems consistent with all which has been said about the Factors through the primary source of data, the factor arrays. It needs to be kept in mind though that the short questions data is far less reliable than the factor arrays (reliability data for the Factors is provided at the end of Appendix 3) and they are used primarily as backup for what has already been presented. In the following chapter, where the Factors are discussed in much greater detail, and we shall have course to make use of the other less important items, I shall return to those questions where the resultant data has shown itself to significant. For the present, the discussion returns to the factor arrays and some of the more theoretical applications of this study.

SUMMARY

From a brief discussion of tests of statistical significance for the Factors, it was shown how four of the seven Factors were eliminated on both statistical and intuitive levels of consideration. The adherence of Factors to the structure of separatist / cosmopolitan was discussed, and it is argued that even though it is not yet possible to consider the two more important Factors (that is, Factors A and B) as representative of the structure, there is a clear indication that the opinions expressed are in constant opposition. Factors are then discussed according to the emergent themes of religion, Zionism, prejudice and discrimination, social areas of difference and family life and finally the factor arrays are summarized. A brief discussion on the short questions concludes this chapter.

7 DISCUSSION

The central issue to be considered in this chapter is that of group affiliation. It is argued that Jewish identity can be likened to group identity where the Jews are considered to be a social group. It is further argued that, although possible, the above assertion may be mediated by three possibilities.

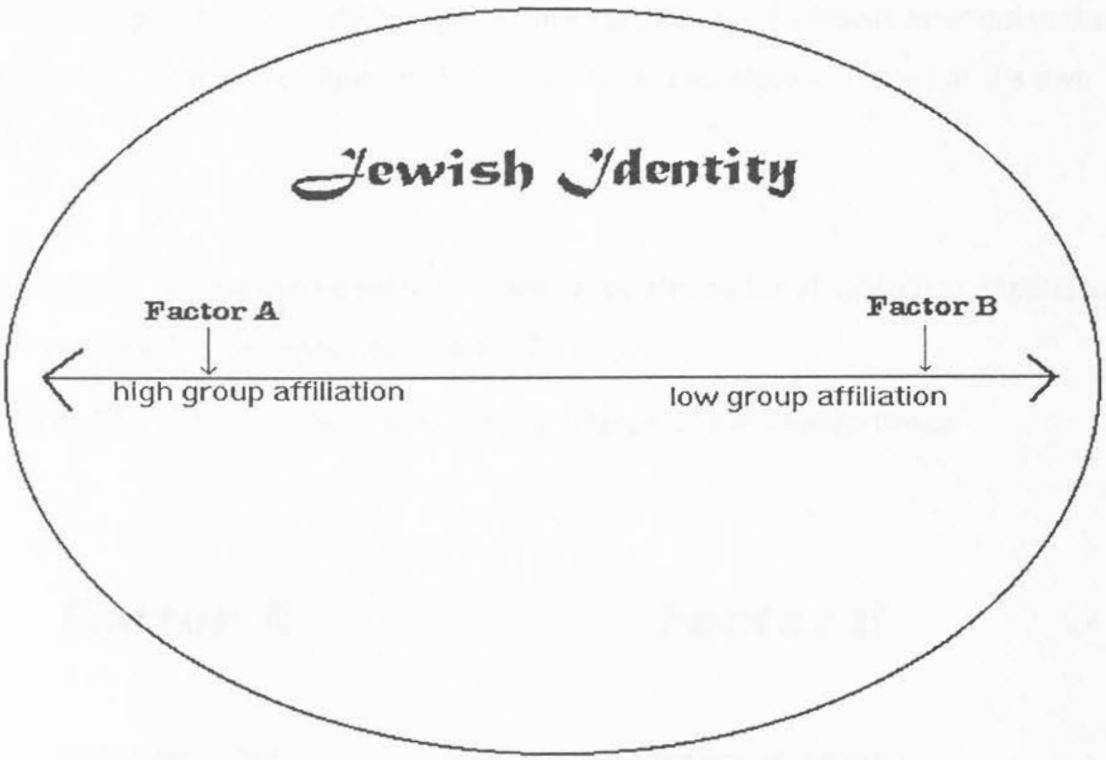
Firstly, ***is Jewish identity quantifiable*** ? Can one person be said to be "more" Jewish than another ? In terms of an affiliation towards the Jewish group it is possible to argue that one can conceptualise one's own Jewish identity as almost exclusively defined in terms of the Jewish group, similar to Tajfel's (1982) continuum of interpersonal / intergroup behaviour. "How much" one is Jewish depends on the extent to which one affiliates with that group.

Secondly, ***how subjectively important is one's Jewish identity*** ? Social identity is comprised of all the social groups to which one belongs. For individuals whose perspective is reflected in Factor A, it is argued that the Jewish social group is considerably more important to such people than are other social groups to which they might belong. For individuals whose position is better represented by Factor B, it might be suggested that the Jewish group is as (or less) important than membership in other social groups (gender, political, racial etc.).

The third alternative can be understood as being either independent of the first two, or, which seems more likely, as having a mediating influence on the former two possibilities. Taking the cue from Condor's (1989) argument on the meaning of identity, it is possible that Factors A, B and C are representative of ***three different meanings of Jewish identity***. If this latter possibility is true, then it is likely that the previous two may be irrelevant.

The first option of the extent of Jewish identity may be represented graphically by Figure 7.1:

Figure 7.1: Extent of Group Affiliation



In terms of the first alternative, while such an argument is possible, it assumes that the Jewish group has the same meaning for Factors A and B. More specifically, this argument assumes that there is a generalised or conventional understanding of the Jewish group. Thus there is the temptation to utilise the Factor A perspective as some form of yardstick for Jewish identity. In terms of previous studies, this is particularly easy to do as Factor A could be classified as a 'traditional' Jewish identity:

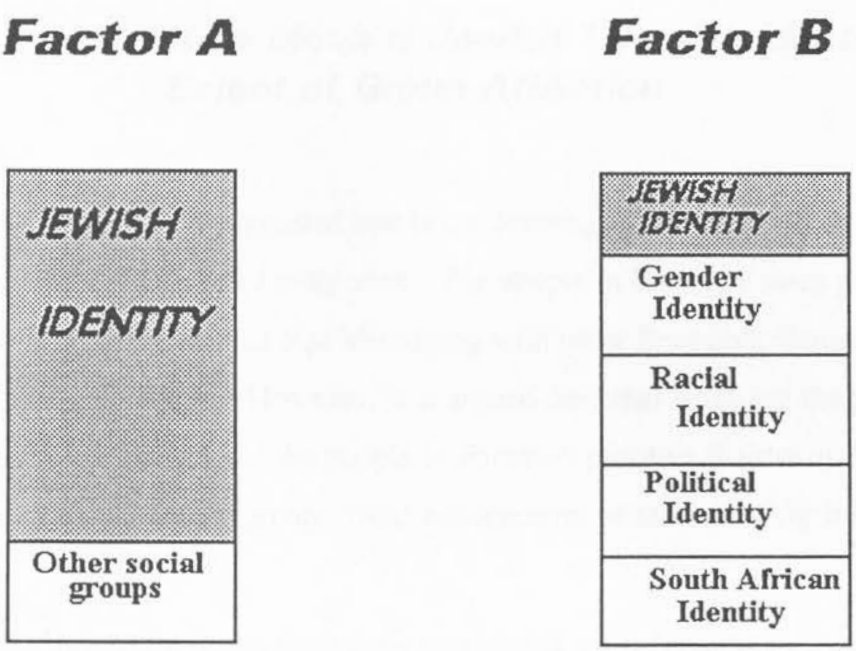
a) There is evidence of a strong link to the Jewish group and a need to be with other Jews.
b) There is evidence of the observance of Judaism, Jewish rites and cultural practices.
c) There is the belief in Israel as the Jewish homeland.
d) There is opposition to assimilation and evidence of ingroup favouritism and ethnocentrism.

Such a comparison between Factors A and B might carry the implication that those who align themselves with Factor B are not, in terms of the above four criteria, "very Jewish". What possibly negates such an assertion is the possibility that the above four conditions are not indicative of what those individuals in Factor B consider important in contributing towards their own Jewish identity. There may be other criteria, which are

similarly granted no importance from the people in Factor A. Figure 7.1 might therefore be an attempt to compare two very different meanings based on the erroneous assumption that Factor B considers aspects like Judaism or Zionism to be meaningful in terms of it's own Jewish identity.

A similar argument can be made in terms of the alternative of subjective importance and can be graphically represented by figure 7.2:

Figure 7.2: The Subjective Importance of the Jewish Group



As was suggested for the argument concerned with the extent of Jewish identity, such a model of Jewish identity may be valid only insofar as there is a *unitary* meaning of Jewish identity.

This interplay of propositions, where all are potentially possible explanations and not always mutually exclusive possibilities, is, I would suggest, derivative of the freedom of interpretation that Q methodology allows the researcher. The options dealing with the conceptualisations of Jewish identity are my own interpretations though, and others may be

possible based on the same data. To assess which of these three options is the most likely, those of extent and meaning of group affiliation are discussed in some detail and finally assessed in regard to the subjective importance of Jewish identity in one's whole social identity. Factor C is discussed only briefly because of its lack of statistical significance, small amount of people who comprise it and the suggestion that results for Factor C have not been entirely consistent. For the present, attention is focused on two possible explanations of the study's findings:

1. That Jewish identity is indicative of the extent of group affiliation.
2. That the perspectives of being Jewish have very different meanings for individual Jews, and may therefore not be comparable on equal terms.

7.1 How Much is Jewish ? Jewish Identity as the Extent of Group Affiliation

For Factor A it is suggested that being Jewish, as was presented in the previous chapter, entails some form of *obligation*. The people in Factor A seem proud of being Jewish and it might be argued that identifying with other Jews contributes, in some way, to a sense of positive identity. However, it is argued here that whatever the positive connotations of being Jewish, the people in Factor A perceive their own position as more or less bound to the Jewish group. Their endorsement of the following items seems to bear this out:

2.	Jews should be living their lives with constant reference to Judaism and it's principles	**5**	-5	2
37.	It's important that there be exclusively Jewish social groups	**2**	-2	0
57.	If one renounced one's Judaism, one would still be perceived by others as a Jew	**2**	-2	-1

To achieve that sense of positive social identity, it is suggested that the people who constitute Factor A have a need to be with other Jews, and accordingly, they will conceptualise their own Jewish identity as inextricably bound to the Jewish group. Some support is hence offered for Turner's (1987) concept of referent informational influence: That is, the individuals in Factor A may be internalising the group's behaviour and norms as their own. I suggest therefore, that in terms of Tajfel's (1981) interpersonal / intergroup behaviour continuum, their behaviour is strongly intergroup oriented.

For the people in Factor A, there seems to be a need for a context that is exclusively Jewish. In terms of the argument put forward in chapter 3 on minority identity, it seems as if there is a need from Factor A's population to be with others who are similar, and to be regarded as different from others. Here there seems evidence of Hogg's (1992) suggestion that there is a difference between liking one another (personal attraction) and needing the security of other group members (social attraction). The people in Factor A need to be with other Jews to strengthen their own sense of Jewish group identity.

Support for the idea of a Jewish frame of reference as important for Factor A is also found in the short questions data where it was shown that there are significant differences between the factors in the number of Jewish friends that the people in Factor A have; in their preference to work with other Jews, to attend Jewish professionals and a desire to live in a Jewish neighbourhood. Also of particular usefulness in this regard is item 59:

59. It is more important for others to acknowledge you as a South African than as a Jew **-3** 5 -4

Here we again see the constant assertion from Factor A of a need to be perceived by others as Jewish and as different to non-Jews.

What the above may therefore imply is that for the people in Factor A, a considerable lack of social mobility - albeit of their own choosing - may be present. There further seems a great degree of congruence between Tajfel's (1978) conceptualisations of the minority group and the attitudes expressed through Factor A: a need to be separate, a need to be different, and, it might be suggested, a need not to assimilate. Social mobility is, as Tajfel (1981) suggested, an individualistic strategy. It is the possibility that one may be able to move from one social group to another. There seems little indication that the individuals in Factor A are able - or even willing - to leave the Jewish social group. There is, however, much evidence to suggest that this is the case for Factor B.

Compared to Factor A, the people in Factor B seem not to care whether others view them as Jewish, and seem extremely concerned with maintaining their own individuality. Factor A, it is suggested, represents a highly group based frame of reference, offering little chance of social mobility and much positive social identity due to their feelings of group cohesiveness. If one assumes that the individuals in Factor B are also concerned with heightened positive identity then it can be argued that for them, the idea of a fixed group identity is too *stifling* to allow for that positive identity. I would suggest that this is

indeed the case, that Factor B has chosen individual social mobility over the potential restrictiveness of a cohesive unit such as the Jewish group.

Condor's (1989) criticism of Social Identity Theory was that the theory asks 'how much identification' rather than 'what does identification mean'. Herman (1977) has suggested that a sense of Jewish identity requires complete affiliation with all Jews and with all of Jewish history. In terms of Condor's (1989) criticism it seems as if Herman (1977) may be conceptualising Jewish identity as a quantitative concept - how much one identifies will indicate how 'strong' one's Jewish identity is. If we understand Herman's (1977) perspective not as an absolute indictment of what Jewish identity means, but as a continuum, then we can more easily see the application to the data presented here. For Factor A, there seems a lot of truth in this statement, to be Jewish means to be identifying with other Jews (although perhaps not quite in the somewhat exaggerated manner that Herman prescribes). For Factor B, one can remain Jewish without sacrificing one's individuality, one need not give over everything to the Jewish group to evaluate oneself as Jewish, just as one need not give over everything to the ethnic group to consider oneself part of the ethnic minority (Hutnik, 1991).

As far as Factor B is concerned, it is suggested that being Jewish is a choice. Jews are not seen as different to non-Jews, Judaism is simply a religion, anti-Semitism is a form of discrimination, and Israel is merely a country like any other. Factor B is, I would argue, in many ways the fundamental opposite of Factor A. If Factor A's subjects consider Judaism to be a defining point in their own self-evaluation, then Factor B's subjects are most concerned that they not be defined by Judaism:

2.	Jews should be living their lives with constant reference to Judaism and it's principles	5	**-5**	2
6.	Judaism cannot claim to be a unique religion in terms of its aims and principles	-5	**5**	-3

Further, Factor B's subjects seem unconvinced that being Jewish is, as Factor A suggests, a link to the Jewish group. It is not a link to Israel:

17.	Jews need their own country to live in	3	**-3**	-4
18.	Every Jew in the Diaspora lives with the security of knowing that Israel's there for them if they need it's help	4	**-4**	3

It is not a link to the wider community, creating a sense of unity amongst Jews:

38.	The image that the Jews should be conveying to the wider community is one of equality; that is, that they are the same as everybody else	-4	**4**	-3

It does not set Jews apart from other members of other social groups in this country:

59.	It is more important for others to acknowledge you as a South African than as a Jew	-3	**5**	-4

For Factor B it seems that being Jewish the way Factor A experiences it, would entail a loss of individuality. From this perspective, it might be argued that the individuals who align themselves with Factor B are on the interpersonal side of the interpersonal / intergroup continuum. I suggest though, that as the Jews may be conceptualised as a social group, and as the Factor B subjects have defined themselves as Jewish (in terms of eligibility for the study), such individuals still have a link to the Jewish group. This link is, however, in terms of the criteria of this explanation of the results, necessarily quite limited.

In terms of the third Factor (C) there seems evidence of a position similar to that of Factor A. The following items are examined in this regard:

26.	Israel should be a country for everybody, not only for Jews	-2	3	**-3**
45.	It's important that children be exposed to a wider arena of people than only Jews	1	0	**-4**
53.	It is always possible to identify non-Jews who have converted to Judaism	-2	1	**4**

To compare this to the other two factors, it has been argued that for Factor A, being Jewish is an obligation, but one which is positively valued. For Factor B, being Jewish is a choice, and, it is assumed, it is preferable not to be associated with other Jews. For Factor C it is argued that being Jewish is an accident of birth, but facilitates a strong identity and is therefore positively valued. The following item is equally useful in this context:

47.	Being Jewish need not intrude on one's life much	-1	4	-5

Those in Factor A consider being Jewish to intrude to some extent, but clearly not significantly. Those in Factor B do not consider being Jewish to intrude at all, but those in Factor C considers being Jewish to be a considerable intrusion. I suggest, therefore, that although Factor C is shown to have much in common with Factor A, such individuals

consider being Jewish to place far more limitations on themselves than do those in Factor A. This was an aspect that the Factor B subjects seemed most concerned about: if one aligns oneself with the Jewish group, one's social mobility may be sacrificed. Factor A's subjects may consider this loss of social mobility to be less important than a sense of belonging to the Jewish group. However, those in Factor C seem still to consider being tied down by the Jewish group to be a preferable option than to be *without* a cohesive group. Here there is useful input from Social Identity Theory which has stressed that social systems be perceived as dynamic. At the moment, Factor C's individuals have little choice but to be affiliated to the Jewish group, but that does not mean that this situation will never change. This possibility is raised again when the question of assimilation is dealt with.

5. It is worthwhile considering what other religions may have to offer -2 -1 **3**

The people in Factor C seem to find some merit in the idea, and I suggest that for Factor C, it is not so much a need to belong to a Jewish group that is the motivating factor behind Jewish identity (as is the case for Factor A) but the need to belong to *any* separate group.

24. Jews are not obligated to be Zionists -2 4 **-5**

For Factor B's subjects, this would seem to be true. For the people in Factor A, Zionism entails a formal link to the Jewish group, and to a country which is special because it is a Jewish country, as seen in the following item.

22. Nowadays Israel is just another country like any other -3 1 **2**

But for Factor C, Israel is not a special country, there is no religious link. What is important for the people in Factor C is the structure - not a Jewish country, but a separate country, and this, it would seem, is the motivation for Factor C's score on item 24. Factor C seems to represent a perspective which suggests that if one is born Jewish, one adheres to rites and practices because it is important to belong to a separate group. For Factor A, we would speak of the importance of belonging to a ***Jewish*** group, for Factor B we would speak of the need ***not*** to be defined in terms of the Jewish group, and for Factor C we would speak of the importance of belonging to a Jewish ***group***.

To return to some of Factor C's more important items:

16.	Somebody who's anti-Zionist is necessarily anti-Semitic	-2	-2	**5**
17.	Jews need their own country to live in	3	-3	**4**
55.	Jews are different but not special or unique	-4	1	**5**

For items 16 and 17, we can see that for Factor C, it is important that Jews be separate from non-Jews, and to this end Factor C considers an anti-Zionist to be the same as an anti-Semite. This, we suggest, is because Israel is perceived as a country only for Jews. In item 55, we see a clear difference between Factor A and C . For Factor A, the operative word is special, Jews are special. Factor C, it seems, agrees with statement in it's entirety. It is unimportant for Factor C, or even wrong, that Jews be considered special. What is important for Factor C is that Jews be considered as different and separate.

Apart from that there is little else to add to Factor C. Items such as the following do not increase or confuse an understanding of this perspective.

52.	Funds raised by the Jewish community could be put to far better use than in supporting Herzlia	0	2	**-5**
10.	There's always the possibility that at the end of the day, Jews in South Africa are going to be singled out	0	0	**2**
58.	Jews are being held up to a higher standard than other groups	4	-2	**-2**

If Factor C is advocating separateness then it seems logical that funding a Jewish day school would be considered useful. In terms of items 10 and 58 it seems as if Factor C is suggesting that Jews are vulnerable to anti-Semitism as a group, but not especially so. Jews are not special, and anti-Semitism - similarly to Factor B's understanding of the concept- is merely another form of racism.

The factor loadings for subjects who correlate with Factor C are far lower than for the other two Factors (see Appendix 3 - varimax factor 7), none of them loading above 0,5. Suggestions as to Factor C's position are therefore made with far less confidence. However, it is an identifiable factor and as such I am obliged to report it. More will be said about this aspect of the study in the final chapter.

To conclude this section concerning the extent of group affiliation as representative of Jewish identity I will briefly discuss the role of assimilation as it might be applied to the three factors.

7.1.1 Assimilation

In Social Identity Theory's conception of minority groups and the role of assimilation (Tajfel, 1978), three options were available to the minority group member. The first was where individuals found themselves unable to assimilate due to group pressure imposed upon them. This would seem to be most applicable to Factor A, least applicable to Factor B and Factor C seems to be somewhere in between the two. If Factor B desired to assimilate into the majority culture, it clearly perceives the Jewish group as having little or no hold upon it. For Factor A though, assimilation would prove extremely difficult (not that there is much indication that such individuals would even wish to assimilate).

The second option was where individuals expect to assimilate, but fail to do so. Should there be those within Factor A who do wish to assimilate, it seems unlikely that they will be successful. Recall Factor A's score for item 57:

57.	If one renounced one's Judaism, one would still be perceived by others as a Jew	2	-2	-1

Contrasted to Factor B it is seen that in Factor A's perception, even if an individual member attempted to assimilate (which seems doubtful), it seems unlikely that their attempt would be successful. I suggest therefore that this option may be representative of the individuals who constitute Factor C. At present assimilation is probably not possible, but Factor C seems to consider the Jewish group as potentially limiting and there may be individuals who wish to assimilate. (The data though, is not very strong)

There is little though which holds Factor B back from complete assimilation. This raises the third option: those who are completely assimilated. It seems obvious that this has no bearing on Factor A or Factor C's position. Factor B seems to present some problems however. While all which has been discussed about Factor B is *potentially* possible, the possibility might exist that the people in Factor B consider themselves to be completely assimilated. It is here that it becomes most important that one be clear about the difference between extremely limited Jewish group affiliation, and actual personal identity. If Factor

B was completely assimilated, then we could speak with more confidence about it displaying personal identity only and no group identity whatsoever. What makes that possibility unlikely though is Factor B's reactions to the items about the Jewish group in general. If the subjects in Factor B considered themselves to be completely assimilated, then it seems logical that there is little about the Jewish group that they would find stifling. We have some reason to suspect that with all that has been said about Factor B, the Jewish group does exert some hold on these individuals who constitute Factor B. From a more practical perspective of course, there is also the assertion from all who took part in the study that they do consider themselves Jewish.

The arguments put forward in this section have suggested that Jewish identity can be considered in terms of extreme group affiliation (Factor C), high group affiliation (Factor A) and extremely limited group affiliation (Factor B). For the remainder of this chapter, the discussion will focus only on Factors A and B. This is because once specified meanings are attributed to the factors, the argument becomes considerably more interpretative. Attempts at thorough interpretation for Factor C become conjecture and the possibilities seem too broad. This is an aspect of the methodology which is criticised in the following chapter.

7.2 The Subjective Meaning of Jewish Identity

A comprehensive meaning of what being Jewish means to Factor A has, to some extent, already been accomplished. Previous data has shown that for Factor A, being Jewish means being an adherent of Judaism, of Jewish culture and beliefs. It means a belief in Zionism and that Israel is the home for the Jewish people. Such aspects, however, may only advance an understanding inasmuch as they confirm earlier expectations of subject's opinions: Jews are different to non-Jews, and these aspects of Judaism and culture are some of the areas in which they are different. Implied in this is the suggestion that Judaism is not like other religions and that Zionism is not like other forms of nationalism. This

suggestion applies only to some aspects, as there is occasional evidence that (as item 35 might indicate) with regard to some aspects of social life, Jews are not different:

35. One never sees Jewish beggars because invariably the community will take care of them **-3** 2 -2

I suggest though that assertions in this regard may be limiting to the extent that they may advance an understanding of specified meaning. This is because they may be understood as mere social categories. That is, we may expect ***any*** ethnic / minority group to assert that they are different to other ethnic / minority groups due to social categorization. In a sense then, such an argument may be counterproductive as it does not advance from the first explanation of Jewish identity : the extent to which one's group identity is strong is related to the extent with which one considers oneself to be part of a social group, and others as belonging to different social groups. The discussion may therefore not extend beyond the strength of group identity.

One way of overcoming this limitation is, I suggest, to focus on some of the more *unusual* meanings which may be attributed to one's Jewish identity. For individuals in Factor A, this discussion will focus on the meaning of ingroup favouritism and the notion of the Jews as a chosen people. For Factor B, the case of responses to anti-Semitism and Rosenman and Handlesman's (1990) socially beneficient action, is considered.

7.2.1 Ingroup Favouritism and the meaning of the Chosen People

A conventional understanding of the notion of a 'chosen people' might logically relate to the question of ethnocentrism: Jews are, in some way, superior to non-Jews (Smith, 1992). This concept has, I would suggest, a very different meaning for the people associated with Factor A, and one which has already been mentioned in the previous chapter.

"Chosen" in this instance is compatible with the traditional religious / Jewish explanation: chosen to set an example for other (non-Jewish) people and chosen as vicarious sufferers for the sins of others. It has already been suggested that for these individuals, being Jewish means having an obligation to the Jewish group. Now it is

suggested that such an obligation might imply a responsibility. In support of this idea, the following items are considered in relation to one another:

58.	Jews are being held up to a higher standard than other groups	**4**	-2	-2
56.	The Jews as a chosen people is an idea whose time has past no matter how it is defined	**-5**	4	-3
55.	Jews are different but not special or unique	**-4**	1	5

The people in Factor A thus seem to be supporting the idea that Jews are held up to a higher standard, whilst rejecting the idea that Jews are not special or unique.

13.	The holocaust is a lesson not just for Jews but for everyone about what people will accept if it doesn't directly concern them	**4**	-4	4

Thus, if Jews are to take the moral high ground, and the people in Factor A seem clearly to think that they will, then there may well be a lesson in the Holocaust for other nations. We cannot go as far as to suggest that for Jews the Holocaust is some kind of badge of honour, as Krauthammer (1992) suggested it well might be. But there is the indication that for Factor A, the Holocaust is a symbol of atrocity that the world would do well to heed.

In terms of the argument about positive social identity, this seems an unusual choice for those in Factor A: Being Jewish means taking pride in a sense of morality that is different from that of other groups, and potentially damaging to ***positive*** social identity. There is, of course, ample evidence of more conventional examples of ingroup favouritism, but none with such specified meaning. It is therefore suggested that those individuals in Factor B do not endorse such sentiments, in general they seem fairly apathetic to such suggestions. This may be due to their assertion that Jews are not different to non-Jews and therefore do not consider themselves imbued with any special responsibility on the basis of their being Jewish. Once more there seems to be some confusion between the extent of Jewish identity and the meaning thereof. Is the non-committal sentiment that appears to be present for Factor B indicative of a non-committal attitude to being Jewish; or is such a sentiment not important because the idea of moral responsibility is not perceived by the people in Factor B to be contributing to their own specified meaning of Jewish group

identity ? A subjective meaning of being Jewish that extends beyond 'not different' to non-Jews seems more and more difficult to establish for Factor B.

7.2.2 Socially Beneficient Action and the meaning of Discrimination

In light of the suggestions made as to the moral responsibility position of Factor A, it seems prudent to redress such claims in terms of Factor B. Doing so also provides us with an opportunity to discuss the structure which has been conceptualised in the Method chapter: that of separatists and cosmopolitans.

A separatist and cosmopolitan frame of reference for the subjects in this study would imply, I have suggested, more than simply different and not different respectively. It would imply, for the cosmopolitans, that a meaning of Jewish identity is provided without a necessary reference to anything Jewish. It would therefore strengthen the position that a specified meaning of Jewish identity is potentially unrelated to the extent of affiliation to the Jewish group. Results in the previous chapter were fairly supportive in that most of the subjects in Factor B have endorsed the cosmopolitan items and rejected the separatist ones. It is argued that the strongest case for asserting the existence of a non-Jewish point of reference might be found in terms of responses to anti-Semitism. For Factor B, this might result in a Jewish identity which finds expression in terms of socially beneficient action.

It was suggested that some individuals would define their Jewishness in terms of an opposition to discrimination in general (Lesser, 1992; Mirelman 1989) rather than through the more traditional aspects of Judaism and Jewish culture. I suggested that for those who defined themselves as Jewish and not different (i.e. the cosmopolitan individual), one could identify with Jews through the expression of liberal attitudes and behaviour. That is, one could be opposed to Apartheid, to use the South African context, and take the impetus for that from a group process. One's perceived experience of the role of anti-Semitism would, it is suggested, provide the motivation for opposition to all forms of discrimination, and

hence one would be asserting the importance of being Jewish through behaviour which had no Jewish frame of reference. Based on the literature (e.g. Davids, 1982; Kristol, 1991; Ringer & Lawless, 1989) it seemed as if that was indeed possible.

Specific results though, do not seem to be able to support this suggestion. In terms of items of importance for the Factors, if displays of liberal humanism are at all forthcoming, they would seem to be so in terms of the moral responsibility of Factor A. A test of this comes from item 12.

12.	When people are actually organising themselves as Jews because they feel that they've got a history of discrimination then you can say "Why aren't you speaking out against discrimination in other situations"	2	-3	5

Item 12 is taken verbatim from the interviews and is, as was suggested previously, potentially very confusing. If one assumes that this item means that Jews have a history of discrimination and should therefore oppose all other forms of discrimination, then this would seem to be the 'acid test' of socially beneficient action. If so, then it would seem particularly damaging to claims that for Factor B, Jewish identity means being opposed to all other forms of racism. There is already some evidence that such individuals consider anti-Semitism to be equatable to all forms of racism, particularly item 14:

14.	There is no difference between the motives of Holocaust and those of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.	-4	3	1

The response presented in item 12 though seems to be one of apathy.

All the above depends, of course, on the assumption that this *is* how the Factors understand this item. Based on the score for Factor C which seems to have nothing to do with Factor C's general position, and the potentially confusing wording of this item, this may well be too large an assumption to make.

In sum, there seems little reason, based upon the data, to suspect such a motivation for a cosmopolitan framework in terms of discrimination. What we have seen limited evidence for in regard to prejudice is a separatist perspective which suggests that anti-Semitism is somehow different from other forms of discrimination; and a cosmopolitan perspective which suggests that anti-Semitism is identical to all other forms of prejudice. If Jews do not, upon reflection of their own history of persecution, feel obligated to oppose discrimination on other levels, then perhaps that is a social indictment (Nell, 1993; Segal, 1993) but not a surprising revelation. Furthermore, it was seen in the previous chapter that

there are few subjects in the sample who did perceive themselves as discriminated against through anti-Semitism, and the difference between how this was perceived between the Factors was shown not to be significant.

It seems, therefore, that we are no closer to an understanding of a meaning of Jewish identity which is necessarily different for Factor B. Furthermore, especially in terms of which previous literature has argued for a place of importance for anti-Semitism in Jewish identity (e.g. Arkin, 1984; Davids, 1982; Dubb, 1973; Gottschalk, 1984; Herman, 1977; Krauthammer, 1993) , it is equally suprising that little evidence is found which relates to the potential for anti-Semitism in South Africa. The suggestion that those in Factor B may be apathetic towards other instances of discrimination suggests, therefore, a rather different direction of interpretation as regards experiences of discrimination.

Of all which has been argued for Factor B, only one aspect seems particularly validated: the people in Factor B do not wish to be seen by others as different, nor do they consider Jews to be different or special. That being the case, the following item seems to offer some confusion:

19. Israel's actions should be defended at all costs, no matter what it does -3 **3** -1

I would suggest that this item may have direct relevance in terms of the suggestion that the people in Factor B display some form of apathy. For the people in Factor A, item 19 is a moral breach - a Jewish country is expected to set an example. Furthermore, it is possible that Factors A and B might not be referring to the same thing in this statement. It seems unlikely that Factor B is displaying some form of patriotism. Rather, these people might be suggesting that Israel is free to do whatever it chooses, and this is no concern of their own. Israel, for these people, is not special or unique. A plausible option for the people in Factor B might therefore be that they would agree with this sentiment regardless of which country was the subject.

Before expanding upon the possible reasoning behind this sentiment, there is a methodological point which must be made. Item 19 is clearly important to Factor B's subjects. Furthermore, it seems not to be a particularly confusing item. It seems, however, to be completely at odds with all that has been argued previously for Factor B. What

follows is therefore only a possible explanation, made with some uncertainty. In the Conclusion chapter, this issue of relatively unimportant items is examined, and the extent to which an entirely plausible explanation for ***all*** items might exist, is considered.

It is clearly very important for people in Factor B *not* be seen as allied to a group which may be perceived as necessarily different, and therefore salient in terms of other social categories. The people in Factor B are concerned about a loss of individuality. In more concrete terms, they do not want to be seen as different by others, or even by Jews. One way of achieving this is to be, in a sense, apathetic to areas which involve taking a stand on Jewish affairs, such as item 19. Israel is free to act in whichever way it chooses, as long as it does not mean that Factor B needs to get involved. To review some of Factor B's other item scores:

9.	Nobody reads about Mr. Marais and says "bloody Afrikaner", but let it be Mr. Nochomowitz, then it's a different story	-1	**2**	-2
11.	Some of the reason for anti-Semitism is that there are Jews who will only stick to themselves and exclude everyone else	-1	**2**	-1

In terms of Factor A, if these people perceive anti-Semitism to be a threat, it is argued that they perceive it as a threat directed against the Jewish group. Moreover, if there would be any perspective in this sample concerned about anti-Semitism, we might expect that perspective to be contained in Factor A. In terms of the above two items though, it is suggested that the individuals in Factor B are concerned that the so-called 'lumping together' of Jews in groups and claiming that Jews are different, results, in some way, in a form of discrimination, albeit it very subtle. If people in Factor B ally themselves with the Jewish group, and consequently identify themselves as Jewish to others, then they may set themselves up as a target. Not as a group target, which might be the concern of the people in Factor A, but as an individual target in terms of discriminatory stereotypes. So long as the people in Factor B remain salient as individuals, and not as part of the Jewish group, they have nothing to fear from discrimination by non-Jews. In that sense, we may understand the following item in a rather different way than would seem obvious at face value:

54.	Everyone in this world is jealous of the Jews	-1	**2**	-4

For Factor A, we have some (slight though it is) additional support for the idea that Jews are not superior to non-Jews. But the individuals in Factor B seem to think that they

are perceived as such by others. And if they are, then there are two possibilities: Either this is good for Factor B in the sense that it enables Factor B to align itself with a strong group, to enhance a sense of positive group identity. This is unlikely at best considering Factor B's general position. So a more likely alternative is that Factor B is concerned that other groups may be jealous of Jews, which would be a potentially threatening situation to be in if one aligned oneself with the group. The people in Factor B do not align themselves with the Jewish group, and so can evaluate their own position as positive and un-threatened.

In terms of a specified meaning of Jewish identity for Factor B, it seems unlikely that the following two concepts are held to be true simultaneously:

- Anti-Semitism is identical to other forms of discrimination;
- The Jewish group is a potential target for anti-Semitism.

To argue such a position however, would seem to reinforce the position that Jewish identity can be considered in terms of the extent of group affiliation.

The implications of two such assertions are, it seems, that the argument returns to the extent of Jewish identity based on group affiliation. If Factor B's conceptualisation of what Jewish identity entails is the same as that of Factor A, then the above argument would seem to support the suggestion that the people in Factor A have a 'weak' Jewish identity. For Factor A, strong and salient group identity seems to offer security and positive social identity. For Factor B, the same seems to imply possible discrimination. By exercising some form of social mobility, the individuals in Factor B may avoid being labelled as different; that labelling being a possible indication of a loss of positive identity.

The argument proposed in this chapter is a complicated one, and a brief discussion concerning the subjective importance of the Jewish social group is required before any conclusions may be drawn.

Considering the subjective importance of being Jewish, it seems possible that Factor A's subjects consider being Jewish to have a much larger role to play than do subjects in Factor B. This suggestion is made with far less confidence than the proposition concerning the extent of Jewish group identity. Here we might recall comments made earlier in this chapter about the temptation to consider the Factor A perspective as 'more' Jewish than that of Factor B. That is, the suggestion that Factor A' subjects consider being Jewish to be more subjectively important than membership in other social groups is valid only if Factor B's understanding of being Jewish is the same as Factor A's. It is possible, therefore to argue both ways depending on whether or not one is willing to accept *a priori* definitions of the meaning of being Jewish. As far as that is concerned, a case could be made in terms of the notion of chosenness that, at least of this aspect, two different understandings of being Jewish are possible. To argue in terms of the subjective importance of Jewish group identity requires, too, that one accept the notion of a unitary definition of being Jewish.

The preceding discussion is, it seems, more of a delineation of the difficulties of assessing specified meaning than anything else. The support for a position that asserts that each factor does have a specified meaning of what being Jewish entails would seem to emanate from a clearer understanding of Factor B's perspective. The position that is outlined here seems more representative of what Factor B does *not* find meaningful. In the final chapter, possible reasons for this outcome are discussed. To conclude this chapter, the discussion is summarised in terms of the original question posed in the Introduction chapter.

7.3 Positive Jewish Identity

In this study three points of view about Jewish identity are identified and so there are three possible answers to the question : " What does being Jewish mean to you ?". Firstly there is Factor A which suggests that being Jewish means having an identifiable link

with the Jewish group. Factor A equates being Jewish with a sense of positive group identity, a connection to other Jews that identifies the Jewish group as desirable. Factor A's subjects also have little to say about other groups, being more concerned with the differences inherent in Jewishness than with the similarities between Jews and other groups of individuals in society.

For Factor B being Jewish means that there is a connection to the Jewish group, albeit one which is utilised to a very limited extent. Being Jewish is not a limiting aspect in these people's lives, and they prefer to evaluate their own position in terms of personal rather than group identity, the latter being too constricting, or even, as has been suggested, potentially threatening to a sense of positive identity.

These two factors are the two most popular, and more or less representative of an equal number of subjects who took part in this study. What little there has been to say about Factor C is further undermined by the few subjects who are associated with it's perspective. In terms of social identity there has been little which we can add to Factor C without it becoming unsubstantiated conjecture, and I am content to suggest that Factor C seems represented by a point of view which advocates that being Jewish may simply be a means of maintaining Tajfel's "psychological group distinctiveness" (Tajfel, 1981).

What I suggest therefore is that it seems possible to conceptualise the three factors as representative of three options of achieving positive social identity. Such an assertion remains valid even in the absence of different meanings of Jewish identity. If there is indeed a specific meaning of Jewish identity that is unique to Factor B, then it is possible that such meaning does contribute to a sense of positive social identity. There is little doubt that it does so for the people in Factor A. If the meaning is not different for Factor B, then positive social identity may be conceptualised as inversely proportionate to group affiliation.

I am, however, unwilling to suggest that a completely unitary meaning of Jewish identity exists for all the subjects in the sample, let alone for all Jews. Other research in this area of social psychological identity seems to be more and more concerned with social

constructionism and multiple understandings of identity (e.g. Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Baker, 1989; Parker, 1990a; Parker, 1990b; Parker & Shotter, 1990). An *a priori* understanding of Jewish identity is possible, but in an increasingly cosmopolitan society, seems somehow counter-intuitive. The basic group processes that are predicted by Social Identity Theory are present - there seems ample evidence of that - but it seems as if something may be missing. For the present study, we have to be satisfied with suggesting that both specified meanings and extent of identity are possible explanations for the results presented. Suggestions as to where future research in this area might go are discussed in the following chapter.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, two possible explanations for the results of this study were discussed with specific reference to Factors A and B. Factor C was not, due to possible inconsistencies and statistical difficulties, discussed in much detail. The two possibilities of either mutually exclusive meanings of identity, or a unitary meaning of Jewish identity, are contrasted. A third possibility, that the Jewish group has a different place of subjective importance for each subject, is also considered. It is argued that current data suggests that although the psychological group processes - the extent to which one identifies with the Jewish group - are identified, ascertaining the existence of specified meaning is considerably more difficult. Even so, it is further argued that a unitary meaning of Jewish group identity seems unlikely, especially as evidence suggests a very specific meaning in the case of ingroup favouritism and the notion of the Jews as the "chosen people". More focused research may uncover the meaning of being Jewish for those who have 'low' group affiliation.

8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter it is argued that a more complete understanding of Jewish identity, and perhaps of any group identity, requires an approach to research that is able to advance from merely identifying social-psychological group processes to one which is able to discover the specified meaning of Jewish group identity. Whether or not Social Identity Theory is able to provide for such an understanding is not the concern of this study and it is not the intention of this thesis to act as a critique of Social Identity Theory.

Social Identity Theory, as it was used and conceptualised by Tajfel (1979) is primarily based on intergroup, not intra-group studies. More recent work in this area has advanced towards more *personal* and *cognitive* understandings of group identity (for example, Turner's (1991) self-categorization theory) as well as research which is concerned with the *meaning* of group identity (e.g. Condor (1989)). What has been accomplished in this study, it is suggested, is simply a utilisation of Tajfel's (1982) concepts - specifically that of social categorization and social identity - and from that an attempt has been made to discover the meaning that individuals attribute to the Jewish group. (I have, for example, suggested that the individuals in Factor A seem to exhibit some form of ingroup-favouritism; that the individuals in Factor B seem concerned with social mobility; and that the subjects in Factor C are concerned with psychological group distinctivness).

Where there is much scope for criticism though, is in terms of the methodology used. The following section outlines these difficulties.

8.1 Methodological Critiques

In a discussion concerning the technical 'rules' of Q Methodology, Brown (personal communication, 23 August 1994) contends that along with decisions to use eigenvalues, to use a previously decided number of factors etc., " ... there is of course the master rule --

that Q factors be considered, *a priori*, as socially constructed". It was discussed in chapter five that one of the most important reasons for choosing Q over R methodology was that Q made no assumptions about the possible common points of view; that whatever came out of the Q sorts was due to the input of the subjects only. This is what Brown (personal communication, 23 August 1994) refers to as the 'socially constructed' nature of the Q factors. Q factors are understood to be constructed by the subjects rather than being simply measurements of existing social phenomena; and it would seem from that perspective that Q achieves one of the much vaunted discontinuities in social psychology - that of allowing the subject to describe social reality in his/her own terms (Stainton-Rogers, personal communication, 25 October 1994).

Brown (1980; 1986; 1994) claims that Q Methodology's Q factors are socially constructed in the sense that the subjects respond to their own input; rather than responding to a priori defined items which the researcher provides. Parker (1989) has expressed concern that a methodology involve the subject and researcher together, and not isolate the subject from the research process. From that perspective, the subject's input is obviously very important; the subject has a rather more active role to play in the construction of data in Q Methodology than does the subject in other forms of research (Vaughn & Martino, 1988). However to claim that Q factors are completely socially constructed may be exaggerated and serves as the first criticism to this study: The subjects are *still responding to a set of statements which the researcher provides.*

As was mentioned in the chapter on methodology, not all Q statements in this study are verbatim responses taken from the interview. Some statements have been slightly altered so that their meaning is clearer. McKeown and Thomas (1988) suggested that it is unimportant if the statements have different *subjective* meanings for the participants because what is at issue is a measurement of subjectivity. In defense of that it has been seen that certain items have been understood in different ways by the factors (the case of the chosen people is perhaps the most obvious example of this) and this has indeed contributed to an understanding of the data.

However, there is clearly a difference between not attempting to universalize the meaning of statements and using items which are confusing. The claim to socially constructed statements, that is, statements constructed exclusively by the subjects, might

perhaps be strengthened if one were to use items which were all verbatim from the interviews. It would however, still be a case of using statements which the researcher has *chosen*, and can lead to situations such as that for item 12, where one is unable to reconcile the statement with the factor's general perspective.

A second criticism is the notion of the sorting procedure itself. Stephenson's (1953,1982) assertion that the Q sorts should, in some way, represent a normal curve is not illogical, but is slightly limiting (Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers,1990). It is as if the subjects are being told "Sort this any way you wish, but sort it as a normal curve". Stainton-Rogers (1987) has referred to this as the 'forced-free' paradox of Q methodology.

Some issue is taken here with this suggestion. In a normal scale, independent scores are available from each person for every item. The strength of the Q sort is that it allows the researcher to see which items are most important to subjects, but potentially useful data is sacrificed for that cause. In the Results chapter I have argued that it is possible to establish a proposition which asserts that the individuals in Factor B find close ties with the Jewish group threatening. That argument is potentially valid, but some of the items used are scores of only 2 or -2. In a Q sort of 60 items, where every statement has to go *somewhere*, the possibility that some statements have been added to the less important piles as an afterthought cannot be ignored. What compounds this difficulty is the fact that sorting is a time consuming task, and there are only eight places available for items of no importance whatsoever - a score of zero.

Brown (personal communication, 23 August 1994) has suggested, however, that ultimately the way that the participants sort should make little difference to the results, and cites examples (Brown, 1980) to that effect. In terms of statistical analysis, the only overriding concern for QMETHOD's (Qmethod, 1991) calculations is that all the statements be made. If subjects choose to place 12 statements in the '0' column, they are free to do so and no adverse effects to the statistical results are found (Atkinson, personal communication, 17 August 1994). There is also, perhaps more relevant to this criticism, the question of 'weighting'. This is related to the use of statistics in Q methodology.

Many researchers have criticized Q methodology for its use of traditional statistics with regard to *unorthodox* data (Brown, 1980; Stainton-Rogers, 1987). This objection is based on Q methodology's only claim for statistical analysis: that factor analysis by person

is as valid as factor analysis by trait. The objection assumes (erroneously suggests Stainton-Rogers, 1987) that an attempt is being made to compare individual item scores with factor scores. In the case of this research, that would indicate an attempt by myself to compare subject 12's score for item 7, for example, with the Factor B's scores for item 7 in an attempt to understand subject 12's perspective. The assumption is, quite simply, wrong. It implies firstly, that one is particularly interested in subject 12's individual interpretation. More fundamental to this discussion however, it further implies that the researcher has a complete understanding of subject 12's interpretation of item 7 (Stainton-Rogers, 1987). Such implications assume that Q is a classification of people, and not what it is, namely, a classification of attitudes.

The question of where items have been placed must therefore be mediated by the fact that Factor B's lowly 2s and -2s are weighted scores. Of the 19 individuals who comprise Factor B , a factor array score of 2 for items such as the following:

9.	Nobody reads about Mr. Marais and says "bloody Afrikaner", but let it be Mr. Nochomowitz, then it's a different story	-1	2	-2
11.	Some of the reason for anti-Semitism is that there are Jews who will only stick to themselves and exclude everyone else	-1	2	-1

are not representative of a single person's sentiments as regards the possible existence of anti-Semitism. They represent a common attitude and this must be taken into account before dismissing items which at first may not seem to be consistent with the general account that they factors represent.

As to more specific methodological difficulties of this study, the following points are acknowledged:

i) Brown (1980) suggest that a post-sorting interview may be necessary. If there is some confusion as to the way a specific individual has sorted statements (unusual choices etc.) then it is advisable to consult the sorters for an explanation. Although confusing items were discussed immediately after the sorting (the researcher was always present when participants sorted the statements) no follow-up interviews were conducted once results were known. This might facilitate the use of confusing items and would allow the researcher to re-phrase items. Although a pilot study was performed, an additional 'after-the-fact' inquiry could prove useful.

ii) It is possible that not enough subjects were interviewed (see pilot study 1 in the Method chapter). The use of more subjects - and perhaps a broader range of subjects - might facilitate the construction of a broader concourse.

iii) Although sufficient subjects were used for the Q sorting, the lack of elderly subjects - and possibly children - might have been useful. The lack of lower socially economic class subjects is also acknowledged.

iv) The presence of the researcher during the sorting procedure may have been a confounding influence. This is particularly possible with regard to the fact that so few subjects deviated from the layout of the Q-sort. Often Q sorts are conducted via correspondence (e.g. Stainton-Rogers, 1987) and it is suggested that the fact that these Q sorts were administered in person may have pressurised some subjects into completing the sort as 'accurately' as possible. Financial and time constraints have greatly hindered the possibility of correspondence responses.

v) Related to this is the question of the complicated nature of the methodology itself and it's relatively unorthodox approach. The process of Q sorting has been described by one particular participant in this study as "bloody impossible". Brown (personal communication, 23 August 1994) has countered this suggestion by asserting that the only requirement for Q sorting is literacy and, in the case where items are pictures or even cartoons, not even that. I personally disagree with his assertion and cannot refute the possibility that Q sorting is an extremely complicated and time-consuming task; one which is very unusual when compared with the 1 = agree/ 7= disagree structure of a Likert scale.

vi) Related to the issues of social context which this study has, to some degree, addressed, is the notion of when the sorting took place. This study was undertaken during the period immediately preceding and following South Africa's first multi-racial elections. The lack of evidence concerning anti-Semitism, it is suggested, might be due to the more overriding concern expressed by some of the subjects of racial repercussions following the elections.

vii) The final limitation relates to all of the above and is concerned with the actual concourse. If statements are not relevant to the concourse - and because some statements are not verbatim this is certainly possible - difficulties which arise during the sorting procedure may be due to subjects not recognising the concepts expressed and are not necessarily related to the method at hand being complicated. Although every care has been taken to ensure that all statements are representative of the concourse, some irrelevant items may be presented. Some subjects - for example - may not have been aware what 'Herzlia' was (although no subjects enquired).

8.2 *Implications for future research*

All these criticisms reflect, in some way, the possibility that the results of this study are not entirely straightforward. It is again stressed though that the study is an exploratory one and one of it's most useful contributions is, I would argue, the implication that there may be an interplay between the extent and meaning of group identity. Future research in this area, if it is to remain in the sphere of social psychology might therefore proceed in terms of, as Baker (1989) has argued, a social construction of reality. To this end, Baker (1989) has suggested that a methodology is required which is able to reflect the specified meaning of identity and the more specific connotations that group identity might have for individuals. Research that would make use of the theories of rhetoric and language it seems, might be able to provide a more in-depth analysis and perhaps concentrate on areas such as 'chosenness', 'Jewish culture', 'religion' or 'Zionism'. While useful, Q methodology may not be able to advance beyond an exploratory study unless :

1. The concourse is more clearly defined
2. The Q statements are structured more specifically.

The cosmopolitan / separatist structure outlined in the Method chapter has been of some use to an analysis of results, but results have not always been explicable in terms of this structure. This is not, I would argue, a reflection of the study's difficulties because a Q structure is not the same as a specified hypothesis which can be rejected. There has also been much data which is particularly useful, especially that which relates to the extent of group affiliation.

A direction for future research which seems unlikely, especially in the sphere of Jewish identity is that which has been advocated by Herman (1984). Herman (1984) has suggested that the reason that studies of Jewish identity are largely inconclusive is because instead of attempting to gain a more holistic account of what being Jewish means, such studies tend to focus exclusively on one of the following: The impact of the Holocaust and its teachings ; Israel-Diaspora relations and Zionist ideology; or the study of the social psychology of Anti-Semitism.

The answer to this problem, asserts Herman (1984), is to replicate studies based on a common model. A model exists (Herman, 1977), and if adhered to by all studies of Jewish identity would greatly facilitate future research.

The opinions expressed in this study, in light of the diverse way that subjects have chosen to define themselves as Jews, would seem to indicate a rather different focus. Rigid adherence to a common model of Jewish identity would seem to take no account of the potential multiplicity of Jewish identity. The more radical social psychology theorists, have rejected more traditional models of psychology and called for a new model of social psychology which 'deconstructs' the more individually based models and attempts to construct a new model using that which is subjectively important for the research population (Parker & Shotter, 1990). A theory which attempts a broader understanding of social psychological issues by addressing the same aspects is doomed from the start because the debates cannot extend outside of the theoretical area that is already marked off (Henriques et al, 1984). So any responses that such a theory might find are related to phenomena already existing in the area at the time. What is required is a *reconstruction* of the subject of social psychology (Danziger, 1990).

These comments are, I suggest equally applicable to the study of Jewish identity. To attempt an assessment of Jewish identity based on *a priori* defined criteria of being Jewish

would seem to ignore the possibility that, as in the case of this study, Factor A's understanding of being Jewish is exactly the same as Factor B's; and these perspectives differ only in the extent to which they be defined as representative of Jewish identity. Future research therefore, seems likely to address the specific meanings of Jewish group identity rather than measuring "Jewish" traits amongst individuals. To explain how that may be achieved is unfortunately beyond the scope of this study.

Tajfel describes himself as a Jew "not as a matter of religion" (Cohen, 1985, p. 298) but as a matter of social context. As a Jew in pre-Holocaust Europe, Tajfel suggested that his Jewishness was defined in terms of a discriminatory social background and had little to do with his adherence to Judaism or any other such formalised belief. For him, the meaning of Jewish group identity was closely related, it seems, to the experiences of prejudice.

Jews in South Africa it seems, may well be defining themselves as Jewish in terms of both the social-psychological context that seems to describe their social group and in terms of individuals' preferences. If there is indeed a common basis, a unitary meaning of what the Jewish group represents, then perhaps it is represented by Factor A. And if this is indeed the case, then the implication seems to be that understandings of Jewish identity have not advanced at all, despite increasingly changing social contexts and norms. Such a suggestion seems unlikely at best. As Agus (1978) has suggested:

> "The problem that each Jewish community faces is to assimilate wisely the diverse influences that impinge upon it, and to grow in understanding, refinement and sympathy. In other words, the criteria of growth in each case are intrinsic to the life of that community, which includes the impetus from the past, the concerns of the present and *the universal society of the future*." (p. 398, my emphasis).

Hyperbolic as Agus's (1978) suggestion is, the possibility that individual perceptions, or even group perceptions, have remained unchanged is extremely unlikely and future directions in identity research will have to reflect that change. As Norden has argued at the beginning of this study, whichever direction future research might take, it is no longer possible to 'count heads'.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Operand Definitions of the Sub-Categories

Separatist (a)	Cosmopolitan (b)
c - religion	
ac is a separatist's view of Judaism as being unique and special. (All religions may have a moral basis but Judaism has the best descriptions and rules for implementing it)	bc is a cosmopolitan's view of Judaism as just a religion, not superior to any other.(It is worthwhile considering what other religions may have to offer)
d - prejudice and discrimination	
ad is a separatist's understanding that unless a person is a Jew, they're an anti-Semite; that oppression, in whatever subtle form it takes, has taught Jews to remain within their communities and not fraternise (Because of their history of persecution, Jews should take great care to ensure that they are not currently persecuted)	bd is a cosmopolitan's view of their past oppression as a stimulus for responsibility against all forms of oppression as well as the extent to which anti-Semitism is understandable as merely another form of racism. (The holocaust is a lesson not just for Jews but for everyone about what people will accept if it doesn't directly concern them)
e - Zionism	
ae is a separatist's view that he/she needs a Jewish homeland and the extent to which Israel is perceived of as sacred and beyond criticism, exclusive nationalism to a degree. (Before the establishment of the State of Israel Jews were defenceless against anti-Semitism)	be is a cosmopolitan's perception of Israel as just another country. (There is no conflict of interests for a Jew to criticise the actions of Israel)
f - family structure	
af is a separatist's view that family interactions are particularly Jewish and different for Jews (Communication is normally better in Jewish families than in others)	bf is a a cosmopolitan's perception that the behaviour and attitudes of a Jewish family to be common and not unique to Jews. (Jewish families are like any other families)
g - community life	
ag is a separatist's understanding that the community is unique amongst other communities (The Jewish community, unlike other minority groups, is self-supporting)	bg is a cosmopolitan's view that the Jewish community is a common one amongst many (The image that the Jews should be conveying is that we're the same as everyone else)

h - social interaction and family life	
ah is a separatist's view that characteristics are exhibited by Jews which are, at least, far more common, at most, unique, among Jews and manifested in normal living (Even people who aren't particularly observant, still somehow seem to know that they're Jewish and find other Jews easily)	bh is a cosmopolitan's view that Jews are considered to be just like everyone else (It's important that children be exposed to a wider arena of people than only Jews)
I - education	
ai is a separatist's view that education is believed to be best in a Jewish environment - specifically the issue of Jewish day schools (If one lives in the diaspora, one needs a Jewish education)	bi is a cosmopolitan's belief that education in a secular environment is important (Jewish schools promote a perception of exclusivity)
j - elitism	
aj is a separatist's view that Jews are superior (It is always possible to identify non-Jews who have converted to Judaism)	bj is a cosmopolitan view of this as not true (Jews are different but not special or unique)
k - perception by non-Jews	
ak is the belief that the non-Jewish community view Jews as separatist (Jews are being held up to a higher standard than other groups)	bk is the belief that the non-Jewish community view Jews as cosmopolitan (Non-Jews don't think of the Jews as the chosen people)

Appendix 2: List of Original Items used in Pilot Study 2

ac *separatist-religion*

1. All religions may have a moral basis but Judaism has the best descriptions and rules for implementing it.
2. Jews should be living their lives with constant reference to Judaism and it's principles.
*3. I wouldn't change my religion for anything in the world.
4. Religious Judaism is synonymous with caring for one's fellow man.

bc *cosmopolitan-religion*

*5. At an intellectual level, the Jewish rituals are no more interesting than those of the other religions, for example, Christmas.
6. Identification with the Jewish people is not the same as identification with the Jewish religion.
7. It is worthwhile considering what other religions may have to offer.
8. Judaism cannot claim to be a unique religion in terms of its aims and principles.

ad *separatist -anti-Semitism and oppression*

9. Because of their history of persecution, Jews should take great care to ensure that they are not currently persecuted.
10. Given an opportunity, the potential for anti-Semitism is always there.
11. Nobody reads about Mr. Marais and says "bloody Afrikaner", but let it be Mr. Nochomowitz, then it's a different story.
12. There's always the possibility that at the end of the day Jews in South Africa are going to be singled out.
*13. Wider South African society does not entirely trust the Jewish community.

bd *cosmopolitan--anti-Semitism and oppression*

*14. Jews are the product of some kind of culture of oppression or paranoia.
15. Some of the reason for anti-Semitism is that there are Jews who will only stick to themselves and exclude everyone else.
16. When people are actually organising themselves as Jews because they feel that they've got a history of discrimination then you can say "Why aren't you speaking out against discrimination in other situations".
17. The holocaust is a lesson not just for Jews but for everyone about what people will accept if it doesn't directly concern them.
18. There is no difference between the motives of Holocaust and those of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovinia.

ae ***separatist-Zionism***

19. Before the establishment of the State of Israel Jews were defenceless against anti-Semitism.
20. Somebody who's anti-Zionist is necessarily anti-Semitic.
21. Israel serves to protect the rights of Jews internationally.
22. Jews need their own country to live in.
23. Every Jew in the Diaspora lives with the security of knowing that Israel's there for them if they need it's help.
24. Israel should be defended at all costs, no matter what it does.

be ***cosmopolitan-Zionism***

25. There is no conflict of interests for a Jew to criticise the actions of Israel.
26. Nowadays Israel is just another country like any other.
27. Anti-Zionism means being a political critic of Israel.
28 Jews are not obligated to be Zionists.
29. You can't say that the government of Israel owes it to the rest of the world to set an example of any kind just because they're Jews.
30. Israel should be a country for everybody, not only for Jews.

af ***separatist-family life***

31. In a Jewish family there's more of a sense of unity and togetherness than in other families.
32. In Jewish families, everybody is more equal than in non-Jewish families.
33. Situations where parents leave their family, or divorce, or runaway children are rare in Jewish households.
34. Communication is normally better in Jewish families than in others.

bf ***cosmopolitan-family life***

35. Jewish families are like any other families.
36 The responsibilities of a Jewish parent are identical to those of a non-Jewish parent.
37 Children should be given the choice of whether or not they wish to involve themselves in Judaism.
38. Jews have as many domestic squabbles as non-Jews.

43. Jewish community leaders (rabbis, shul chairmen, Zionist Federation spokespeople) are not speaking for all the Jews there is no truly representative body or person,
44. There is no reason that a Jew should belong to a separate Jewish social community rather than any other.

ah separatist-social situations and everyday life
45. Even people who aren't particularly observant, still somehow seem to know that they're Jewish and find other Jews easily.
46 Jewish people as a whole place a higher value on success, on recognition and on financial reward than do non-Jews.
47. A Jewish person has his own mannerisms that sets him apart.
*48. Jews are far more critical than other people; they are less inclined to simply accept a situation.
49. All Jews want to succeed more than any other group of people in the world.
bh cosmopolitan-social situations and everyday life
50. It's important that children be exposed to a wider arena of people than only Jews.
*51. There is no such thing as exclusively Jewish values.
*52. The Jews are perceived by the non-Jewish community as homogeneous when they're not at all.
53. Being Jewish need not intrude on one's life much.
*54. If you decide to live in the diaspora, you must be "diasporous". ie you must live like the rest of that country.

ai separatist-education
55. If one lives in the diaspora, one needs a Jewish education.
56. If children were in government schools, they would be exposed to more anti-Semitism than in Jewish day schools.
bi cosmopolitan-education
57. Jewish schools promote a perception of exclusivity.
58. Funds raised by the Jewish community could be put to far better use than in supporting Herzlia.

aj separatist-elitism
59. It is always possible to identify non-Jews who have converted to Judaism.
60. Everyone in this world is jealous of the Jews.
bj cosmopolitan-elitism
61. Jews are different but not special or unique.
62. The Jews as a chosen people is an idea whose time has past no matter how it is defined.

aj *separatist-elitism*

59. It is always possible to identify non-Jews who have converted to Judaism.

60. Everyone in this world is jealous of the Jews.

bj *cosmopolitan-elitism*

61. Jews are different but not special or unique.

62. The Jews as a chosen people is an idea whose time has past no matter how it is defined.

ak *perception of the Jews by the non-Jews as separatist*

63. If one renounced one's Judaism, one would still be perceived by others as a Jew.

64. Jews are being held up to a higher standard than other groups.

bk *perception of the Jews by the non-Jews as cosmopolitan*

65. It is more important for others to acknowledge you as a South African than as a Jew.

66. Non-Jews don't think of the Jews as the chosen people.

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* *Items marked with an asterisk have either been excluded or changed*

Appendix 3: Technical Procedures of Q Methodology

(A) Correlation

As in conventional factor analysis, factors are extracted from the correlation matrix (representing the correlations between each individual's q-sort, in this case, a matrix of 51*51) (McKeown & Thomas, 1988). Items in the q sorts are compared to each other based on the value which each individual has chosen for each item. The difference between each individual's score is squared and the totals are then summed, resulting in the matrix represented by Table 1

Table 1: correlations between subjects

Item	Subject A	Subject B	Difference	Difference ^2
1	1	0	1	2
2	4	2	2	4
3	-3	2	-5	25
4	-2	1	-3	9
n	n	n	n	n
Sum	0	0	0	n

The same correlation is carried out for each subject. Should any subjects score every item in exactly the same way, then their difference will be 0, resulting in a perfect correlation (Brown, 1980). A complete correlation matrix is presented at the end of this appendix. The correlation matrix provides the researcher with a quick look at which subjects share common perspectives on Jewish identity, 1.00 indicating a perfect positive correlation, -1.00 a perfect negative one. For example, the correlation between subjects 15 and 11 is calculated to be 0.75, which is high. We might then wish to examine the subjects in terms of their biographical details and then note that both subjects are professionals, religiously observant, members of many social groups whose membership is restricted to Jews, married with children, and numerous other similarities.

The correlation matrix, however, is of no real interest, as the researcher is more interested in the factors which the matrix can produce (Brown, 1980).

(B) Factor Extraction

It is assumed that each Q sort which is extracted will represent an individual account of Jewish identity. Further, Q sorts will load on (represent a correlation of some kind with) a particular factor. Factors extracted are therefore representations of an account of Jewish identity which is similar to the Q sorts which load significantly on that factor. Subjects 1 through 5, for example, are shown to load significantly ($p<0.33$) onto factor A, while subjects 15 through 18 are found to load significantly onto factor B. (A complete list of the individual q-sorts and their factor loadings appeared in chapter 7 - results). Q sorts are then 'weighted' for each factor. Weighting determines how close a particular factor is to a particular Q sort (Brown, 1980). The 'weight' of a q sort is defined as the extent to which each individual's q sort is similar to the factor in question, i.e., similar to a shared perspective or point of view. This enables the researcher to merge the Q sorts which load onto a particular factor (Brown, 1980).

Table 2 - selected q sort factor loadings

Q sorts (subjects)	Factors 1	2	3
1	0.09	(0.62)	0.01
11	(0.81)	0.01	0
28	(.59)	.43	-.16
39	(.76)	.-.11	.06

* loadings in parentheses are significant at $p<.01$

If, for example, the Q sorts of subjects 11, 28 and 39 are found to load significantly onto a factor which can be identified as factor 1, then factor 1 is only interpretable through the combination of the three q sorts, that is, we do not yet know what it represents until we know what the q sorts represent. The weights are important because they are different. If each q sort pertaining to the factor in question yielded an identical loading, then it would simply be a matter of calculating the mean . As each q sort is likely to have a different value, by calculating the weights, it is possible to determine what percentage of the factor is determined by each individual (Blyth, 1989).

The scores of each q sort for each item are then multiplied by the weight of each Q sort which loads onto a factor, and then totalled (Blyth, 1989). Hence for factor 1, subject 11 will constitute the greatest percentage because he has the highest loading, and so on.

Table 3: Hypothetical factor score

Subject	Factor Loading (Factor 1)	Score for item 1	Multiplied by	Weight for item 1	Total
11	(0.81)	5	*	w11	t11
28	(0.59)	4	*	w28	t28
39	(0.76)	3	*	w39	t29
Factor score for item 1 (Factor 1)				Z	

The results of this process would be the score (expressed as a Z score) that Factor 1 gives item 1. This procedure is repeated for all Q sorts which are identified as similar to the factors which are extracted from the correlation matrix, until each factor is represented by a single score for each statement. This process is then repeated for each factor (McKeown & Thomas, 1988).
This allows the researcher to compare statements across factors. Before he/she can do this it is necessary to normalise the scores into Z scores seeing as each factor is comprised of a different number of individual Q sorts (Brown, 1980). These items are then re-converted back into the original +5 to -5 convention. So the highest three Z scores are ranked as +5, the lowest three as -5 etc. This results in the establishment of Q sort scores for each factor using the same convention that was used for scoring them by the individuals. (a complete list of the factor scores with their accompanying Z scores for each factor is contained at the conclusion of this appendix) Statements can now be represented as follows and the scores provided are known as factor arrays:

ITEM	FACTOR			
	1	2	3	4
Jews are different, but not special or unique	-4	1	-1	3
A Jewish person has his/her own mannerisms which set him apart	2	-1	2	-1
There is no reason that a Jew should belong to a separate Jewish social group	-3	3	-3	3

From the above it can be seen that factors 1 and 3 represent similar expressions of Jewish identity, and we may wish to contrast this to factor 2. We can now better understand Stainton-Rogers' (1987) statement that,

"The end result of a q study is a set of descriptions of different accounts, where the interpretational links between elements within each account are derived from the different ways people actually linked statements together in their sorting.... These descriptions are ***not*** intended to be classifications of people, but clarifications of ***the accounts themselves***" " (p. 134).

(C) Varimax Rotated Factor Loadings

Q SORT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	0.0896	0.6173	0.0082	-0.0250	-0.0002	-0.4324	0.1143
2	-0.1247	0.3316	0.0222	-0.3629	-0.0276	0.0111	-0.1933
3	-0.0937	0.4941	0.0203	-0.2371	-0.0028	-0.0330	0.1630
4	-0.1969	0.3915	0.1021	-0.3351	0.0218	-0.3240	0.1522
5	0.1867	0.6201	-0.0418	-0.0275	0.0093	-0.3221	0.0056
6	0.0520	0.0382	-0.0175	-0.1079	0.0046	-0.0136	-0.4843
7	0.0325	0.5994	-0.0205	-0.0834	-0.0172	-0.0817	-0.0049
8	0.2775	-0.0688	0.0281	-0.3126	-0.0233	-0.3363	-0.0203
9	0.1009	0.7490	-0.0322	-0.2366	-0.0341	-0.0659	0.1066
10	0.1009	0.3173	0.0400	-0.0766	-0.0054	-0.7169	0.1634
11	0.8058	0.0074	-0.0026	-0.0121	0.0224	-0.1528	-0.0847
12	0.1165	0.4246	0.0002	-0.1732	-0.0243	-0.4495	-0.0200
13	0.7526	-0.0037	-0.0179	-0.0565	-0.0073	0.0474	-0.0869
14	0.1988	-0.2704	0.0702	-0.1455	0.0214	-0.0493	0.2694
15	0.7758	0.1097	-0.0290	-0.1251	-0.0280	-0.2451	0.1499
16	0.7300	-0.1469	0.0562	0.1438	0.0326	0.0074	0.1229
17	0.4321	0.2316	-0.0468	-0.3297	-0.0435	-0.3997	-0.0481
18	-0.3601	0.5954	0.1647	0.0667	0.0541	-0.0215	-0.4105
19	0.2809	0.0600	-0.0017	-0.3732	0.0570	-0.1577	0.3252
20	-0.0484	0.7301	0.0137	0.0004	0.0153	0.0254	-0.1815
21	-0.0280	0.6416	0.0103	-0.3197	-0.0371	-0.0296	-0.0588
22	0.3259	0.0746	-0.0199	-0.2862	-0.0033	-0.1557	0.1904
23	0.3563	0.1594	-0.0287	-0.0887	0.0201	-0.4620	-0.2451
24	0.4596	0.0074	-0.0166	-0.2231	-0.0071	-0.0241	0.2534
25	-0.0517	0.5912	0.0126	0.0961	0.0873	-0.0720	-0.2922
26	0.7294	0.1629	-0.0674	-0.1756	-0.0362	-0.0147	0.1638
27	0.7292	-0.1101	0.0541	-0.1774	-0.0363	-0.2780	0.0072
28	0.5815	0.4272	-0.1576	0.0607	0.0577	0.0516	-0.0536
29	0.0968	0.4416	0.0017	-0.1196	-0.0155	-0.4245	0.1664
30	0.6370	0.0556	-0.0283	-0.2995	-0.0446	-0.1339	0.0086
31	-0.0334	0.2254	0.0241	-0.4088	0.0403	-0.1490	0.1234
32	0.4282	0.4149	-0.0995	-0.2519	-0.0272	-0.2542	-0.3235
33	0.0523	0.4751	-0.0109	-0.2227	-0.0349	-0.2031	-0.1430
34	0.3242	0.0645	-0.0175	-0.4406	-0.0106	-0.1614	-0.0088
35	-0.3109	0.3959	0.0955	-0.3705	-0.0307	0.0633	-0.2883
36	0.6699	0.2702	-0.1099	-0.1304	-0.0178	-0.0708	-0.0688
37	-0.0107	0.5374	0.0208	-0.0548	-0.0072	-0.2834	-0.0103
38	0.2580	0.2704	-0.0107	-0.0308	0.0002	-0.5814	0.2055
39	0.7528	-0.1078	0.0642	-0.1015	-0.0268	-0.1992	0.2368
40	0.3063	0.2194	-0.0316	-0.0254	0.0518	-0.4645	-0.2526
41	0.1950	0.1098	-0.0398	-0.3601	-0.0252	0.0369	-0.1013
42	0.4507	0.2208	-0.0593	-0.0450	0.0266	-0.3723	-0.1446
43	0.2176	0.2738	-0.0567	-0.1008	0.0014	-0.0641	0.3662
44	0.7021	-0.0272	-0.0030	0.1076	0.0689	-0.1263	-0.0621
45	0.1344	0.6261	-0.0591	0.0830	0.0380	-0.0916	0.0138
46	0.6315	0.1205	-0.0383	-0.3526	-0.0548	-0.3419	-0.1428
47	0.7346	-0.0131	0.0146	-0.0536	-0.0060	-0.3169	0.0462
48	0.6629	-0.0517	0.0085	0.0721	0.0226	-0.1251	0.0742
49	0.6962	-0.1265	0.0277	0.0262	-0.0027	0.1483	0.0223
50	0.1751	0.7295	-0.0557	-0.1035	-0.0195	-0.1474	0.0307
51	-0.0942	0.5479	0.0455	-0.1337	-0.0043	-0.2075	0.2765

(D) Correlation Matrix

(The QMETHOD computer program is only graphically capable of presenting 32 columns and rows)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
1	100	29	31	46	61	-11	46	-1	44	51	21	47	-2	-16	25	-3	28	22	26	36	40	19	28	14	27	24	13	29	51	18	37	44
2	29	100	29	20	13	6	16	9	19	14	-6	16	-14	-26	-7	-15	10	28	5	36	30	11	9	3	13	8	6	13	18	2	35	23
3	31	29	100	21	35	-1	25	14	46	14	-9	32	-13	-11	8	-22	11	34	18	35	31	-3	13	14	18	10	-10	14	40	6	27	20
4	46	20	21	100	41	-6	37	3	37	41	-11	40	-17	-23	0	-28	34	28	26	20	37	20	4	2	13	0	-3	-10	35	10	26	25
5	61	13	35	41	100	-6	51	0	48	46	21	55	13	-6	32	6	39	32	21	45	32	9	31	6	35	27	11	34	36	36	19	49
6	-11	6	-1	-6	-6	100	3	24	10	-2	15	7	19	-15	5	-10	10	29	-17	17	13	-3	31	-15	22	-6	2	19	-3	10	-6	9
7	46	16	25	37	51	3	100	13	40	23	10	33	2	-16	22	-3	16	34	11	33	35	-4	12	12	30	17	-13	33	20	17	20	41
8	-1	9	14	3	0	24	13	100	3	21	27	28	26	19	44	17	26	-9	34	-3	-4	19	36	26	-6	23	37	3	24	36	19	18
9	44	19	46	37	48	10	40	3	100	35	11	42	2	-13	19	-6	36	29	24	51	56	22	13	5	39	29	-7	34	40	19	30	37
10	51	14	14	41	46	-2	23	21	35	100	19	37	-4	-1	25	9	51	8	29	24	24	18	40	-2	17	21	21	23	43	12	33	27
11	21	-6	-9	-11	21	15	10	27	11	19	100	9	56	5	75	53	43	-36	21	-14	-4	26	41	38	-7	55	66	49	17	62	5	42
12	47	16	32	40	55	7	33	28	42	37	9	100	6	-18	28	-6	37	37	22	28	23	21	41	11	18	23	22	19	38	20	19	51
13	-2	-14	-13	-17	13	19	2	26	2	-4	56	6	100	16	58	49	38	-16	17	2	6	35	26	41	14	41	61	45	3	45	-2	31
14	-16	-26	-11	-23	-6	-15	-16	19	-13	-1	5	-18	16	100	23	22	1	-30	9	-17	-4	23	-5	22	-8	15	20	-4	-4	7	0	3
15	25	-7	8	0	32	5	22	44	19	25	75	28	58	23	100	56	46	-32	28	3	6	29	46	42	-4	57	65	36	27	57	19	38
16	-3	-15	-22	-28	6	-10	-3	17	-6	9	53	-6	49	22	56	100	12	-35	16	-4	-20	20	18	30	-12	56	50	31	-8	42	-3	12
17	28	10	11	34	39	10	16	26	36	51	43	37	38	1	46	12	100	-6	40	13	33	18	47	25	16	40	38	40	30	49	21	41
18	22	28	34	28	32	29	34	-9	29	8	-36	37	-16	-30	-32	-35	-6	100	-21	52	32	-17	-4	-22	56	-35	-33	10	12	-26	1	30
19	26	5	18	26	21	-17	11	34	24	29	21	22	17	9	28	16	40	-21	100	-4	0	31	10	26	-11	46	24	21	20	48	19	16
20	36	36	35	20	45	17	33	-3	51	24	-14	28	2	-17	3	-4	13	52	-4	100	49	-13	22	-6	63	0	-10	14	31	0	3	28
21	40	30	31	37	32	13	35	-4	56	24	-4	23	6	-4	6	-20	33	32	0	49	100	19	9	3	53	8	-3	18	41	7	36	39
22	19	11	-3	20	9	-3	-4	19	22	18	26	21	35	23	29	20	18	-17	31	-13	19	100	10	32	-19	29	46	30	31	25	26	23
23	28	9	13	4	31	31	12	36	13	40	41	41	26	-5	46	18	47	-4	10	22	9	10	100	11	5	28	40	30	39	40	-2	41
24	14	3	14	2	6	-15	12	26	5	-2	38	11	41	22	42	30	25	-22	26	-6	3	32	11	100	-6	31	48	24	11	35	0	20
25	27	13	18	13	35	22	30	-6	39	17	-7	18	14	-8	-4	-12	16	56	-11	63	53	-19	5	-6	100	-13	-4	13	20	-11	14	37
26	24	8	10	0	27	-6	17	23	29	21	55	23	41	15	57	56	40	-35	46	0	8	29	28	31	-13	100	49	52	14	61	5	39
27	13	6	-10	-3	11	2	-13	37	-7	21	66	22	61	20	65	50	38	-33	24	-10	-3	46	40	48	-4	49	100	31	23	48	4	41
28	29	13	14	-10	34	19	33	3	34	23	49	19	45	-4	36	31	40	10	21	14	18	30	30	24	13	52	31	100	25	43	1	42
29	51	18	40	35	36	-3	20	24	40	43	17	38	3	-4	27	-8	30	12	20	31	41	31	39	11	20	14	23	25	100	16	13	28
30	18	2	6	10	36	10	17	36	19	12	62	20	45	7	57	42	49	-26	48	0	7	25	40	35	-11	61	48	43	16	100	4	39
31	37	35	27	26	19	-6	20	19	30	33	5	19	-2	0	19	-3	21	1	19	3	36	26	-2	0	14	5	4	1	13	4	100	12
32	44	23	20	25	49	9	41	18	37	27	42	51	31	3	38	12	41	30	16	28	39	23	41	20	37	39	41	42	28	39	12	100

Factors are extracted from a complete 51*51 correlation matrix

(E) Centroid Factor Loadings with Eigenvalues (Factors are squared for eigenvalue calculation)

Subject □	Fac. 1	X^2	Fac. 2	X^2	Fac. 3	X^2	Fac. 4	X^2	Fac. 5	X^2	Fac. 6	X^2	Fac. 7	X^2
1	0.5913	0.34963569	0.4058	0.16467364	0.0621	0.00385641	0.0821	0.00674041	0.0061	0.00003721	-0.2193	0.04809249	0.1295	0.01677025
2	0.2157	0.04652649	0.3383	0.11444689	0.043	0.001849	-0.1935	0.03744225	0.0269	0.00072361	0.2167	0.04695889	-0.219	0.047961
3	0.307	0.094249	0.4029	0.16232841	0.0611	0.00373321	-0.2195	0.04818025	0.0352	0.00123904	0.0683	0.00466489	0.1513	0.02289169
4	0.3221	0.10374841	0.4408	0.19430464	0.0733	0.00537289	-0.2994	0.08964036	0.0685	0.00469225	-0.2098	0.04401604	-0.0389	0.00151321
5	0.6148	0.37797904	0.3352	0.11235904	0.0423	0.00178929	0.1426	0.02033476	0.0174	0.00030276	-0.0606	0.00367236	0.0962	0.00925444
6	0.0933	0.00870489	0.0334	0.00111556	0.0005	0.00000025	0.1578	0.02490084	0.0212	0.00044944	0.2154	0.04639716	-0.4115	0.16933225
7	0.4234	0.17926756	0.4042	0.16337764	0.0615	0.00378225	0.0343	0.00117649	0.0013	0.00000169	0.1191	0.01418481	0.1137	0.01292769
8	0.3677	0.13520329	-0.1993	0.03972049	0.0136	0.00018496	-0.1684	0.02835856	0.02	0.0004	-0.1849	0.03418801	-0.2372	0.05626384
9	0.5951	0.35414401	0.4504	0.20286016	0.0768	0.00589824	-0.1131	0.01279161	0.0085	0.00007225	0.1737	0.03017169	0.1976	0.03904576
10	0.5574	0.31069476	0.2184	0.04769856	0.018	0.000324	0.0068	0.00004624	0.0001	0.00000001	-0.547	0.299209	-0.0314	0.00098596
11	0.5751	0.33074001	-0.5378	0.28922884	0.1063	0.01129969	0.2128	0.04528384	0.0381	0.00145161	0.0491	0.00241081	-0.0146	0.00021316
12	0.5535	0.30636225	0.2677	0.07166329	0.027	0.000729	0.0004	0.00000016	0	0	-0.1981	0.03924361	-0.0939	0.00881721
13	0.4704	0.22127616	-0.5303	0.28121809	0.1031	0.01062961	0.1387	0.01923769	0.0165	0.00027225	0.2163	0.04678569	0.02	0.0004
14	0.0277	0.00076729	-0.342	0.116964	0.0415	0.00172225	-0.243	0.059049	0.0437	0.00190969	-0.1648	0.02715904	0.0814	0.00662596
15	0.6943	0.48205249	-0.4541	0.20620681	0.0749	0.00561001	0.0246	0.00060516	0.0007	0.00000049	-0.0665	0.00442225	0.1217	0.01481089
16	0.3185	0.10144225	-0.628	0.394384	0.1475	0.02175625	0.1847	0.03411409	0.0289	0.00083521	0.0092	0.00008464	0.2045	0.04182025
17	0.6771	0.45846441	-0.091	0.008281	0.0029	0.00000841	-0.0849	0.00720801	0.0045	0.00002025	-0.104	0.010816	-0.1744	0.03041536
18	0.0742	0.00550564	0.7073	0.50027329	0.1962	0.03849444	0.2571	0.06610041	0.0561	0.00314721	0.192	0.036864	-0.1933	0.03736489
19	0.3898	0.15194404	-0.1609	0.02588881	0.0087	0.00007569	-0.3719	0.13830961	0.1102	0.01214404	-0.1199	0.01437601	0.1137	0.01292769
20	0.37	0.1369	0.5546	0.30758116	0.1175	0.01380625	0.1775	0.03150625	0.0266	0.00070756	0.2728	0.07441984	0.0672	0.00451584
21	0.4581	0.20985561	0.4782	0.22867524	0.0866	0.00749956	-0.153	0.023409	0.0163	0.00026569	0.225	0.050625	-0.0064	0.00004096
22	0.4032	0.16257024	-0.1729	0.02989441	0.0101	0.00010201	-0.2312	0.05345344	0.0393	0.00154449	-0.0666	0.00443556	0.0509	0.00259081
23	0.5329	0.28398241	-0.0666	0.00443556	0.0014	0.00000196	0.1952	0.03810304	0.0321	0.00103041	-0.1653	0.02732409	-0.2829	0.08003241
24	0.3754	0.14092516	-0.3348	0.11209104	0.0397	0.00157609	-0.2078	0.04318084	0.0313	0.00097969	0.0116	0.00013456	0.1656	0.02742336
25	0.2955	0.08732025	0.4797	0.23011209	0.0871	0.00758641	0.3082	0.09498724	0.081	0.006561	0.1751	0.03066001	-0.0498	0.00248004
26	0.6218	0.38663524	-0.4118	0.16957924	0.061	0.003721	-0.0509	0.00259081	0.0014	0.00000196	0.1419	0.02013561	0.199	0.039601
27	0.5591	0.31259281	-0.5562	0.30935844	0.1141	0.01301881	0.0046	0.00002116	0.0001	0.00000001	-0.1091	0.01190281	-0.1	0.01
28	0.5845	0.34164025	-0.1172	0.01373584	0.0046	0.00002116	0.2648	0.07011904	0.0592	0.00350464	0.2892	0.08363664	0.213	0.045369
29	0.5241	0.27468081	0.2743	0.07524049	0.0283	0.00080089	-0.0465	0.00216225	0.0001	0.00000001	-0.2581	0.06661561	0.0857	0.00734449
30	0.5852	0.34245904	-0.3925	0.15405625	0.0552	0.00304704	-0.1039	0.01079521	0.0071	0.00005041	0.0753	0.00567009	-0.0584	0.00341056
31	0.2905	0.08439025	0.1924	0.03701776	0.014	0.000196	-0.3507	0.12299049	0.0967	0.00935089	-0.0433	0.00187489	-0.0536	0.00287296
32	0.6995	0.48930025	0.0441	0.00194481	0.0011	0.00000121	0.1229	0.01510441	0.0131	0.00017161	0.1624	0.02637376	-0.2568	0.06594624
33	0.4575	0.20930625	0.3311	0.10962721	0.0411	0.00168921	-0.0181	0.00032761	0	0	0.0672	0.00451584	-0.1253	0.01570009
34	0.4459	0.19882681	-0.1594	0.02540836	0.0086	0.00007396	-0.2674	0.07150276	0.0536	0.00287296	0.031	0.000961	-0.1742	0.03034564
35	0.1065	0.01134225	0.5178	0.26811684	0.102	0.010404	-0.1954	0.03818116	0.0275	0.00075625	0.2706	0.07322436	-0.293	0.085849

36	0.658	0.432964	-0.2706	0.07322436	0.0258	0.00066564	0.1113	0.01238769	0.0108	0.00011664	0.1993	0.03972049	0.0431	0.00185761
37	0.4292	0.18421264	0.4151	0.17230801	0.0649	0.00421201	0.0651	0.00423801	0.004	0.000016	-0.0829	0.00687241	0.0294	0.00086436
38	0.566	0.320356	0.0548	0.00300304	0.0013	0.00000169	0.038	0.001444	0.0015	0.00000225	-0.4366	0.19061956	0.0754	0.00568516
39	0.5185	0.26884225	-0.6003	0.36036009	0.134	0.017956	-0.0447	0.00199809	0.001	0.000001	-0.1429	0.02042041	0.1406	0.01976836
40	0.5158	0.26604964	0.0105	0.00011025	0	0	0.2538	0.06441444	0.0543	0.00294849	-0.1704	0.02903616	-0.2515	0.06325225
41	0.2872	0.08248384	-0.0529	0.00279841	0.0008	0.00000064	-0.2003	0.04012009	0.0289	0.00083521	0.2052	0.04210704	-0.1536	0.02359296
42	0.5807	0.33721249	-0.1101	0.01212201	0.004	0.000016	0.2041	0.04165681	0.0351	0.00123201	-0.1	0.01	-0.1241	0.01540081
43	0.3584	0.12845056	0.0137	0.00018769	0	0	-0.1612	0.02598544	0.0182	0.00033124	-0.0532	0.00283024	0.3408	0.11614464
44	0.4402	0.19377604	-0.495	0.245025	0.0893	0.00797449	0.2778	0.07717284	0.0653	0.00426409	0.0103	0.00010609	0.0388	0.00150544
45	0.4573	0.20912329	0.3749	0.14055001	0.0454	0.00206116	0.1978	0.03912484	0.033	0.001089	0.1004	0.01008016	0.2191	0.04800481
46	0.7215	0.52056225	-0.3068	0.09412624	0.0336	0.00112896	-0.0441	0.00194481	0.001	0.000001	-0.0113	0.00012769	-0.2479	0.06145441
47	0.5988	0.35856144	-0.4937	0.24373969	0.0889	0.00790321	0.1147	0.01315609	0.0115	0.00013225	-0.1483	0.02199289	0.0017	0.00000289
48	0.4136	0.17106496	-0.4956	0.24561936	0.0895	0.00801025	0.1667	0.02778889	0.0236	0.00055696	-0.0468	0.00219024	0.1175	0.01380625
49	0.2926	0.08561476	-0.5967	0.35605089	0.1323	0.01750329	0.1121	0.01256641	0.011	0.000121	0.1927	0.03713329	0.1254	0.01572516
50	0.6248	0.39037504	0.3983	0.15864289	0.0599	0.00358801	0.0581	0.00337561	0.0033	0.00001089	0.1201	0.01442401	0.1715	0.02941225
51	0.374	0.139876	0.4499	0.20241001	0.0764	0.00583696	-0.1609	0.02588881	0.0181	0.00032761	-0.1294	0.01674436	0.2394	0.05731236
Eigenvalue	(sig > 1.00)	11.78096051		7.48414585		0.25751972		1.65121732		0.06748223		1.6806321		1.42765362

Appendix 4: Demographic Data by Factor (including 'leaners')

Subject #	Factor	Age	Gender	Occupation	Marital Status	Children	Religious Affiliation	% of Jewish friends
11	A	40	f	doctor	m	3	ort	95%
13	A	58	f	retired	w	3	ort	95%
15	A	56	m	accountant	m	5	ort	90%
16	A	34	m	dentist	m	4	ort	100%
17	A	26	f	teacher	m	0	ort	85%
22	A	43	f	own business	m	3	ort	90%
23	A	46	f	teacher	w	2	ort	90%
24	A	50	m	accountant	m	4	ort	90%
26	A	23	f	optometrist	s	0	ort	90%
27	A	30	f	public relations	m	0	ort	85%
30	A	40	f	social worker	m	4	ort	85%
36	A	40	m	architect	s	0	ort	70%
39	A	62	m	self-employed	m	3	ort	100%
42	A	47	f	secretary	m	1	ort	99%
44	A	24	m	optometrist	s	0	ort	90%
46	A	37	m	teacher -hod	m	2	ort	75%
47	A	46	m	engineer	m	2	ort	80%
48	A	39	m	Chabad co-ord	m	6	ort	99%
49	A	29	f	housewife	m	1	ort	100%
1	B	32	f	sales	s	0	ort	80%
2	B	32	m	accountant	m	0	n	95%
3	B	57	m	businessman	m	3	r	100%
4	B	23	f	teacher	s	0	ort	70%
5	B	26	f	retail mngr	m	0	n	90%
7	B	23	f	O T	s	0	n	50%
9	B	22	m	student	s	0	ort	50%
12	B	57	f	lecturer	m	3	ort	90%
20	B	73	m	civil engineer	m	2	r	50%

21	B	33	m	academic	s	0	ort	75%
25	B	44	m	clothes mnfctr	m-d	1	n	75%
29	B	34	m	clothing manfctr	s	0	o	50%
33	B	33	f	photographer	s	0	ort	50%
35	B	35	m	clothing manfctr	m	0	o	5%
37	B	35	f	teacher	s	0	ort	60%
45	B	31	m	attorney	m	0	r	25%
50	B	22	f	student	s	0	o	65%
51	B	20	m	student	s	0	o	50%
10	?B	22	f	spch & drama	s	0	ort	95%
6	C	32	m	marketing mgr	m	1	ort	70%
19	C	33	f	housewife	m	3	ort	90%
43	C	32	m	optometrist	m	0	ort	95%
18	?C	55	f	book shop mngr	m	2	r	60%
28	?C	27	f	librarian	s	0	ort	50%
32	?C	33	m	sales manager	s	0	o	100%
34	?C	45	f	teacher	m	3	ort	90%
8	?AB	40	m	rabbi	m	3	ort	90%
14	?AB	49	m	accountant	m	2	ort	75%
31	?AB	44	f	teacher	m-d	1	ort	75%
38		44	f	teacher	s	0	c	75%
40		51	f	credit controller	m	3	o	100%
41		47	f	secretary	m	2	ort	95%

Appendix 5: Sample Answer Sheet

Thank you for your participation in this study. All answers will be held in strictest confidence and anonymity is assured throughout. Please answer the following questions:

A. BIOGRAPHY

1. Subject Number [ ]

2. NAME _____
(required for identification purposes for the researcher only)

3. AGE _____ 4. GENDER | M | F |

5. OCCUPATION _____

6. MARITAL STATUS | MARRIED | DIVORCED | SINGLE | WIDOWED |

7. NUMBER OF CHILDREN _____

8. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION | ORTHODOX | REFORM | OTHER | NONE |

9. Are you a member of any Jewish organisations, social or otherwise ? | Y | N |

9. (a).
If yes, how many ? _____

10. Are you a member of any non-Jewish organisations, social or otherwise ? | Y | N |

10 (a).
If yes, how many ? _____

11. How often do you attend synagogue ? (circle where applicable)

Daily	Friday Nights	Saturday Mornings	Festivals	High Holidays	Very Seldom	Not at all

12. Do your children attend a Jewish day school ? | Y | N | N/A |

13. Have you ever had any overt experience of anti-Semitism ? | Y | N |

14. What proportion of your friends are Jewish ? _____

B. ATTITUDES

15.	Would you have any objection to marrying a non-Jewish person?	Y	N	N/A
16.	Would you have any objection to your children marrying a non-Jewish person?	Y	N	N/A
17.	Do you live in a Jewish area?		Y	N
17 (a).	Would you prefer to live in a Jewish area ?		Y	N
18.	When considering a place of employment, do you take into account that there may or may not be other Jews currently employed there?		Y	N
19.	Do you prefer to go to Jewish professionals? (Doctor/lawyer/accountant/pharmacist)		Y	N

Please write the numbers of the cards which you have placed on a particular square on the corresponding square in the table below:

Subject Number

I[1]	+5	+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	I
F[2]	3	4	5	6	8	8	8	6	5	4	3	F
1												1
2												2
3												3
4												4
5												5
6												6
7												7
8												8

-Thank you for your time and participation-

---

1. *I = intensity, how strongly you feel about a certain item.*

2. *F = Frequency, how many items you are allowed to put in a certain column*

Appendix 6: List of Item Scores for All Factors (Varimax Rotated)

Item No		*Factor No.*						
		1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
1	All religions may have a moral basis but Judaism has the best descriptions and rules for implementing it	5	-5	5	-5	-5	-5	2
2	Jews should be living their lives with constant reference to Judaism and it's principles	5	-5	5	-5	-4	-5	2
3	Religious Judaism is synonymous with caring for one's fellow man	5	-5	5	-5	-5	-5	2
4	Identification with the Jewish people is not the same as identification with the Jewish religion	1	-1	1	-1	-1	-1	1
5	It is worthwhile considering what other religions may have to offer	-2	-1	2	0	-1	-1	3
6	Judaism cannot claim to be a unique relgion in terms of its aims and principles	-5	5	-5	5	4	5	-3
7	Because of their history of persecution, Jews should take great to ensure that they are not currently persecuted	3	-4	3	-4	-4	-3	1
8	Given an oppurtunity, the potential for anti-Semitism is always there	3	-2	2	-2	-2	-2	1
9	Nobody reads about Mr Marais and says 'bloody Afrikaner' but let it be Mr. Nochomowitz, then it's a different story	-1	2	-1	1	2	1	-2
10	There's always the possibility that at the end of the day Jews in South Africa are going to be singled out	0	0	1	1	2	-1	2
11	Some of the reason for anti-Semitism is that there are Jews who will only stick to themselves and exclude everyone else	-1	2	-2	2	3	2	-1
12	When people are actually organising themselves as Jews because they feel they've got a history of discrimination then you can say "Why aren't you speaking out against discrimination in other situations?"	2	-3	4	-3	-3	-3	5
13	The holocaust is a lesson not just for Jews, but for everyone about what people will accept if it doesn't directly concern them	4	-4	4	-4	-5	-4	4
14	There is no difference between the motives of the holocaust and those of the war in Bosnia-Hercegovinia	-4	3	-3	5	4	4	1
15	Before the establishment of the state of Israel, Jews were defenceless against anti-Semitism	1	-2	3	-2	-3	-3	3
16	Somebody who's anti-Zionist is necessarily anti-Semitic.	-2	-1	2	1	-1	0	5
17	Jews need their own country to live in.	3	-3	3	-3	-3	-3	4
18	Every Jew in the diaspora lives with security of knowing that Israe's there for them if they need its help	4	-4	4	-4	-4	-4	3
19	Israel's actions should be defended at all costs no matter what it does	-3	3	-3	3	2	3	-1
20	Israel serves to protect the rights of Jews internationally	2	-3	4	-3	-2	-4	4
21	There is no conflict of interests for a Jew to criticize the actions of Israel	0	1	0	0	1	0	-1
22	Nowadays Israel is just another country, like any other.	-3	1	0	2	1	2	2

Item No		*Factor No.*						
		1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
23	Anti-Zionism means being a political critic of Israel.	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
24	Jews are not obligated to be Zionists.	-2	4	-5	3	4	4	-5
25	You can't say that the government of Israel owes it to the rest of the world to set an example of any kind just because they're Jewish	-4	3	-2	4	3	3	1
26	Israel should be a country for everybody, not only for Jews.	-2	3	-4	3	5	3	-3
27	In a Jewish family, there's more of a sense of unity and togetherness than in other families	3	-4	3	-4	-4	-4	1
28	In Jewish families everybody is more equal than in non-Jewish families	0	-1	0	-1	-3	0	-1
29	Situations where parents leave their family, or divorce, or runaway children are rare in Jewish households	0	0	-1	0	0	0	-1
30	Communication is normally better in Jewish families than in others	1	-1	1	-2	-2	-1	-1
31	Jewish families are like any other families.	-1	2	-2	1	1	2	0
32	The responsibilities of a Jewish parent are identical to those of a non-Jewish parent	-1	0	0	0	-2	1	0
33	Children should be given the choice of whether or not they wish to involve themselves in Judaism	-5	5	-5	5	5	5	-3
34	Jews have as many domestic squabbles as non-Jews.	-1	0	0	1	0	1	0
35	One never sees Jewish beggars because invariably the community will take care of them	-3	2	-2	2	1	2	-2
36	The Jewish community, unlike other minority groups, is self- supporting	0	1	-2	0	1	1	-4
37	It's important that there be exclusively Jewish social groups	2	-2	2	-2	-1	-1	0
38	The image that Jews should be conveying to the wider community is one of equality; that is, that they are the same as everybody else	-4	4	-4	4	3	5	-3
39	Jewish community leaders (rabbis, shul chairmen, Zionist federation spokes-people) are not speaking for all the Jews; there is no truly representative body or person who represents all the Jews	-2	1	-1	2	2	1	2
40	There is no reason that a Jew should belong to a separate Jewish social community rather than any other	-3	3	-3	3	3	3	-2
41	Even people who aren't particularly observant, still somehow seem to know they're Jewish and find other Jews easily	3	-2	1	-1	0	-2	1
42	Jewish people as a whole place a higher value on success, on success, on recognition, and on financial reward than do non-Jews	2	-3	2	-2	-3	-2	3
43	A Jewish person has his own mannerisms that sets him apart.	2	-1	2	-1	-1	-2	2
44	All Jews want to succeed more than other group of people in the world	1	-1	1	-1	-2	0	0
45	It's important that children be exposed to a wider arena of people than only Jews	1	0	-1	-1	0	-1	-4
46	The Jews are incorrectly perceived by the non-Jewish community as being homogeneous - alike in their thinking and behaviour	1	0	-1	0	0	1	0
47	Being Jewish need not intrude on one's life much.	-1	4	-3	2	5	1	-5

Item No		*Factor No.*						
		1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*
48	A Jew who lives in the diaspora should conform to the norms and standards of that country	-1	1	-1	1	1	1	-2
49	If one lives in the diaspora, one should receive a separate Jewish education, eg) attend Herzlia	4	-3	3	-3	-2	-3	1
50	If children were in goverment schools, they would be exposed to more anti-Semitism than in Jewish day schools	1	0	1	-1	0	-1	0
51	Jewish schools promote a perception of exclusivity.	1	-1	0	-1	-1	-1	-1
52	Funds raised by the Jewish community could be put to far better use than supporting Herzlia	0	2	-3	1	3	2	-5
53	It is always possible to identify non-Jews who have converted to Judaism	-2	1	0	1	1	0	4
54	Everyone in this world is jealous of the Jews.	-1	2	-2	2	2	2	-4
55	Jews are different, but not special or unique.	-4	1	-1	3	0	3	5
56	The Jews as a chosen people is an idea whose time has come,	-5	4	-4	4	2	4	-3
57	If one renounced one's Judaism, one would still be perceived by others as a Jew	2	-2	1	-2	-1	-2	-1
58	Jews are being held up to a higher standard than other groups	4	-2	1	-3	-1	-2	-2
59	It is more important for others to achknowledge you as a South African than as a Jew	-3	5	-4	4	4	4	-4
60	Non-Jews don't think of the Jews as the chosen people.	0	1	-1	0	0	0	-2

Appendix 7: List of Final items used with Factor Scores (including structure)

	Item no.	Item	Factor		
			A	B	C
ac	1	All religions may have a moral basis but Judaism has the best descriptions and rules for implementing it	5	-5	2
ac	2	Jews should be living their lives with constant reference to Judaism and it's principles	5	-5	2
ac	3	Religious Judaism is synonymous with caring for one's fellow man	5	-5	2
bc	4	Identification with the Jewish people is not the same as identification with the Jewish religion	1	1	1
bc	5	It is worthwhile considering what other religions may have to offer	-2	-1	3
bc	6	Judaism cannot claim to be a unique religion in terms of its aims and principles	-5	5	-3
ad	7	Because of their history of persecution, Jews should take great care to ensure that they are not currently persecuted	3	-4	1
ad	8	Given an opportunity, the potential for anti-Semitism is always there	3	-2	1
ad	9	Nobody reads about Mr. Marais and says "bloody afrikaner", but let it be Mr. Nochomowitz, then it's a different story	-1	2	-2
ad	10	There's always the possibility that at the end of the day Jews in South africa are going to be singled out	0	0	2
bd	11	Some of the reason for anti-Semitism is that there are Jews who will only stick to themselves and exclude everyone else	-1	-1	-1
bd	12	When people are actually organising themselves as Jews because they feel that they've got a history of discrimination then you can say "Why aren't you speaking out against discrimination in other situations"	2	-3	5
bd	13	The holocaust is a lesson not just for Jews but for everyone about what people will accept if it doesn't directly concern them	4	-4	4
bd	14	There is no difference between the motives of Holocaust and those of the war in bosnia-Hercegovinia.	-4	3	1
ae	15	Before the establishment of the State of Israel Jews were defenceless against anti- Semitism	1	-2	3
ae	16	Somebody who's anti-Zionist is necessarily anti-Semitic.	-2	-2	5
ae	17	Jews need their own country to live in	3	-3	4
ae	18	Every Jew in the diaspora lives with the security of knowing that Israel's there for them if they need it's help	4	-4	3
ae	19	Israel's actions should be defended at all costs, no matter what it does	-3	3	-1
ae	20	Israel serves to protect the rights of Jews internationally	2	-3	4
be	21	There is no conflict of interests for a Jew to criticise the actions of Israel	0	1	-1

be	22	Nowadays Israel is just another country like any other	-3	1	2
be	23	Anti-Zionism means being a political critic of Israel	0	0	0
be	24	Jews are not obligated to be Zionists	-2	4	-5
be	25	You can't say that the government of Israel owes it to the rest of the world to set an example of any kind just because they're Jews	-4	3	1
be	26	Israel should be a country for everybody, not only for Jews	-2	3	-3
af	27	In a Jewish family there's more of a sense of unity and togetherness than in other families	3	-4	1
af	28	In Jewish families, everybody is more equal than in non-Jewish families.	0	-1	-1
af	29	Situations where parents leave their family, or divorce, or runaway children are rare in Jewish households	0	0	-1
af	30	Communication is normally better in Jewish families than in others	1	-1	-1
bf	31	Jewish families are like any other families	-1	2	0
bf	32	The responsibilities of a Jewish parent are identical to those of a non-Jewish parent	-1	0	0
bf	33	Children should be given the choice of whether or not they wish to involve themselves in Judaism	-5	5	-3
bf	34	Jews have as many domestic squabbles as non-Jews	-1	0	0
ag	35	One never sees Jewish beggars because invariably the community will take care of them	-3	2	-2
ag	36	The Jewish community, unlike other minority groups, is self-supporting	0	1	-4
ag	37	It's important that there be exclusively Jewish social groups	2	-2	0
bg	38	The image that the Jews should be conveying to the wider community is one of equality; that is, that they are the same as everybody else	-4	4	-3
bg	39	Jewish community leaders (rabbis, shul chairmen, Zionist federation spokes-people) are not speaking for all the Jews; there is no truly representative body or person who represents all the Jews	-2	1	2
bg	40	There is no reason that a Jew should belong to a separate Jewish social community rather than any other	-3	3	-2
ah	41	Even people who aren't particularly observant, still somehow seem to know that they're Jewish and find other Jews easily	3	-2	1
ah	42	Jewish people as a whole place a higher value on success, on recognition and on financial reward than do non-Jews	2	-3	3
ah	43	A Jewish person has his own mannerisms that sets him apart	2	-1	2
ah	44	All Jews want to succeed more than any other group of people in the world	1	-1	0
bh	45	It's important that children be exposed to a wider arena of people than only Jews	1	0	-4
bh	46	The Jews are incorrectly perceived by the non-Jewish community as being homogeneous; ie., alike in their thinking and behaviour	1	0	0
bh	47	Being Jewish need not intrude on one's life much	-1	4	-5
bh	48	A Jew who lives in the diaspora should conform to the norms and standards of the particular country.	-1	1	-2

ai	49	If one lives in the diaspora, one should receive a separate Jewish education, eg) attend Herzlia.	4	-3	1
ai	50	If children were in government schools, they would be exposed to more anti-Semitism than in Jewish day schools	1	0	0
bi	51	Jewish schools promote a perception of exclusivity	1	-1	-1
bi	52	Funds raised by the Jewish community could be put to far better use than in supporting Herzlia	0	2	-5
aj	53	It is always possible to identify non-Jews who have converted to Judaism	-2	1	4
aj	54	Everyone in this world is jealous of the Jews	-1	2	-4
bj	55	Jews are different but not special or unique	-4	1	5
bj	56	The Jews as a chosen people is an idea whose time has past no matter how it is defined	-5	4	-3
ak	57	If one renounced one's Judaism, one would still be perceived by others as a Jew	2	-2	-1
ak	58	Jews are being held up to a higher standard than other groups	4	-2	-2
bk	59	It is more important for others to acknowledge you as a South African than as a Jew	-3	5	-4
bk	60	Non-Jews don't think of the Jews as the chosen people	0	1	-2