

SOUTH AFRICAN JEWS IN LONDON

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SOUTH AFRICAN JEWS IN LONDON

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

This report was commissioned by the Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies at the University of Cape Town, under its Director, Professor Milton Shain, and carried out by the Centre for Minority Studies of the Royal Holloway, University of London, under the directorship of Professor K. Humayun Ansari, OBE, to examine the particular circumstances of South African Jewish migrants to London. The survey is a mapping study in that it intends to describe the key features of the London-based Jewish South African 'community' overall and highlight relationships that have not yet been recognised. The overall aim of this research project was to examine the impact of migration to the UK on South African Jews on a range of issues, including religiosity and levels of integration, and its objectives included:

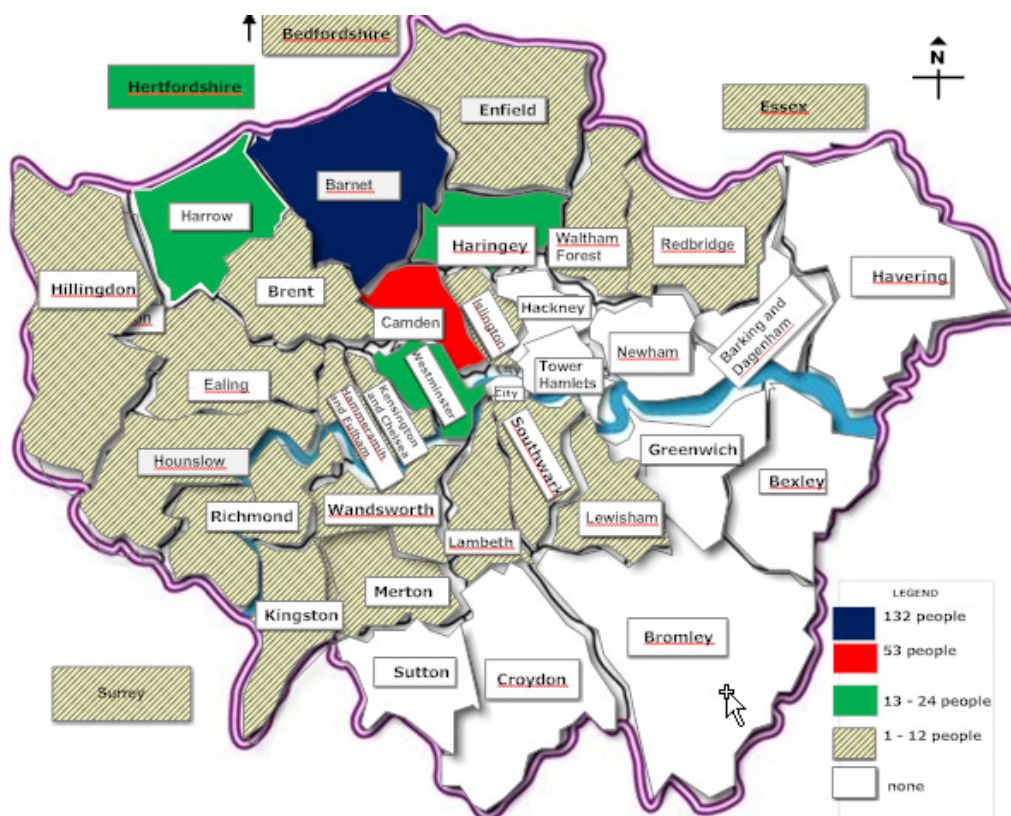
- Identification of changes to behaviour and attitude over time.
- Examination of the impact of different settings and of different periods of migration.
- Descriptions of the integration of the migrants into their new communities.
- Exploration of the attitudes of migrants to their experiences.
- Comparisons with other groups of South African Jewish migrants.

The research team drew upon four major studies of South African Jewry conducted in the last twenty years - Allie Dubb's *The Jewish Population of South Africa: The 1991 Sociodemographic Survey*; JPR's *Jews of 'new South Africa': Highlights of the 1998 national survey of South African Jews*, Shirley Bruk's *The Jews of South Africa 2005 – Report on a Research Study*, and *Worlds Apart*, a study of emigration from South Africa to Australia and New Zealand, by Colin Tatz, Peter Arnold and Gillian Heller (2007) – a Runnymede Community Trust Study, and some modern studies of British Jewry published by JPR.

The Sample

The research was carried out over an 18 month period and was based on interviews with 314 men and women, aged between 27 and 92, living and/or working in the Greater London area. 92% of this sample were born in South Africa, the majority of the second generation, most commonly from the Johannesburg/Pretoria region. Three-quarters of the sample were currently married and 85% had children, two-thirds of whom are UK-born. The community is highly educated, with over 92% possessing a higher education qualification. 89% of the sample are owner occupiers, most commonly in the core boroughs of Camden, Barnet and Harrow, and the contiguous districts of South-West Hertfordshire. In most respects the South African Jewish community in London resembles the 'comfortable' proportion of the host Jewish community.

Figure 1 Residence of the sample



FINDINGS

1. Identification of changes to behaviour and attitude over time

- Most of the sample, particularly second and third generation South Africans, retained a moderate to strong attachment to South Africa, and felt that they were still perceived as South African. This attachment is reinforced by regular visits; following news events; contacting family and friends both abroad and in London. Early arrivals to London have immersed themselves in British relationships to a greater degree.
- More notable than the continuing strength of South African identity is that of Jewish identity, which is at least as strong as any national identity in over 90% of the sample. Although levels of religious observance have fallen off slightly, there seems to be a general commitment to Jewish education at least until Bar-/Bat-Mitzvah. The community seems to have continued the tradition of charitable giving (mainly to Jewish charities, based in Britain). Finally, the generally left-leaning/liberal electoral preferences of Jewish South Africans have changed to a preference for Conservatism by almost half the sample.
- Over half the sample thought there had been an increase in anti-Semitism, a problem that is blamed on anti-Zionism. The attachment to Israel is strong, and although accompanied by criticisms of its policies

and practices, the move to London does not seem have affected the sample's commitment to a Diaspora-centred Zionism.

2. Examination of the impact of different settings and of different periods of migration on interviewees

- A majority originate in the Johannesburg/Pretoria area, and came to this country with their children. In the early years immigrants were younger, but the age of emigration has risen over the period of study.
- The reasons for emigration (the 'push' factors) varied widely from a disbelief in the viability of their future, politically and economically, in South Africa, particularly during the Apartheid era, to a feeling of displacement and distrust of the new South Africa since the fall of Apartheid.
- For those with access to British and EU nationality, Britain was an obvious choice for emigration given ease of entry, fluency in the English language, availability of business connections and job opportunities, familiarity with and fondness for Britain, and the intrinsic attractions of London as a base and home.

3. Descriptions of the integration of the migrants into their new communities

- Despite feeling South African, the vast majority of settlers have developed a substantial attachment for 'England' and feel 'at home' here without having been thus far transformed into full 'Englishmen'. In general, South Africans have accommodated themselves very well to their new lives in London and they are unlikely to leave.
- Despite variations in religious practice, observance, feeling and commitment, South African Jews in London, especially those who live in the 'heartland' boroughs of Camden-Barnet-Harrow, in general mix with their own religious group.
- South African-based friendship groups are centred on the home and family, reinforced at times by the synagogue. Such networking can be important in locating and securing employment.

4. Exploration of the attitudes of migrants to their experiences

- Although South African Jews like living in London, a significant proportion of them retain an attachment to South Africa focused on family and home, and nostalgia for the cultural and religious life of the *Jewish* community there. Important too is their admiration for the peaceful way South Africa has weathered its political transition.
- Many Jewish South Africans envisioned their future outside the country in order to fulfil their Zionist dream, break out colonial insularity, enhance their opportunities as well as for a variety of personal reasons.

Constant, however, was a feeling of a collapsing future that would not include them.

- Emigrants to the UK expected to find a home in a land that was not 'foreign', was congenial for their children, with the same value systems and forms of Judaism with which they were familiar.

5. Comparisons with other groups of South African Jewish migrants.

- The South African Jewish community lives in relatively close proximity to London Jews and other South African Jews, prefer their children to attend Jewish schools, live next to Jewish neighbours, and encourage Jewish partners for their children.
- The UK is not the first choice for South African Jewish emigrants, who prefer Israel and Australia above it. Whereas emigration to Australia was prompted by the attraction of a country that is essentially similar, the attraction of London was because, though familiar, it was different.

Recommendations for Research

In carrying out this research project the team came across areas of research, revealed by gaps in the literature or by issues raised by interviewees.

- Reasons for the migration of Jewish gay people from South Africa to the relatively more tolerant UK.
- The impact on synagogues in London of relatively high South African memberships and rabbis with respect to their social outlook, political commitment, charitable work, as well as their ritual and worship.
- Investigation of the view that emigration from South Africa was an implicit option for many Jewish South Africans.
- Exploration of the varieties of Anglophilia between Capetonian/Durbanite South Africans on the one hand, and Johannesburg/Pretorian South Africans on the other.
- Examination of the effect of television on identity, national consciousness and emigration.
- Correlation between the longevity of South African residence and identity and attachment – i.e. the strength of 'roots'.
- The achievements of the South African community abroad especially in the City and other financial institutions; areas of settlement such as Golders Green and Hampstead Garden Suburb; and certain synagogues with South African rabbis or considerable congregations (as suggested above).

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1. INTRODUCTION

Background

Trans-national migration, once a dangerous and singular experience, is now a common event and one involving groups from virtually every nation on Earth. Most migration study has focused on the movement of people from poorer, deprived circumstances – mainly economic, but also socio-political – to those of greater economic and political freedom and opportunity. Jewish communities have historically, for many reasons, been somewhat more mobile than the average, and there exists voluminous data, much of it apocryphal, on their migrations, including both push and pull factors, and settlement experiences. South Africa, itself, is rich in migration experiences and lore, touching on virtually all its major communities: Black, Indian, and White (Boer, British, Jewish, European, Middle Eastern).

This project intends to clarify the particular circumstances of a group of modern Jewish migrants and, as such, extends the present body of knowledge on the migration experience from the common sense notions that have hitherto informed this important historical, political, economic and social phenomenon towards that of greater social scientific certitude. Its focus on a relatively privileged group of people reverses the usual pattern of study and is therefore intrinsically interesting. Furthermore, it complements and extends previous research on this community's migration patterns to other societies and thus provides a substantial and important comparator upon which to assess those experiences. With the movement of other similarly well off groups on the increase, this study provides a necessary and welcome methodological model of analysis. It also complements and extends the body of knowledge in Royal Holloway's Department of History which has long specialised in the history of migration and identity.

Aims

The idea for such a study originated from the Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research at the University of Cape Town under the directorship of Professor Milton Shain with special support from the Kaplan Kushlick Foundation. On the British side, the research was carried out by the Centre for Minority Studies of the Royal Holloway, University of London, under the directorship of Professor K. Humayun Ansari, OBE.

The survey is a mapping study in that it intends to describe the key features of the London-based Jewish South African 'community' overall and highlight relationships that have not yet been recognised. The overall aim of this research project is to examine the impact of migration to the United Kingdom (i.e. London) on South African Jews on a range of issues, including religiosity and levels of integration. The project followed similar research into the impact of migration of South African Jewish migrants to Australia (Tatz et al) and was informed by plans for research into South African Jewish migration to Israel (on-going). Thus the objectives of the project included:

- **Identification of changes to behaviour and attitude over time.** This refers to both comparisons of behaviours and attitudes during the period of residence in South Africa with residence in London, and to

residence in London at the beginning of settlement with behaviours and attitudes at present (especially for those people of long settlement). Certain questions asked the interviewees to recall feelings and impressions from their childhood and their early experiences as an immigrant. Historical research relies on the accuracy of recall but is aware that memory, reconstruction and interpretation are intertwined (see Bartlett, 1932). Concrete findings based on such material are treated with care.

- **Examination of the impact of different settings and of different periods of migration.**

It was hypothesised that the emigration experience would differ for individuals according to a range of variables, including the areas of birth and settlement in South Africa, the areas of settlement, initially and now, in the London area, and the periods of migration to the UK, directly or indirectly. At times, the report distinguishes in broad terms between the proportion of the sample from the Johannesburg area and its surrounding suburbs and satellite towns, and from the Cape Town area and its hinterland. Conclusions that went much beyond that were not possible to make. Furthermore, the report refers and compares features of settlement in the Jewish 'heartland' of North and North West London with the peripheral areas of Jewish settlement elsewhere in the capital. With regard to 'period', the timespan of the cohort extends from the years just after the official implementation of Apartheid in 1948 to the early months of Jacob Zuma's presidency. This era of South African history is full of events, both tragic and triumphant. It was expected that these events would have some impact both on the size and pace of emigration and on settlement. Less dramatic but certainly significant changes have also taken place in London, and the UK in general, over this period.

- **Descriptions of the integration of the migrants into their new communities.**

The term 'integration' has acquired a particular resonance in British race relations discourse and refers to the movement of minorities from the status of 'immigrant' into the mainstream of society (in this case London) with full access to the opportunities, rights and services available to contemporary Londoners. It is distinguished from 'assimilation' by the fact that the integrated minority does not, because or as a result of this process, lose their individuality as a minority by blending into or fusing with the mainstream. Thus, the sample was questioned on the degree to which they have had access to and feel part of the mainstream, and retain aspects of or connections with their former life in South Africa.

- **Exploration of the attitudes of migrants to their experiences.**

This was anticipated to be the largest portion of the study and to include reflections on personal, national and religious identity; evaluations on aspects of British and London society; assessments of changes over time and situation. The responses to these questions were also likely to produce the most 'interesting' findings, and suggest

the most profound consequences and implications for the migration of the South African Jewish community to London.

- **Comparisons with other groups of South African Jewish migrants.** Due to the dearth of comparative studies, comparisons were limited to possibilities within the cohort – older/younger; male/female; early arrivals/later arrivals; Johannesburgers/Capetonians – and to three other Jewish groups for which we have some comparative information: the London Jewish population; the South African Jewish population; South African emigrants to Australia.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Prior to the preparation of the survey instrument a literature and documentation review was conducted to identify studies that might impact on the issues concerning our target group, and assist us in the identification of the survey sample.

The Jews of South Africa: some background

In common with many other Western States, the Jewish population of the UK had declined by 1990 from its post-War height.² In South Africa, from 1986-2006, between 800,000 to one million Whites emigrated, including about 40% of its Jewish population (Tatz et al, p. 38). In fact, Jews had been leaving South Africa for some time. In 1970 there were 118,700 South African Jews, and between 1971 and 1991 39,000 emigrated, mostly (87%) to Israel, the USA and Australia, with the remainder to a variety of countries including the UK (Dubb, p. 16).³ The acceleration of emigration increased dramatically after the Soweto uprising. By 1990/1 the population had been reduced to approximately 90,000 (though figures of 106,000 are also quoted) due to a 'loss of faith in the future of South Africa – or in the future of Jews in South Africa', particularly by that of professionals, who felt isolated in South Africa and attracted by the better opportunities abroad (Dubb, p. 5). Emigration to Israel offered many attractions, and important amongst them was the fact that it provided immediate entry, compared with the protracted visa procedures of other states. By 2005, in all, 50,000 Jews had left, putting the Jewish population at that date at 73,000, with a projected population of 57,000 on current trends by 2020 (Katz, 2008).

By 1991, 99% of the Jews of South Africa were urbanised (82% of them in Johannesburg and Cape Town). The coherence of the community stemmed from its schooling, marrying 'in', and the strength of Jewish life (Dubb, p. 29), and its common origins in the Baltic states of the old Russian Empire and USSR. Conversions had increased, but even in mixed marriages the family often considered itself to be Jewish (Dubb, p. 54). It was a highly educated community. In 1991 41% of males and 24% of females had a BA; 60% of males and 39% of females were employed in professions such as medicine, public accounting, law (Dubb, pp. 61-63 and Bruk, p. 11). 78.5% considered themselves Orthodox; 12.7% Reform; 7.7% 'Just Jewish' and 1.1% secular. On average, Jews attended synagogue 7.5 times a year (Dubb, p. 109).

South African Jewish Migration

Literature on the Jewish South Africa community in the UK is virtually non-existent. Interviewees mentioned a small study conducted in the 1980s or 1990s but our attempts to locate that study or contact its author proved fruitless. The only other current source is the Runnymede Community Study of 2008 (Sveinsson and Gumuschian) which interviewed ten South African Jews (out of a total of 20) for a largely qualitative study which focused on experiences of living in London. The team therefore drew upon four major

² Though there are indications that it has crept up in recent years to 280,000 (BBC).

³ Variations in figures are due to an unknown number of Jewish returnees to South Africa (see Bruk, 75-81), as well as immigrants from Zimbabwe and other parts of southern and central Africa.

studies of South African Jewry conducted in the last twenty years: Allie Dubb's *The Jewish Population of South Africa: The 1991 Sociodemographic Survey*; *Jews of 'new South Africa': Highlights of the 1998 national survey of South African Jews*, a study undertaken for the Institute of Jewish Policy Research (JPR) by Barry A. Kosmin, Jacqueline Goldberg, Shirley Bruk, Milton Shain; and Shirley Bruk's *The Jews of South Africa 2005 – Report on a Research Study* (all published by or in association with the Kaplan Centre), and *Worlds Apart*, a study of emigration from South Africa to Australia and New Zealand, by Colin Tatz, Peter Arnold and Gillian Heller (2007). None of these studies address the issue of emigration to the United Kingdom directly, but all contain interesting aspects for students of migration.

Interesting, but even less closely focussed on the themes of this study, are *Jewries at the Frontier, Accommodation, Identity, Conflict* (1999) and *The Jews in South Africa, An Illustrated History* (2008), edited by Sander L. Gilman and Milton Shain, and by Richard Mendelsohn and Milton Shain respectively. Context may be gained by consulting some of the more literary treatments of South African life in England such as Hilda Bernstein's *The rift* (1994), a collective memoir of high profile exiles from the Apartheid era, and the 'Part Two' of Dan Jacobson's *Time and Time Again* (1985), a personal memoir of his early days in London after the War.

Furthermore, there are a series of studies of British Jewry published by JPR over the last fifteen years which have helped to contextualise the data produced by this study and, to that extent, are particularly helpful in making it intelligible to a British audience and in providing baselines for purposes of comparison. In this context the Greater London Authority's profile of London Jews from the 2001 Census was also very helpful. These volumes helped the research team to place the target community within the larger context of Jews in London, and clarify the significance of some of the responses to this mapping survey that are discussed below. However, it is fair to say that the findings of this study are the first of its kind.

The Size of the Community

Quantifying the actual size of the total population of South African Jewish people in the UK presented a considerable research challenge. Our literature search identified a couple of key recent sources. The 2001 UK Census of population indicates a total population of 5,688 people who were born in South Africa (*JPR Report*, 2007, p. 64), including children (who were not part of our sample) and does not include people who were born elsewhere, resided in South Africa, and then migrated to the UK.⁴ South African born Jews are the third largest community of foreign born Jews in the UK, after Israeli and American born Jews. Just fewer than 4,000 London Jews were born in South Africa, i.e. 2.6% of the Jewish population of London (GLA, p. 23) - 'the highest of any religious group'. Jews account for only 2.3% of all UK born Londoners but 9% of all South African born Londoners. In establishing a reasonable estimate of the total South African Jewish population, and taking into account those not born in South Africa, as well as further migration out of

⁴ Emigration from SA was assumed even if the original intention was not to settle in the UK.

the UK, the overall number could have been either higher or lower than the figure of 5,688.

This, in any case was a 2001 figure and the pace of immigration during the last decade was unclear. Although current actual figures are unknown, one may assume that the rate of emigration, 2001-2009, has not decelerated. In 2005 the UK was the first choice preference for emigration for only 13% of the sample questioned in that year's research study of South African Jews (Bruk, p. 88), compared with 31% for Australia, 21% for the United States and 23% for Israel. Furthermore, the highest percentage of UK preferences in that study was amongst 18-24 year olds, the demographic most likely to come to the UK for study purposes, a 'gap year' or temporary work experience, and not for permanent settlement. It was reasonable to assume that the South African Jewish population had increased, but impossible to estimate its current size.

3. METHOD

Quantitative methods are fundamental to this research to describe and categorise the features of this community, and data was derived from responses by individuals to a survey instrument, a questionnaire, running to 108 questions, adapted from and therefore comparable to other surveys conducted with similar communities in the last few years.

Key informants living in London, whose contact information was provided by the Kaplan Centre, were approached to provide assistance to the team on the content and language of the instrument and to suggest ways of accessing the sample for interview. In consultation with the Kaplan Centre it was agreed that the sample would need to be representative of several factors: age, socio-economic status, religiosity/Jewish identity, origins in South Africa, area of settlement in the UK, length of settlement, political affiliation – with the proviso that other factors may need to be considered as a result of the informant consultations and the literature review.

The questionnaire was based on a model, provided by the Kaplan Centre, for a survey of the South African community in Israel. Questions inappropriate for a British-based community were eliminated and replaced or re-phrased with more relevant questions or wording. As much as possible of the internal structure of the Israeli survey was retained for purposes of future comparison. Additional questions or sub-sections of questions were included to access what was anticipated in the experience of immigrants to London. Care was taken to restrict the scope of the survey to 'mapping' levels capable of being accessed by a 45-60 minute interview and of data analysis by a social science research package.

The Project was always intended to be one which sought out quantitative information which would fill the gap in the current research record and be of comparative value. The amount of qualitative information was at the outset expected to be quite minimal, but it proved to be of more interest and in greater volume than could be accommodated by our questionnaire. Consequently, that information was noted informally by researchers in order that it not be lost. It was assumed that it would be generally useful in the contextualisation of the statistical data that was to be at the heart of the Project, but it soon took on a more important place in the development of the Project and the team took a decision that it would form an integral part of its approach. In consequence it is presented here (verbatim within inverted commas) as a complement to the statistical data. This may appear to give minority views undue prominence, but they are offered as no more than perceptions which should be considered, rather than secure findings upon which can be built a robust conclusions.

The collection of data commenced in July/August and ceased in April 2010. The Research team maintained close contact with the Kaplan Centre during this phase of the research to ensure that an adequate and representative sample was being accessed to provide robust results. The data was then input, verified and edited to provide a usable basis for evaluation and reporting. It was then statistically analysed using the Statistical Package for

the Social Sciences (SPSS, an IBM company since 2010) which has the capacity to provide the demographic cross tabulations required for in-depth analysis.

The Sample

The sample for interview was identified mainly from reliable key informants, the current public information as to the extent and settlement of Jewish migrants from South Africa being virtually non-existent. It was intended that the sample be representative of several factors: age, socio-economic status, religiosity/Jewish identity, origins in South Africa, area of settlement in the UK, length of settlement, and political affiliation. However, as is the case in South Africa, there is no 'consolidated, computerised, communal register' of Jews (Dubb, p. 135), and so it is impossible to select a representative sample from amongst a known population of variables. A further consideration was that the sample for this British study needed to take into account two factors - Jewish and South African - whereas the studies in South Africa (2005) and Israel (on going) only had to consider one of these variables. We knew where there were clusters of both, separately, however prior to more detailed preliminary research we had no way of identifying any clusters which were both.

All indications pointed to a preponderance of this population in North and North West London, i.e. the London Boroughs of Camden, Haringey, Barnet and Harrow and the contiguous districts within the M25 in the neighbouring county of Hertfordshire. This community was our primary target population although we expected to find smaller numbers in other London areas. Since the aim was to explore the diversity of the community in terms of demographic variables as well as personal history, it was necessary to ensure that no significant areas of settlement were ignored.

Thus, we proposed to employ a non probability sampling approach - snowball sampling – to reach the agreed sample size of 300 interviews. These factors were considered in discussion with the Kaplan Centre over a period of time at the beginning of the project (and even prior to contract), and during the literature review in the first phase.

Snowball sampling

In social science research, snowball sampling is an approach for locating informants with certain knowledge, skills or experience who are recruited from the recommendations of a few potential initial contacts. They are then asked to nominate additional contacts with the necessary characteristics of the research sample. Thereby, useful data is gathered as the sample accumulates and is nuanced accordingly. Snowball sampling is merely a way of identifying potential contacts and widening the knowledge base about a hitherto unknown population. With the data gathered in this way, the interview sample can be more effectively selected from people best suited to the needs of the project.

Having established the geographical criteria and the demographic variables aimed for, the snowball method of identifying the sample was selected as being the most efficient and effective way of finding what is in effect, given

that there is no Census data for South African Jews in the UK, a hidden group. This method is used, and has been found to be the only feasible one, when there is no accessible sampling frame (Bryman, 2008). Tatz et al, for example, found it appropriate for getting to hidden or inaccessible members of the groups for whom no list is available in their study of migration to Australia (p. 50). The underlying assumption of snowballing is that the accumulating sample moves by increments away from the original tranche, with increasing degrees of separation, to encompass representatives of the entire population, thereby building a valid sample over time, reflecting the true nature of the community. It has been recognized as having considerable potential for the sampling of hidden or rare populations, or target groups where there is no ready supply of suitable people or which are difficult for researchers to access (Loewenthal, 1996; Sudman and Kalton, 1986, quoted in Lee, 1993).

Given the importance of the initial contacts or key informants, particular care was taken in approaching a small group of informed individuals to provide informal lists of personal contacts. On the advice of the Kaplan Centre, a small group of ex-South Africans of long residence in the capital were contacted, and briefed on the aims, objectives and selection criteria of the sample. Principally located in the North and West of London, these individuals confirmed what we had found in the literature search regarding the probable location of the sample population. In addition, we followed up contacts, that had either been suggested or which were known to us from our own investigations, who resided in other areas of London and this led to a number of 'isolates', i.e. individuals separated geographically from others of their kind, which strengthened and diversified the sample.

We were aware that because sample members are not selected from a sampling frame, snowball sampling may lead to 'clustered sampling' (Flick et al, 2004), i.e. circles of acquaintances. This can put at risk research samples that are either very small or are collected over a brief time period. Our sample however was over 300 in size and collected over a nine month period. Furthermore, in order to avoid relying on a few large circles, we followed up any suggestions for diversity in the sample made by a range of contacts and monitored on an ongoing basis as it accumulated so that specific groups and categorisations were targeted to fill any gaps. This respondent-driven sampling allowed us to reduce the danger of clustering, reveal the hidden populations, and widen the sample to representative characteristics.

In order to confirm our understanding of the role of snowball sampling in this project, we sought professional advice and received the following statement in support from Stanley Cohen, FBA, Emeritus Professor of Sociology at the London School of Economics and Political Science and long familiar with these methods of research:

Given the impossibility of finding a population universe of South African Jews living in the UK, no conventional "representative" sample can be drawn. Under these circumstances, "snowball sampling" along the lines of the project is not only a viable method, but is the one best suited to the subject of the study. From what I have seen so far, the eventual

target of 300 informants will certainly cover the scope and diversity of the target populations.

Reaching the Sample

The 'Mapping the South African Jewish Community in the London Area Project' officially began at the end of February 2009 with the signing of contracts, and the next three months were mainly taken up with the drafting and finalising of the survey questionnaire. The project team consulted with a small group of key informants on the early drafts, and was in regular contact with the Kaplan Centre on the development of the survey questionnaire.

Initially 140 letters and emails were dispatched based on mailing lists provided us by one of the key informants. In all, 760 letters and emails were sent out during the course of the Project, and replies were received from approximately 400 of them, a 52% response rate. Very few of these turned out to be non-South African or non-Jewish, and the principle of self-definition was adhered to: all that claimed Jewish identities were acceptable (see Dubb, p. 138). It is not possible to identify all the reasons for the lack of response by nearly half of all recipients, but part of the explanation is due to faulty contact information from our sources, letters arriving during holiday periods and lying unanswered for months, mistaken assumptions by the recipient that they may not 'qualify' for interview, and general survey 'fatigue'. Responders who expressed ambivalence or uncertainty about the survey were contacted by telephone, their queries answered and, in most cases, their participation secured.

Interviewing officially began in June, but by 30th September only 50 interviews had been conducted. In the coming months the contact information that had been seeded earlier and word-of-mouth recommendation increased the response rate. Despite being a quantitative survey, people were understandably keen to provide personal context, justification, anecdote and explanation. Therefore, in addition to the responses to the questionnaire (there were very few 'refusals' to individual questions), we received some quite rich qualitative data which informs this report. We were reassured by the responses received to our questions that we had included the right sort of questions in the survey, and that they were capable of accessing the kinds of data that we required to fulfil the aims of the Project.

Interviewing

760 individuals were contacted by letter and email, mostly directly by the research team but a few by former interviewees who passed on information about the project on their own initiative. Once the team was made aware of these latter contacts they were sent the same basic information about the project as the directly approached contacts (see Appendix 2b). Over 400 replies were received and 314 interviews were conducted over a nine month period from August 2009 to April 2010. The remainder of responders could not find a suitable time to be interviewed, were too late to be interviewed, or cancelled their interview for a variety of personal or work-related reasons. 154 persons were interviewed at their homes, 76 at work, 62 by telephone, 8 at Royal Holloway's premises at Bedford Square, and 14 at other venues, including coffee shops, a synagogue and the Law Society Reading Room.

Each interviewee was supplied by email, letter or hand (i.e. in person at the interview) with the same basic information about the project. The nature of the project and its intended consequences was repeated to the interviewee on the day, questions were solicited and answered, and confidentiality and anonymity were assured. Each interview took from 30 minutes to two hours depending on the relevancy of the questions to the interviewees (those without children, for example, took less time), the mode of interview (telephone interviews tended to be slightly shorter on average), and the degree of discussion, reflection and detail engaged in or supplied by the interviewee. The survey questions were read out to the interviewee, who responded orally, and their responses recorded by the researcher on a standard questionnaire form (see Appendix 1). There was some change in the questionnaire after the 60th interview when it was realised that some questions were redundant or did not work as phrased, and other supplementary questions were required to provide the necessary context or data. Therefore some of the early interviewees were not questioned on a few matters and the overall population for those questions is not the full 314 but 250 or so. The last question of the interview was a request to assist us further if necessary later on in the project. No one refused to assist us, and the question was dropped in the middle of the survey. However, no further assistance was solicited from interviewees after the end of the fieldwork stage. On completion the interview document was passed from the interviewer to a member of the team for entry on to SPSS, the analysis software being used for this project.

The interviews were conducted by one interviewer of Jewish background and with experience of emigration and who, because of this, was felt to have the 'necessary empathy' and the 'intuitive understanding' (Tatz et al, pp. 51-2) to put the interviewees sufficiently at their ease, clarify points of misunderstanding in the interviews, and explain the Project rationale.

The team maintained contact regarding recent developments by regular email and telephone contact and by using a password protected Google Documents file (for the interview diary). On average we received about four to five names from each additional interviewee, and although not every name was new to us and not every new name responded positively or followed through after an initial positive response, sufficient acceptances were received by April 2010 to fulfil the sample target. The team was committed to establishing written contact in the first instance, through letter or email, and although we received many telephone contacts from interviewees we did not engage in cold calling. Strenuous efforts were made through the use of telephone data bases to locate the addresses of contacts and to post an introductory letter (see Appendix 2a). This was only successful in a minority of cases and the number of interviewees may well have been increased by direct telephone contact. Although the volume of enquiries and responses was never overwhelming, there was a steady through-put of contacts and appointments from the third week of August through the winter until early April, when the fieldwork was completed (with two dozen initial contacts still unbooked). The team continued to receive enquiries from previously contacted individuals and others who had heard of the survey by word of mouth well into the summer of 2010. Tatz et al contend (p. 15; see also Sveinsson and Gumuschian, p. 12)

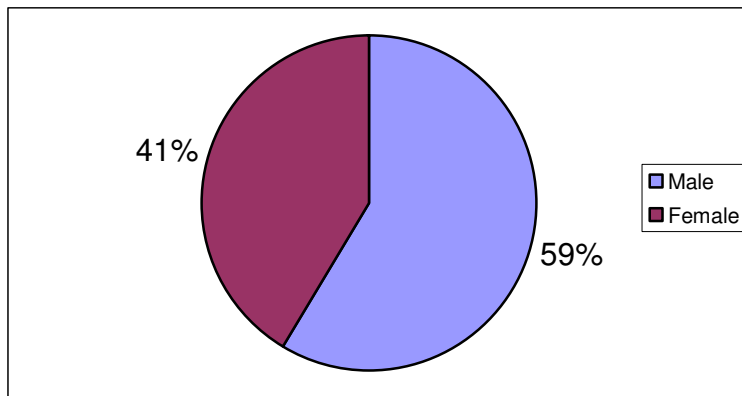
that the Litvak origin of the South African Jewish community makes it more cohesive and it is possible that the snowballing method utilised by this project was therefore ideally suited to accessing this community.

4. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY OF LONDON

The Sample

The entire sample was Jewish by birth. Of the 314 interviewees, 130 (41%) were women.⁵

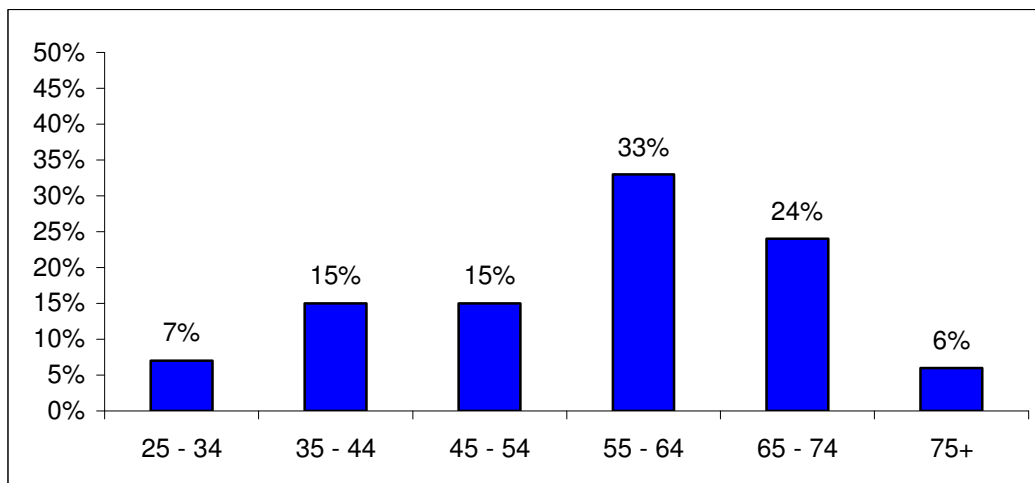
Figure 2 Gender of sample



Midway through the project when it was clear that more men than women were responding to the invitations to participate an effort was made to ensure a reasonable balance between men and women. However, more men were willing to be interviewed, and women continued to defer to their husbands/partners when families were contacted, and the result was an imbalance towards male respondents.

Interviewees ranged from 27 to 92 years of age with a median of 59.

Figure 3 Age range of sample



The sample roughly divides into four quarters from ages 27-45, 46-58, 59-66, and 67-92 – the largest section coming from the 1940s generation and over 50% from that of the 1940/50s. This resulted in a relatively middle-aged sample but reflects the profile of the Jewish population of London which is generally older than the London average (GLA, p. 16):

⁵ The JPR study sample of 1996 contacted 57% men and 43% women (Miller et al, p. 31.)

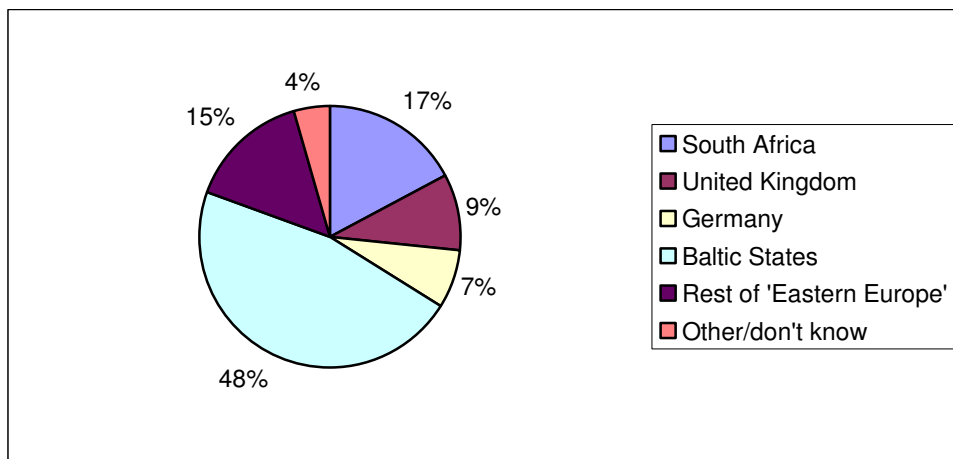
The proportion of Jews aged over 50 is 41 per cent compared with 27 per cent in London on average. This difference is even larger in the oldest age groups. For example, 13 per cent of Jews in London are aged 75 or over compared with six per cent of all Londoners.

Interestingly, 43% of our sample were born before the instituting of Apartheid as official state policy, and virtually all grew up or worked within an Apartheid-based South Africa.

Origins

92% of the sample was born in South Africa, and another 3.5% in some other part of Africa. Of the remainder, 3% were born in Britain, but all the foreign-born arrived in South Africa at relatively young ages and grew up as 'South Africans' despite their foreign origins. The majority were second generation South Africans, with 69% of mothers and 58% of fathers also born in South Africa.

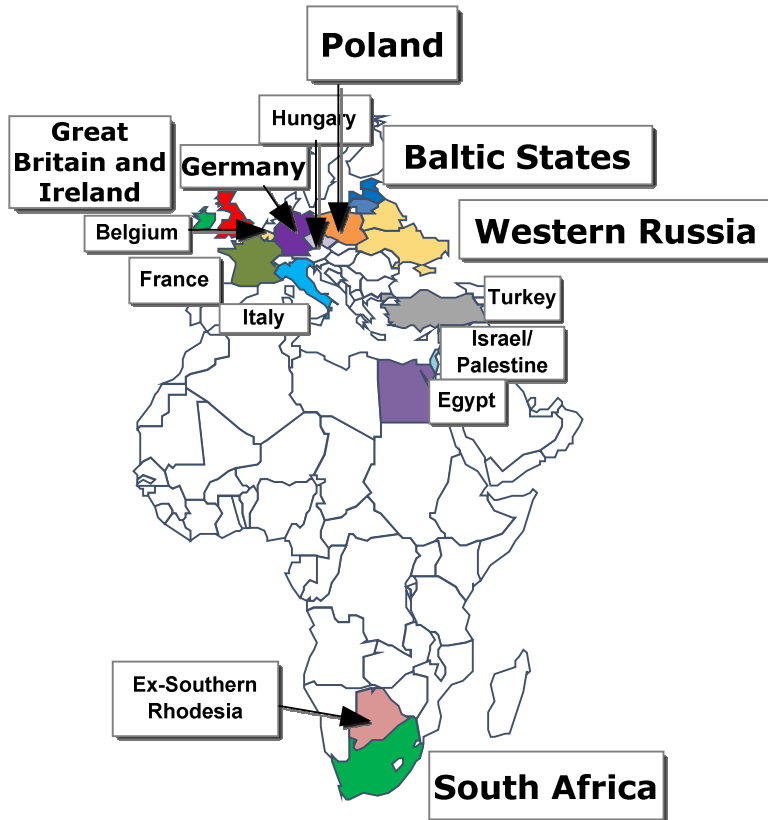
Figure 4 Family origins



No more than approximately 4% were fully third generation South Africans. Around 9% of grandparents originated in the United Kingdom, providing their descendants with the right of entry into the UK at a later date. 48% of grandparents originated from the Baltic states,⁶ and another 15% from other parts of 'Eastern Europe', most typically Poland or the Western provinces of the Russian Empire/USSR. German origins accounted for around 7% of the sample. Delving back a further generation into the 17% of grandparents who were South African born and the 9% who were British born would have undoubtedly revealed a further cohort of Baltic or Litvak ancestors as described in much of the literature of South African Jewry (see Tatz et al, Chapter 4). The numbers of Western European immigrants (some also with Litvak origins) and Sephardic immigrants among the grandparents were very few.

⁶ Although the common assumption of the Lithuanian origins of South African Jewry has reached mythic status, many of the respondents identified Latvia as their family 'home' – Riga in particular - and not historic Lithuania (see also Tatz et al, p. 75). This, however, may be a distinction without a difference.

Figure 5 Origins of the sample



Family relationships

Figure 6 Marital status of sample

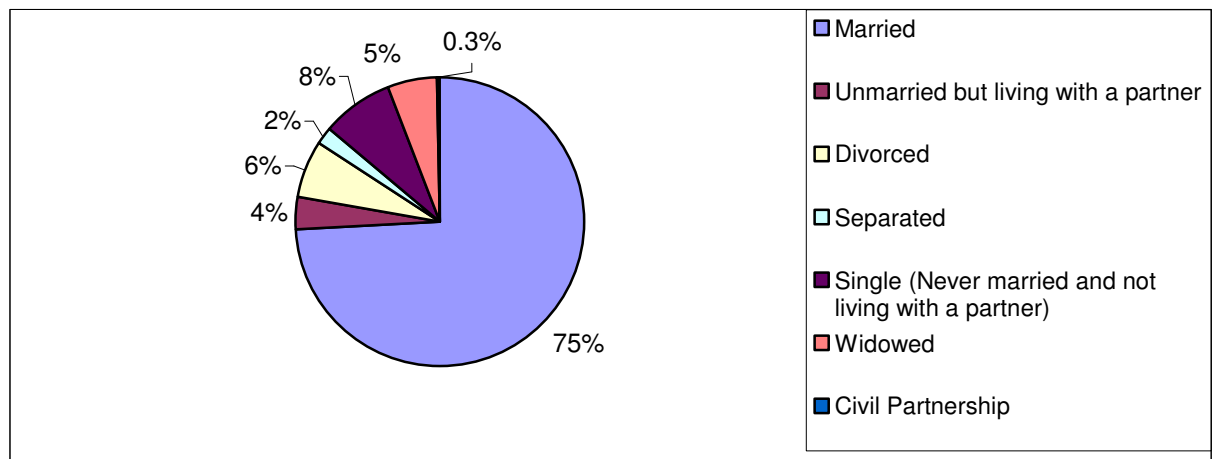
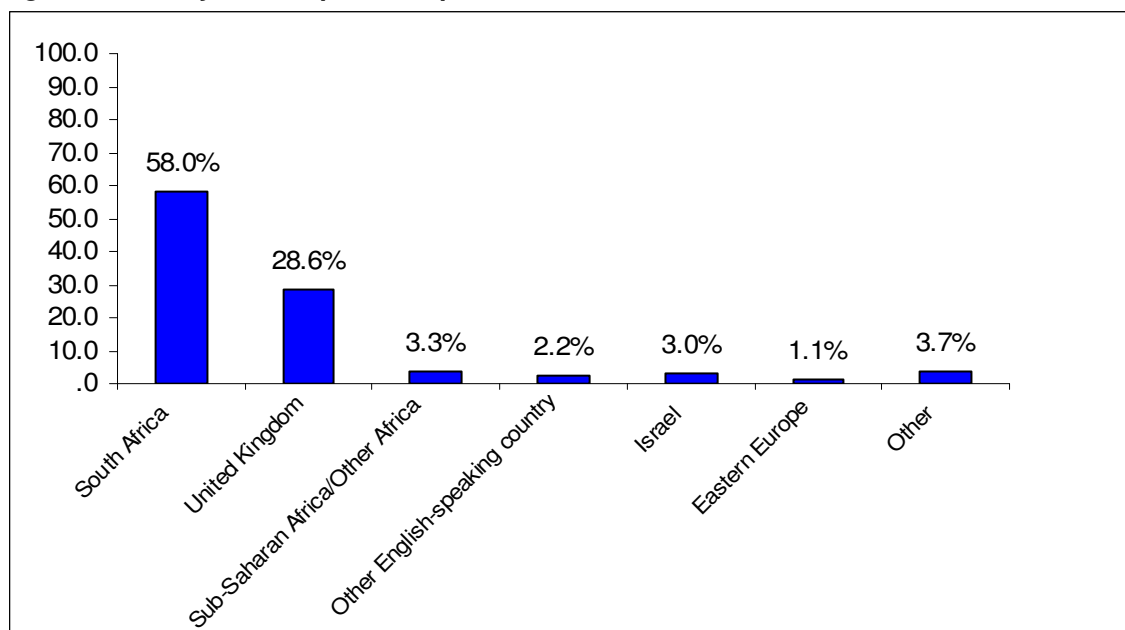


Figure 7 Country where spouse or partner was born



Three-quarters of the sample are currently married and all but 8% had at some time been married or lived with a partner. 84% were married or were living with partners who were Jewish by birth, and another 4% who were Jewish by conversion.⁷ Of the twelve converts to Judaism, eight were born outside of South Africa, five of them in the UK. The survey did not specifically raise the issue of gay relationships and only one interviewee is recorded as being in a civil partnership. Half of the sample had South African partners and a quarter had British ones. The partners of the remaining quarter were from a variety of countries, including Africa (2.9%) and Israel (2.5%) and several European countries.

Table 1 Children of the sample

Number of children	Number in sample	% of sample
0	48	15.3%
1	13	4.1%
2	142	45.2%
3	81	25.8%
4	23	7.3%
5	4	1.3%
7	1	0.3%
8	1	0.3%
11	1	0.3%

85% of the sample had children; 45% of them with two offspring; 26% with three; 7% with four and 4% with one. Of the 678 children born to the parents of the sample, about 40% (267) were born abroad; the rest (411) were born

⁷ The survey did not determine the religion of the former or ex-partners of widows, widowers or divorcees.

after the parents had immigrated to the UK. Of parents, 56% arrived in the UK childless; 13% with one child, 15% with two, and 9% with three. Only 58 of the children were six years old or younger at the time of their parents' interview, and a further 57 were of primary school age, and 105 of secondary school age to 21. The largest cohort of children was the 267 aged over 35, and consequently a large proportion of the sample would have been grandparents. 70% of parents had all their children living in the UK and only 5% had them all living abroad.⁸

Education

Table 2 Highest level of qualification

PhD or equivalent (including MD, DDS)	14%
Master's degree (including MBCHB)	27%
Honours degree or the equivalent	18%
Bachelors degree	24%
Technikon diploma/degree	1%
Diploma/certificate (e.g. technical, vocational) from an institute of higher education	7%
Matriculation certificate/'A' levels	6%
No matric/'A' levels but Non-academic (technical/vocational) certificate from institute of tertiary education	1%
High School certification (e.g. GCSEs or equivalent)	0.3%

⁸ According to statistics for 2006, 200,000 British people emigrate annually (ONS, 2006, p.11), and 5.5 million British people live abroad (Srisandarajah and Drew). It is quite normal in British households for close family to be spread over a number of continents, and the Jewish community will be no exception.

Table 3 Subject of highest qualification

Accountancy/Business Study/Management	25.0%
Medicine	11.0%
Social Science	9.0%
Law	8.0%
Psychology	8.0%
Education	6.0%
Engineering and Built Environment	6.0%
Humanities/Arts	5.0%
Language/Literature study	5.0%
Science	3.0%
Information Technology	1.3%
Performance/Media	1.3%
Mathematics	1.0%
Vocational	0.6%
Other	4.1%

According to Bruk (p. 11) 36% of South African Jews had university qualifications. The London sample was also highly educated: 92% of interviewees had a higher education qualification, 60% at honours degree level and above; 40% with post-graduates degrees; 14% at doctoral level.⁹ Of the remainder, 20 out of 24 had completed their secondary studies to matriculation level. Qualifications were spread across a range of subjects and disciplines, but business-related studies, such as accountancy and management, accounted for a quarter of them; medicine for 11%; education, broadly considered (11%); law 8%; psychology 7.6%; engineering and built environment studies 6%. Two thirds of the sample had gained their education in South Africa and over a quarter had gained their highest qualification in the United Kingdom, usually after an initial South African education.

⁹ This compares with the Tatz et al Australian sample of 71% with university degrees (p. 151).

Table 4 Languages spoken

Other languages spoken	Number	% of total respondents
Afrikaans	246	78%
Hebrew	94	30%
French	51	16%
Yiddish	25	8%
German	19	6%
Italian	13	4%
Dutch	11	4%
Spanish	6	2%
Zulu	4	1%
Portuguese	3	1%
Russian	3	1%
Flemish	2	1%
British Sign Language	1	0.3%
Greek	1	0.3%
Ladino	1	0.3%
Norwegian	1	0.3%
Polish	1	0.3%
Sotho	1	0.3%
Swedish	1	0.3%
Xhosa	1	0.3%

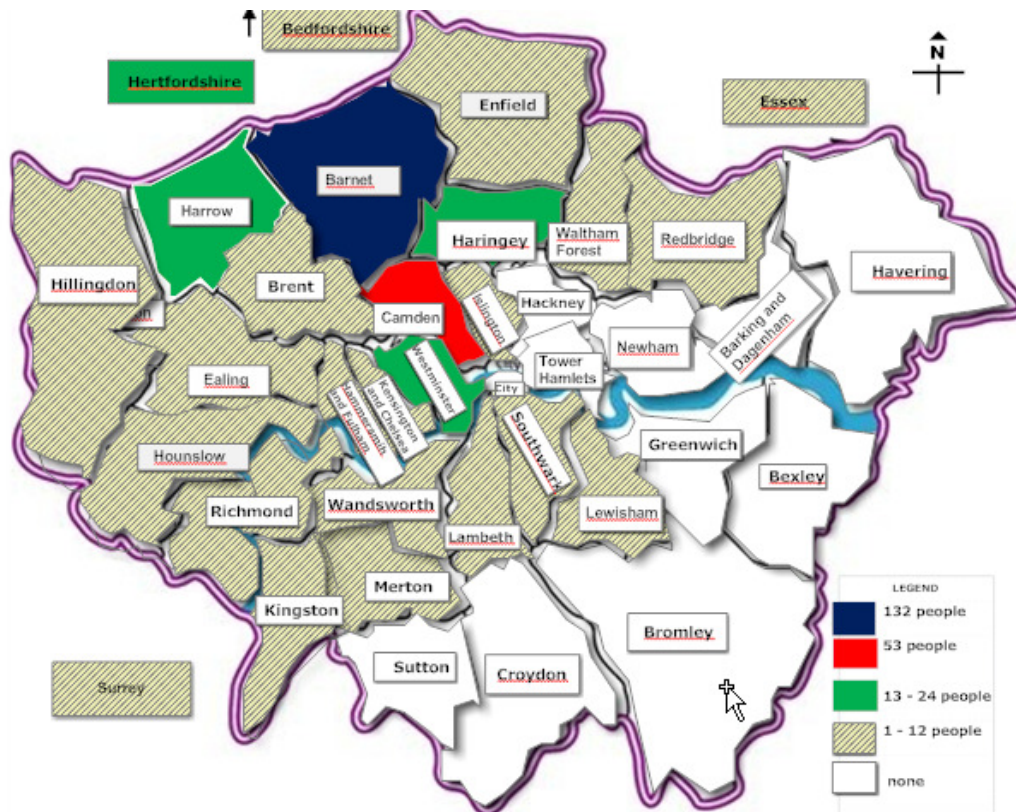
English was the mother tongue of virtually the entire sample and the language most often used at home. The survey also looked at the ability to uphold a conversation in another language, rather than academic proficiency, and because of the South African educational system, those educated there were, at least, nominally 'bilingual'. 78% of the sample could speak some Afrikaans, but many of them had to be prompted to include Afrikaans in the list of languages, or remarked of it (with seeming embarrassment): 'if you can call that a language'. A small proportion (mostly male) expressed some pride, bordering on machismo, on using Afrikaans with South African friends in social situations as a private language to exclude others. It was also used at home between parents to exclude children from sensitive conversations (much in the way that Yiddish was used in the past by their parents or grandparents). Hebrew was spoken by 30% of the sample (19% of the sample had lived in Israel for some time), and Yiddish 8%, and more than a third claimed a proficiency in a selection of other languages, European and African. French and German were the most popular of other (normally school-learned) European languages, but only 1.6% of the sample claimed any proficiency in a Black African language. Given the relative familiarity with Afrikaans it is perhaps surprising that a higher proportion of Dutch speakers is not recorded, and the absence of any Baltic languages may seem strange given the prominence of Litvak-consciousness among South African Jews generally and this sample in particular. However, the general competence in third and fourth languages in the sample is a laudable achievement from a British perspective, and it is interesting to speculate whether the enforced teaching of Afrikaans in school, and the addition of Hebrew in Jewish education, has predisposed South Africans to be more proficient in learning languages.

Almost a quarter of the sample chose to emigrate to the UK (in part at least) because it was English speaking, and it is no coincidence that so are three out of the four of their other favoured destinations, including Canada, the USA and Australia. The familiarity with Hebrew is also a reflection of the close connection to Israel, through supplementary Hebrew classes, membership of Zionist youth associations, and visits or sojourns in Israel, discussed later.

Location

In general, the sample lives in North/North-west London, reflecting Waterman and Kosmin's finding (1988, p. 81) that 'When compared with other minority populations at the scale of boroughs, the level of concentration of the Jews is higher than that for most of the other groups'. It was said to us that 'if one is seeking the South African Jewish communities of London, one should look at from 9 to 12 on the clock' – i.e. the London boroughs of Westminster, Camden, Barnet and Harrow (actually, about 10:30 to 12:00 on the clock).

Figure 8 Residence of the sample



The sample was spread over 23 of the 32 London boroughs and districts in four bordering Home Counties. Interviewees had been resident in the capital from one to 55 years, with a mean of 24 years. For the purposes of accurately reflecting the nature of the London Jewish community, the project took interviewees from outside the political boundaries of the London boroughs and accepted individuals who lived or worked within the M25 ring road,¹⁰ and thus there are some addresses in the Essex, Hertfordshire and

¹⁰ Known as the 'London Travel to Work Area', as defined by the Office for National Statistics (Bond and Coombes).

Surrey counties which are effectively considered to be 'London' areas (GLA, p. 14). The section of South-West Hertfordshire is particularly relevant in this context containing as it does a substantial Jewish community in the Watford, Three Rivers and Hertsmere areas which have, in many cases, followed the North-west drift of Jewish internal migration from the East End section of London to the outer suburbs (Newman, 1985, p.368). It is due, *inter alia*, to this pattern that Jewish population concentrations in Barnet and Harrow have developed in the years following the Second World War and the former centres of Jewish life in Tower Hamlets and Hackney have markedly declined.

The London Borough of Barnet, containing such neighbourhoods as Golders Green, Hampstead Garden Suburb, Hendon, Finchley, Mill Hill, Totteridge and High Barnet, is home to 42% of the sample (and to that of 17.5% of the British Jewish population according to Graham et al, p. 2). Barnet has almost 19,000 Jewish households (GLA, p. 54), more than three times than any of the next most populous boroughs of Redbridge, Camden or Harrow. Another 17% lives in Camden, a borough which in the South extends into the West End, but its northern districts – Hampstead, Belsize Park and Swiss Cottage – lead the way to Barnet. The City of Westminster is the heart of the West End, contains Regent's Park, Westbourne Grove and Maida Vale, and has 6.7% of the sample. Harrow (i.e. Edgware, Stanmore, Pinner) and the neighbouring districts of South-West Hertfordshire (Bushey, Radlett, Shenley, Watford, Borehamwood, Rickmansworth) contain over 11% of the sample. In all, this wedge of North and North-west London contains 56% of the Jewish population of the London area, and contributed 77% of the sample.

This concentration in one section of London at first concerned the research team, which was anxious to ensure full coverage of the London-based South African Jewish community, and efforts were made to reach out to other areas of London. The Wimbledon area, SW17, is known to be an area of high South African settlement, but not, it appears, of South African Jews. Research into London Jewish settlement shows quite clearly the inconsistencies in Jewish distribution across the capital. According to a Greater London Authority report, the majority of British Jews live in the London area and constitute 2% of the population of the capital, chiefly in the boroughs of Barnet (15% overall - its Garden Suburb ward having the highest proportion of Jewish population in the UK at 37%), Redbridge, Harrow, Camden and Hackney. However, distribution across London is uneven, with many boroughs having very few Jews. In all of South London outside the Kingston-Richmond area, where the numbers rise to 0.8% of the population, the average Jewish population is 0.35%. No ward in South London had anywhere near a 1,000 Jewish people resident (GLA, pp. 55-56).¹¹ Consequently, we were satisfied that we were accessing the heart of the Jewish community in London, but we also wanted to combine this with consideration of the 'isolates'. To that end we searched for interviewees from the Surrey borders and Richmond to the South-west of London, to Hertfordshire and Hillingdon in the North-west, and made strenuous efforts to tap into the peripheral boroughs of Waltham Forest and Redbridge to the North-East, and Southwark, Lewisham, Merton and Kingston to the South and

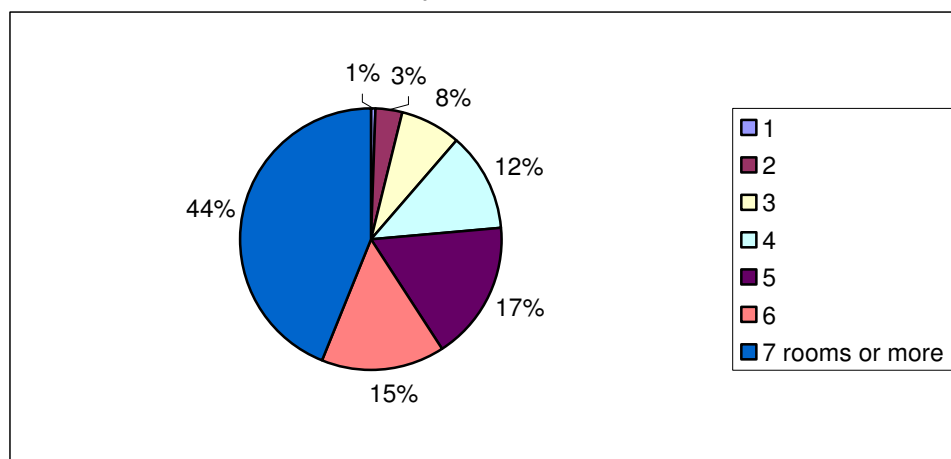
¹¹ Even so, Merton, for example, with a Jewish population of only 0.5%, was still one of 'The Top 45 districts in England and Wales for numbers of Jewish people'.

South-west. Unfortunately, no interviewees were located in the South-eastern boroughs of the capital. Nevertheless, interviewees outside the heartland mentioned above totalled almost one quarter of the survey.

Housing

89% of the sample lived in homes that were owned by them or a family member (compared with 76% for Jewish London); 10% were in (usually, private) rented accommodation.

Figure 9 Number of rooms in house (excluding kitchen, bathrooms and rooms dedicated to business)



17% lived alone (compared with 38% for London Jews, GLA, p. 35), but 44% shared with one other, usually their partner (38% for Jewish London). Given the age of the sample (averaging in the late 50s), many of these were family homes, now reduced to shared accommodation after the flight of adult children. The homes were generally larger than those of London Jews, with six rooms on average (excluding kitchen, bathrooms, and rooms associated with business). In London, 17% of the population live in houses with seven rooms or more, whereas the figures for London Jews is 38% and of South African Jews in London, 44% (GLA, p.42).

Summary

- The South African Jewish community of London is a middle-aged one. The majority are second generation South Africans, descendants of immigrants from the Baltic states and in the Russian Empire and Soviet Union more broadly.
- Three-quarters of the sample are currently married, 88% to Jewish partners, half to South African partners, and a quarter to British; 85% have children, two-thirds of whom are UK-born.
- The community is highly educated, with over 92% possessing a higher education qualification; 40% with post-graduates degrees. English is their mother tongue, but over three-quarters had some proficiency in Afrikaans and almost a third in Hebrew. A quarter was in part attracted to the UK because they are English speaking.

- 89% of the sample are owner occupiers; 17% live alone, but 44% share with a partner. The homes were generally larger than the average for London Jews, with five to six rooms on average.
- In general, the communities 'heartland' or core is in northern London - i.e. the London boroughs of Camden, Barnet and Harrow, and the contiguous districts of South-West Hertfordshire.
- In most respects the South African Jewish community in London resembles the 'comfortable' proportion of the host Jewish community.

5. THE IMMIGRATION EXPERIENCE

Migration can be described as the result of 'socio-economic imbalances' between areas of origin and destination where negative factors in the former 'push' persons to emigrate (what Tatz et al calls a 'forced' migration, p. 17), and positive factors in the latter 'pull' persons to immigrate. As Anwar (1979) points out, this simple theory is normally complicated by other factors, including personal ones, which enable or inhibit the process (see also P. Panayi, 1994 and S. Castles and M. Miller, 1993).

Table 5 Former place of residence in South Africa

Place of residence	Number	%
Johannesburg	176	56.1%
Cape Town	96	30.6%
Durban	11	3.5%
Port Elizabeth	10	3.2%
Pretoria	7	2.2%
East London	1	0.3%
Other	13	4.1%
Total	314	100%

56% of the sample lived in Johannesburg prior to their eventual emigration to the UK. This rises to almost 59% if one includes those living in the surrounding towns of Germiston, Sandton, Boksburg and Meyerton. 31% of the sample originated in the Cape Town area, including Muizenberg and Stellenbosch. This reflects the concentration of the South African Jewish population after World War II into the major cities, and the depopulation of small towns by a third in the period 1946-70 (Mendelsohn and Shain, pp. 151-2).¹² The migration from South Africa was generally a family experience (59%), though a considerable number (37%) emigrated on their own and a few (4%) did so with friends. Emigration 'with family' usually referred to a spouse or sometimes a spouse and children, but rarely to other members of the family (e.g. parents).

¹² Between 1946-70 the rural Jewish population fell by a third through migration to Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, and in those cities from the inner city to the outer suburbs: Killarney, Glenhazel (Johannesburg); Cyrildene, Sydenham, Emmarentia, Highlands North; Fresnaye, Sea Point (Cape Town).

Push Factors

Table 6 Reasons for emigrating from South Africa

Reasons		
Family	65	20.7%
Conscription	27	8.6%
Apartheid politics	125	39.8%
No future	117	37.3%
Crime	42	13.4%
No intention to emigrate	24	7.6%
Business opportunity	21	6.7%
Experience/travel	18	5.7%
Study abroad	14	4.5%

The reasons for emigration (the 'push' factors) varied widely and were rarely simple (see Tatz et al, pp. 187-8 for a similar list for Australian immigrants).¹³ Reasons given: 40% of the sample cited opposition to Apartheid; 37% no future in South Africa; 21% 'family' reasons; and 9% conscription. Of the 13% who noted increases in crime as part of their motivation, virtually all left South Africa after 1986 and the biggest surge (40% of this category) came between 1996 and 2001. Over 80% of this group came from the Johannesburg area, whereas they only comprise 56% of the sample. No one mentioned government corruption as a reason for leaving, though distrust of the new ANC-dominated government of South Africa was implied in some of the oral comment received.

It needs to be acknowledged that the decisions to emigrate were sometimes made in the interests of partners and not the individual responder. This is particularly true of women who went along with their husbands' assessment of their situation in South Africa and their possible prospects for a future abroad. Smaller percentages presented 'Other' reasons, some of which resemble the coded choices. Seven percent said that they had no intention to leave South Africa but circumstances conspired to either prevent their return to South Africa or to persuade them to stay without any strong commitment at the time, and without any implication that this was a rejection of South Africa as such. Six percent had business-related reasons for leaving South Africa such as anxiety that they would be unable to make a living, or the same sort of living, to which they had become accustomed; their firm had transferred them or their partner to London; the business climate had become depressed in general or in their field. Some five percent merely wanted an 'experience' outside of South Africa or were attracted to the idea of travel - not necessarily solely to the UK. Four percent wanted to study outside of South Africa – again, not necessarily in the UK - because the opportunities or the expertise there did not suit their preferences. Five percent also cited various forms of 'political unrest' or uncertainty as another reason, although these may in fact overlap with the main choices of opposition to Apartheid on the one hand (a pre-1995 reason), or no future in South Africa (a pre- and post-1995 reason).

¹³ This question did not appear in the first 61 interviews as a specific query, though most interviewees supplied information about it and this was recorded as 'qualitative' data by the researchers. However, the statistics for this question are based on 253 official replies and not the full 314 sample.

Table 7 Age of sample when they arrived in the UK

		When the whole sample arrived in the UK (grouped into batches of years)			Total
		1954-1970	1971-1994	1995-2009	
Age of whole sample when they arrived in the UK.	7-12	1	2	0	3
	13-17	0	6	0	6
	18-21	15	8	0	23
	22-34	43	91	53	187
	35-49	5	28	17	50
	50-64	1	5	13	19
	65+	0	0	3	3
Total		65	140	86	291

Tatz et al noted (p. 202) that after 1990 the age of immigration to Australia increased in the over-60s compared with 1960/mid-1980s when it was the 20-39 age band that was most likely to leave for the Antipodes. This is consistent with South African Jewish immigration to Britain where we find 90% of Jewish immigrants during the period 1954/1970 from South Africa were in the 18-34 age bracket, whereas this reduces by a third in the period 1995/2009 for the same age bracket. Emigration of over-50s increase from 1.5% and 3.6% in the 1954/1970 and 1971/1994 periods to over 18% in the later period. Across the entire period 18-34 year olds account for 72% of immigrants and over-50s for only 8%. There is little evidence in these figures that South African retirees are looking for a place in the shade by immigrating to England.

Conditions in South Africa

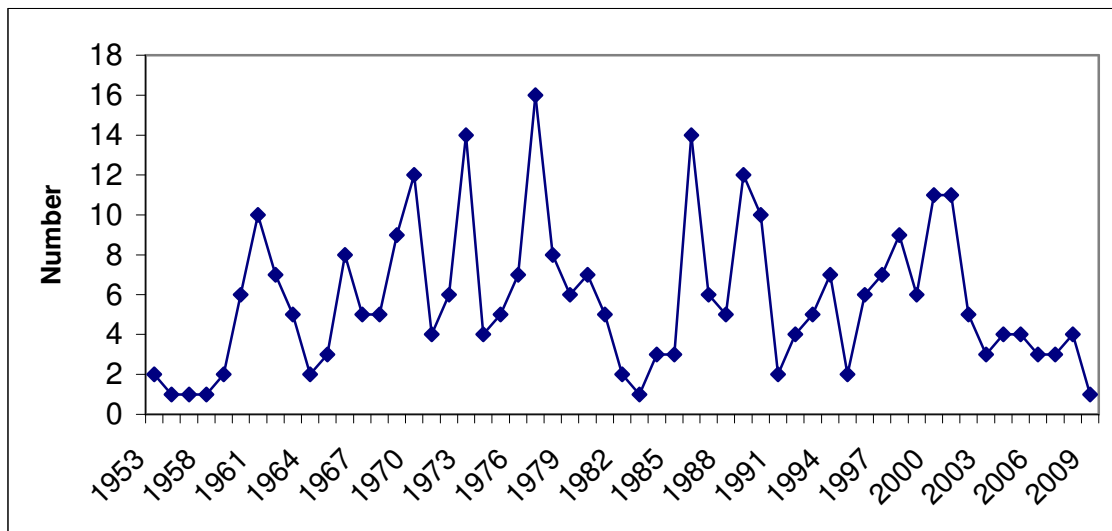
It is interesting to note the pace of emigration of this sample related to the timeline of events in South Africa (Byrnes, 1996). Although the statistics are not conclusive, one notes spikes of emigration which coincide or follow closely some important events in recent South African history (see Tatz et al, p. 185).

Table 8 Timeline of events in South Africa

DATE	EVENTS	EFFECTS/ANXIETIES
1960/61	'Winds of Change'-Sharpeville-Declaration of the Republic of South Africa (RSA)	Isolation of RSA from the Commonwealth and the 'world community'
1969/70	Establishment of the Herstigte (Reconstituted) National Party; withdrawal of citizenship from South African Blacks	Resurgence of ultra-Right Wing policies
1973	Arab/OAU oil embargo against South Africa.	Depressive effect on business community
1976/78	Television introduced; rise of Black Consciousness; riots in Soweto; assassination of Steve Biko; acknowledgment of RSA involvement in Angola	Concerns about internal security, and participation of young men in unpopular war

1985/86	Group Areas Act; ANC negotiations; US sanctions on RSA are stepped up; State of Emergency; Mandela-Botha meeting	Depressive effect on business community; anxiety about law and order
1989/90	Beginnings of the dismantling of Apartheid; unbanning of ANC; release of Nelson Mandela	Possibility of civil war
1994/1999	Mandela presidency	Possibility of right-wing backlash
1999/2008	Mbeki presidency	Concern about Black empowerment

Figure 10 Emigration from South Africa of the sample from 1954 - 2009



Without additional data this relationship between events and emigration cannot be seen as a definitive correlation, and emigration in this instance is probably not due to a single and immediate stimulus. The situations they refer to, while concerning, were not life-and-death ones such as confronted refugees from Rwanda or Somalia in the recent past or even in pre-Holocaust Europe. Emigrants from South Africa, in general, had time to reflect, plan and make a relatively orderly move. Nevertheless, the impact of events such as those in the table above cannot be ignored.¹⁴

Implicit in the question is the assumption that the Nationalist or ANC-based governments over the last 60 years presented South Africans with challenges of accommodation or resistance that might be solved by emigration. The nature of those challenges were described by interviewees in a wide variety of ways from the prospect of an undesirable or unacceptable future based on an uncertain, 'doom-laden' political situation, to more personal responses. Those listed as choosing reasons related to 'Apartheid politics', for example, covered a breadth of response from those who were involved in direct political activities (often in their student days, but including several who were central

¹⁴ The numbers of individuals who left South Africa for another country before re-emigrating to the UK (45) are too small and spread out over too long a period (1953-2002) to make a robust comparison, yet even here the numbers emigrating in the years 1970, 1973, 1977, 1986/7 and 1990 stand out.

figures in the struggle against Apartheid), or who came from liberal family backgrounds for whom 'change was not happening fast enough', to those whose involvement was peripheral but strong enough to motivate them sufficiently to undertake the enormous upheaval of emigration. The following discussion of the reasons for emigrating from South Africa is informed by the qualitative comments made by interviewees in response to 'Why did you and/or your family decide to emigrate from South Africa – i.e. what was the 'push'?' Comments were recorded verbatim by the research team, some of which we have attempted to quantify.

Apartheid South Africa: Discomfort

Most interviewees were inactive opponents of the regime and described their dilemmas as: 'I couldn't remain and do nothing and I didn't want to go to gaol'; 'I could not see how to influence the system: you couldn't do anything in South Africa'; 'white protest was useless'; 'I didn't want to become a part of the system'; 'I didn't see myself as an ANC activist and couldn't support violence'. A few were active opponents of the Apartheid regime and one prominent anti-Apartheid veteran described his reason to leave as a 'weariness at fighting South Africa', i.e. struggling against the regime. Often mentioned was a general guilt or embarrassment ('political and moral discomfort') that 'one's good way of life was at someone else's expense'; a discomfort at South Africa's 'pariah status'; 'not wanting to spend the most important years of my life represented by the 'fig leaf' of Helen Suzman - the only member of the Progressive party in Parliament'.

It was claimed by several interviewees that 'Jewish South Africans were brought up to leave South Africa'; 'it was a good place to get out of'; 'it was a very depressing place if you had an iota of conscience - you could not help but be a racist.' Several claimed that they had always imagined from an early age that 'we'd never live out our lives there'; 'from age 12 I knew I didn't want to be part of the system':

I knew I was going to leave – just not when. I felt I didn't belong. As a Jew ... I was always on the periphery.

To some the Nationalist regime was generally an 'unfree society', typified by a combination of intimidation and boredom. Nurses, for example, were not allowed to treat non-Whites. Women were treated unfairly; without minimum wage or equal opportunities (a situation not unknown outside of South Africa).

To anyone with an enquiring mind it was insulting to be ruled by people with less education and less vision [than oneself]. Once my eyes were opened to the wider world by travel, it became impossible to stay.

This lack of intellectual stimulation, it was claimed, created an atmosphere of 'anxious restlessness' - a sense of boredom ('boredom and business', one put it), of 'going nowhere' - that could only be terminated by emigration. 'Johannesburg was a "bubble", valuing the wrong things'. The desire to travel and build something overseas was also strong, but for some this opportunity for emigration only came with the prospect of retirement: 'There was always the push, but we waited, and waited and waited ...'.

Apartheid South Africa: Uncertainty

Disenchantment with the Apartheid government was not just specifically about its racial politics, but for business people it was also about the economic instability ('sanctions and recession') that were consequent on its international isolation and on the danger of internal violent revolution. Although many in business were doing well or very well ('from a personal point-of-view, life could not have been better'), there was a middle or long-term question about the future. For example, practical difficulties, such as exchange controls and economic sanctions, 'made it very difficult to run the business from South Africa, so there were logistical reasons [to leave]'. In another example, a businessman, whose firm's locale was re-designated as a Coloured area, was not allowed to trade, and after selling up his business at a loss he decided to leave.¹⁵

Those leaving just prior to the full dismantling of Apartheid expressed an understandable pessimism about the possibilities for a peaceful transition to majority rule, and assumed that it would be accompanied by a breakdown of law and order, caused by either a White right-wing backlash or a Black civil war and White panic such as had characterised other African independence situations – e.g. Algeria and the Congo. P. W. Botha's 'Rubicon' Speech (1985)¹⁶ convinced some that there would be no peaceful change in South Africa and that it would eventually descend into chaos. This prospect would have been particularly acute for those facing conscription (or with children of rising conscription age), and dreading the prospect of serving the state during a civil war. One interviewee expressed his anxiety as 'de-risking his career' by leaving sooner rather than later. Others described this as 'getting out before the curtain comes down', i.e. before the coming revolution; 'anxiety that we were missing an opportunity [to leave], before having children, which we would regret'.¹⁷

Post-Apartheid South Africa: Anxiety

For those leaving after the end of Apartheid there was anxiety that, despite the Rainbow Nation rhetoric, ultimately there would be 'no place for White people', especially Jews. According to Mendelsohn and Shain (p. 207), the Jewish community was reassured by the market-friendly policies of the ANC, but uncertainty remained regarding affirmative action policies and Black

¹⁵ Under the Group Areas Act of 1950 racial groups were restricted to certain residential and business sections of cities and towns, effectively excluding them from living in the most developed areas, which were restricted to Whites and forcing them to commute large distances from their homes in order to be able to work. While the law aimed at eliminating non-Whites from certain areas, it also forbade Whites from residing or trading in areas designated for other racial groups.

¹⁶ The "Crossing the Rubicon" speech was a policy address in which Botha, though widely expected to announce new reforms, instead rejected any pressure for concessions to the Black population, including the release of Mandela. His defiance of international opinion in this speech led to further isolation of the RSA, calls for economic sanctions, and a rapid decline in the value of the rand. The following year, when the United States introduced the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, Botha declared a nation-wide state of emergency.

¹⁷ Sveinsson and Gumuschian talk also about a 'general pessimism' in their sample, p. 12

Economic Empowerment.¹⁸ Specifically, the transition meant that 10 to 15 years of affirmative action and Black empowerment would deny the children of white families the opportunity to compete on an 'equal' footing – effectively they would lose the advantage that their white skin has previously provided them. This was expressed by an expectation of a 'drop in standards' and a need to 'externalise ourselves'. Parents wanted a 'clean sheet' for their children. Pessimism about the future was expressed as follows: 'I didn't want to serve under a Black government'; 'there were no more Mandelas, and a backlash is coming'; 'everyone who was anyone was leaving'; '... I didn't want to leave it too late (not like Germany)'. The example of Zimbabwe was an object lesson in uncertainty, reinforced regularly by refugees from the North: 'It is not safe enough to live out the rest of our lives'; 'not safe for a young family'. With regard to 'safety', the seemingly lawless situation in Johannesburg was mentioned as being particularly problematic. Also there was some perception that the new South Africa would encourage a shift from a Euro-centric economy and culture to an Afro-centric one, and those whose training and skills did not suit the perceived shift would be particularly vulnerable in the new markets being created.

Personal

The assumption that all South African emigrants are in some way primarily political refugees misinterprets the nature of emigration for which there is always a personal dimension (see Frieze et al, and Jokela). Whatever the political, economic and ideological reasons for emigration they were usually mixed with reasons of family and other close relationships – parents, children, partners and friends. Parent-related reasons included the freedom to act independently once the parental generation had died or had left South Africa. Parents followed their children who had emigrated - to 'prevent the fragmentation of the family'. Many parents were determined to ensure the future of their children ('needed an insurance policy for the family') by 'getting the children out of South Africa while they could be educated'. Others wanted their children to leave irrespective of the cost to family integrity: 'the family said "Go"!'. South Africa was becoming 'no place for a family – wanted the family to stay together and break the "cycle of wanderers"'. Those without children, and therefore with a smaller number of critical variables, were freer to make decisions based solely on their individual needs.

One cannot ignore other personal reasons completely unrelated to politics or business: 'to get away from an unhappy marriage'; to change tack and 'do something different'; to get away from parents or 'unhappy family conditions'; to have 'an experience of one's own'; 'to get out for a while'; 'to escape the South African political situation *and* the "Jewishness" of my mother'; to escape the experience of anti-Semitism; to succumb to peer pressure, when the bulk of one's friends were leaving South Africa ('everyone was geared to leave') and 'not standing out against the crowd'.

Not included in the pre-coded survey choices available to interviewees was the issue of a restrictive culture, also not necessarily related to politics.

¹⁸ Tatz et al had commented that 'Job reservation' which had provided whites with jobs – a 'good headstart' - was inverted with the end of apartheid (pp. 144-6); see also Bruk (p. 68) on South African Jews' rejection of 'affirmative action'.

Nevertheless, interviewees volunteered their views on the tedium of an inward-looking society, and 'socially insular ... communities'; the 'cultural poverty' of insufficiently cosmopolitan, provincial life, the restricted world of the 'small pond'.¹⁹ Also mentioned were the lack of opportunities for cultural or personal expression; inadequate higher education opportunities (including being restricted to a 'home' university and the lack of expertise in one's area of interest); the restrictions on gay expression. This resulted on the one hand in the feeling of being 'cut off' and of a society that was 'burnt out'; and on the other of a need for 'personal growth' and new challenges. They spoke of a desire to see the world ('I didn't know about the outside world and needed to escape'); 'to break out of South Africa [which was] too limiting and too exposed - I wanted a larger environment and anonymity'.

This desire 'to see the wider world' and see something different is not restricted to the denizens of only certain societies, and therefore cannot be interpreted as a rejection of the homeland. Some remarks that did, however, reflect a rejection of South African society emphasised its low 'intellectual density', 'insufficient educational opportunities' and 'professional isolation'. According to these interviewees, 'South Africa was a colonial dead-end', and in particular 'the Jewish community was not going anywhere'. For a few the 'push and pull' motives are difficult to disentangle. Career stagnation and lack of opportunities to pursue one's profession fully, i.e. no professional challenge to test oneself amongst the best, may naturally cause an individual to look elsewhere for such a 'challenge'. For others the motives were very mixed: 'I wanted to practice law and didn't want to give up my British passport, and serve in the army in a time of unrest'.

Opportunistic

Not all South African immigrants left their home with the intention to settle abroad, and so their emigration from it did not imply any rejection of its society, politics, or economic opportunities. Typically, their initial action to sojourn in London was rather prompted by a desire to travel, or work on holiday, or merely a curiosity about the external world ('to have a look around at alternatives'; 'a foreign experience'), or to start a course of study. These motives were rather more pull than push. Having arrived in the UK, however, a series of contingent events accumulated, creating a situation which amounted to a decision not to go back rather than one to stay. For these settlers, the decision not to return was more difficult and important than that of coming to Britain. For example, one interviewee, visiting London with no intention of immigrating, stayed on temporarily because of the Sharpeville Massacre crisis, delaying his return until the point when South Africa left the Commonwealth, and *then* deciding not to go back. In such cases, settlement in the UK was accidental rather than intentional. This sometimes occurred when individuals had been sent to London to represent their business firm (or their business had relocated, reflecting a decision at corporate level rather than at the individual level). They then stayed on for reasons of attraction towards London, or of a rejection of South Africa that had developed over the years; or simply because one had acquired friends or a family, and had, in a fit of absence of mind, put down roots.

¹⁹ These comments sometimes referred to situations of many decades ago and are not necessarily a judgement on modern South Africa.

Immigration to the United Kingdom

The next obvious question was to ask why emigrants choose the United Kingdom – or more properly London – in which to settle. The former Mayor of London’s contention that London is now a city which welcomes immigrants to live a life of freedom, may well reflect the laissez-faire immigration policy of the Victorian period, where

In keeping with its role as the ‘workshop of the world’, Britain long enjoyed a reputation as a liberal provider of refuge and political asylum. ... [and] had little use for immigration controls for most of the 19th century (Brown, 1998).

Until, that is, the era of mass Jewish emigration prompted Balfour’s government to respond with the 1905 Alien’s Act. From then on the history of immigration to Britain has been one of increasingly more stringent controls on numbers and types of immigrants (see Gartner, 1960; Garrard, 1971).

The UK has not been the first choice for South Africans and, in particular, South African Jewish emigrants, who prefer Israel and Australia above it. According to Tatz et al (p. 215), ‘Canada [was] (too cold), and the United States (too culturally unsuitable) [and] England (too expensive).²⁰ The issues for Jewish emigrants to Australia, according to Tatz et al, were:

... climate, the viability of a Jewish community and the South African presence already there. They headed, essentially, to places as like as possible to the places they were leaving (p. 209).

It is no secret that London’s climate, though preferable to Manchester, is not its first appeal. Despite the expense, the attraction of London was cultural and size – it was large enough to contain many communities – Jewish or South African – or some new combination.

Table 9 Reasons for choosing the UK

Reasons	Number	%
Family living in UK	99	31.5%
Family origins in UK	63	20.1%
Friends in the UK	31	9.9%
Job opportunity	144	45.9%
Academic opportunity	52	16.6%
Opportunities for children	20	6.4%
English speaking	76	24.2%
Familiarity	105	33.4%
No alternative	20	6.4%

In rating their reasons for immigrating to London, 46% of the sample²¹ indicated the availability of job opportunities; 33% the British ‘lifestyle’; and

²⁰ Even so, the USA and Canada are preferred to the UK.

²¹ This question, which allowed for multi-mentions of factors, was put to the entire sample of 314.

31.5% because they had family in the UK. Smaller percentages noted the influences of their British descent, friends, study opportunities, the possibilities of a better life for their children, and the attractions of an English speaking country. 30% noted other reasons, the largest proportion of which (11% of the total sample) was the ease of entry for someone with a UK passport, visa, or an EU passport. Such ease of entry meant that a clear decision to 'emigrate' was not necessary, and that this important decision could be postponed; that travel to the UK could be considered just that – travel, not emigration (the choice of another 3.8%). Four and half percent named personal reasons such as coming to London to meet, be with, or marry a partner, and 6.6% named a variety of reasons which amount to a liking for England and London – 'Anglophilia' and the miscellaneous attractions of well-known place of which they were, or felt they were, familiar.

Immigration to England was not a definite intention of all the eventual settlers. For 6% of the sample, the UK was not their first choice but the next best alternative because they were refused entry to or could not afford their first choice, and indeed 16% of the sample (49 people) had initially emigrated to another country before making the decision to re-emigrate to the UK: half from Israel and a third from North America. In the case of married couples or partners the commitment to emigration itself, or the choice of the UK in particular, was not always shared equally between partners, yet the other partner needed to be amenable to the move. Women sometimes indicated that the impulse to move (particularly in the case of case of emigration for economic reasons) came from their husbands. Sometimes England was merely a negative attraction if none of one's friends or relations were going anywhere else (Australia, Canada, or the USA). Some of the interviewees provided comments that explained or contextualised the reasons for choosing the UK – particularly about the employment and study opportunities and the qualities of life that attracted them to London.

Anglophilia

It is clear there was and is a great deal of affection for 'England' (the national name preferred – probably by most foreigners – to that of 'Great Britain' or 'the United Kingdom'): 'England was the most civilised country imaginable'. It is seen as a comfortable environment, that some also found attractive, physically and emotionally: 'I love its fairness'; 'I belonged to it and it belonged to me'; 'civilised, fair, orderly, stimulating'; 'a place of incredible security'. Some were also attracted to its 'element of anarchy; a culture that was not rigid or overregulated with an acceptance of eccentricity'. One interviewee said she had always 'felt English' in South Africa ('For me it's like coming home') although she had no family ties to this country. This she and others attributed to their familiarity with British culture and systems. It was assumed by the research team that emigrants with previous residence in this country before their eventual settlement here might choose this option, but it was something of a surprise that South Africans of Jewish faith (and with no previous history in these islands or descent from former residents) looked to 'England' as their cultural home. They claimed that 'For English speakers, England is the Mother Country' - a term most often only used by the British ironically these days, but apparently taken seriously by these interviewees. The strength of this feeling cannot be exaggerated.

The familiarity with the UK may have been enhanced by the fact that 82% of the sample had either friends or relations (or both) already living in the UK – a factor which must have helped to cushion the landing in the new country. This is particularly true for recent arrivals that come to a much more established Jewish South African London than their *landsleit* experienced in the 1950s/60s. Given this degree of familiarity and affection, integration into English society was relatively easy and straight-forward: ‘It felt like home’. Some explained that their ‘affinity with English culture’ was due to having grown up in an English ‘colonial-style’ setting, been educated in an Anglocentric culture, and worked in a British-focussed economy. For example, a former resident of Durban called its schools (in the 1960/70s) ‘the last outpost of the British Empire’. Others announced simply: ‘They play cricket here’; ‘[London] looked like South Africa [not geographically, but culturally]’. London and England were very familiar (e.g. from literature and films) even for those who had never been here, and so there was less culture shock upon arrival. These qualitative comments were largely uncoded in the survey and therefore cannot be cross referenced to city of birth, but it would be interesting to see if these responses were more common in former residents of Johannesburg or of Cape Town/Durban.

For those who remember being frustrated by the equivocation of British foreign policy towards South Africa during the Apartheid era, it might also be surprising that Britain was seen by some interviewees as a centre of Anti-Apartheid agitation and the very antithesis of South African political culture – open, free, a land of opportunity, with a greater degree of personal and political freedom, cultural expression (e.g. a centre of jazz), and tolerance.

Although it is a modern truism that American culture has subsumed that of the British, some respondents saw America as ‘too foreign’ for them or not congenial enough for their children. The USA did not have the same value systems – it was too materialistic. Nor did it have forms of Judaism that were offered within the UK. England was seen as having a strong, established Jewish community. For example, a family disenchanted with their initial emigration to Israel, were inspired to re-emigrate to the UK by the positive impression they received from Mancunian Jews they met there.

For some the UK and Europe in general were very attractive locations for a variety of reasons, including (although it may be difficult for British people to understand this) ‘adventure’. These people wanted to ‘broaden their horizons’, sample new experiences, and enjoy a more involved cultural life than could be achieved in South Africa. For them the cultural ties with England and the love of European culture was an important attraction. The British obsession with sport was seen by some - usually men - as another common bonding feature.

Pragmatic

For those with British nationality, the Commonwealth Agreement made emigration to the UK a practical option. The ease of getting an ancestral

visa²² and of entry for South Africans with British parentage or ancestry (approximately 9.5%), or EU passports (at least 7% of the sample), made Britain an obvious choice compared with the difficulties or delays of getting a visa or a green card for the USA, Canada or Australia. In addition, London was a relatively known quantity from previous tourist visits, and generally considered to be an attractive city as well as a major centre for tourists, company headquarters and settlers. Located at the 'centre of the world' (their term), it has 'world-class institutions', including 'glamorous' higher education institutions, and a convenient launch-pad for travel to Europe. Not only does it have access to European culture, but it is so much more convenient for the family to visit (compared with the distances to Australia or the West Coast of the USA) and to carry out business. Flights from South Africa and to Israel are both easily arranged.²³

South Africa's business connections with London (and a good expatriate network) – partly a legacy of empire and partly a reflection of the mutual interests between the City and South African commerce and industry - facilitated the move for settlers into a good job, sometimes with the same South African firm, but nevertheless with an 'easy transition'. Even after the declaration of a Republic in 1961 there was the possibility of getting a two-year work permit or working holiday visa. Moving to London therefore maximised one's job options, while offering the possibility of an exciting career opportunity. For those originally intending to return to South Africa, overseas work experience would be a highly valued item on the CV.

Setting up a business up in the UK was apparently relatively easy, based on 'user friendly' systems and (at the time) a 'tax friendly environment'. Some while still in South Africa expanded or started new businesses in England in preparation to support the family if it/once it moved here. For those in certain professions, there were the benefits of common practice between South Africa and the UK – e.g. the law was similar. Qualifications and training were recognised and one could get registered or re-qualified in the UK in one's profession (see Bezuidenhout et al, 2005, on the migration of South African doctors). Indeed, it was normal for certain professions – e.g. dentistry – for recent graduates to spend time in the NHS immediately after graduation before settling down to practice in South Africa. Reciprocity with the UK meant that South African dentists were registered with the British Dental Association and no work permit was required. In one graduating class of 16, it was said, 14 dentists went to England. For others it was normal – almost a tradition – to leave South Africa for post-graduate study in the UK.

Personal

As stated above, some came with no fixed idea to settle, but out of curiosity, the desire to travel and work just enough to finance their tourism on their 'gap year', or the need to gain work experience. Their eventual settlement was as much due to 'inertia' as to any commitment to the UK or rejection of South Africa. In some cases this curiosity about Britain may have prompted a

²² UK ancestry visas (or patriality visa) are for Commonwealth citizens with a grandparent who was born in the United Kingdom (UK) or Ireland before 31 March 1922. It allows the emigrant to live and work in, and leave and re-enter the UK without restriction for five years.

²³ Overnight flight in the same time zone to London.

decision to stay permanently in the UK when weariness with travel kicked in; in others it established a 'British experience' of one or two years and a familiarity with the UK that could be revisited at a later date when the decision to emigrate from South Africa was again raised.

As may be expected, there were also a variety of personal reasons and mixed motives for emigration: romance - to meet/be with/marry a partner; provide a better environment for children; escape: 'it was the furthest place from the wife's family'. Some perceived that their family would fit in easily with British life, and that branches of the nuclear and extended family would be more likely to visit the UK. The English education system – private, state, secular and Jewish – was seen as an attraction. Some recent arrivals, who have retained their homes in South Africa, claim not to have emigrated, although they have homes, jobs, and a social life in this country.

Summary

- 56% of the sample lived in Johannesburg prior to their eventual emigration to the UK. The migration from South Africa was generally a family experience (59%), though a considerable number (37%) emigrated on their own.
- The South African Jewish community in London has accumulated over at least a 60 year period and reasons for its emigration to London reflect the changing circumstances in South Africa, and the perceptions of the community to the political realities and economic opportunities upon which a future satisfactory family and working life can be based.
- The reasons for emigration (the 'push' factors) varied widely and were rarely simple: 37% no future in South Africa; 40% opposition to Apartheid; 21% 'family' reasons; 9% conscription. Of the 13% who noted increases in crime as part of their motivation, virtually all left South Africa after 1986. Other significant motivations were the perceived insularity of South African society, particularly in the early period of migration, and various personal reasons to do with family and the general desire for travel and a 'foreign experience'.
- 90% of immigrants during the period 1954-1970 from South Africa were in the 18-34 age bracket, whereas this reduces by a third in the period 1990-2009 for the same bracket. Immigration of over-50s has increased from very small number prior to 1994 to over 18% after that date. Spikes in immigration number reflect and follow with a small time lag various crises in modern South African history.
- Disenchantment with the Apartheid government included its racial politics, economic instability and international isolation and the prospect of internal violent revolution. Later there was pessimism about the possibilities for a peaceful transition to majority rule and anxiety about the place of Jews in the new South Africa.
- Although the UK was not the first choice for Jewish South Africans, London contained attractions not availed by the alternatives: job

opportunities, family in the UK, and the British 'lifestyle'. Most Jewish South Africans were familiar with British culture and systems, enhanced by the fact of friends or relations already living in the UK, and the presence of a strong, established Jewish community professing similar values.

- For those with British and EU documentation entry into the UK was relatively easy. South Africa's business connections with London facilitated the move for settlers into a good job, or the setting up of a business in a 'user friendly' environment.

6. INTEGRATION INTO BRITISH SOCIETY

As noted above, the typical South African Jewish emigrant to the UK (82%) already had some contacts in this country through family and friends, and a general familiarity with British life and culture. For a few, arrival was experienced as a homecoming; for many others it was at least a well anticipated and prepared event. In some instances the 'return' to the 'Mother Country' can be a shocking experience no matter what the preparation. For example, the culture shock of West Indian immigrants to Britain in the 1940/50s is well documented and attested (see Fryer 1984, Green 1990, and Phillips and Phillips 1999). South African Jewish immigrants, with their white skin, English-based education, and European-influenced culture, were a different case, and had opportunities not offered to immigrants from Asia, West Africa and the Caribbean to integrate and assimilate if they so wished.

Public Identity

Table 10 What do most British people, on first acquaintance, as far as you know, regard you as?

	When the whole sample arrived in the UK (grouped into batches of years)			Total
	1954-1970	1971-1994	1995-2009	
British	10	17	1	28
	13.7%	11.2%	1.1%	8.9%
South African	42	102	82	226
	57.5%	67.1%	93.2%	72.2%
Equally/alternately British South African	15	29	3	47
	20.5%	19.1%	3.4%	15.0%
Other	1	2	2	5
	1.4%	1.3%	2.3%	1.6%
Don't know	5	2	0	7
	6.8%	1.3%	0.0%	2.2%

At the time of being surveyed, nearly three quarters of the sample felt that they were still regarded as South African and only 9% felt that they were seen as British by British people. There is some noticeable change in the numbers of ex-South Africans who are seen as British when they are compared with statistics on their length of stay in the UK, but this change seems to come only after long residence (c. 40 years) and it is only a slight change. Those that arrived between 1954/970 are slightly more likely to be seen as British than those who arrived 1971/1994, but they are twelve times more likely than those who have arrived 1995/2009.

Table 11 What British people regard you as (for those who associate with British people in the workplace)

		Q.43a Do you associate with British people in your workplace?					
		Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Quite often	Very often	Total
Q.35 What do most British people, on first acquaintance, as far as you know, regard you as?	British	0 0.0%	1 4.8%	2 9.5%	3 14.3%	15 71.4%	21 100.0%
	South African	4 2.1%	3 1.6%	14 7.3%	45 23.6%	125 65.4%	191 100.0%
	Equally/alternately British-South African	0 0.0%	1 2.6%	2 5.1%	5 12.8%	31 79.5%	39 100.0%
	Other	0 0.0%	1 20.0%	0 0.0%	1 20.0%	3 60.0%	5 100.0%
	Don't know	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	2 66.7%	1 33.3%	3 100.0%
	Total	4 1.5%	6 2.3%	18 6.9%	56 21.6%	175 67.6%	259 100.0%

When the numbers of those who are regarded as British or as equally/alternately British are compared with those who associate with British people very often in the workplace (71% and 80% respectively), the proportions are slightly higher than those who are regarded as South African (65%), so that it may be surmised that immersion in a totally British environment for most of the working day may have an effect on how one is perceived. However, more significantly, just under a half of those now perceived as British have a UK partner, so that may be a more efficacious factor. To the interviewees themselves, in general, their accent seemed to be the prime give-away of their origins – although the British are not always expert in identifying different forms of ‘colonial’ accent, and several of them were taken for Australian or (perhaps not surprisingly) northern European.

In the days of Apartheid, a British identity was used by some South Africans as a ‘flag of convenience’ that can now be cautiously discarded as South African identity has undergone something of a makeover since the 1990s. The advent of Mandela has caused some reassessment of the relationship with Britain as emigrants reconnect with their homeland and no longer depend on the UK for their sense of respect and identity. In addition, as (what one called) a ‘South African mafia’ has developed in recent years, and opportunities to meet, socialise and do business with fellow ex-South Africans has blossomed, the need to ‘de-tribalise’ and fit in has somewhat receded and South Africans feel freer to be themselves.

In response to this, and the following question on the nature of their attachment to the UK, criticism was voiced, particularly from women, at their lack of inclusion in local communities: “‘British’ [i.e. not “English”] is reserved for people like us’, they said. They were alienated or ‘frozen out’ by Londoners, who do not understand or practice the same kind of South African

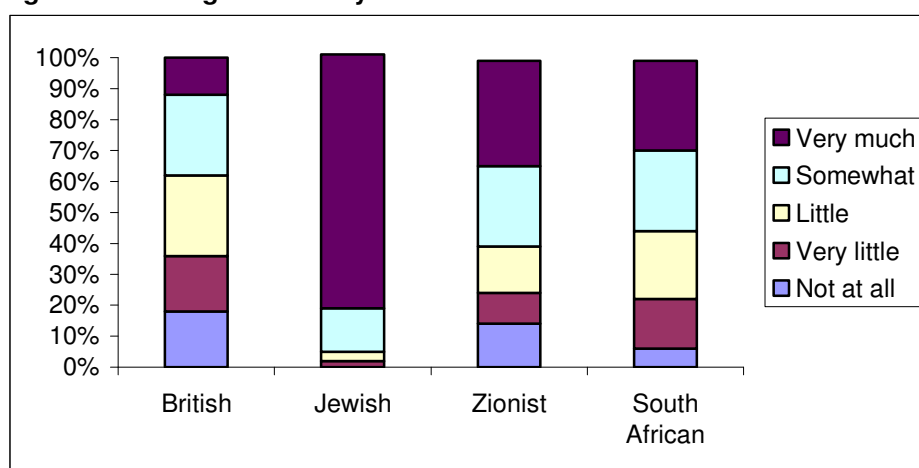
'open house' culture. They asserted that invitations to 'drop by' were not genuine and that their hospitality was not reciprocated due to the 'snobbery' of English Jewish women. It is not clear from the data how much this is comparing like with like, i.e. the intensely urban environment of London with the suburban environments of South African cities and towns. Nevertheless this view was expressed with some energy. On the other hand, this was not a universal experience and, for example, despite being identified as a foreigner, interviewees asserted that, 'I know I am a member of the society here', and 'I am seen as someone who has made the UK their home'.

National Identity

Table 12 Feeling British by when arrived in the UK

		When the whole sample (numbers) arrived in the UK (grouped into batches of years)			Total
		1954-1970	1971-1994	1995-2009	
Q.87a In defining your own identity, to what extent do you feel or not feel British?	Not at all	4 (5.5%)	22 (14.5%)	29 (33.0%)	55 (17.6%)
	Very little	8 (11.0%)	23 (15.1%)	26 (29.5%)	57 (18.2%)
	Little	16 (21.9%)	44 (28.9%)	19 (21.6%)	79 (25.2%)
	Somewhat	26 (35.6%)	43 (28.3%)	14 (15.9%)	83 (26.5%)
	Very much	19 (26.0%)	20 (13.2%)	0 (0.0%)	39 (12.5%)
Total		73 (100.0%)	52 (100.0%)	88 (100.0%)	313 (100.0%)

Figure 11 Feelings of identity

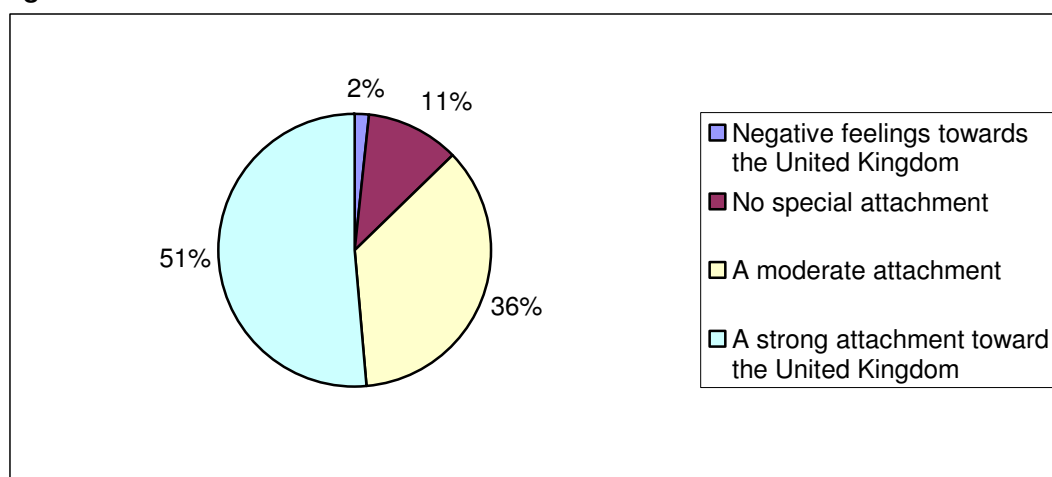


When asked to define the strength of their identity, 39% said that they felt somewhat or very much British, compared with 55% who felt somewhat or very much South African. When asked to choose what they felt more, British or South African, 34% said they felt more British than South African (though 'it felt like a desertion', said one interviewee), and 44% said the opposite. The balance was composed of 19% who felt both equally. The difference in percentage responses can probably be blamed on the imprecision of the

question and the difficulty of quantifying such feelings. There was a general correlation between strength of feeling British and date of arrival, the 1954/1970 cohort being twice as likely to feel British as the 1971/1994 cohort, and the 1995/2009 cohort being six times more likely *not* to feel British compared with the earliest arrivals. The simplest explanation for this is the length of stay, but there may be other explanations, that were not explored by this study, and are concerned with the change of perception of the UK, from the post-imperial power of the 1950s and 1960s, to the undifferentiated European state of the 21st century. It is possible that some may have been reluctant to adopt what is interpreted as an out-of-date or devalued identity due to the widespread speculation, encouraged by the press in the face of what they perceive as attack by ‘politically correct multi-culturalism’, that ‘the English are losing their identity’.²⁴ In short, it is less cool to be British now.

The British Attachment

Figure 12 Attachment to the UK



Despite feeling South African, even in some general sense, the vast majority of settlers had developed a substantial attachment to the UK (‘the best place to be’): over half describing this attachment as strong and another third as moderate, with only 1.6% expressing negative feelings. Furthermore, almost 70% of the sample felt very much at home in the UK with another 23% describing their feelings as ‘fairly much at home’. Length of stay seemed to have some correlation to attachment and satisfaction, in that after four years levels of attachment were about 80% moderate to strong – but it must be stressed that this conclusion was based on a very small sample.

For the generation that was a product of Anglophile schooling, as yet un-Americanised, the similarities between South Africa and England were welcome. Others saw their growing attachment towards Britain as consequent on their children’s adoption of a British identity, by having a British partner, or merely a product of their long sojourn in this country and the gradual accumulation of a number of small ties, each insignificant in

²⁴ For a random selection of published articles in 2009/10, see inter alia Amelia Hill, ‘The English identity crisis: who do you think you are?’, Karen Foster, ‘Billy Bragg sings about English identity in play’, Gary Younge, ‘England’s identity crisis’.

themselves, but adding up to a substantial sum. They expressed their affection in warm personal terms, emphasising their gratitude at the 'great privilege' at 'being allowed in' to live here and being accepted by the British: 'I didn't feel like an exile ... but I did feel under-educated, with some catching up to do'. To them Britain was a 'great host country', mentioning that they 'love the way Britain works', with 'a government of kindness'²⁵, and singling out for praise the welfare state, the NHS, the state schools' Special Educational Needs system, safety and freedom/law and order, liberal approaches and belief in fair play, and intellectual curiosity. One described England as a 'no man's land', i.e. a place where you can be yourself. Although some of the statements border on cliché and read like a paid advertisement from English Heritage, they were unprompted and unsolicited.

The limits of attachment were often felt at the threshold of sport where strong commitments were insufficient to shift a more rooted connection with the teams and allegiances of one's youth – often cricket, but sometimes rugby (and hardly ever any other sport).²⁶ This was most strongly felt by ex-practitioners. Several interviewees invoked the Tebbit 'cricket test'²⁷ as evidence of their support for/ambivalent attachment to England, and referred to the 'tribal' nature of sports' support, an attitude that is fully comprehensible by any British follower of team sports.

Despite the general positivity about England, there were some expressions of recent disappointment from the early enthusiasm – though how much this is due to current economic problems and how much to the grumpiness of a sample that was approaching old age can not be stated with surety. For some, London is a difficult place in which to live – claustrophobic and overcrowded. It has moved away, it was asserted, from its traditions and had allowed itself to be 'infiltrated by every nation under the sun'. This could be seen as dangerous talk from an immigrant community with a strong connection to persecution, but is also a sign that it has assimilated itself well enough into the mainstream of British society where anti-immigrant rhetoric is the common coin of saloon bar discourse. Disappointment with the UK was not restricted to the aged; one 33 year old was depressed by the negative stories in the press and the lurid headlines which were featured during the period of research. Many British people would agree that the press has a lot to answer for when it comes to portraying Britain in a negative light.

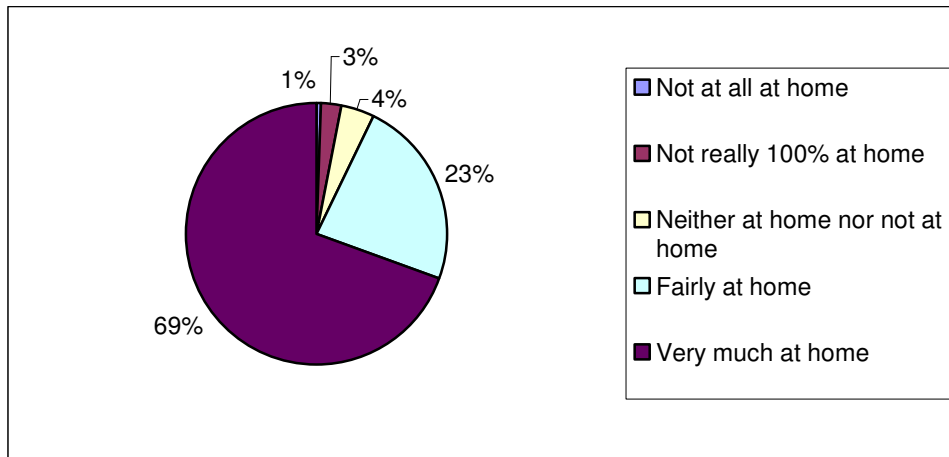
²⁵ Referring, presumably, to the late Labour Government of 2005/2009.

²⁶ Confirming the general sense of the famous Bill Shankly quote that, "Some people think [sport] is a matter of life and death. I assure you, it's much more serious than that."

²⁷ The **cricket test** was a phrase coined by Norman Tebbit, former Chairman of the Conservative Party and Cabinet Minister under Margaret Thatcher, referring to the supposedly questionable loyalties of Muslim immigrants of Pakistani origin to the UK. In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* in 1990 he said: "A large proportion of Britain's Asian population fail to pass the cricket test. Which side do they cheer for? It's an interesting test. Are you still harking back to where you came from or where you are?"

Feeling 'at home'

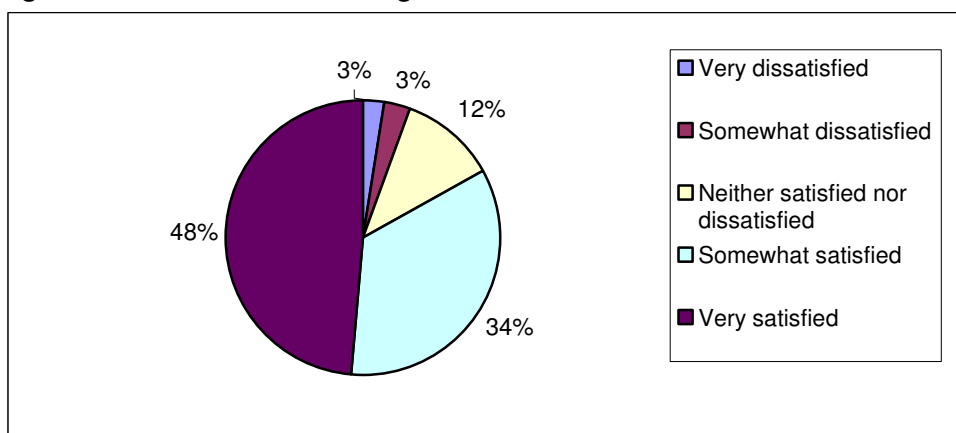
Figure 13 To what extent do you feel 'at home' in the UK?



It was clear from the responses to the question on the extent to which they felt 'at home' that South African Jewish settlers in London had accommodated themselves very well to their new lives in England, aided by its cultural similarity, prepared by their educational background, and supported by the plethora of expatriates. Interviewees had been cautioned that the phrase 'feeling at home' did not necessarily mean that they thought of England as their 'home' but that they felt comfortable or at ease in England and that they knew their way around its systems. This gave some an opportunity to express their deep felt admiration for England, its institutions ('transparent, accountable, under the rule of law'), and their historical development.

Some confined their enthusiasm to 'London – not the UK', of which they did not know and in which they felt strange. They suggested that they could not live outside of London – partly because they felt that Jews were not as acceptable there, particularly if they were South African Jews (see also Sveinsson and Gumuschian, p. 13).

Figure 14 Satisfaction with living in London

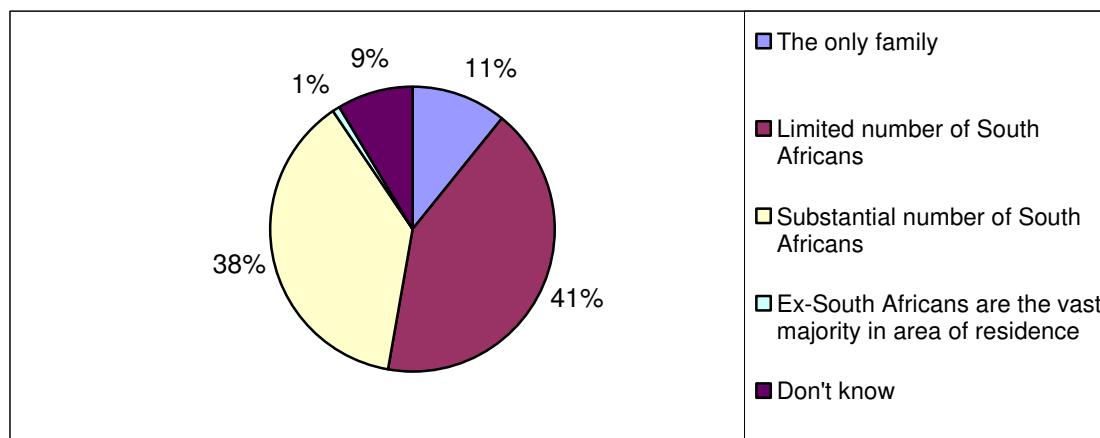


In general, they were overwhelmingly satisfied with living in London, with only 6% expressing dissatisfaction and another 12% an element of ambivalence.

Criticisms centred on the difficulties and expense of travel,²⁸ the anomalies and inconsistencies of urban planning, the lack of rigour in social welfare systems, and the absence of the sort of strong communities that some associated with their memories of South Africa. Thus, despite feeling 'very much' at home, some expressed the view that they still felt more 'at home' in South Africa, and that their satisfaction with life in Britain was a pragmatic thing and not an emotional one.

Settling in London

Figure 15 Perceptions of South Africans in local neighbourhood



According to Waterman and Kosmin (1988, p. 93),

Jews, for the most part, neither desire residential segregation nor actively seek to be separated or isolated from others in the general population. Their work patterns bear this out. They are residentially differentiated primarily because of congregative forces, that is by a desire to live together rather than any desire to set themselves apart from the general population.

Thus, many of them found themselves in areas of London in close proximity to other Jews and South Africans and both. However, half of the sample thought that there were few South Africans living in their neighbourhood, but over a third thought that there were substantial numbers in their local area. In fact, a lot of assumptions were made in answering this question and more 'don't know' responses would have been more accurate. The number of local ethnicities, except in very specific locations, is a major unknown in the London area, and despite various surveys and the availability of broad statistics, numbers rarely are reduced to the parish level. In addition, the term 'neighbourhood' is variously understood. For many it meant the local street, while others assumed it to be the local district, constituency, parish, postal zone or borough. The research team, when possible, used a common sense indicator of neighbourhood being the local primary school catchment area, but that meant little to childless interviewees or those long past child rearing.

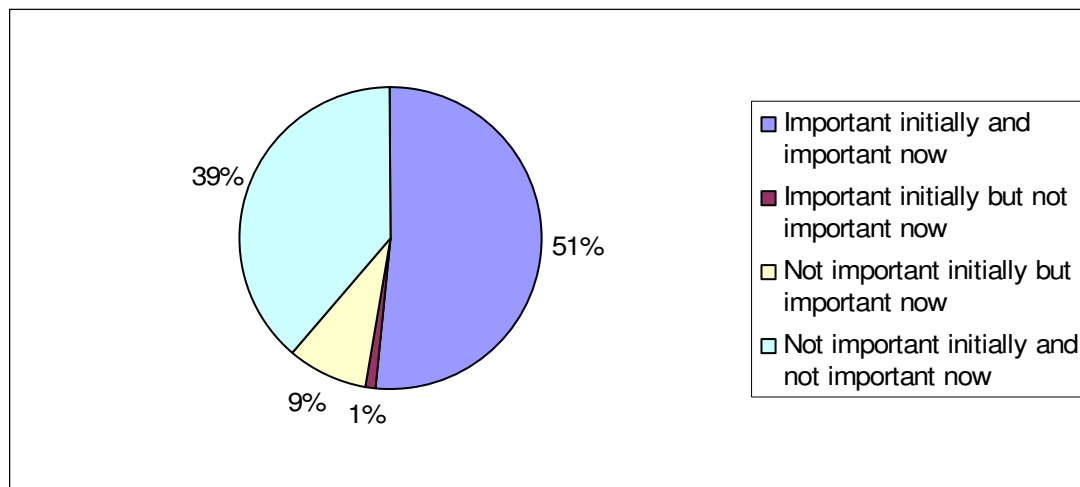
²⁸ London in 2009 was in fact the world's 16th most expensive city for expatriates, compared with New York 8th, Sydney 66th and Toronto 85th.

Another indication was the area one would comfortably walk around without contemplating using the car, but that only was meaningful to practiced walkers. The fact is that a density of more than 10% of any one ethnicity usually means 'a substantial number' and, depending on how one views that ethnicity, it could seem like 'the vast majority' (see Davis, 2009). There are 33 wards in London boroughs which have Jewish populations exceeding 10%, a third of them in Barnet and half in the 'heartland of North/North-West London (GLA, p. 56).

Irrespective of the number of South Africans in the local area, real or imagined, 70% of the sample claimed that their presence was irrelevant to their decision to live there, and only 13% admitted that it was a major influence. In some cases, the area had been introduced to the interviewee by South African friends, but the decision to move there was uninfluenced by knowledge of the presence or absence of South Africans. More important than this was the proximity to a 'good' school or, in the case of 60 parents and 142 children, a good Jewish school. The tendency to live in the leafy suburbs of North London was explained as that is where properties can be found at an affordable price which satisfy the South African need for space.

More important to that decision to settle in a certain area was the extent to which the house was in a Jewish environment.

Figure 16 Importance of a Jewish environment



Over half the sample said that this factor had been important to them initially when they moved and was still important, and 9% more said that though it was not important at first it has become important. 39% denied it had any importance then or now, and indeed, one secular Jew claimed to have avoided certain areas of London, such as Stamford Hill or Golders Green, because they were associated with Jewish settlement. However, given these general responses it is not surprising that the majority of the sample coalesced in certain parts of northern London popular with London Jews, and other districts proved empty of possible interviewees.

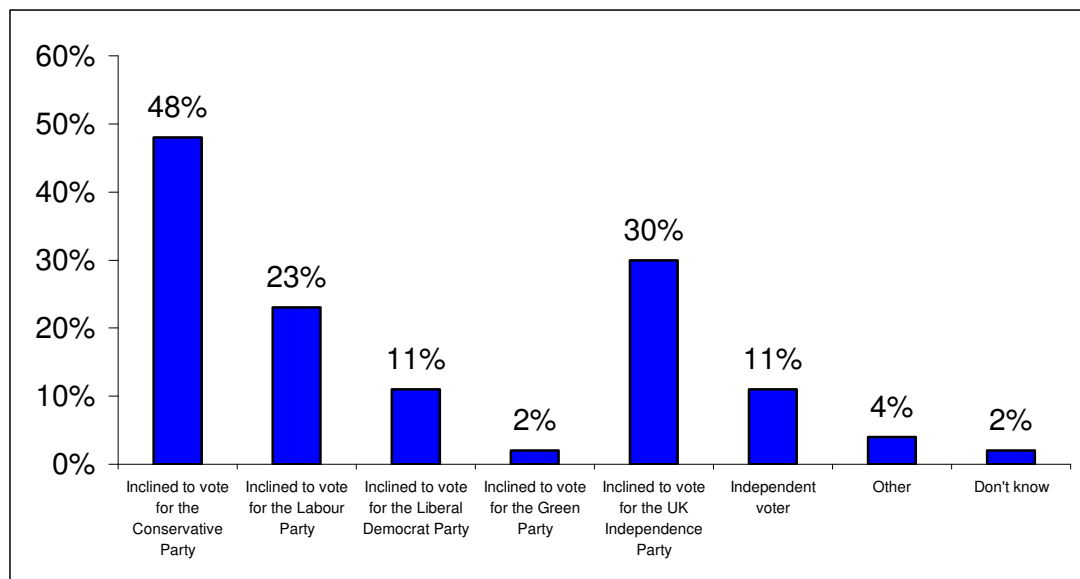
Political preference

Bruck (p. 45) found that two thirds of South African Jews were Democratic Alliance supporters in the 2004 election. This is a broadly centrist party with traditional links to Helen Suzman's Apartheid era Progressive Federal Party. Although it is beyond the scope of this survey to attempt a comparative study with British political parties, we can make some comparison with the British Jewish community (see Adler, 200). In 1996 the JPR study found that

British Jews fall consistently to the left of those in equivalent occupations. For example, Jewish doctors and health professionals are far less likely to vote Conservative than non-Jewish colleagues in the same professions. The same is true for business people and managers (Miller et al, p. 3).

Fifteen years later JPR now found that 'leanings towards Conservative and Labour are evenly split, yet many people are undecided' (2010, p. 3). Further conclusions from that survey, which may have relevant comparative value in our context, are that men (particularly the over-60s) and married Jews are more likely to vote Conservative, as are the self-employed, retirees, residents of Hertfordshire and West London, and those with a 'religious outlook'.

Figure 17 Voting inclinations



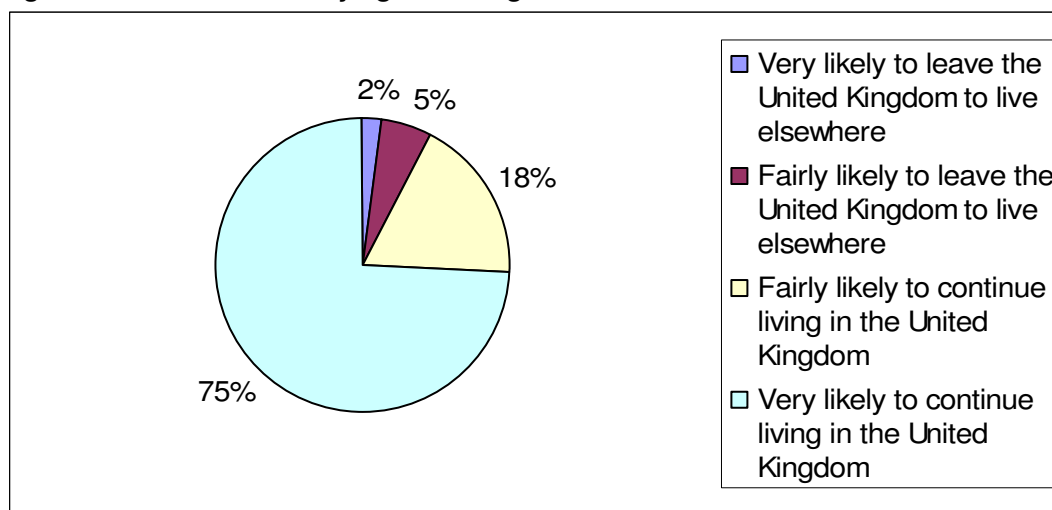
Our sample of ex-South African Jews based in London conform to these subset characteristics relatively well, and so when asked to define themselves politically, in terms of the theoretical inclinations to vote for a particular party, 47% of the London sample indicated a preference for the Conservative Party.²⁹ In general the support for the Conservatives amongst this sample was 11% more than the national result in 2010, for Labour it was 7% fewer, and for the Liberal Democrats 12% fewer. Although Conservative supporters were double that of Labour voters, among the generation that left South Africa before 1970 numbers were equal. Support for the Conservatives was fairly

²⁹ Voting statistics for the May 2010 are not currently available, but prior to the election seven of the ten constituencies where Jews constituted more than 10% of the population were held by Labour (Alderman, 2010).

widespread among those who were more recently arrived (i.e. post-Mandela) – more than four times than those supporting the Labour Party. Among the more prosperous, support for the Conservatives was partly attached to the then Labour government’s plan for a 50% tax threshold on incomes over £150,000, and the feared prospect that this might in time be increased to 60% or more.³⁰ There was some admiration for the ‘largely business-like attention to government that Margaret Thatcher³¹ introduced in the 1980s’. Some expressed surprise that the generally left-leaning/liberal electorate of Jewish South Africa should have on arrival to the UK been converted to Conservatism. Professor Colin Schindler of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and a resident of Barnet (along with 42% of our sample), maintained (Pickett, 2010) that ‘people don’t vote strictly according to their Jewish preferences. They vote according to their socioeconomic status’. In any case, the move from leftwing activism towards more mainstream modes of politics had already begun in South Africa by the end of last century (Hunter, 1999).

Intentions

Figure 18 Likelihood of staying in/leaving the UK



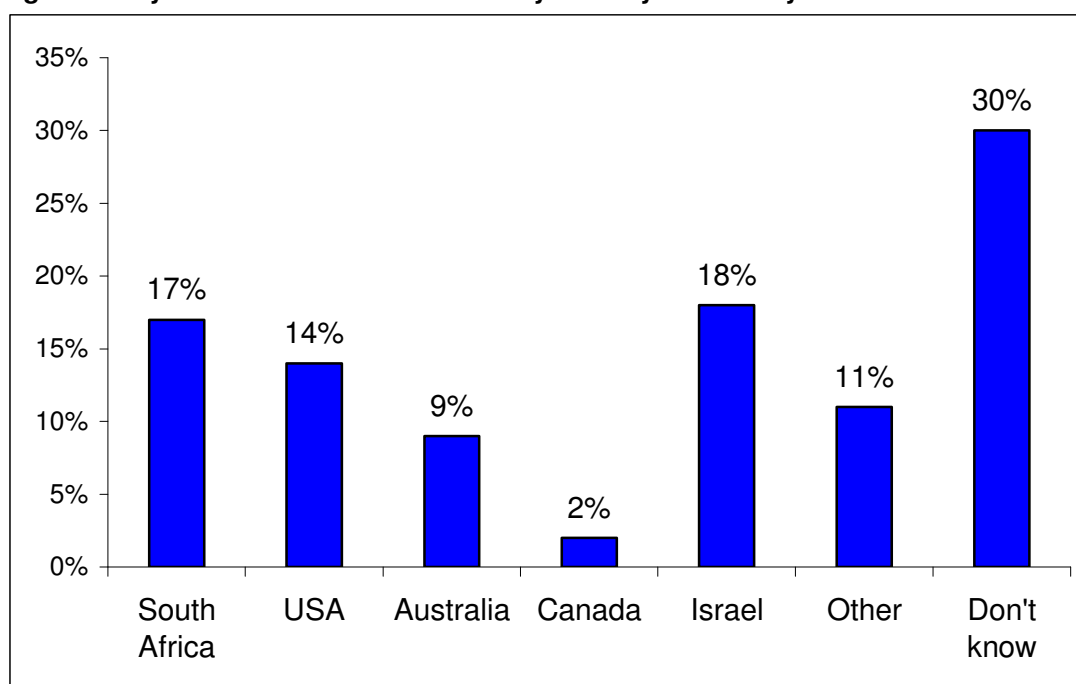
More than 90% of the sample were fairly or very likely to continue to make their homes in the United Kingdom, with only 2% definitely intending to leave. Intentions to leave diminished with the age of the sample from 22% of the 25-34 age group, to 17% of the 35-44, and 9% of the 45-54 who were very likely or fairly likely to leave in the next five years. Of those who were fairly or very likely to leave, family reasons predominated – i.e. wanting to be with family members (‘follow the children’) living or planning to live abroad. Less than 2% indicated dissatisfaction with the socio-economic-political climate in the UK – about equal to those who objected to the actual climate! Qualitative responses made to this question provided some additional context, referring to the better lifestyle or quality of life available abroad. One 32 year old interviewee (unmarried) said he had ‘done his stint’ and now it was time to move on, and suggested that very few of his generation saw the UK as their

³⁰ The interviews were conducted between 1 and 9 months prior to the General Election, May 2010.

³¹ For 33 years MP for Finchley, a Barnet constituency.

final destination. One mentioned the 'Better support system in South Africa' – though it is unclear whether this referred to support from family, domestic staff or government. Another expressed irritation at the commuting, lack of space, and the British ethos of 'everything being difficult'.³² Some were concerned with what they considered to be the growth of anti-Semitism and sought the 'chance to be part of a Jewish society and a real Jewish life', and thought that this would be most likely found in Israel.

Figure 19 If you were to move what country would you be likely to move to?



The entire sample, not just the 7.6% of dissatisfied settlers, was asked where they would go if they were to move again to another country, and the responses were fairly mixed – almost a third being unable or unwilling to name a destination, presumably because it was so unlikely (e.g. due to age), or because the subject had simply never arisen as a practical issue. Of those naming a possible (or theoretical) destination roughly equal numbers chose Israel, North America, or a return to South Africa, with a smaller number naming Australia (presumably most of those wanting to go to Australia had already done so). Of the 10% who named 'Other' destinations, most of these were located in Western Europe (within a triangle encompassing Holland-Portugal-Italy), where some already had second or third homes, and where many British people with foreign retirement ambitions commonly settle or holiday. 88% of those naming 'Other' destinations were 55 or over and therefore were approaching retirement. Of those naming South Africa as a possible destination, over a third were in the 65-74 age bracket (59% of those choosing Israel were also in this age band), whereas the USA was more favoured by the 35-44 year olds (39%). It is possible to conclude that Australia and the USA were favoured in general more by the economically

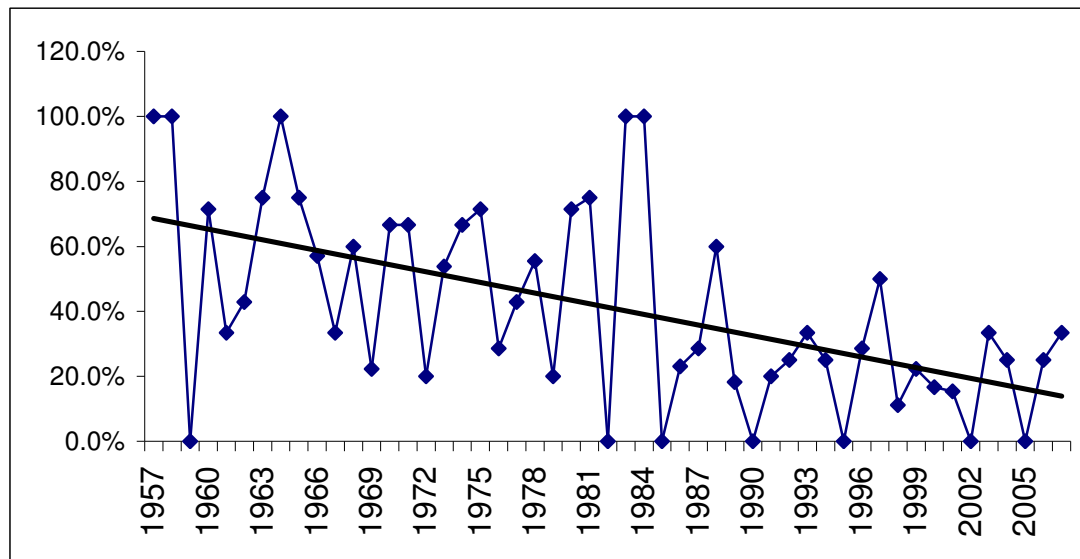
³² This perception of 'business' being easier in South Africa (less regulated and wrapped with red tape) was raised elsewhere (see the section Attachment in the chapter Connections with South Africa).

active part of the sample, and Europe, Israel and South Africa by those of, or approaching, retirement age.

Relationships

Several questions in this section of the survey asked about friendships made over time. The definition of 'close friend' was not specified and individuals may have interpreted it variously. Those arriving in this country of school age made comparatively few South African friends and were presumably thrown into a mainly British environment straight away (though in London this could be a relatively multi-ethnic environment in most secular schools). Those studying or working in London were likely to have a larger proportion of friends of British origins or nationality. For the vast majority of the sample who arrived as adults almost two-thirds had more South African close friends at first and almost a fifth had very few or no British friends at all.³³

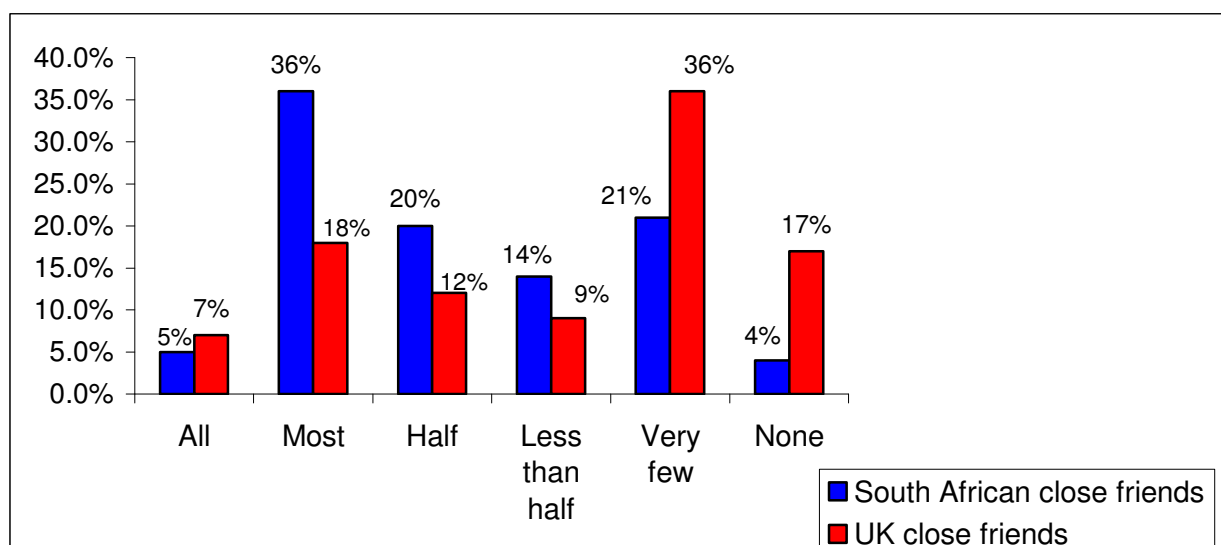
Figure 20 Year of arrival and number of British friendships



When the numbers of close friends of British birth are plotted against the year of arrival in the UK a general trend can be discerned: most of the sample until the late 1970s had on average more British born friends than non-British born, after which on average only a quarter of it had a majority of British born friends.

³³ For recent arrivals the distinction between 'early years' and 'now' was not significant.

Figure 21 Proportion of British close friends compared with South African close friends



When asked what were the current proportions of South African to British close friends, 60% stated that more than half were South African-born and only a quarter admitted to very few or none. When asked the proportion of British-born close friends, the figure resulting was almost 52%. This is at odds with the previous statistic and the anomaly may be due to the imprecision of the question which asked interviewees to quantify the number of close friends in the terms 'all/most/half/less than half/very few/none' or to variations in categorisation made on the spot by the researcher. The figures also reduce the categories of friendship to South Africans or British and do not allow for the possibility of American, Israeli or Peruvian friendships. The personal interpretation of 'close friend', already mentioned, must also be taken into account.

Tentative conclusions that can be drawn based on these numbers are that proportions of British friendships have increased over time when we look at those who had none at the beginning (17%) and now (5%) or who had very few at the beginning (36%) and now (21%). In addition, the numbers claiming that half or less than half their friends were British-born, has increased from 21% to 47%. However, the numbers who had most or all British-born friends seems to have shifted relatively little, from 25% to 26%, possibly reflecting the comparative rarity of South Africans in London in the past with the greater numbers now present.

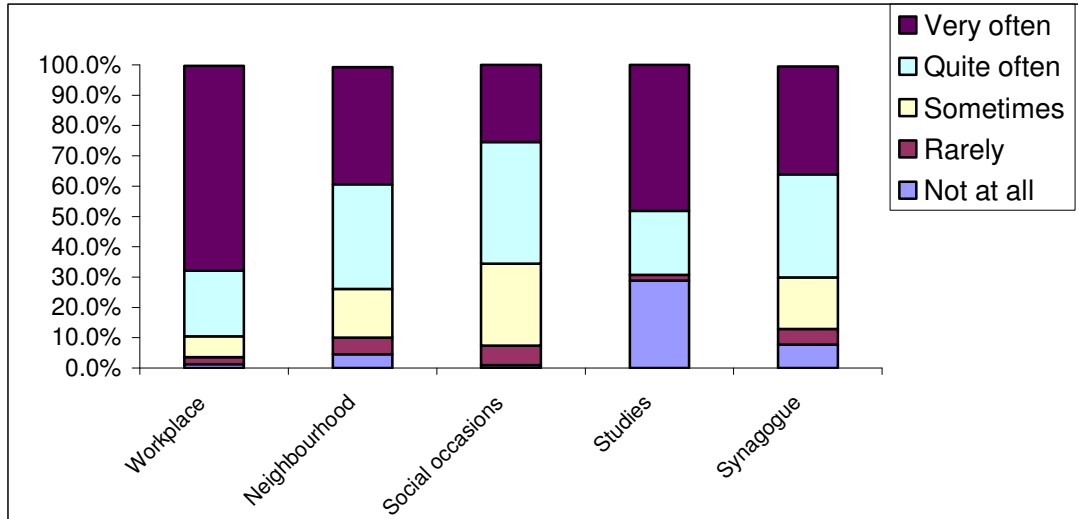
Waterman and Kosmin (p. 90) observed in 1988:

It appears that the majority of London Jews wish to maintain a separate identity while being functionally integrated into society. In order to achieve this, the process used is one of congregation.

Thus, it seems quite clear that South African Jewish immigrants follow a general pattern of seeking out one's own in this and (as we shall see) in other matters, and that the relative dearth of South Africans in London in the first

years of migration (c.1954/1978) meant seeking friendships amongst the British. When migration increased after this point it became much easier to link up with South Africans and even recreate former friendship groups in London.

Figure 22 Associations with British people

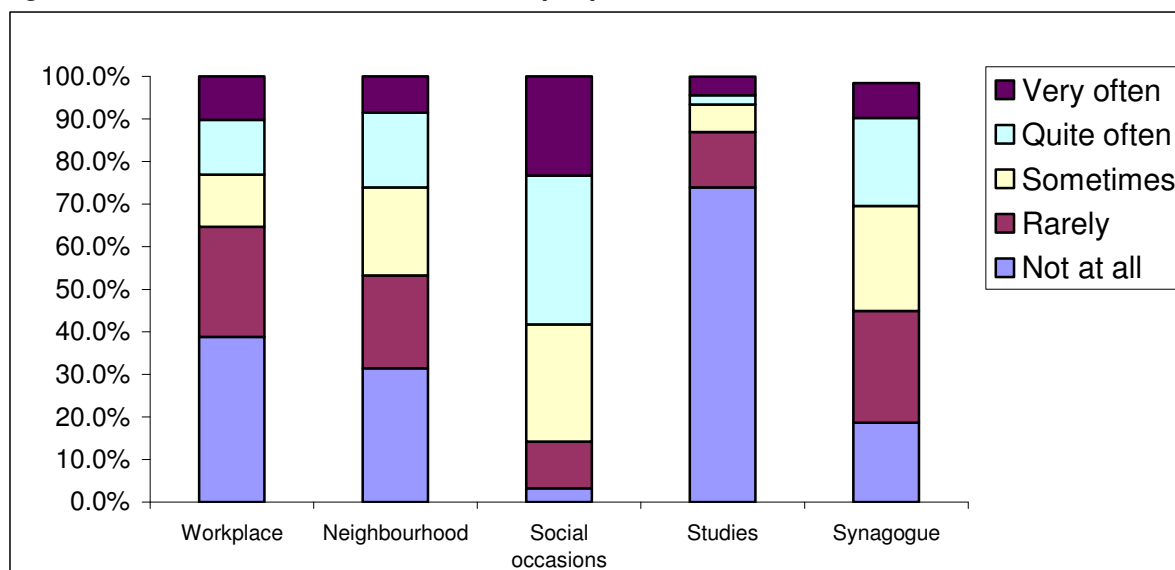


Close friendships, like family, are not necessarily the best indication of integration in that they tend to be retained for emotional rather than rational reasons. The survey interrogated associations as well, which were defined by the researchers as a range of relationships, from the superficial to the profound, with people to whom they were known on a casual, business or routine nature. The intent of the question, it was explained, was to assess the degree to which one was operating within a British or South African environment in any of the situations specified.³⁴ Associations with British people appear to diminish as one moves from the public sphere of work (89% quite often and very often) to the private sphere of home (65%). It was quite uncommon for the workplace to be completely or largely a non-British environment, whereas it was quite possible to arrange a home or local environment largely devoid of British people. The synagogue, representing a public space with a restricted population, more closely resembled the proportions of home and neighbourhood (70%).³⁵

³⁴ However, it was not clear what interviewees considered 'British' to be: born British; UK passport holder; white British; non-Jewish British.

³⁵ There are synagogues with quite large South African memberships and even more with a South African rabbinate.

Figure 23 Associations with South African people



Similarly, 65% of workplaces were without or largely without any South African contacts,³⁶ and only a fifth could be described as ‘South African environments’. In just over half of neighbourhoods it was rare to find South African associations, but our sample was still able to sustain a fairly robust South African social life in over half of cases – in only 14% was this a rare or non-existent situation. It is not clear to what extent interviewees distinguished their social life from their family life and it is likely that these two categories were to some extent entangled (‘South Africans are each others’ family’, we were told). The responses certainly show that family occasions tend to be South African affairs (66% very or quite often) compared with general social occasions (58%). Attendance at synagogue is an occasion when 29% of interviewees can associate with fellow South Africans to a significant degree, but for most it is a British occasion. Thus the home is the centre of South African associations to the extent where they exist. However, cross-tabulating gender with associations does not reveal any strong correlations and it cannot therefore be concluded that associations with South Africans or British in social or neighbourhood situations is being driven or sustained by women compared with men.

These issues are further explored in the section of the report which deals with Jewish identity. However, the extent of Anglicisation, as may be expected, seems to be dependant on a number of factors such as length of stay, having an English partner and British educated children, working in an English environment etc.

³⁶ This begs the question, ‘How many South Africans are needed in a work environment to make it effectively ‘South African’. Perceptions of ‘crowding’ within the workplace can be affected by cross-cultural stereotypes and notions of social distance where a few ‘different’ people feel like a lot (Leger 1988 and Davis 2009).

Summary

- The sample is spread over 23 of the 32 London boroughs and four bordering Home Counties. In general, they were overwhelmingly satisfied with living in London, with only 5% expressing dissatisfaction.
- Three quarters of the sample felt that they were still regarded as South African by the British. Early arrivals, who are more likely to associate with British people in the workplace, or who have a British partner – were more likely to feel that they were seen by British people as British.
- Some women felt alienated or ‘frozen out’ by English Jews, who do not have the same ‘open house’ culture as South Africans.
- 39% said that they felt somewhat or very much British, compared with 55% who still felt largely South African. There was a general correlation between strength of feeling British and period of arrival.
- Nevertheless, the vast majority of settlers had developed a substantial attachment to the UK, over half describing this as strong. Length of stay seemed to have some correlation to attachment and satisfaction.
- South Africans have not consciously sought out South African neighbourhoods to settle, but they have tended to congregate in the main areas of Jewish settlement.
- Almost half indicated a preference for the Conservative Party, although their concentration was higher amongst more recent arrivals.
- More than 90% of the sample were fairly or very likely to continue to make their homes in the United Kingdom.
- Those arriving in this country of school age, for university study, and during the early period of emigration were likely to have a larger proportion of friends of British origins. Adult arrivals, especially recent ones, have more South African close friends. It is much easier now sustain South African friendship networks and even recreate former friendship groups in London.
- Associations with British people diminish as one moves from the public sphere of work to the private sphere of home. Most work is conducted in a British environment; homes may be largely devoid of British people. South Africans can associate with compatriots at the synagogue, but the home is the centre of South African associations.
- South African Jewish settlers in London had accommodated themselves very well to their new lives in London, aided by its cultural similarity, prepared by their educational background, and supported by the plethora of expatriates. Although a satisfactory ‘South African’ tinged life can be recreated in London, it is at least equally possible, and more than likely, that this community will find no difficulty in assimilating into the wider Jewish and London communities in time.

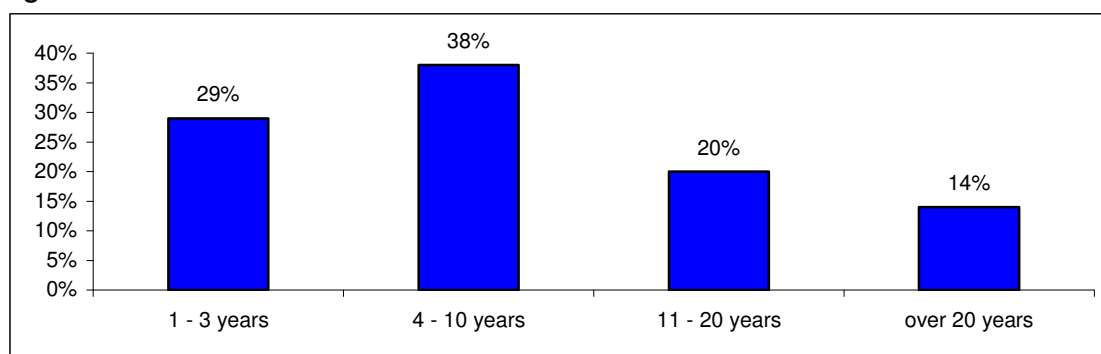
7. WORK AND EMPLOYMENT

This section dealt with the occupations and income of South African Jews in London. The GLA Report on the Jewish population of London (pp. 24-5) stated that '2.6 per cent of the Jewish population was born in South Africa, the highest of any religious group. ... Jews account for 2.3 per cent of all UK born Londoners but 9 per cent of all South African born Londoners'. It found that in general

Jews born outside the UK are more likely to hold higher-level qualifications (50% to those born outside the UK compared with 38% to the UK-born). This is the highest difference of any of the religious groups.

Apparently, 'Jewish is the only religious group more likely to be in managerial or professional occupations if they are born outside the UK (49 per cent compared with 46 per cent)'. Whereas most migrants to London tend to be in more modest socio-economic groups, this is not the case with Jews and the Report concluded that 'It is possible that a high proportion of these Jews are living in London primarily for employment reasons'. South Africa, Germany and the USA are countries that supply high numbers of such economic migrants to London and it is expected, says the Report, that most do not intend to settle in London permanently. As we have seen in the last chapter, this conclusion, at least as it refers to South African Jews, is not sustained by our research.

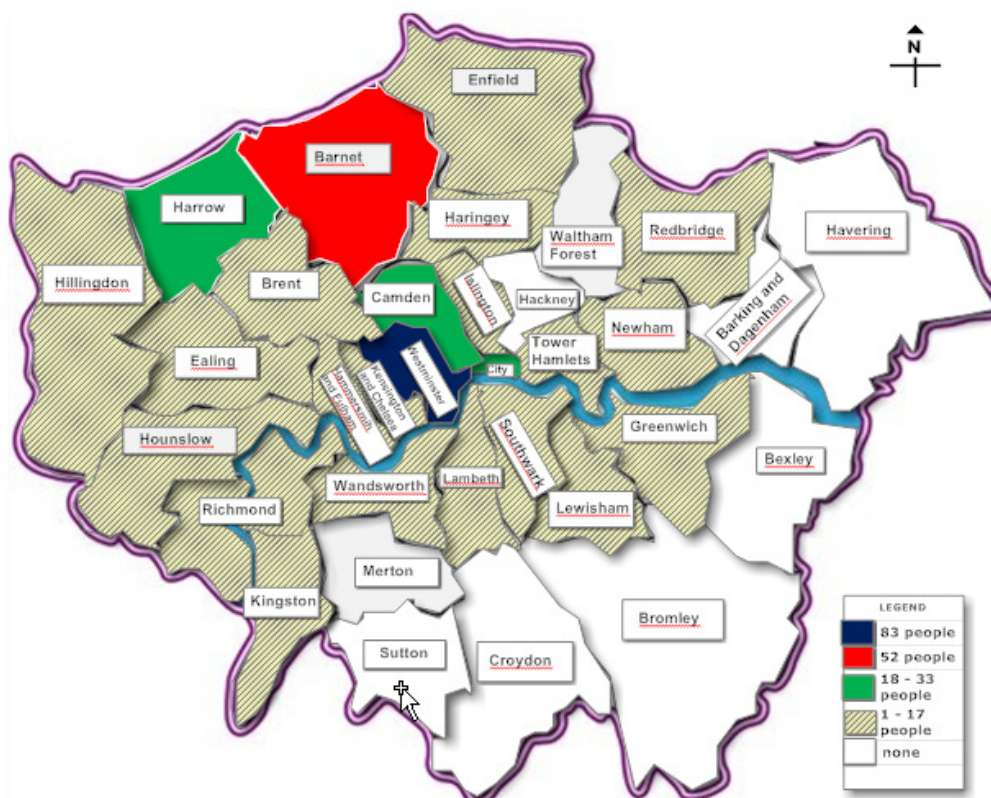
Figure 24 Years of work outside the UK



Half the sample had only up to seven years work in South Africa or elsewhere abroad before they arrived in the UK (7.2% had worked only one year); 9.7% had never worked before they came to the UK; the remainder had from 8-60 years working experience before their arrival. An argument for a liberal British immigration policy is that the UK has benefited from foreign expertise. Although South African Jewish immigrants are undoubtedly well-educated, with half the sample having less than seven years working experience abroad, it is arguable that this constitutes 'expertise'. However, it may mean that the new immigrants will be more easily assimilated into the British economy and working practices without having to shed a thick carapace of accumulated, inappropriate employment behaviours.

70% were in paid employment³⁷ (three-quarters at full-time, i.e. normal for London) and a further 2.5% in voluntary work; over 18% were retired or semi-retired; and 2.5% were studying full or part-time.³⁸ Most of the employed were working over 35 hours per week: 30% between 35 and 45 h/w; another 30% between 45 and 60 h/w; 7% claiming up to 160 h/w.³⁹ The mean was near 42 h/w, slightly above the national average.⁴⁰

Figure 25 Location of workplaces in London



The sample worked in virtually every borough of the capital outside the extreme South and South-east. Over a third of those employed worked in the Westminster/Camden area – the so-called ‘West End’ - and another 10% in the City and Tower Hamlets (which contains Canary Wharf, effectively an East End annex of the City). 17% worked in Barnet, the home borough of a large percentage of the survey sample, but there were many who were prepared to work at great distance from their homes (Milton Keynes, Birmingham, Grantham, Leicester, Bristol), and a few had jobs abroad (Connecticut, Brussels, Johannesburg) for which they had to spend substantial periods away from home. Travelling to work for more than an hour each way per day is normal in London.

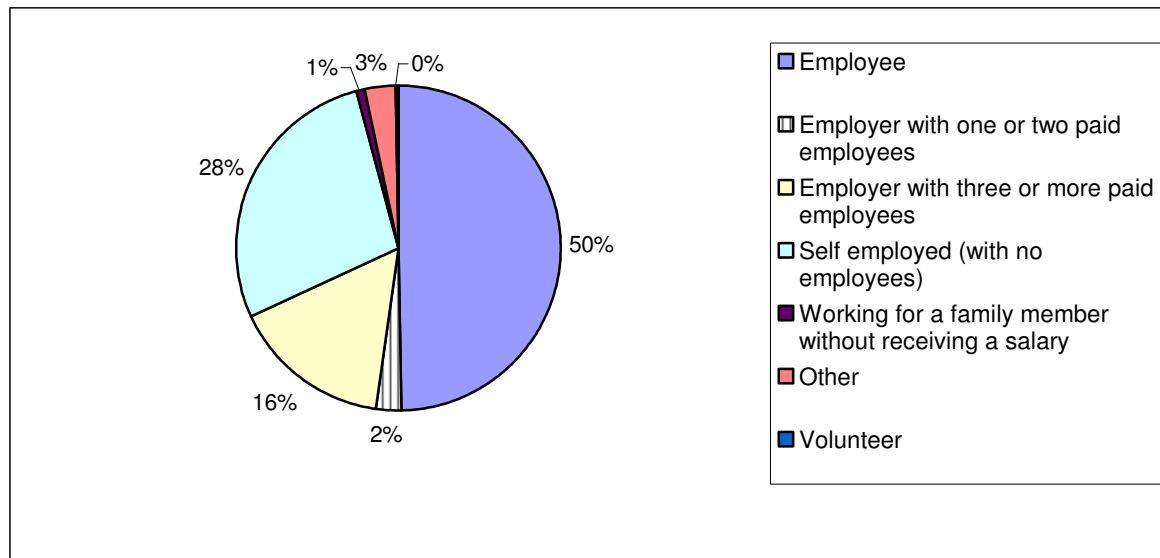
³⁷ The sample for the South African study was 68% in paid employment, 11% retirees and 7% students (Bruk, p. 11).

³⁸ Apart from the ‘Work and study’ coded option, this question unfortunately did not allow for the possibility of other combinations.

³⁹ This last by a person claiming to be ‘on call’ virtually all day, seven days a week; obviously a very dedicated individual.

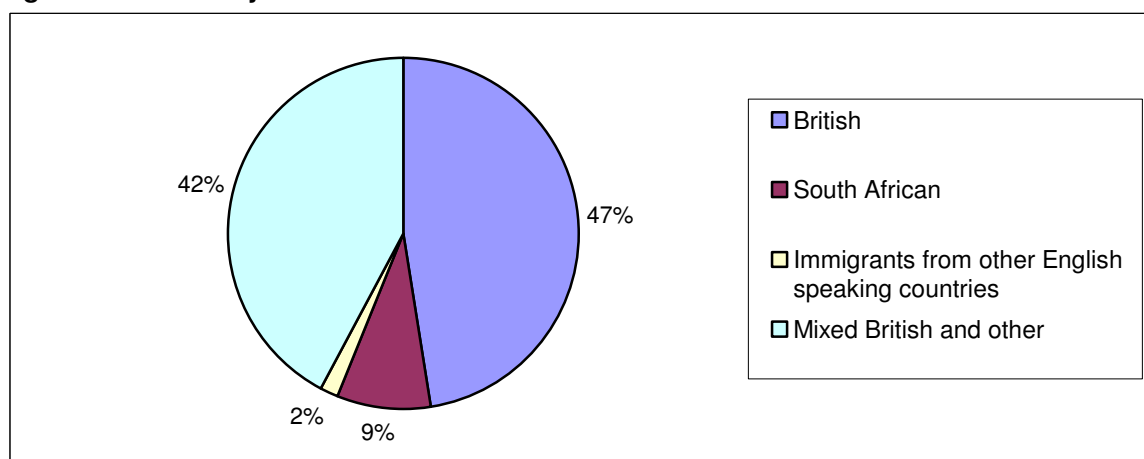
⁴⁰ In the UK ‘Adult workers cannot be forced to work more than 48 hours a week on average’, but it is common practice in public service and large employers to stick to the eight-hour day (see Directgov).

Figure 26 Nature of employment



Half those interviewed were employees; more than a quarter were self-employed; and a fifth were employers or in senior management positions (partner, non-executive director, associate etc.). 70% of employers had mostly non-Jewish staff, and the remainder were divided between staff groups which were mostly Jewish and with a few Jewish employees. Despite the cosmopolitan nature of the London economy in general, a majority of employees worked for British firms (62%), but 13% worked for South African companies, and a quarter for employers representing a variety of nationalities and ethnicities – American, Swiss, Dutch, Israeli etc.

Figure 27 Nationality of co-workers



Apart for a small number of firms (9%) where the co-workers were largely South African, the majority of employees worked in firms that were either mainly British in their workforce composition or of mixed ethnicities and origins, as would be expected in London. Their employers tended to be non-Jewish (55%) or mixed (10%) and their co-workers non-Jewish (63%) or mixed (20%). It is not clear what the Jewish proportions are in the 'mixed' population, but the number of Jews, either in management or on the staff, is

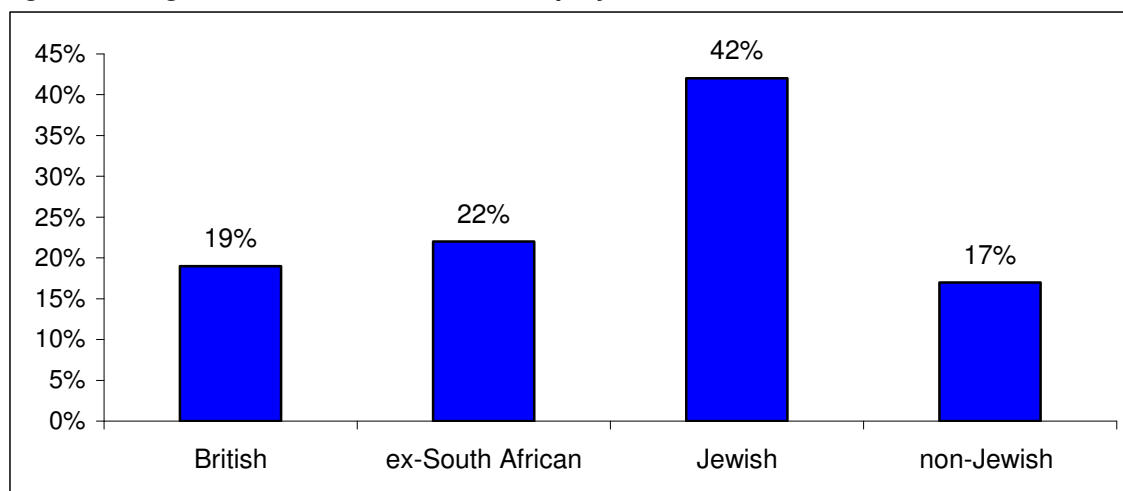
relatively high for this sample, even for London where Jews only constitute 2.3% of the population.

Table 13 How did you get your most recent job?

Source	Frequency	Percent
Newspaper advertisement	43	20.1
Job listing on the internet	5	2.3
Internet forum	2	.9
Neighbourhood noticeboard	1	.5
Employment agency	12	5.6
Through a British friend/acquaintance	42	19.6
Through an ex-South African friend/acquaintance living in the UK	48	22.4
Through family connections	15	7.0
Head hunter	12	5.6
Other	25	11.7
Progression/promotion	9	4.2
Total	214	100.0

This situation becomes less anomalous when it is considered with the responses to the next two questions. The first asked interviewees how they found their most recent job and 29% did so through the conventional means of advertisement in newspapers and the internet. Around half found their job through ‘connections’: friends, family – more than half of those South African connections (see the South African business network website ‘Slapchips’, for example). Given the high proportions of Jews within the ‘friends-and-family’ category, it is not surprising that the interviewees identified over 70% of the acquaintances or contacts as Jewish. So it seems safe to conclude that a significant proportion of South African Jews looking for work in London make use of South African Jewish connections to secure an interview and a position (see also Sveinsson and Gumuschian, p. 14). Although the question was directed to employees, it was on occasion answered by employers who had set up businesses in this country and whose initial operations were facilitated by ‘contacts’: “You’ve got to have a helping hand”, explained one businessman.

Figure 28 Origin of contact for source of employment



Jewish Londoners are generally well represented in managerial and professional occupations: 59% of men and 45% of women (GLA, p. 48). The interviewees were drawn from a narrow range of employment as might be expected from a London-based sample of South Africans (no farmers or proletarians). Over two-fifths of the sample came to London for work or better work than they could have expected in South Africa. London has always attracted high-flyers and over 90% of our sample had a higher education qualification; 14 had doctorates. Much has been said and written about the entrepreneurial nature and the history of high achievement of South African Jews, and this high opinion of their own ability and a strong sense of self was evident in many of the interviewees (see also Mendelsohn and Shain, pp. 159-63). It was to be expected that such a group would attract employment in the higher levels of the London economy.

Main activities and positions

The Jewish labour force in South Africa in 1998 was 32% professional and 18% managerial; only 2% were manual workers, and 7% technicians or artisans (Kosmin et al, p. 11). The term 'professional' has a variety of meanings and has been used rather loosely in labour relations for some time. If we assume a common sense definition of a professional as a salaried employee, with a university education and a white collar position, more than 70% of the sample could be described as 'professional', and more than three-quarters of it were located in some form of management, mostly at senior levels.

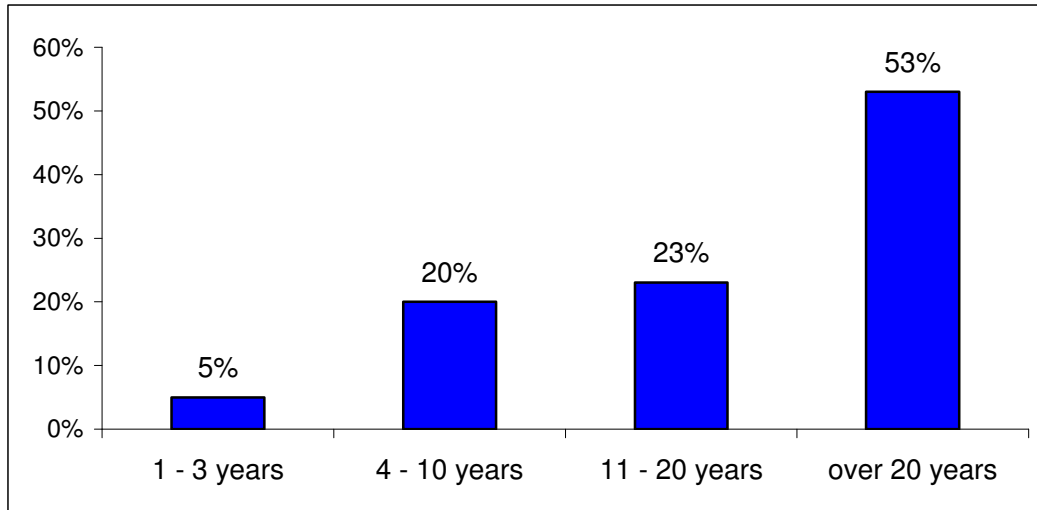
Table 14 Main activity of employment

Sector	Number	Percent
Financial Services	59	19.5%
Education	45	14.9%
Health/Medical Services	40	13.2%
Legal Services	20	6.6%
Manufacturing/distribution	15	5.0%
Architecture/Design	14	4.6%
Property	13	4.3%
Psychological/counselling	13	4.3%
IT	11	3.6%
Media/journalism	9	3.0%

Almost one in five of South African Jews in London were employed in financial services – banking, wealth management, insurance – and this could be increased to 23% if property services are added to it. Despite what Tatz et al maintain (p. 108) about Jews in South Africa not being attracted to academe, 14% of our sample were employed in education, more than a third of them at professorial level. In 1960, according to Mendelsohn and Shain, 25% of South African MDs were Jewish and third of medical specialists and those in academic medicine (p. 158-9). Medical and health services accounted for almost 13% of the sample. Of the rest, 6.4% were in legal services, just under 5% in manufacturing and distribution, and 4.5% in various forms of design, including architecture. No members of the working class were identified and interviewed and very few manual workers of any kind – mainly self-employed craftspeople or artists. Compared with the employment profile for London as a whole, the sample had 15% more than 2009 London averages employed in finance, IT and business activities (50.4% : 34.7%), 8% more in public administration, education and health (30.5% : 22.2%), and 15% *fewer* employed in distribution, hotels and restaurants (6.2% : 21%).

Given the age of the sample it was not surprising that interviewees were operating within their professions and industries at quite high levels. Directors account for more than a quarter of the sample and senior managers for another 12%. Academics, middle managers and consultants all exceed 6% each. Taken as a group, the sample covers quite a range of the services provided by the tertiary sector which in itself accounts for 92.4% of employment in London (ONS, 2009).

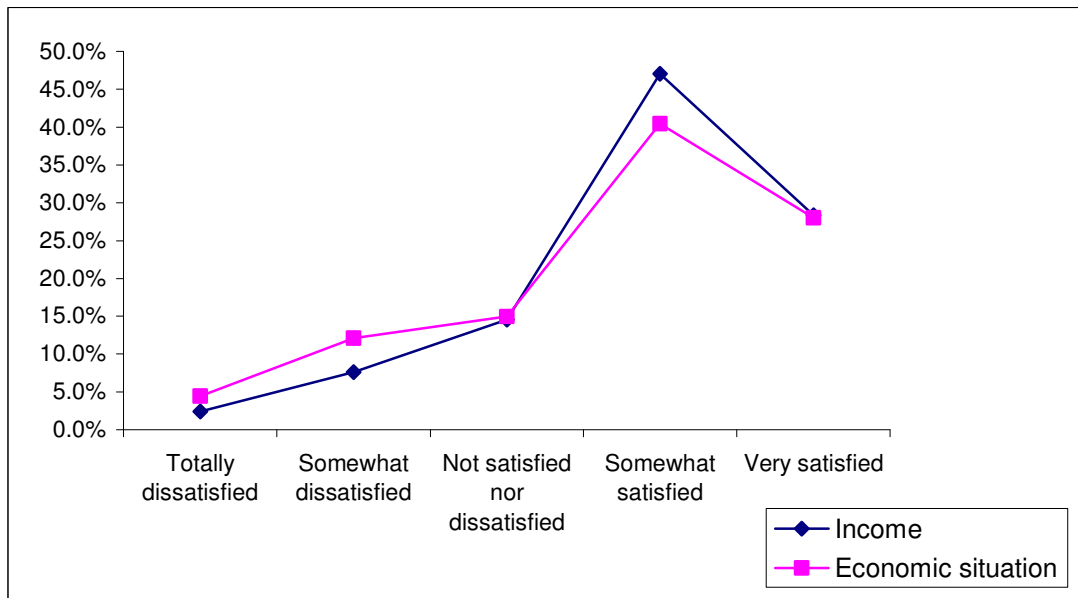
Figure 29 Number of years work in the UK



The sample was generally well experienced in the British economy. 10% of the sample had over 40 years work in the UK; another 25% had clocked up 30 years work; half had worked at least 20 years in the UK. At work employees are dealing with mainstream situations where the customer base is largely or exclusively British-born (only 19% were dealing with an international clientele – mostly non-South African).

Income

Figure 30 Levels of satisfaction regarding income and economic situation



About 10% of the sample expressed dissatisfaction at their level of income (this is above the standard response to this question which was, 'One could always use a little more'). Generally, those in work were satisfied or very satisfied with their work (82%), and only 8% were totally dissatisfied and another 11% somewhat dissatisfied. General satisfaction and income satisfaction seem to be closely correlated though not identical. Of the small number (25) who registered some kind of dissatisfaction with their income or

economic situation, almost three quarters were over 50 years of age, most of them facing or well into their retirement. It is likely that responses to this question took into account the sensitivities to the economic 'crisis' being unfolded in the UK at the time of the survey and the frustrations of a system that has not yet come to terms with age discrimination.

Figure 31 Gross monthly personal income

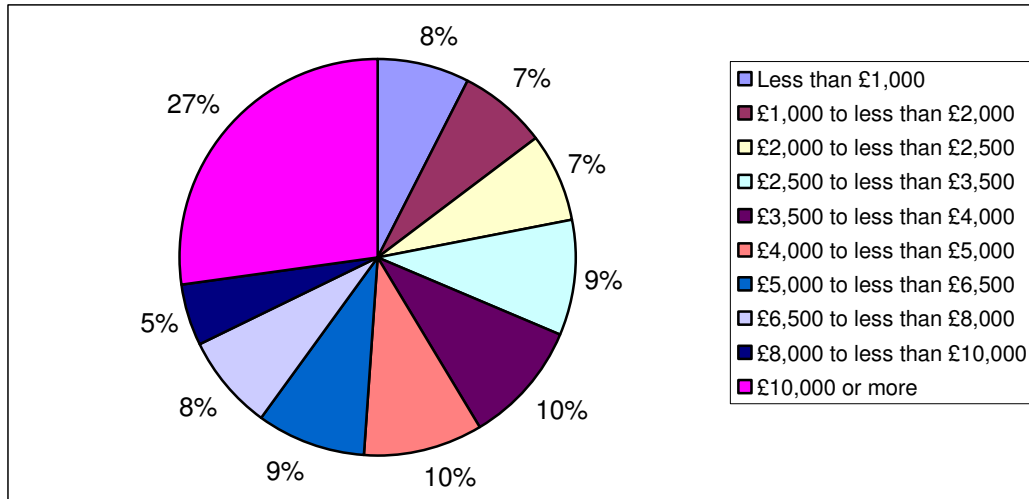
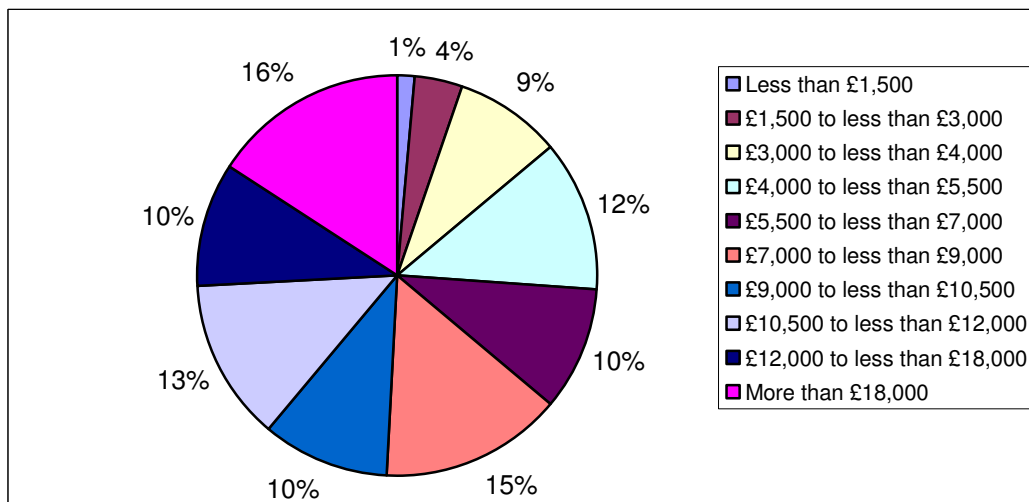


Figure 32 Gross monthly household income



40% of those providing information on their income claimed to earn over £6,500 a month before taxes, and 27% earned more the £10,000 per month.⁴¹ Household income from those agreeing to answer the question was £9,000 or more for half that section of the sample, and for 13% it exceeded £18,000 per month. However, a quarter of the overall sample either refused to answer the first question or did not know the exact figures, and 32% did not provide figures for the second. This was for reasons of personal security, modesty, ignorance of a partner's income, or (in the case of retirees) because the last income figures were too long ago to remember or were not relevant for our purposes of comparison. One other factor needs to be taken into account: bonuses. A significant minority of the sample worked in companies that award annual bonuses to employees, and the size of these bonuses could not

⁴¹ The exchange rate at the time of writing is c.11.6 ZAR to 1 GBP.

be anticipated (though they could double a good salary and multiply a very good salary many times over – see Finch, 2008), and were not included in the income figures. Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that these bonuses would enhance the income of employees in ‘The City’ and other sectors to some degree, pushing up the overall prosperity level of the sample. Clearly this is a prosperous group of people and over three quarters of it admitted to having no difficulty in covering their bills and expenses from their income – only 4% expressed any difficulty. Thus 28% of the sample expressed total satisfaction at their general economic situation at the moment and only 17% expressed any element of dissatisfaction.

The general economic situation in the UK at the time of the research was worse than it had been for some time. Interest rates were very low and those dependent on savings and investments were receiving much lower dividends. On the other hand, mortgages rates were very low too and those with large mortgages were benefiting from reduced payments or from the opportunities to overpay and reduce their debt. Some of the sample enjoyed the benefits of non-domiciled status, and proposed changes to those conditions, trailed in the run-up to the 2010 General Election, were a concern to some of the interviewees at the time of the survey.

Summary

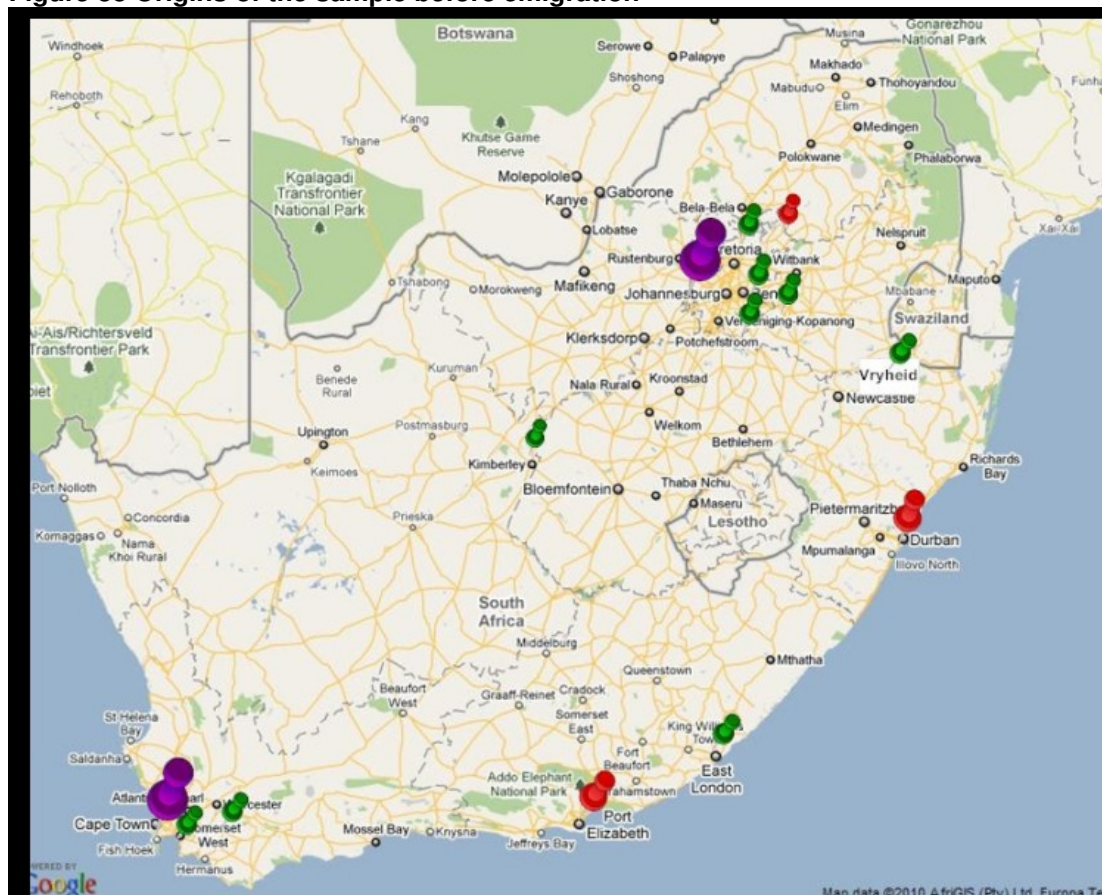
- Over 70% of the sample were in paid employment (three-quarters at full-time) and a further 2.5% in voluntary work; over 18% were retired or semi-retired; and 2.5% studying full or part-time.
- A third of those employed worked in the ‘West End’ - and another 10% in ‘The City’; 17% in Barnet, but there were many who were prepared to work at great distances from their home.
- Half those interviewed were employees; more than a quarter were self-employed; and a fifth were employers or in senior management positions. 30% worked in firms which were Jewish, but the majority of employees worked in firms that were mainly British in their workforce.
- A significant proportion of South African Jews make use of South African Jewish connections to secure an interview and a position.
- More than 70% of the sample could be described as ‘professional’, and more than three-quarters of it were located in some form of management, mostly at senior levels.
- 40% claimed to earn over £6,500 a month and 27% earned more the £10,000 per month (not including bonuses). Household income was £9,000 or more for half that section of the sample, and for 13% it exceeded £18,000 per month.
- The sample was generally well experienced and satisfied with their work. South African Jews have had access to high quality employment in the main industries of London and can reach its senior levels of responsibility.

8. CONNECTION WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Identity

Identity has become an important concept in the last 40 to 50 years, but not everyone has been self-conscious about it. South Africa, like many other ethnically diverse societies, stressed ethnic identity in ways that were unfamiliar to more ethnically homogeneous societies. Apartheid in particular required a racial identity.

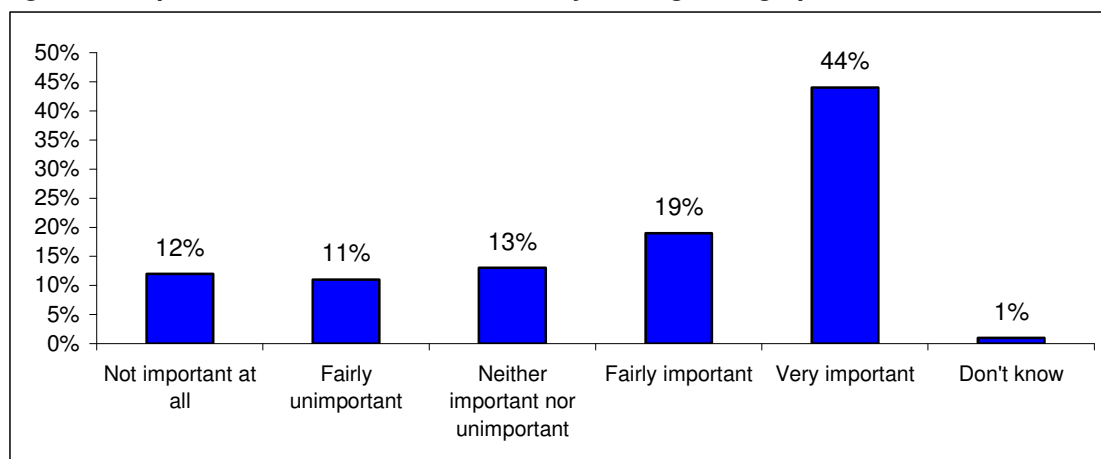
Figure 33 Origins of the sample before emigration



Although only 92% of the sample were born in South Africa, 97% were at school there at age 16, over half in the Johannesburg/Pretoria and suburban areas; with a substantial number in the Cape Town area; and smaller numbers in the towns and settlements, in which less than two percent of the sample grew up. Many respondents pointed out that travel to other countries in the 1940s/1970s when they were growing up was unusual. Furthermore, since television was not introduced until 1976, apart from Britain, they had no realistic idea of the wider world (especially, including Africa) – and consequently never considered a life outside of South Africa: ‘It was all I knew’.⁴²

⁴² This is contradicted somewhat by the statements of some others that ‘they had been brought up to leave’ (see Immigration Experience).

Figure 34 Importance of South African identity when growing up



For more than 60% of the interviewees their South African identity was important to them at the time of growing up; only 12% said it had no importance to them; only two confessed to denying their SA identity. This question often elicited the responses: 'I didn't give any thought about it'; 'we took it for granted'. Some confessed 'I was astonishingly ignorant of politics at that age'. Although it was asserted that 'we were not part of anything else', it was clear that it was important that 'you were White'. It is arguable whether these statements reflect a strong or weak identity: is something you 'take for granted' so fundamental to your system that you need not think of it, or so peripheral to your identity that you can afford to ignore it?

It was further claimed that one's Jewish identity came first, and that one identified oneself as a 'South African Jew' – an identity with a generic meaning of its own – and therefore at least *part of something else*.⁴³ In fact, several stressed what Tatz et al calls their 'adjectival' identity (p. 92): *South African Jew* or *Jewish South African* – both formulations seemed to have a definite meaning and status in the mind of the individuals expressing it, but there was no common meaning articulated. Zionism also provided an identity and a political orientation associated with Israel (see responses to membership of Zionist youth movements below). However, there did not seem to be a conflict between those professing both identities.

It should go without saying that a strong South African identity did not imply strong support for the Nationalist government and its policies: 'loved the country, not the government'. For these people their South African identity was strong but *in a negative way*, in that it inspired a political consciousness leading to opposition to Apartheid – and a weaker identity would probably have encouraged apathy. However, although Apartheid embarrassed some and shamed others, it was possible in childhood to distance oneself from it and ignore its consequences. In adulthood, 'with hindsight it [became] important'. For a very few it was so important that they immersed themselves in an African identity, awaiting the release of Mandela and the opportunity to identify with a new and stronger national identity.

⁴³ It was also suggested that children of Holocaust survivors had an additional identity which superseded the South African.

Life in South Africa under a liberal European influence was described as an insular life - living in a 'bubble'; seduced by the beaches, weather, and mountains. For some their ambivalence was shown in 'a general unease' and feeling of not belonging that was 'troublesome' and 'confused'. For a growing number this developed into a loathing that encouraged identification with England, and a feeling that they were 'raised to leave' and 'longed to leave'.

National Service

Only 30% of the men served in the South African armed forces. Conscription laws were strictly enforced after 1948, but still many were granted deferment to attend university first. Following the declaration of a Republic, the South African Defence Force (SADF) quadrupled in size and all white male citizens were required to perform national service: an initial period of training, a period of active duty, and several years in reserve status, subject to immediate call-up. These requirements changed several times during the 1980s and the early 1990s in response to national security needs. In 1989, conscription was reduced from two years to one year, but even these regulations were less rigorously enforced until they were entirely suspended in 1993.

Table 15 Reasons for not serving in the South African Armed Forces

Reason	Number	%
Never conscripted	37	29.1%
Conscription had ended	32	25.2%
Study exemption	30	23.6%
Exempt	10	7.9%
Emigrated	8	6.3%
Health	5	3.9%
Not a citizen	3	2.4%
Age	1	0.8%
Don't know	1	0.8%
Total	127	

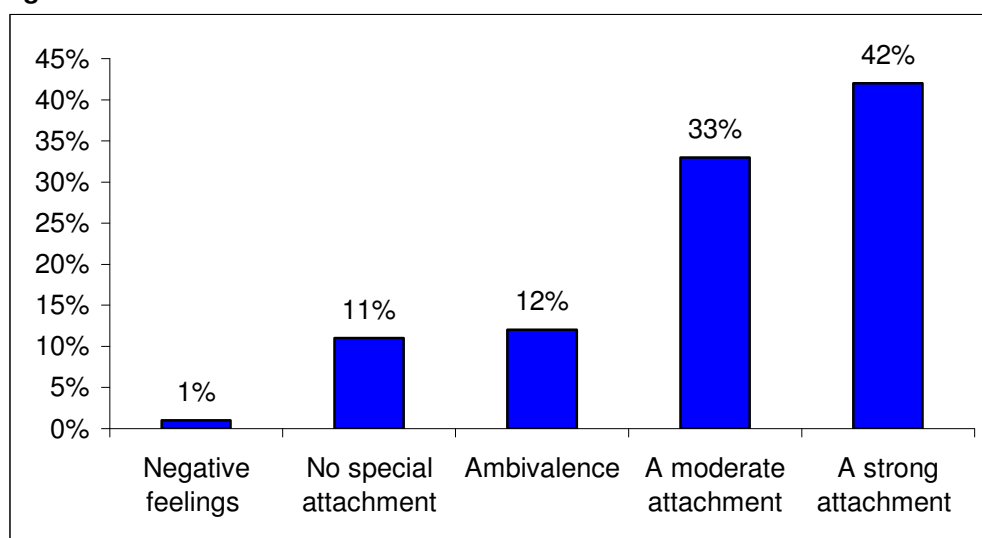
Reasons for deferment or excusal from service varied widely. Over a quarter of exemptions were for reasons of study, age or health; another quarter of the sample only came of age when conscription had ended. Over a third of exemptions were unexplained – they were just never called or were not picked when the system went over to balloting recruits. In the early 1960s, for example, the SADF records were computerised and a one year glitch effectively exempted a whole year's worth of conscripts.

The experience of national service does not seem to have been wholly positive, and the comment received by veterans, ranged from resentment at the general 'waste of time' to specific problems associated with accommodating a Jewish life in uniform, such as the difficulty of getting kosher food.⁴⁴ There was also some specific concern about involvement with the Border War of the 1970/1980s, and the worry of returning home from the front suffering from *bossies*, or 'shellshock'.

⁴⁴ This was also true of Jewish conscripts to the British armed forces during the WW II.

Attachment

Figure 35 Attachment towards South Africa



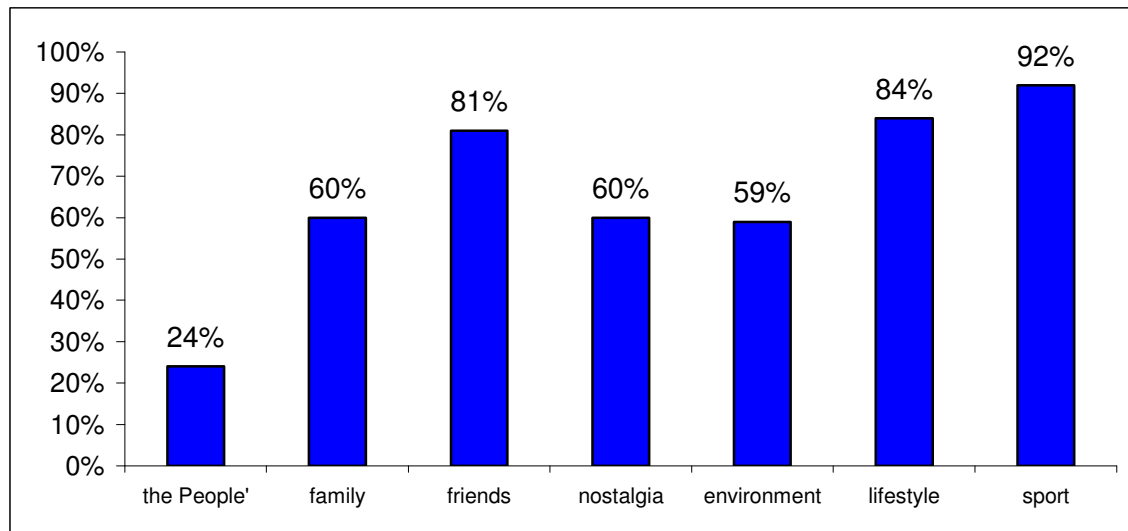
From the point of view of London and settlement in the UK, 43% of the sample still expressed a strong attachment to South Africa and another third a moderate attachment. 83% of those with a family history going back two generations in South Africa professed a moderate/strong attachment to South Africa, as did 85% of those with four South African grandparents. Negative feelings were negligible and only 11% assessed their attachment as 'nothing special'. Still, of the latter, 68% claimed to be in quite/very frequent contact with friends and family in South Africa, though almost a quarter stated they had very few relatives or friends left there. For 40% of those expressing a strong to moderate attachment, their family was the main focus of attachment and a similar proportion cited their roots in South Africa – place of birth; homeland; familiarity – as an important tie to the country.⁴⁵ National Service seems to have modified the attachments of the 55 veterans towards their ex-homeland, compared with the whole sample. The sample of ex-servicemen was roughly divided into thirds between those who retained strong, moderate, and less than moderate (negative, no special, and ambivalent) attachments to South Africa.

Table 16 Attachment to South Africa of ex-servicemen

Nature of attachment	Number of respondents
Negative feelings towards South Africa	1
No special attachment	9
Ambivalence	7
A moderate attachment	18
A strong attachment towards South Africa	19
Don't know	1

⁴⁵ Interviewees were permitted to nominate as many reasons as they wished in answer to this question.

Figure 36 Reasons for strong/moderate attachment to South Africa now



Of the quantifiable responses, even more mentioned the physical environment of South Africa – landscape, predictability of the climate, outdoor life, ‘the smell of Africa’ - as an enduring factor connecting them to their homeland. Smaller numbers mentioned ‘the People’ (24%), friends (19% - many of whom had left), and lifestyle (i.e. quality and standard of living – 16%) as attachments. Almost half the sample expressed an interest in South African popular culture (sports, music, theatre, arts), but 36% of the sample showed little or no interest now. This question attracted a range of responses which are difficult to disaggregate. For many males, sport was identified as an interest (six times that of women), but little else of popular culture. The emphasis on rugby, as opposed to cricket,⁴⁶ may have correlations with the area of upbringing, education and class. Females showed a greater breadth of interest, but one cannot assume a general interest in popular culture across the board. With hindsight the question, if important, should have been divided along these predictable lines.

The question on ‘attachment to South Africa’ prompted a range of responses, some of which repeated material already explored by the previous question of ‘identity’ and others which strayed off into the area of ‘what I like/miss most about South Africa’. Some confessed confusion about whether it was ‘South Africa’ to which they felt attached, or whether it was nostalgia for the religious life and aspects of culture (such as food) of the Jewish community for which they still longed – i.e. they questioned whether they indeed had had a South African life or a Jewish life (or some combination of the two). One must also consider the possibility of a positive ‘halo effect’ about the place one grew up which develops into an uncritical view of such things as the South African sense of humour or nostalgia for the Afrikaner language.

A variety of visual and sensual metaphors and feelings were suggested for what many found directly inexpressible – ‘the idea of Africa’: ‘something about being “African”’; ‘love of Africa’; ‘It infects you - it’s in your nostrils and

⁴⁶ Football, we are told, is a new interest for all South Africans as a result of the World Cup, 2010.

your skin ...'; the 'rhythm of Africa pulsing in the background'; 'something in Africa that is contagious'; 'can't take Africa out of your heart'. The landscape provided 'room to manoeuvre' and inspired a 'sense of adventure'. The people of South Africa (it was not clear at all times to which 'people' this specifically referred: all, Jewish, White or Black) were praised for their friendliness, warmth and goodness: a 'wonderful/remarkable' people. The sheer diversity and 'the way people mix in South Africa' were remarked upon: a 'naïve way-of-life where they want everyone to be their friend'; expressing a 'cultural connectiveness'. Admiration for the energy, vitality and enthusiasm of Black South Africans was specifically mentioned as well as aspects of the developing economy: the desire for change for the better; 'trying to do something in a very challenging environment'. Some of this can be dismissed as typical patronisation and well-rehearsed Mandela-inspired triumphalism, but it sounded genuine.

References were also made to the lost White environment, especially the 'way of doing business': the 'can do' ethos and entrepreneurial spirit, where you 'get on with things, and a problem is not an obstacle - it is a challenge'. 'Doing business' seemed to be more than an economic phenomenon or a means to make money; it was an activity in its own right. Some still had business interests in South Africa, and in an obvious comparison with what is perceived as 'over-regulated Britain', it was asserted that there is more innovation in South Africa, unconstrained by history or precedent. It was described as 'the ideal of a working middle-class society' in which one 'had to be the best or the first', and in this context one interviewee raised the interesting, but ultimately unanswerable, question 'Could South Africa ever have contained the wealth of talent in the Jewish community?' It was not clear from responses how much this perceived attitude towards business (in the main) was a product of an economic system which privileged White entrepreneurship, where regulation could be ignored or easily got round, and where business deals could be concluded more often on the basis of informal understanding.

Home

The concept of 'home' is a powerful one: people like going home, being 'at home' (if only temporarily) and reflecting upon it. Life in South Africa 'was a formative experience that we still talk about as "home"; 'a happy time' that 'played a big part in my life'. Familiarity was an important part of the attraction of home - language, accent, humour - and often interviewees reacted as if there was no point in questioning 'home' because it was a given: 'It's your history and it has moulded you as a person'. For them 'home' was an affinity or connection that was emotional or spiritual: 'an attitude of mind'; a sense of belonging; a value system; 'the other side of my being' - though it was not clear from all responses whether this referred to the South African 'home', people and nation in general, or to the Jewish community in particular. Home was characterised by informality; relaxed socialising; warmth; flexibility; openness; freedom; and camaraderie. People had good memories of their life in South Africa: 'It was a good place to grow up when I grew up there', recalled one. Nostalgia for 'the lovely life', even after (or because of) 40 years in England, was still strong, especially in Capetonians who were the only ones who specified the qualities of their city as their idea of 'home' - its food,

architecture, landscape, ethnic mix, beach-life, quality and the general ease of life - rather than the country of South Africa as a whole. However, during the Apartheid era nostalgia for some was hampered by revulsion of the Nationalist state: 'Nostalgia was countered by the politics which was a bone in my throat'.

Although most comments on this question referred to the interviewees' past experience, some remarks referred to the current situation which for many has occurred while they were in 'exile'. The initial connection with South Africa, sometimes lasting for many dozens of years, is bound to produce at least a minimal 'interest' in current events, which for many interviewees continues in great or small measure to this day. Clearly, the end of Apartheid has made South Africa a more attractive proposition, both for South Africans at home and abroad and others, prompting an increase in emotional involvement, a degree of relief ('not being ashamed any longer'), and for some an opportunity to re-engage in practical ways (for example, through charity). There is 'admiration and respect for the experiment that they are going through, and pride when I see where they have come from and where they are going to'. Many expressed admiration for the peaceful way South Africa has weathered the transition - 'That is could change the way it did against all the odds and without a bloody revolution'; 'trauma or revenge' – pleasure in the fact that it has 'taken great steps to rectify the wrongs to people of colour'; praise for the 'pragmatism' of White South Africans; 'concern for its people, particularly its Jewish community'. Concern was expressed for the struggles of the country, its 'amazingly tragic' story, and a 'sense of wonder at the country's achievement': 'so much suffering and poverty, inequality and injustice – one cannot be neutral. One cannot but feel strongly.'

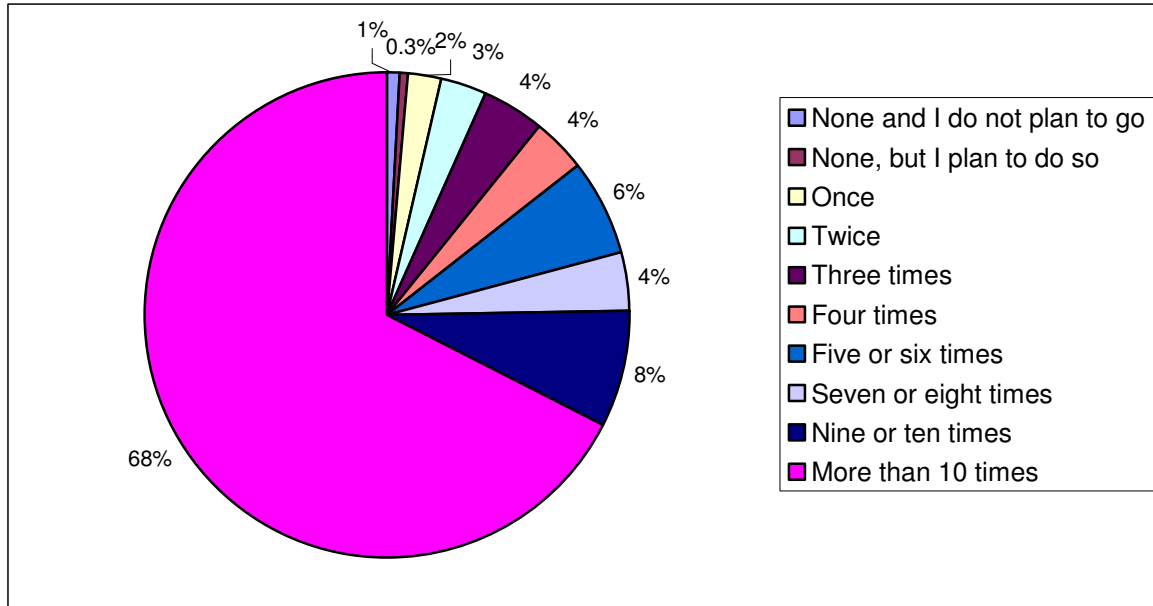
This concern could be in some measure the product of guilt about the past and awareness of a privileged life: 'ashamed to have left ... run away; [though] not ashamed any longer' and 'sadness at not growing old together with that which you grew up'. Several interviewees confessed to sentiments of 'Owing [South Africans] something; reciprocating for the privileged life and good education, largely at the expense of other people'; 'This is the country that gave me everything I am'; 'The sense of who I am – liberal, egalitarian – has been sharpened by [the South African] experience'; a 'debt for the privileged life at other people's expense'. Gratitude was expressed for the great opportunities in education and work: 'A country of enormous opportunity - if you were White'; and regret: 'Although we were enjoying our lives we knew it was wrong'. Some saw this in historic terms: 'The sojourn in South Africa for Lithuanian Jews has given them a confidence and opportunity they would never have experienced otherwise – they were White and OK – but at the expense of Black South Africans.'

Contact

South Africa is an objectively interesting and attractive country and there are many people around the world, with no family or historical connection to it, who are interested in its fascinating story and dramatic landscape, flora and fauna. It is a good holiday break, not only for ex-South Africans, and the tourism industry there continues to grow (see South African Tourism). Furthermore, it is a place that ex-South Africans, even those who left it at an early age, know and understand relatively well. Therefore it is not surprising

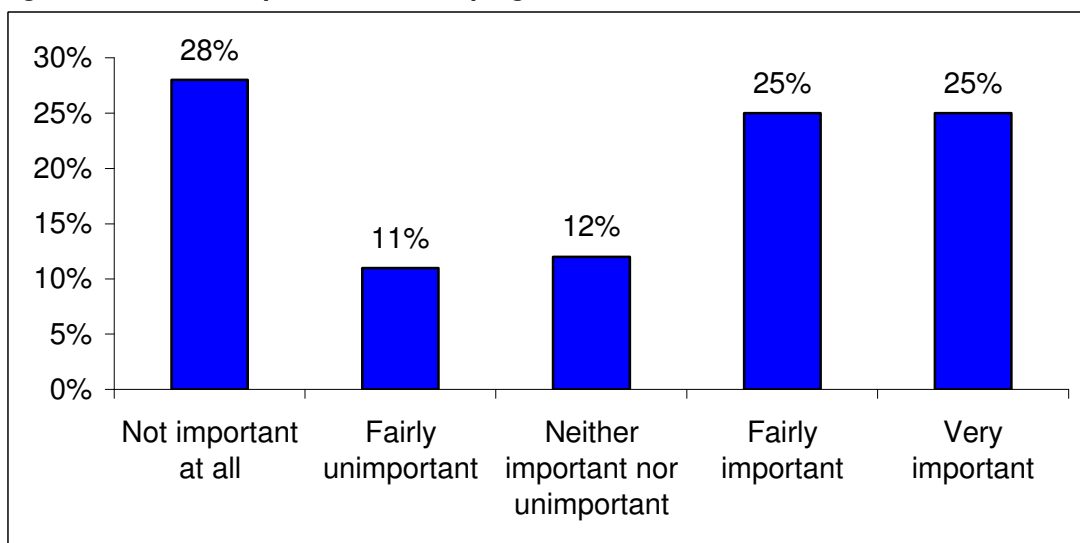
that ex-South Africans have an enduring ‘interest in the general well-being of the [South African] community’ – i.e. the particular situations and developments of their homeland, which may or may not be related to their routine concerns of life and work in the UK.

Figure 37 Visits to South Africa since moving to the UK



Indeed, they are frequent visitors now to their homeland and two-thirds of the sample had been back there more than ten times (though for some this was spread out over a 40 year span, and individuals with business connections in South Africa obviously have vastly inflated travel records). They also follow the South African news fairly or very regularly (44%), and another quarter of the sample do so on an occasional basis.⁴⁷

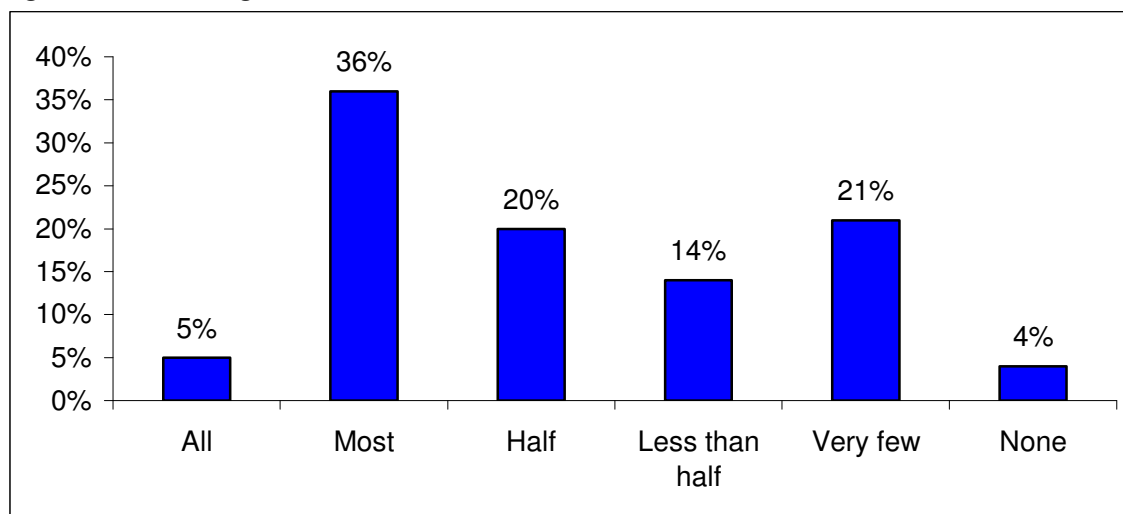
Figure 38 Level of importance for keeping in touch with other ex-South Africans



⁴⁷ This refers to specific efforts to access the news from South Africa – e.g. through subscriptions or an internet connection - rather than an interest in South African news stories that appear in the British press.

It was fairly or very important for 45% of the sample to keep in touch with other ex-South Africans (with 28% saying it was not important at all).⁴⁸ Individuals often expressed the view that they kept 'in touch' with their old *friends* from South Africa (not necessarily just any South African) who were also settlers in the UK, and that this was very important to them because of their life-long friendship, their common interests and shared views ('same wave length'; 'speak the same language'), or because of their qualities as individuals, but *not* just because they were South Africans. This process seemed to 'happen naturally', without consciously seeking specific South African relationships, but somehow 60% of the sample found themselves with half or more of South African friends.

Figure 39 Percentages of South African close friends



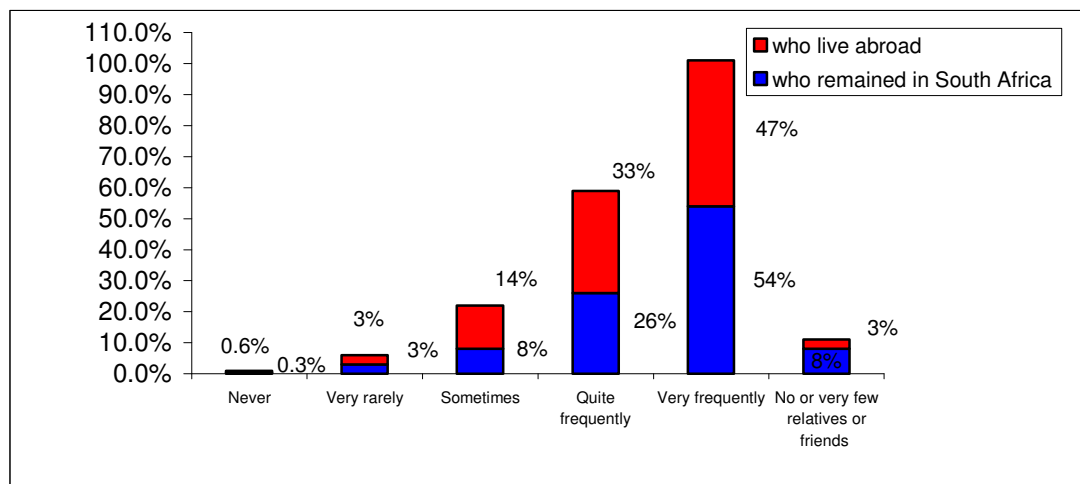
They said they felt more comfortable with them due to a shared commonality, 'an affinity', an ease of interacting' - i.e. they enjoy a 'comfort zone' because of a commonly understood past. Although the initial bond was made easier because of these connections, it was also said that the friendships were stronger: the 'best friendships seem to be with South Africans'. At present there are a relatively large numbers of South Africans in London, though not all by any means are Jewish, and it is not difficult to find South Africans if one wants to seek them out. Furthermore, it seems that whole friendship networks have been re-constructed in London and therefore it is now possible for people to remain friendly with former friends. Longer term residents have noted that the initial importance of connecting with ex-South Africans has somewhat diminished of late and that the number of close ex-South African friends is dependent on the numbers of ex-school friends who are already here. Others have remarked that the importance of making contact 'is becoming more important as we get older'. For this we may need to look to the important of networking websites like LinkedIn, Facebook⁴⁹ as well as others, some supported by the official South African bodies.

⁴⁸ Not people back 'home', which was asked in a separate question.

⁴⁹ According to TechXav (13.08.10) a million South Africans used Facebook in 2009, mainly the 18-25 age group, and it was the second most visited site after Google.co.za. It can be assumed that that number has been greatly exceeded at the time of writing.

Evidence that these friendships and contacts are the product of former relationships in South Africa rather than from new ones enjoined by expatriates in the UK may come from the response to the next question which asked about levels of participation in organised activities for South Africans, to which more than 80% answered that they never or very rarely took part. The activities referred to were intended to be ones launched by an organisation rather than an ad hoc group of acquaintances - typically, reunions, official occasions, or events sponsored by South African firms or professional groups. This suggests that the lack of such groups in the early years of migration or the tendency to stay away from what may be perceived as Apartheid-sponsored events deterred such associations initially, and that latterly there are sufficient numbers of like-minded South Africans around London to obviate the necessity of networking through specifically organised activities. In any case, only 1% of the sample said they participated in such activities very frequently and only 5% quite frequently. From anecdotal evidence provided researchers, the most commonly attended events were cultural activities attendant on the arrival in London of a South African group, show or exhibition.

Figure 40 Contact with family/friends in South Africa and abroad



The bars present percentage responses to two separate questions

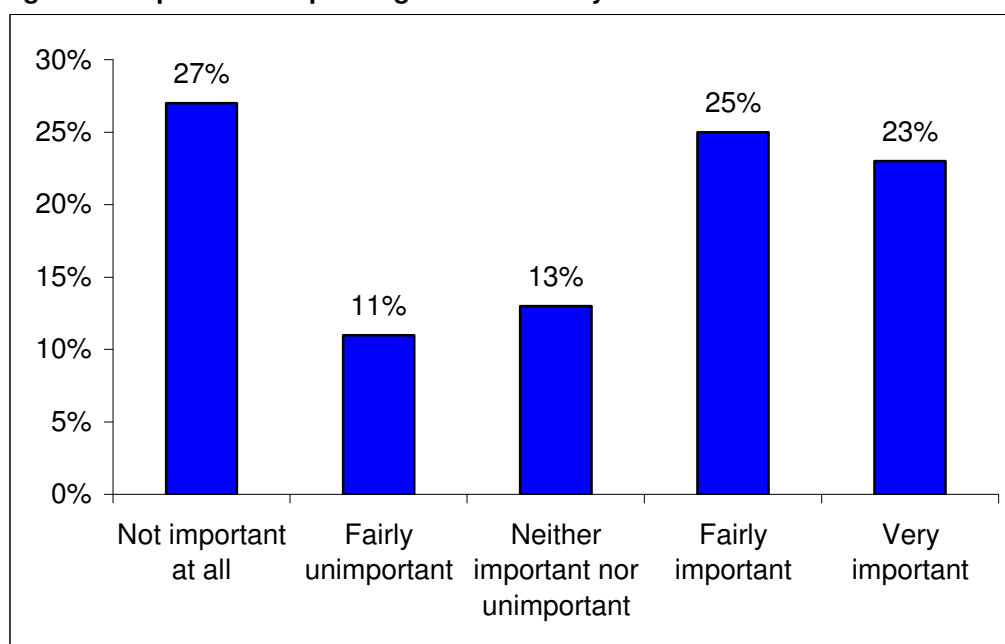
Not only does the sample keep in touch with ex-South Africans in the UK, but they are in high levels of contact with South Africans at home and abroad (those contacts diminishing in the 8% of the sample with few or no relationships left in South Africa). 58% of the sample with family and friends in South Africa said that they maintained contact very frequently, and this number advanced to 87% when we include those who said they are in contact quite frequently. Only 4% (half with no special attachment/ambivalence towards South Africa) said that they never or very rarely contacted their family and friends back home. Although the numbers are very few, there is a strong correlation between the level of contact and residence in the UK, the 1954/1970 cohort having the least contact, but also the most likelihood of having no or few family or friends remaining in South Africa.

The equivalent figures for contact with family and friends living abroad in countries other than South Africa were somewhat lower because fewer people

in the sample had such contacts abroad. It was often remarked that the advent of new forms of electronic communication – email, Facebook, Skype – made contact very easy. In addition, residence in London meant that at any one time there would be a steady influx of visitors from South Africa that helped retain and refresh previous contacts with family and friends.

South African culture

Figure 41 Importance of passing on a familiarity with South African culture to children



As seen above, the sample did not express an overall consensus on the importance of South African culture, and similar feelings were expressed, perhaps not surprisingly, on the importance of passing on to children a familiarity with South African culture and customs. The most recent arrivals (1995-2009) were 50% more likely than earlier arrivals (1954 – 1994) to think it important to pass on a familiarity with South African culture to children (32%:21%); whereas the earlier cohorts were more than 50% more likely than the most recent arrivals to think this is not/fairly unimportant (22%:13%). This might suggest the effects of longevity of settlement but one must also take into account the reasons for emigration or the attitudes towards South Africa of the earlier cohorts compared with more recent arrivals.

Half the sample thought that such a familiarity might help children to understand the origins of their parents and extended family: 'psychologically it is important to share experiences; it is part of a healthy family to have no secrets about the past'; 'they don't understand us if they don't understand South Africa'; 'it defines who we are'. They added that they felt that South African culture was intrinsically interesting and should be known more widely. Although over half the sample were ambivalent or uninterested, only a few were prepared to criticise South African culture explicitly and downplay it in comparison with European culture.

The South African perspective is enriching like any other non-routine aspect, but it is not any more important than other aspects that would enrich a child's understanding of the world and its variety.

Even fewer had a good word to say for Afrikaner culture, though there were two defences, one for Afrikaans poetry and another for its 'very expressive language'.

Furthermore, it is not certain what the reference to 'South African culture and customs' meant to the entire sample or that they understood it in the same way. It may in some minds have conjured up visions of a Jewish South African community ethos, culture and customs, and not anything particularly African or Afrikaner. Several interviewees evidenced their children's love of visiting South Africa on holiday or to see relations as proof of the continuing family commitment to South Africa.⁵⁰ This is questionable evidence considering the attractions of holidays in the sun to young and old alike, and the benefits of being fussed over by doting grandparents. One wonders how attractive a holiday 'back home' would be if South Africa was situated on the Baltic.

Summary

- More than 60% of the interviewees said their South African identity was fairly or very important to them at the time of growing up, though they were more aware of their Jewish identity.
- 43% of the sample still expressed a strong attachment to South Africa and another third a moderate attachment, somewhat stronger amongst those with a family history going back two generations or more in South Africa. For 40% their family was the main focus of attachment and a similar proportion cited their roots in South Africa. Important too was the physical environment of South Africa. However, it is uncertain whether it was 'South Africa' to which they felt attached, or whether it was nostalgia for *Jewish* South African life.
- Many expressed admiration for the peaceful way South Africa has weathered its political transition and gratitude for the great opportunities in education and work.
- Most now return to South Africa regularly, and many follow events there regularly or occasionally. Half thought that it was important to pass on to their children a familiarity with South African culture and customs to help them understand their origins.
- Almost half the sample claimed that it was important to keep in touch with other ex-South Africans and a half or more of the sample associated with mainly South African friends. It seems likely, therefore, that friendships and contacts with South Africans are the product of

⁵⁰ International tourism to South Africa in 2009 reached almost 10 m. visits (South African Tourism, p. 10).

former relationships in South Africa rather than from new ones enjoined by expatriates in the UK.

- There are high levels of contact with South Africans at home and abroad particularly amongst recent arrivals and younger people, facilitated by new forms of electronic communication, such as email, Facebook, Skype.
- Attachment to South Africa is strong amongst recent arrivals and contact with things South African is easy to maintain. This diminishes slowly over time.

9. JEWISH IDENTITY AND RELIGIOSITY

This section of the survey attempted to assess the extent and nature of the sample's Jewish identity by asking interviewees to evaluate the strength and features of their 'Jewishness' and by comparing that with some key indicators of national identity. The integrity of this data depends on a common sense understanding of certain terms such as 'Orthodox' and 'secular' which some readers might dispute.

All the interviewees were born Jewish and, of those in current relationships, 88% had Jewish partners.⁵¹ 5% of Jewish spouses were converts to Judaism. Of the 32 non-Jewish partners, half were of British nationality and another quarter were of other non-South African nationalities - though it is not possible to say if they resided in South Africa and later acquired South African nationality, or whether the weddings were contracted outside of South Africa. However, the correlation suggests a hypothesis that 'marrying out' may be facilitated outside the confines of South African Jewry and within a society (like the UK or USA) where marrying out has been on the increase. This may be a significant factor in the light of the conclusion of the JPR study of 1996 (p. 4)

that **the rate at which** [British] **Jewish men are marrying non-Jewish women** [emphasis in the original] in the crucial younger age-groups (less than 40) is 44 per cent. This is not far short of the 52 per cent intermarriage rate of US Jews, which, when it was announced in 1990, caused widespread shock throughout the community and fuelled debate on the Jewish future. Overall, more than half of the adult Jewish population has, at some time, had a steady relationship with a non-Jew.

Jews in South Africa generally either feel equally South African and Jewish (50%) or more Jewish than South African (42%) (Mendelsohn and Shain, p. 207; Bruk, p.125). Clearly the Jewish component of identity is strong. Unfortunately we do not have comparable identity data for Jewish Londoners, however in an answer to a slightly different question only 42.5% of Jewish Londoners declared themselves in 2002 to be at least 'somewhat' religious, as opposed to the secular (a quarter) and the 'somewhat secular' remainder (JPR, 2003, p. 3). Although the London data is about religiosity and not identity, it is interesting complementary information.

Table 17 How do you feel about your Jewishness?

Aware of Jewishness but do not think about it very often	2.9%
Aware of Jewishness but do not practise it in any way	14.0%
Feel quite strongly Jewish but equally conscious of other aspects of own life	59.6%
Feel extremely conscious of being Jewish and it the most important thing in your identity	23.6%

⁵¹ Compared with 94% of the 2005 South African sample (Bruk, p. 134) and 76% of the British Jewish population (GLA, p. 28).

60% of our London sample said they felt quite strongly Jewish, but were equally conscious of other aspects of their life, and a further 24% said they felt extremely conscious of being Jewish and it was the most important thing in their identity. Jewish Londoners were also found to have a high level of Jewish consciousness - 80% - despite their outlook being 'religious' in only 9% (JPR, 2003, p. 13). All our sample thought of themselves as Jewish and only 3% said that they did not think of being Jewish very often. The choices to this question appear to represent a hierarchy or progression of 'feeling' or commitment to the religion, but in fact represent merely different aspects of observance, belief or feeling within which there is considerable overlap. For example, one interviewee claimed to be 'very aware' of his Jewishness, but still did not practice it in any way. Others stressed that "Jewishness" referred to culture not practice; a 'heritage not a theology'. Clearly religiosity and Jewish identity are two different constructs and cannot be directly equated. With hindsight a choice which enabled people to express a 'cultural identity' as well as a religious one may have been more appropriate and revealing.

Upbringing

Almost a third of the sample had attended a Jewish day school⁵² and most of the rest had attended South African supplementary Jewish education classes (*cheder*) outside of school. This compares with half that number of day school attendees for South African emigrants to Australia (Tatz et al, p. 150).⁵³ Answers to this question varied to the degree that some children went to Jewish day pre-schools and primary schools, but when they transferred to a secular secondary school they took up attendance in supplementary Jewish education classes (or vice versa) – in most cases only until their Bar/Bat-Mitzvah at 13/14 years of age - and so were entered in both categories. Only 5% ever attended a Yeshiva (mostly in Israel), and for most of them it was for short periods of time – a few months or weeks – rather than for a full course of study.

Table 18 Membership of Jewish organisations

Habonim	150	47.8%
SA Union of Jewish Students	44	14.0%
Betar	32	10.2%
Jewish Country Club	29	9.2%
Bnei Akiva	23	7.3%
Bnei Zion (combined with Habonim in 1960s)	11	3.5%
Netzer/Maganim	7	2.2%
Young Israel	5	1.6%
Hashomer Hatzair	3	1.0%
Other youth movement	19	6.1%
Other Jewish associations	54	17.2%

72% of the sample had attended a Jewish or Zionist youth group in South Africa (compared with 71% of Jews in South Africa), Habonim being the most popular by far with membership of almost half the sample, no other group

⁵² ... and I've been in therapy ever since!', quipped a psychology lecturer.

⁵³ The complementary figures are 79% in state secular schools and 6% in private schools.

attracting any more than 10% (some were members of more than one). Several interviewees stressed that their membership was for purely 'social' reasons (e.g. an unofficial dating exchange) and did not imply any specific ideological or political commitment. As adults, 9.2% of the sample (over half of whom were 22-34 years of age when they came to the UK) had joined Jewish 'country clubs' in South Africa (where they existed) – mainly for the sports facilities – whereas only 5.4% joined non-denominational country clubs. However, 17% joined a university Jewish society, the South African Union of Jewish Students being the most popular. Smaller numbers joined other Zionist, Jewish women's and sports societies

Practice

In Britain, according to the 1996 JPR report (p.4):

For most [British] Jews, **religious observance is a means of identifying with the Jewish community, rather than an expression of religious faith** [emphasis in the original]. The failure to construe observance as a religiously prescribed act leaves the way open for many Jews, particularly the young, to redefine the core elements of 'ethnic observance' so as to exclude conventional requirements like Jewish marriage and affiliation to a synagogue.

When asked to identify their religious *practice* (in most cases this meant effectively what synagogue one attended or financially supported – or in some cases within what tradition one was brought up) - 12% claimed strict Orthodoxy, and over a third claimed a 'Traditional' practice, though one short of strict Orthodoxy.⁵⁴ Mendelsohn and Shain describe South African Orthodoxy as 'tepid' and that by the 1970s the majority of South African Jews were "'non-observant' Orthodox" (p. 187). No definition of Orthodoxy or of any of the other versions of modern Judaism was put forward by the research team, and self-definition was accepted.⁵⁵ One 'Traditional' Jew explained, 'It's the "rationality" of Judaism, not the ritual' that attracted her'.

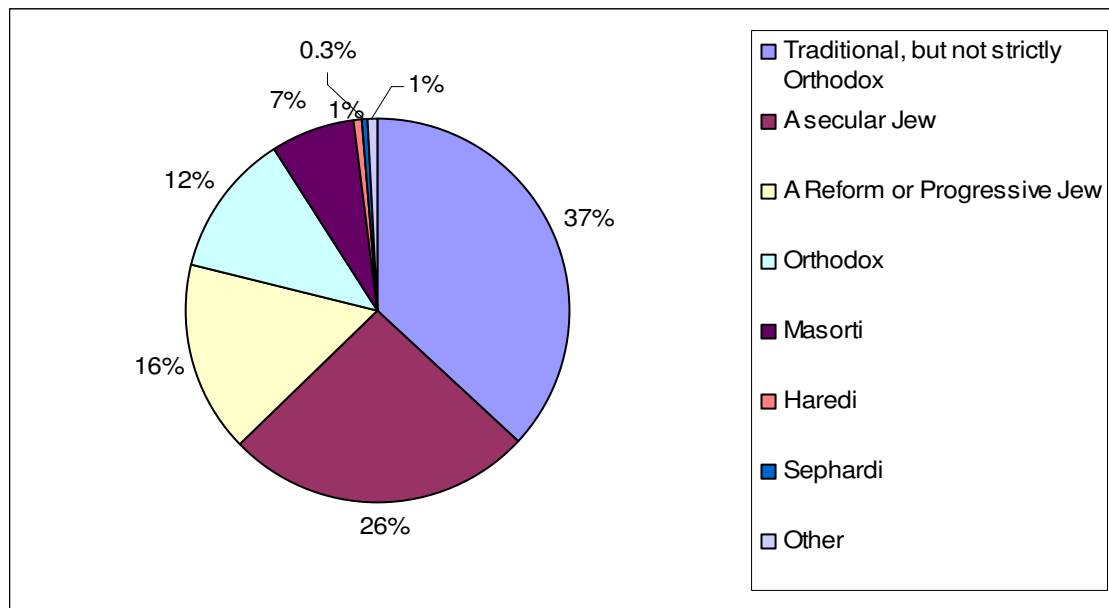
⁵⁴ The figures for South African Jews in 2005 were Traditional – 66%; Orthodox – 14%; Progressive - 7%; secular – 4%; 'just Jewish' – a category missing from the London study, but presumably subsumed under 'secular' – 8% Bruk, p. 148).

⁵⁵ Classifying Judaism is a difficult task – perhaps impossible – given the absence of a central authority now or throughout the ages. For the purposes of this report it may be assumed that Orthodox Judaism is characterized by certain core beliefs, of which the divinity and eternity of the Jewish Law (Torah), complemented by a subsequent oral law, is central and governs the relationship between God and the Jewish people. The Law sets down codes of practice to guide daily life, key among them is adherence to the Ten Commandments, and the practice of the dietary laws (Kashrut) and laws of family purity. Orthodox beliefs include faith in the coming of the Messiah.

Table 19 Religious affiliation

Traditional, but not strictly Orthodox	116	36.9%
A secular Jew	81	25.8%
A Reform or Progressive Jew	51	16.2%
Orthodox	37	11.8%
Masorti	23	7.3%
Haredi	2	0.6%
Sephardi	1	0.3%
Other	3	1.0%
Total	314	100.0%

Figure 42 Religious affiliation



A quarter of the sample identified themselves as secular Jews, although the term secular Jew may not have been understood in common, and there may have been more sense in providing another category such as ‘cultural Jew’, ‘non-observant’, or ‘not practicing Jew’. 7% identified themselves as Masorti – one explaining that Masorti practice was ‘the closest to the South African ‘Orthodoxy’ that I was brought up in’. 16% of the sample identified with forms of Progressive Judaism – Liberal and Reform – and some of these made the point that though they had shifted from Orthodoxy to Reform Judaism, their level of observance in their new rite was more consistent and conscientious than it had been previously in the old one. There was no evidence collected from this question that the Jewish religious revival that suddenly sprang up in the 1970s in South Africa has as yet transferred to émigré South African Jews in London.

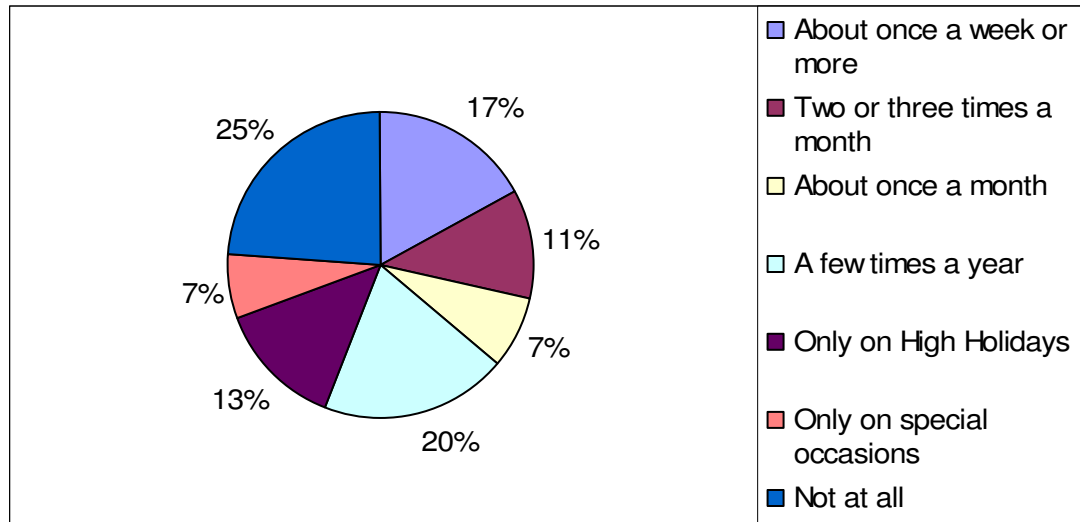
Table 20 Religious practice and broad area of residence

		Broad area of residence			Total
		Harrow, Barnet, Camden	Southwark, Kingston, Kensington and Chelsea	Remaining boroughs	
Q.75 In terms of Jewish religious practice, which of the following best describes your position currently?	A secular Jew	43	9	29	81
		20.7%	52.9%	32.6%	25.8%
	A Reform or Progressive Jew	28	1	22	51
		13.5%	5.9%	24.7%	16.2%
	Traditional, but not strictly Orthodox	87	4	25	116
		41.8%	23.5%	28.1%	36.9%
	Orthodox	32	0	5	37
		15.4%	0.0%	5.6%	11.8%
	Haredi	2	0	0	2
		1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%
	Masorti	16	3	4	23
		7.7%	17.6%	4.5%	7.3%
	Sephardi	0	0	1	1
		0.0%	0.0%	1.1%	0.3%
Other	0	0	3	3	
	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	1.0%	
Total	208	17	89	314	
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

For those living in the heart of the Jewish community, and from where two-thirds of the survey sample was drawn (Camden-Barnet-Harrow), 57% identified themselves as Traditional or Orthodox and only 21% as secular. This was three times the concentrations of Orthodox practitioners compared with the rest of the sample. By contrast, in the boroughs of Kensington and Chelsea, Kingston and Southwark, where only 5% of the sample was drawn, no one identified themselves as Orthodox and only 24% as Traditional, with 53% claiming secular status.

Observance

Figure 43 Synagogue attendance



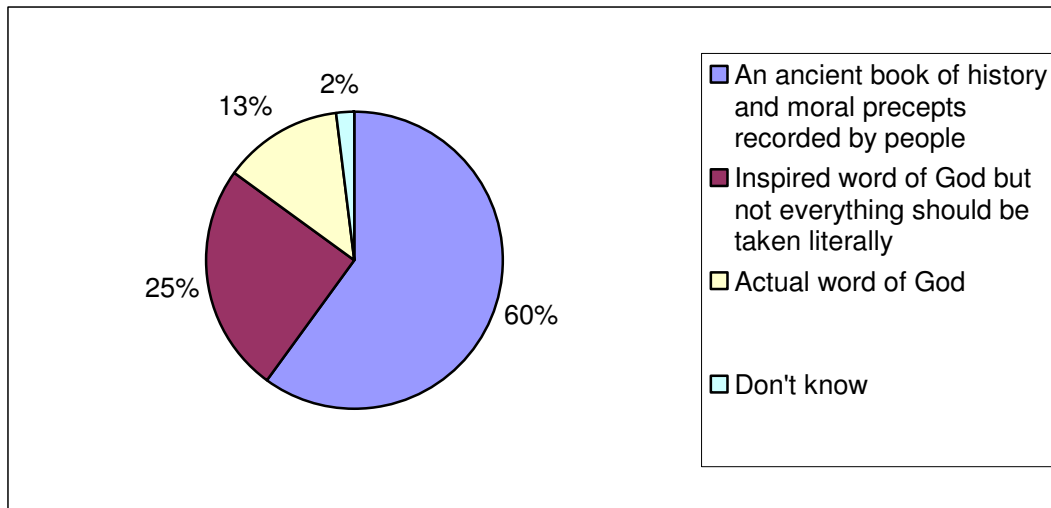
Despite differences in rite and practice, the degree of dedication to one's faith is often gauged by synagogue (in Yiddish, *shul*) attendance, the observance of the Sabbath being a Commandment and arguably the most important obligation in the Jewish calendar. In Britain a third of Jews have no affiliation with a synagogue (JPR, p. 4), but over a third of our sample were 'regular' attendees at synagogue, and a half of those attended at least once a week.⁵⁶ The vast majority attended much less than this – almost a quarter, mostly comprised of the secular (70%), 'traditional' and progressive (10% each) interviewees, not attending at all.⁵⁷ In the 'heartland' of North London one in five attend synagogue at least once a week, whereas only one in twenty do so in the periphery and half do not attend at all.

The characteristics (not the depth or quality) of religious feeling and observance were further probed by a series of questions, the first of which asked interviewees to choose a statement which came closest to describing their feeling about the Torah.

⁵⁶ Traditionally, an Orthodox Jew would be expected to attend synagogue three times a day and four on the Sabbath.

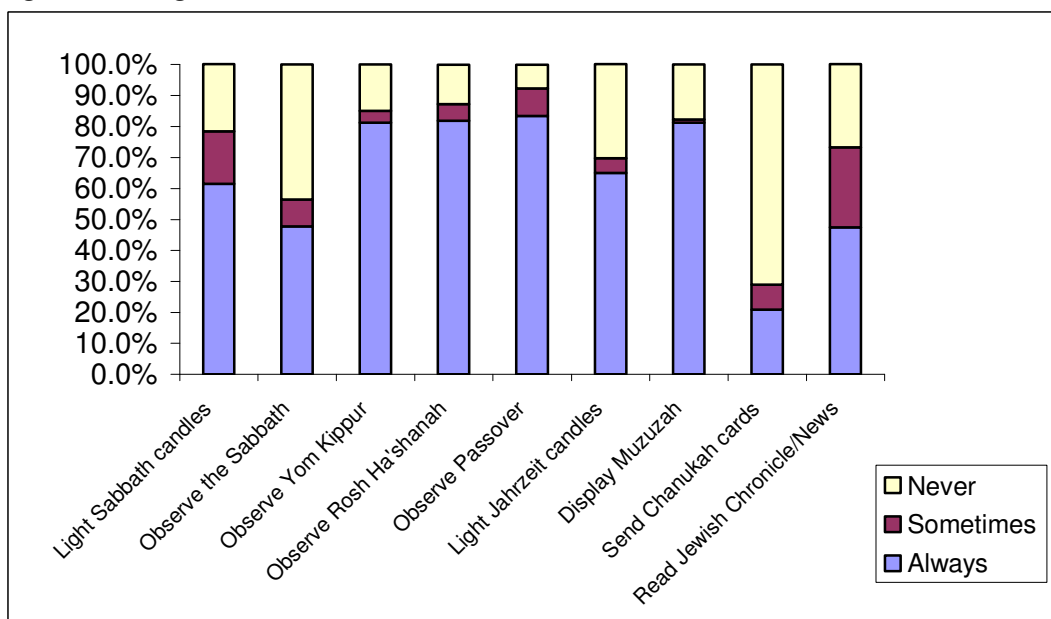
⁵⁷ As one interviewee explained: 'The *shul* I don't go to is Orthodox'.

Figure 44 Feelings about the Torah



Almost 60% described the Torah as a historical document of human authorship (a secular interpretation); a quarter as a divinely-inspired, but not completely or literally true document; 13% as the actual word of God⁵⁸ – the latter roughly corresponding but slightly exceeding those who had described themselves as ‘Strictly Orthodox’, but only half of those who had claimed that Judaism was the most important thing in their identity. Comparative figures for British Jews as a whole who consider the Torah as the word of God are 15%; for American Jews 13%; for South African Jews 36% (with a further 38% believing it to be divinely inspired - Bruk, p. 143). In this case South African Jews in London seem to resemble their British and American coreligionists rather than the folks back home (Kosmin et al, p. 1).

Figure 45 Religious observance



⁵⁸ Several would have opted for a position somewhere between 2 and 3 and were entered as 2.

In addition, the survey probed several 'markers' of religious observance. In South Africa Friday night synagogue attendance is the rule, whereas in England Saturday morning attendance (except for Progressive services) is normal.⁵⁹ Around 78% of the sample lit candles on a Friday night (the inauguration of the Sabbath) either regularly or sometimes (compared with a figure of 83.9% for Jews in South Africa, according to Mendelsohn and Shain, p. 187, and 82% for London Jews according to JPR, 2003, p. 13), and just under half claimed to mark the Sabbath in some way (though clearly not, according to the above, necessarily by synagogue attendance). Candle-lighting was high on universal with Orthodox, Charedi and Sephardi Jews and only slightly less observed with Traditional and Masorti Jews. As explained above, interviewees interpreted their degree of observance and activity individually. Observance of the Sabbath therefore may have stopped after the Friday night supper which would have included lighting candles, blessing the bread and wine, and dining as a family. Others said they marked the occasion by staying in that night and not planning or accepting social engagements – thus marking the occasion as special.

The 'High Holidays' – Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement) and Rosh Hashanah (the New Year) – are considered the holiest days in the Jewish calendar (outside the Sabbath) and are often observed, in part at least, even by Jews who tend towards a secular approach to Judaism. In South Africa Yom Kippur is observed by 90% of the Jewish population (Mendelsohn and Shain, p. 187) whereas 81% of our sample claimed to always observe Yom Kippur (and 4% 'sometimes'), with slightly higher figures for Rosh Hashanah observance.⁶⁰ Even higher figures of observance were claimed for Passover – 83% always celebrated, rising to 92% when 'sometimes' is included - only slightly lower than in South Africa (Kosmin et al p. 19), but higher than for London Jews overall (JPR, 2003, p. 13). Clearly, Passover celebration, which contains a strong family and social element, as well as an attractive liberation myth closely associated with the State of Israel, is more generally observed.

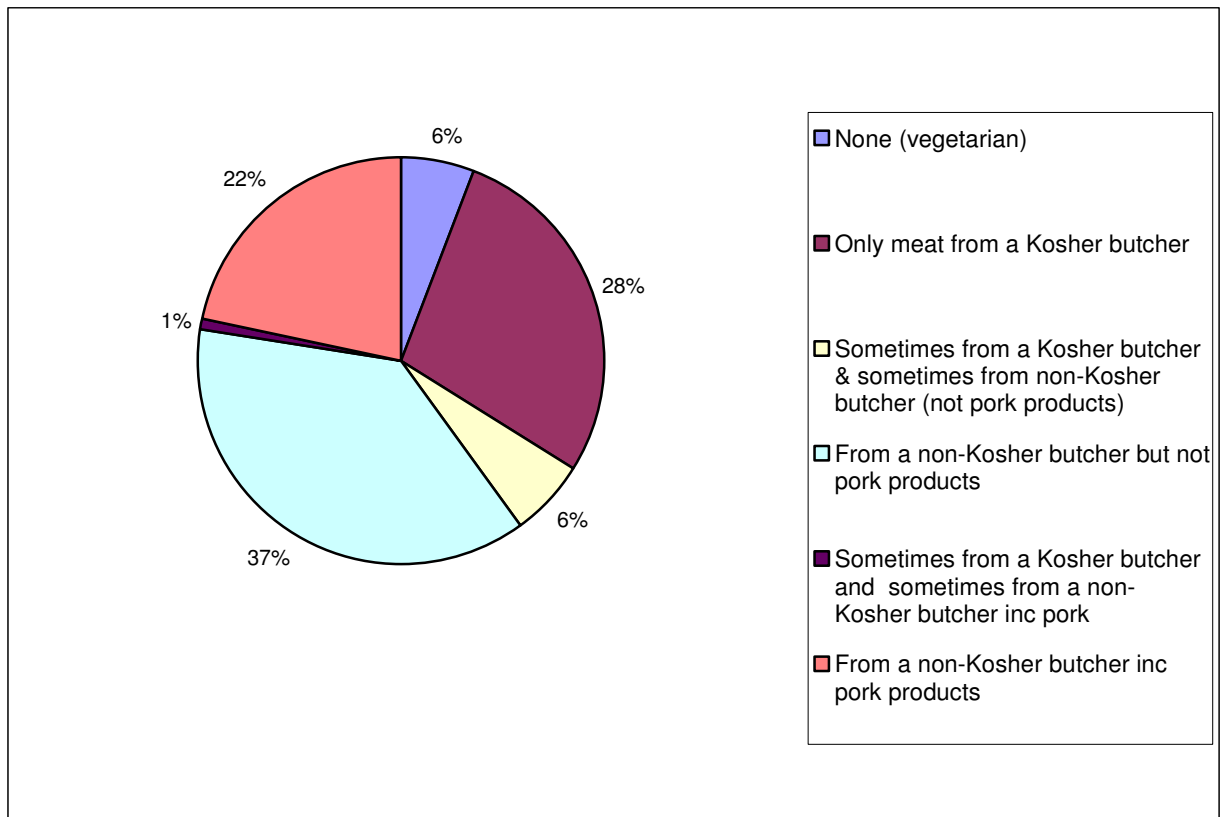
About two thirds of the sample remembered their dead by the lighting of *jahrzeit* or memorial candles, but this statistic is somewhat misleading. When correlated to age, it is shown that 43% of those who never light candles are in the 25-54 age range where it might be assumed that such memorials are still unnecessary, as they have parents still living. Homes are marked with a *mezuzah* by 81% as a public sign of the faith of the household. However, another public signal of Jewishness – the sending of Chanukah or 'Season's Greetings' cards at the end of the secular year – is largely ignored by this community: 71% never send them and only 21% do so regularly. This practice (and indeed the marking of Chanukah at all) was viewed as a largely American innovation, prompted by commercial and cultural competition with Christmas, and not a practice that had taken hold in South Africa (see Dubb, p. 110) or firmly established in the UK. Regular readership of the *Jewish Chronicle* and/or the *Jewish News* was confined to less than half of the

⁵⁹ One Capetonian described a typical 'Traditional, but not strictly Orthodox' Friday night back home as '*shul*-dinner-go out'.

⁶⁰ Yom Kippur, being a fast day, requires a greater degree of dedication than Rosh Hashanah, a rather sweeter occasion, where only synagogue attendance is normally expected.

sample, though a quarter confessed to reading at least one of these weekly newsheets opportunistically.

Figure 46 Observance of laws of *kashrut*



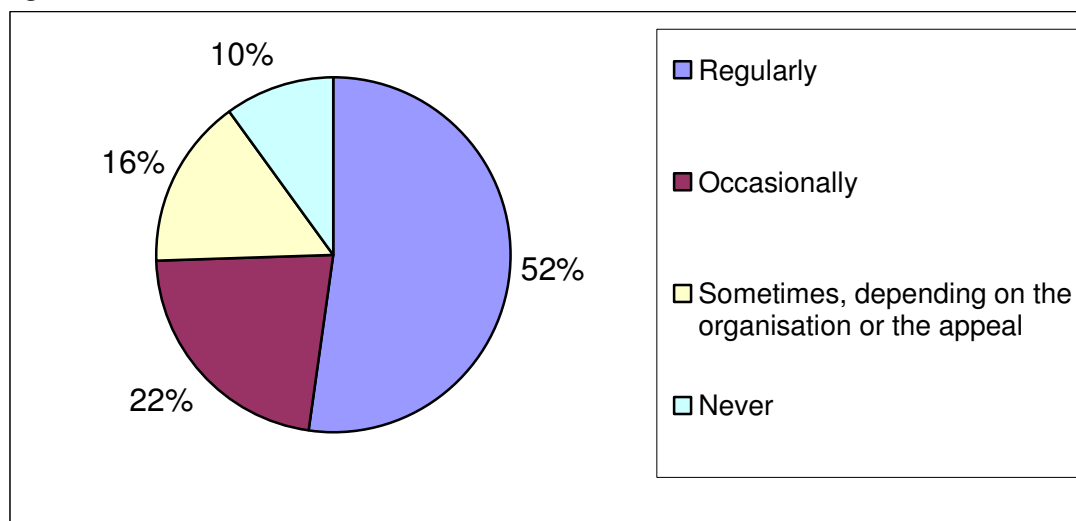
Central to Jewish practice are the laws of *kashrut* (the kosher dietary laws), which are many and various, and more detailed than the commonly known taboo against the consumption of pork. The observance of other measures of *kashrut* (consumption of other prohibited foods, such as shellfish, separation of milk and meat, provision of separate cooking and eating utensils etc.) were not recorded by our survey.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the meat eating aspect of *kashrut* was focused upon for the last question in the series as a token of overall acceptance of the Jewish dietary laws. 30% of the carnivorous part of the sample purchased only kosher meat and another 7% sometimes did.⁶² Fully 77% of the sample refused to eat pork – though their vigilance on other kosher taboos was not recorded.

⁶¹ As is the case in other countries, traditional Jewish males often learned to eat non-kosher food in the armed forces, and one of the problems that this sample complained of during their national service in South Africa was the lack of kosher food (see section on Connection with South Africa above).

⁶² In South Africa 39% only bought kosher meat and 22% sometimes did; 89% claimed not to touch pork (Bruk, p. 170).

Charity

Figure 47 Charitable contributions



As a relatively prosperous group, and one coming from a tradition of charity⁶³ and self-help, it was expected that charitable contributions would be substantial. It has been noted that amongst British Jews there is a correlation between religiosity and charity (Kosmin and Goldberg, pp. 1-2). The 1998 survey of South African Jews reported that 'given the clear biblical injunction on Jews to give charity, 41 per cent agree that Jews have a special responsibility to give charity and 58 per cent believe they have the same responsibility as others' (JPR, 1999, pp. 3 & 21-2). Answers to our questions on charitable giving involved aggregating financial and 'time' contributions in an impressionistic manner, though without providing a numerical figure. Some referred to their pro-bono work as charity; others included voluntary work. Only 10% of the sample never gave to charity, and over 50% claimed to give regularly with a further 22% occasionally.

Table 21 Charitable causes

Charity	Number	Percentage
UK	241	76.8%
Israeli	121	38.5%
SA	94	29.9%
Medical needs	91	29.0%
Other African	29	9.2%
Artistic/cultural	14	4.5%
Welfare	13	4.1%
Children's	12	3.8%
Educational	11	3.5%
Human Rights	9	2.9%
Other Middle Eastern	7	2.2%
Other	60	21.10%

⁶³ Known as *Tzedakah* in Hebrew, it requires a donation of a tenth of income to the poor and needy – not just to Jews, but generally.

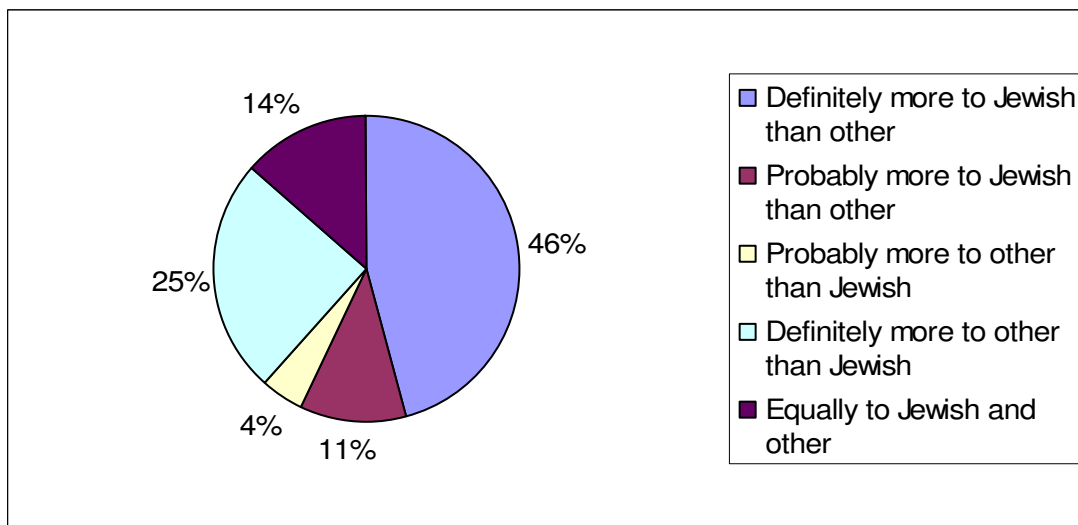
Contributions were spread over a variety of recipients: three-quarters of interviewees giving to British charities; 39% to Israeli; 30% to South African. This is similar to the situation of London Jews in general, where contributions to UK charities were 50% greater than to Israeli causes (JPR, 2003, p. 19). Medical charities were the most rewarded (29%), but substantial numbers gave to groups concerned with welfare issues (13%) and children's needs (12%), educational support (11%), human rights issues (9%) and the needs of the elderly (7%). The UJIA was the only named group with substantial support (7%).

Charity towards South Africa was at times prompted by a sense of guilt, or what several called 'a moral responsibility towards Africa'; a need to 'put back something' or 'do something about the consequences of Apartheid':

'I feel a sense of responsibility for the benefits that the [socio-economic] structure of South Africa has provided me, so that I feel a need to give to charity since I am not there to do so in person'.

The impetus to give has also been prompted by what was described as 'disappointment of the failures of civil society' and therefore it is the charitable institutions that are (in this view) the only medium for 'helping South Africans who are unfortunate and who have been screwed by Apartheid and are now being screwed by the ANC'.

Figure 48 Contributions to Jewish charities



In Britain, only a quarter of respondents to the JPR study gave to Israel-linked charities, and one in eight felt that they should give the highest priority to Israeli causes (2003, p. 13). 46% of our sample reckoned they gave substantially more to Jewish charities than to others and another 11% felt that they probably did, while a quarter said that they definitely gave to other charities more than to Jewish ones. Three quarters of the sample felt it was important or very important to give to Jewish charities, including over 80% each of the Orthodox, Masorti and 'Traditional' samples, 68% of the 'Progressive', and 41% of the Secular samples.

Schooling

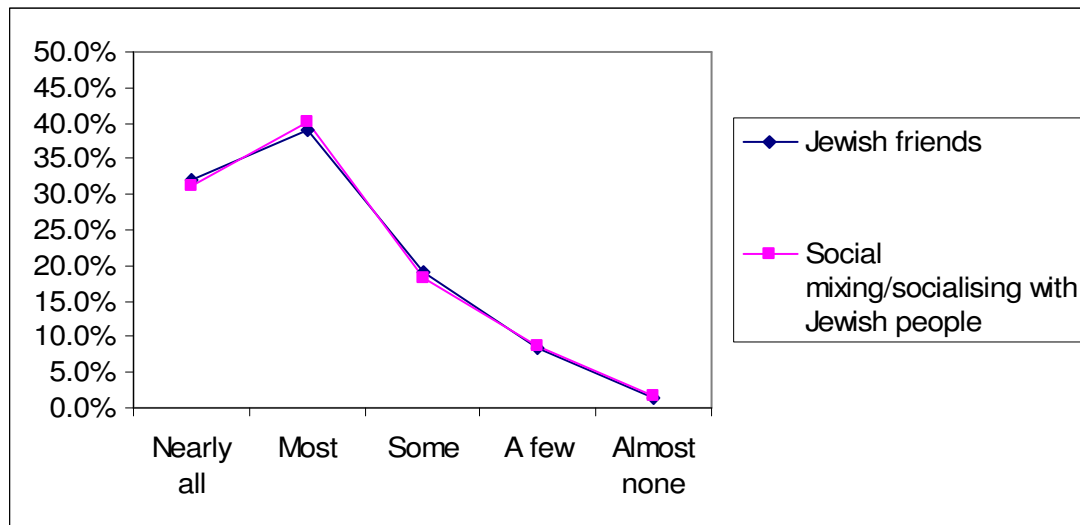
According to Bruk (p. 239) 96% of Jewish South African children attended Jewish nursery and pre-schools; 77% Jewish primary schools; 70% Jewish middle/high schools. In the area of London covered by this survey there are 21 Jewish primary schools (one of which is for children with special educational needs), and 11 Jewish secondary schools, including JFS, the famous Jewish state school. 70% of the primary schools classify themselves as Orthodox and, apart from JFS, all of the secondary schools do so too. Apart from one secondary and two primaries each in the Redbridge area of North-East London and the South Hertfordshire area of Radlett/Shenley, all the other Jewish schools are in North and North West London – the area of residence of much of the sample. 35% of our sample had in the past enrolled their children in Jewish day schools, mostly either in South Africa, the UK or both, and the remainder were or are being sent to *cheder* for Jewish education or Bar/Bat-Mitzvah lessons. As befitting the age of the sample, most of these children were now adults, but 85 interviewees still had children in education, mostly in secondary or further/higher education, 58% of which were secular institutions. Those children in infant and early years' education were four times more likely to be in Jewish schools (26:6), whereas there was an equal chance of attending a secular or Jewish secondary school. Thus, it seems important to parents that their children get, at the very least, a basic Jewish education, extending through to the ritual of 'confirmation' at age 13/14, either at school or through supplementary classes or lessons at home. Although statistics were not collected of the gender of children, there appeared to be no variation in this commitment according to gender.

According to Tatz et al (p. 153), 'Lithuanian Jewry was Zionistically-inclined. Zionism [in South Africa] ... replaced Judaism as the fulcrum of Jewish life.' With regard to attendance in Jewish or Zionist youth movements, few had children young enough to have attended in South Africa, but of those with children in the UK of the right age, half attended: the Federation of Zionist Youth, Noam, Bnei Akiva and RSY-Netzer being the most popular.

Friendship

Jewish friendships made up the majority of relationships in over 70% of the sample, and a similar number assessed their social mixing or socialising at the same level.

Figure 49 Proportions of Jewish friends and socialising



The heaviest concentration of those who associate largely or exclusively with Jewish friends are those who have been resident in London for the last twenty years. The thinnest concentration is in the pre-1970 generation, with the balance beginning to shift around 1980 in favour of a greater concentration of Jewish friendships. Furthermore, in the ‘heartland’ of Camden-Barnet-Harrow 80% claimed to mix most/nearly all with Jewish people, while on the periphery only 59% did so and almost a quarter there reported that they mixed with few or almost no Jewish people.

Table 22 Social mixing with Jewish people by broad area of residence

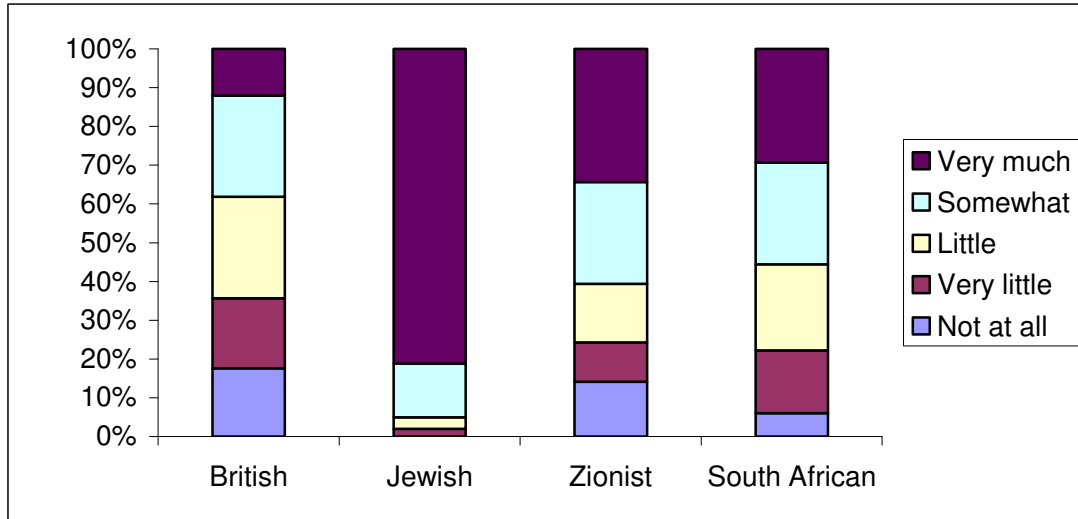
		Broad area of residence			Total
		Harrow, Barnet, Camden	Kingston, Kensington and Chelsea	Remaining boroughs	
Q.86 What proportion of your social mixing or socialising is done with Jewish people?	Nearly all	74 35.6%	3 17.6%	20 22.5%	97 30.9%
	Most	92 44.2%	7 41.2%	26 29.2%	125 39.8%
	Some	35 16.8%	3 17.6%	19 21.3%	57 18.2%
	A few	5 2.4%	2 11.8%	20 22.5%	27 8.6%
	Almost none	1 0.5%	2 11.8%	2 2.2%	5 1.6%
	Don't know	1 0.5%	0 0.0%	2 2.2%	3 1.0%
	Total	208 100.0%	17 100.0%	89 100.0%	314 100.0%

It seems, despite variations in religious practice, observance, feeling and commitment, South African Jews in London in general (89%) mix in large measure with their own religious group. This is broadly in line with London

Jewish practice where, according to the 2003 JPR study (p. 17), 'Jewish friendship can be summarized as "All of my best friends are Jewish!"'

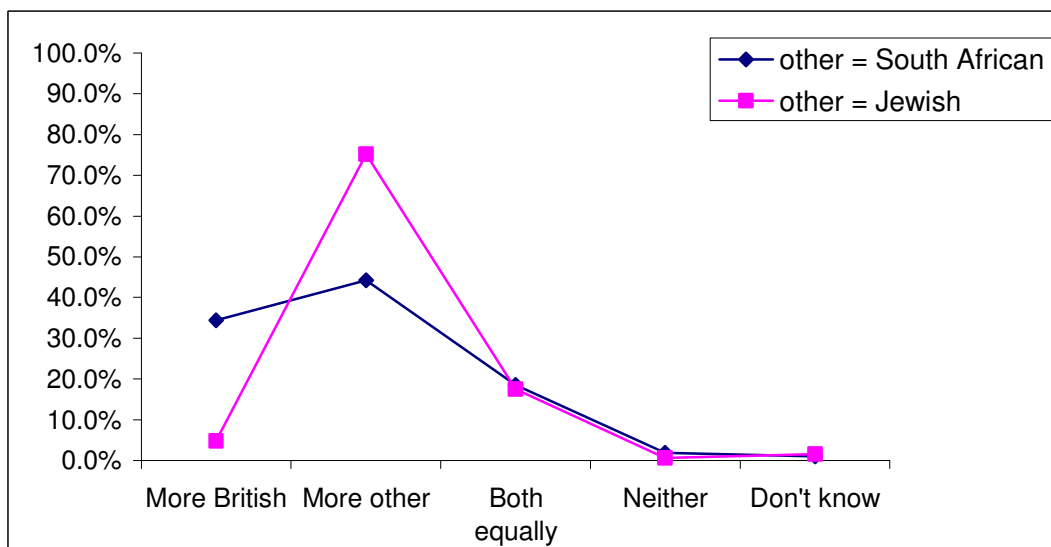
Identity

Figure 50 Defining identity



In general our group feels overwhelmingly Jewish (81%), compared with other elements of their identity: British (12%), Zionist⁶⁴ (34%), South African (29%). An interesting possibility would have been to include 'Londoner' in the choices to see what difference that made, given the fact that many had distinguished in previous questions between their adoption of a British/English/London identity.

Figure 51 Comparison of British feeling with South African and Jewish



⁶⁴ Zionist was defined in this case as 'support for the State of Israel' rather than an intention to make *aliyah* (i.e. to immigrate to Israel). In this case, interviewees were willing to identify themselves as Zionist on the five-point scale, whereas they may have been reluctant to do so with a more conventional definition of the term.

Although a third of the sample identified themselves as British, and about half felt quite strongly South African (see the chapter on Integration), when Jewish identity was added to the equation three quarters said that they felt more Jewish than British, with 18% claiming not being able to choose between them.⁶⁵ The responses to a question on whether Jewish identity had changed since settlement in the UK showed that 64% felt that there had been no change,⁶⁶ whilst 20% said they felt less Jewish now and 15% said that they felt more.⁶⁷ When strength of Jewish feeling is compared with time of arrival in the UK, those feeling 'only little and somewhat Jewish' are more than twice as prevalent in the 1954/1970 cohort, and 14-18% less likely to feel 'very much Jewish', compared with more recent arrivals. However, it is not possible to identify the cause of this apparent correlation which could either be due to early arrivals having a weaker Jewish identity, or having their Jewish identity eroded over the period of their residence in London. Those who continue to associate with relatively high numbers of South Africans at synagogue generally thought that their levels of Jewishness had increased since arriving in London.

It was pointed out to us that the South African Jewish community and the South African Jewish community in London were different: one was a 'community of upbringing' and the other a 'community of choice', and so comparison was difficult. Furthermore, it was claimed that there is a greater need for a strong Jewish identity in Britain where Jews are a tiny minority, while in South Africa, where Jews inhabited a rich Jewish environment, 'there was no need to prove anything'. On one level it is certainly true that Jews are a minuscule fraction of British society, but it depends how tightly one draws the parameters of 'the Jewish community'. Certain parts of Barnet – Golders Green for example – might parallel the richness of the South African Jewish environment that was referred to. British Jewry, it was observed, is a less 'encapsulated community' and there were more options here to assimilate. In another example of the minimal 'encapsulation' here a Rabbi recalled that in South Africa he was mainly confined to associations with other rabbis, whereas in England he was free to associate with a wider range of people within the Jewish community.

Nevertheless, both of these questions are heavily reliant on the context which can have an effect on identity at any one point. For example, some expressed the view that their religiosity was increased while there were children to raise, but that once children had left home they became more 'secular' and only returned to an observant status on occasions when they entertained family at home. For others a return to religiosity in older age was consequent on the death of parents and the assumption of the headship of a family, and would have happened irrespective of their location. It cannot be

⁶⁵ They were not asked to compare with their South African identity, though anecdotal responses from Q. 63 ('I am a South African Jew') would suggest that Jewish identity would have also trumped the South African – but it cannot be said to what margin.

⁶⁶ It would be interesting (though not possible with these statistics) to see if the those claiming no change were attendees of the synagogues in London with high South African memberships.

⁶⁷ These statistics are based on a population of 297, the proportion of the sample resident in London for more than five years and therefore in a position to see or reflect on change over time.

assumed therefore that the changes in observance and religious identity towards secularism that can be noted in a fifth to two fifths of the sample are anything to do with their emigration to the UK.

Nevertheless, it seems that despite differences in practice and commitment, the sample was very conscious of their Jewishness even if it was not the most important element of their lives.

Figure 52 Changes in religious observance

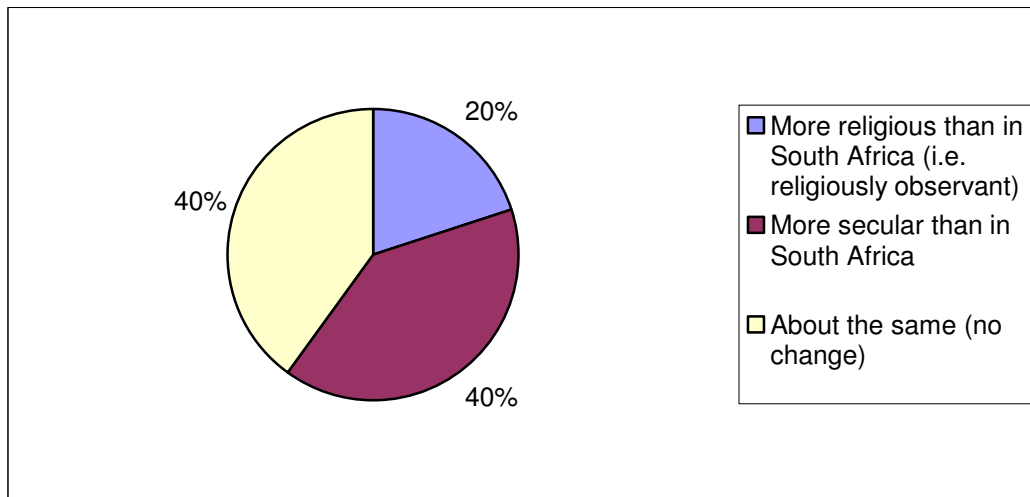
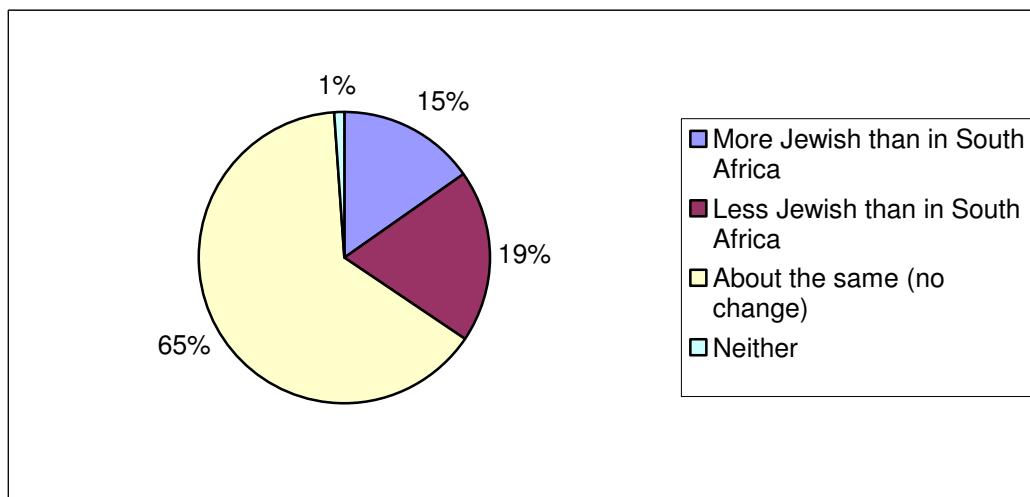
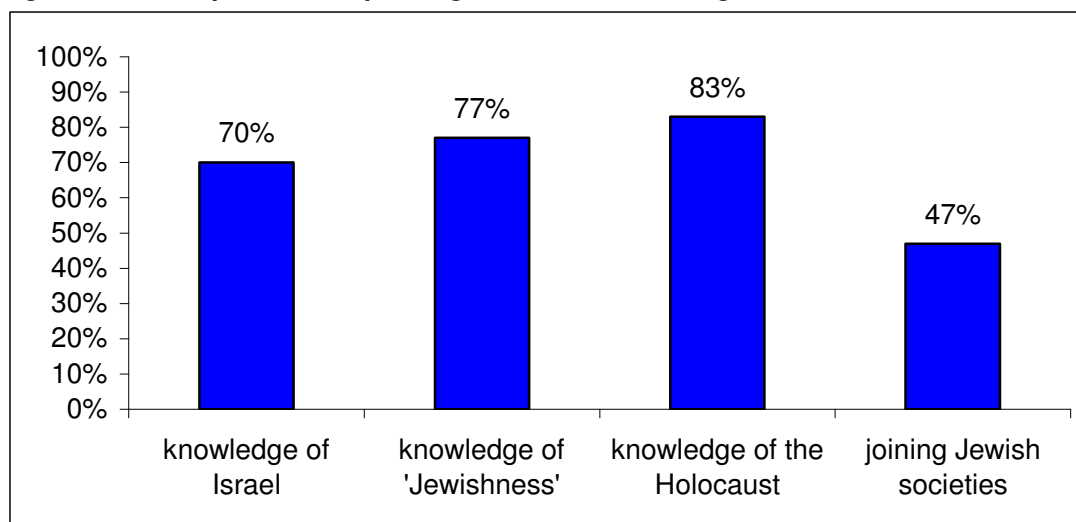


Figure 53 Changes in Jewish identity



40% of the sample could discern no change in their level of observance since their move to London, but an equal number thought that they had become more secular, with half that number claiming that they were now more religious than previously. However, some indicated that although the strength of their observance may have weakened their identification with Jewish culture had grown over the period of time; that 'one thinks a lot more about being Jewish'; and that 'Jewish identity is practised all the time'.

Figure 54 The importance of passing on Jewish knowledge

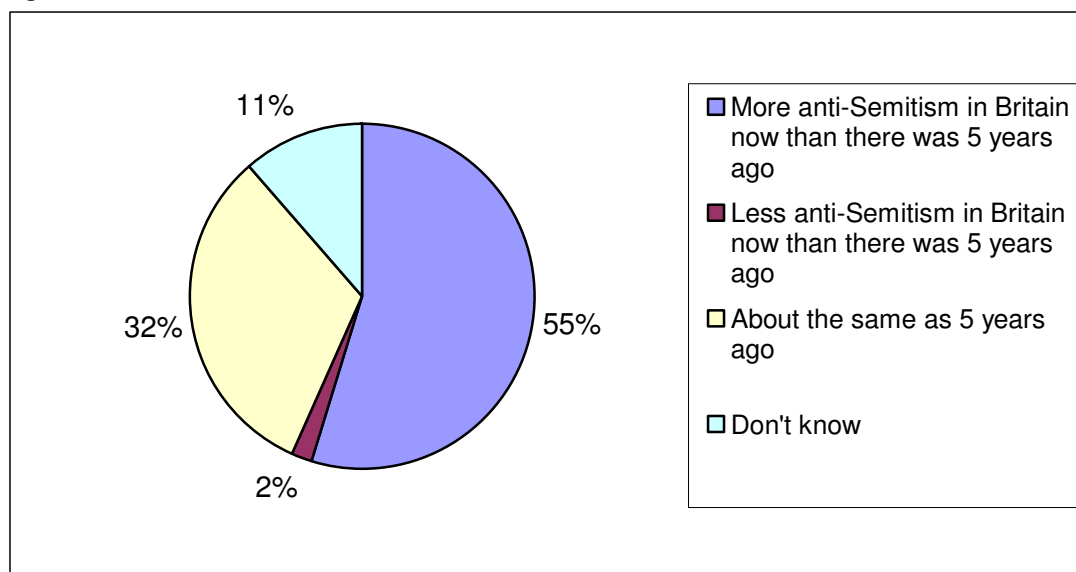


The importance of passing on an enduring tradition was assessed by a question which asked how important it was for certain aspects of Jewishness to be handed on to children and/or grandchildren. Interviewees sometimes tried to avoid this question by either claiming they had no effect on their children or did not want to influence their choices. Apart from joining Jewish societies, which attracted less than half support, the other three choices each eventually attracted considerable support: it was important to them that the next generation had knowledge of Israel (70%), of 'Jewishness'/*Yiddishkeit* (77%), and of the Holocaust (82%). Responses to the Holocaust section were delivered in general with more emphatic speech (a rising voice) or positive emphasis – e.g. 'absolutely'. As one interviewee put it, 'It was important to some to have "cultural solidarities" with the next generation'.

Anti-Semitism

The need for the next generation to have a basic knowledge of Jewishness and Jewish cultural history was sometimes put in the context of the dangers of resurgent anti-Semitism. Jewish identity was strengthened, it was suggested, because of threat of anti-Semitism, i.e. vigilance is enhanced by knowing who you are.

Figure 55 Levels of anti-Semitism in the UK



Over half the sample (55%) thought there had been an increase in anti-Semitism of late, and about a third that it was unchanged.⁶⁸ However, many found this question difficult to answer within the parameters provided, i.e. to judge the current situation objectively. Several interviewees referred to press reports ('from what I've read'), and in particular to the role of *The Jewish Chronicle* in contributing to a perception of rising anti-Semitism which did not always accord with their personal experience. They were not able to say with any certainty that they *knew* anti-Semitism was on the increase; only that they were being told that it was. Consequently, more interviewees than normal opted for the 'Doesn't know' choice (11%). In contrast, a quarter of British Jews surveyed by the JPR in 2010 claimed to have 'witnessed some form of anti-Semitic incident in the previous year', and a tenth had been personally subjected to verbal insult/attack – in most cases related to anti-Israel feeling (Graham and Boyd, p. 35).

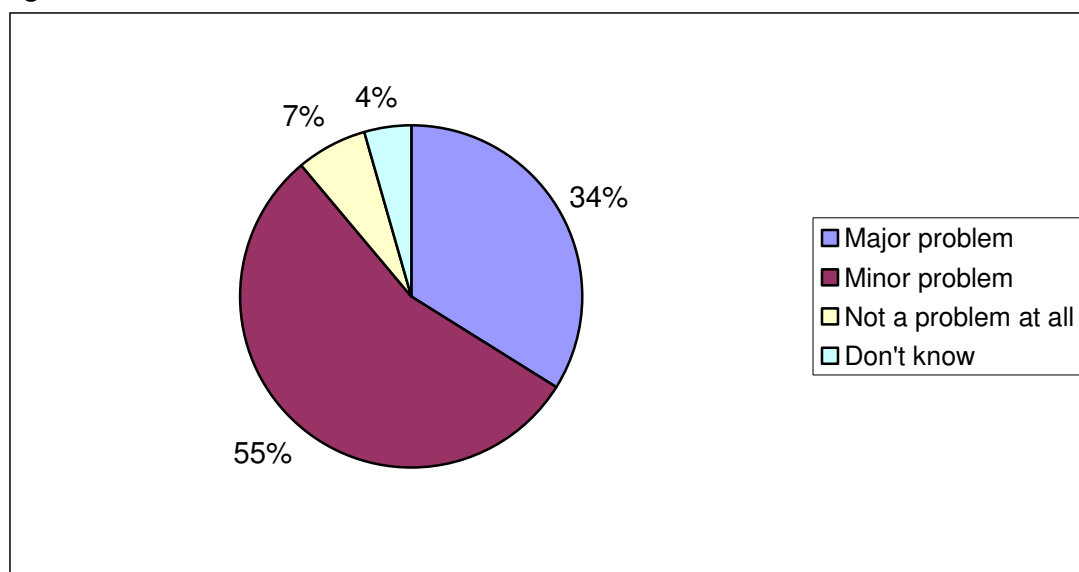
It was suggested that anti-Semitism had become more sophisticated of late, masquerading as anti-Zionism that was consequent on the rise of anti-Israeli feeling. It was said that non-Jews and Islamists (taking advantage of a compliant press) now had a freedom to express their hitherto private views publicly without fear of ridicule, criticism or contradiction. Modern anti-Semitism, it was asserted, had always been strong, but was largely underground until the invasion of Lebanon in 1982, and had increased substantially since 2001 following the fortunes of events in the Middle East (see Graham and Boyd, pp. 3-4). In effect, the reduction in social anti-Semitism that had been prevalent in England (but apparently not in South Africa, according to the comments of interviewees⁶⁹) and associated with the

⁶⁸ 'Unchanged' implied acceptance that anti-Semitism was at a level that was too high for an ideal society, as the next question confirmed. These statistics are based on a population of 297, the proportion of the sample resident in London for more than five years and therefore in a position to see or reflect on change over time.

⁶⁹ One interviewee explained the alleged absence of anti-Semitism in South Africa as due to the fact that in European countries foreigners are generally disliked, but in South Africa, where there was no 'host' nation [a debatable position], everyone was a 'foreigner'.

Right, had been replaced by a political anti-Zionism on both political wings. Many respondents associated the growth of anti-Semitism with the rise of a loud Islamic voice in the UK,⁷⁰ and to the strength of the profile of the British National Party.⁷¹ Some did not see much overall change in levels of anti-Semitism, except that in the past its expression was hidden and now it was more overt, or that they themselves were now, with the benefits of age and understanding, more aware of the extent of anti-Semitism. A small number felt that the perception of a rise in anti-Semitism was a deliberate over-reaction by people who exaggerated the threat for their own political, commercial or personal interests.

Figure 56 The nature of anti-Semitism



89% of the sample thought that anti-Semitism was a problem in this country, a third of the sample saying it was a 'major problem'. Some expressed dissatisfaction with the survey choices provided for this question and would have preferred a category that expressed their view that anti-Semitism was a 'problem' without committing themselves to the size of the problem: 'minor' seemed dismissive; 'major' an exaggeration. There was general acceptance that anti-Semitism was a perennial condition in the Diaspora, i.e. that it is endemic in all societies ('a low-level infection'; 'subliminal as well as overt'), but that it was a problem only for the Jews and not for the wider society. There was little sense of outrage or surprise that it should be found in the UK too; and a general acceptance of its existence, but with a confidence that it was now 'taken seriously by the public and government' (in contrast with Nationalist South Africa where it was apparently not taken seriously).

To be fair, the question did not make clear for whom anti-Semitism was a problem, and some people answered the question assuming that the problem was for Jewish people, whereas the wording of the question implies a national consideration. Obviously, it is difficult to sustain a realistic argument that anti-Semitism is currently a 'major' problem for the UK, comparable to the budget

⁷⁰ These responses were broadly consistent with Bruk's findings in South Africa (pp. 49-53).

See also responses to Q. 107 on perceptions of the Muslim community (p.93 below).

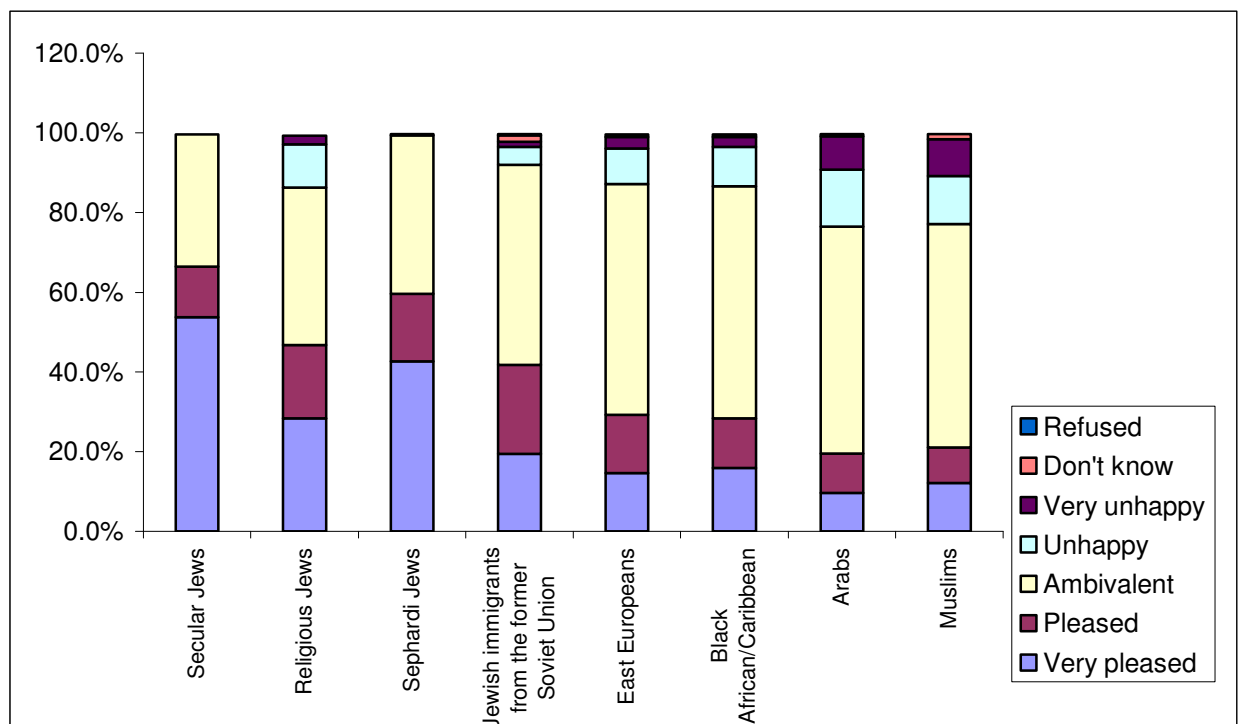
⁷¹ This was prior to the election of 2010 and their subsequent meltdown locally and nationally.

deficit or the war in Afghanistan, or as big an issue generally as White Supremacism or Islamophobia, but there was an unwillingness to dismiss it as a minor problem, i.e. a problem of no consequence. One specified that anti-Semitism was 'horrific!' for children. The 'no tolerance' line put forward by some was that *any* sort of discrimination represents a major problem to any society which purports to be free and enlightened. Although these respondents were unwilling to downgrade the problems of Jews from major to minor, they were aware that prejudice was not exclusive to Jews. The views of those who placed themselves between 'major' and 'minor' were entered, with their permission, as either 'minor problem' or 'don't know'. With hindsight, a fourth category – 'significant problem' or 'potential problem' - may have attracted even more responses but risked invoking central tendency bias.

Social contact with other groups: Neighbours

London is a richly diverse metropolis and Jews, South African or otherwise, are a tiny fragment of the city's mosaic. No matter how dense the Jewish population of the local area (such as Golders Green or Hampstead Garden Suburb), there are very few streets that are homogeneous, and all interviewees had experience of a range of neighbours, ethnically and religiously.

Figure 57 Ethnic preferences for neighbours



The last two questions of the survey explored attitudes towards neighbours and communities in what some considered to be a challenging but ultimately illuminating manner. The first of these questions asked interviewees to rate their degree of pleasure at having a neighbour from certain ethno-religious communities, chosen specifically to bring out certain basic preferences and,

perhaps, prejudices. This was an admittedly crude tactic, but one that revealed some interesting data.⁷²

With regard to Jewish groups, all the interviewees were willing to have secular Jews as neighbours, and 54% (the highest figure recorded) were very pleased, with a third being broadly ambivalent. It is not certain that the term 'secular Jew' was fully or commonly understood as a 'non-believing' Jew or 'Atheist of Jewish background', and may have been assumed to mean a 'non-observant Jew' (or 'just Jewish' as some questionnaires have it). In contrast, only 29% were very pleased to have a 'religious Jew' as a neighbour, with a further 19% only pleased. Fully 13% of the sample was displeased or very displeased at this prospect. Again, it is unclear what 'religious' meant to all interviewees in this context, and when questioned the research team explained that they meant a Jew who followed all the main 'Maimonidic' principles and rituals associated with Modern Orthodoxy, such as the dietary laws, prayer, dress etc., but not necessarily including the ultra-Orthodox or Haredi sects popularly identified with Chasidism. It is not clear that all interviewees had this understanding when they responded to the question. When South African Jews were asked this question in 1998 69% were happy to have a Strictly Orthodox neighbour and 65% were similarly happy to have a Progressive/Reform neighbour (Kosmin et al, p. 28).

Almost 60% of the sample was pleased or very pleased with Sephardi neighbours, but 40% were ambivalent⁷³ – some citing their perceived attitudes towards women and other myths associated with 'Middle Eastern' Jews that circulate in Israeli communities. Only 20% of the sample was very pleased about Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union as neighbours, and more than 50% were either ambivalent or unhappy. To those unfamiliar with the debates around the *chalachic* (legal) qualities of former-Soviet Jewish immigrants, the category of 'Jewish Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union' was a puzzling one (and the 'Don't knows' were the highest). Some objected merely because they saw 'Russians' as different in culture and values and therefore possibly problematic as neighbours when it came to issues involving property rights. The question was angled to what might be considered the 'extremes' of Jewish practice, and a choice of 'Jewish' or 'Just Jewish' as neighbours may have attracted very high levels of approval.

With regard to non-Jewish neighbours, about 20% of the sample was pleased to have Arab neighbours and over half were ambivalent, but 14% expressed displeasure and another 8% extreme displeasure. When asked their views on Muslim neighbours, many felt that they had already stated their view in their previous response, and their views on the broad category of Muslims, who might be anything from European to Indonesian, was roughly equivalent to that of the responses to Arabs. Views on Black African or Caribbean neighbours were somewhat different with 29% expressing some element of

⁷² They were chosen as the last questions in order not to taint the rest of the survey nor distract the interviewee from focusing on the other questions by reviewing their responses to these questions.

⁷³ Ambivalence in this context was more than a balance of pleasure and displeasure, but a view that 'I take people as I find them' or 'I have no views on groups; I would need to see how they behaved'.

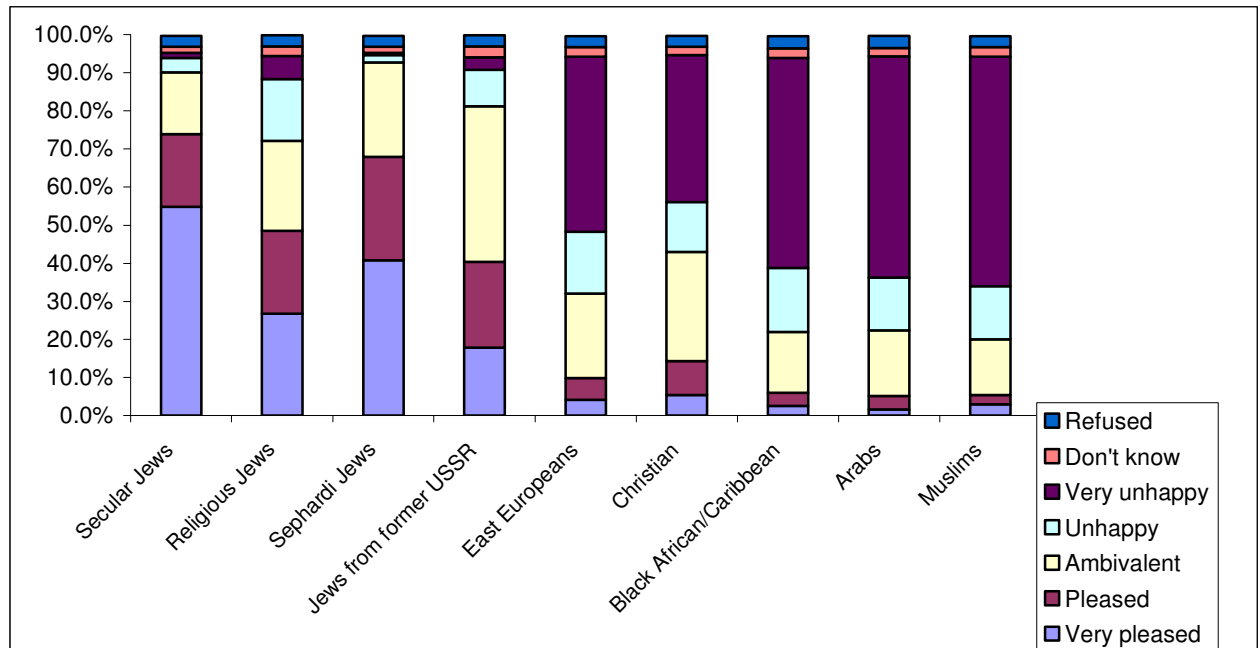
pleasure and only 13% displeasure. Some indicated that Black people, due to their South African experience, were in general a more known quantity than that of Arabs and Muslims, and therefore more acceptable. This may also be an example of 'social desirability bias', where responders try to portray themselves in a more favourable light to interviewers. East Europeans attracted a similar response (i.e. within one percentage point). Again, when South Africans were asked this question, 42% were happy to have a neighbour of a different race (2% less than their pleasure at a student neighbour), but when asked specifically about Indians, Coloured People, Black People and Muslims, the responses declined from 39, 38, 38 and 34% respectively (Kosmin et al, p. 28).

It is clear that ethnicity and religious affiliation are not irrelevant considerations when choosing a place to live, though the numbers of '3'/ambivalence scored (never less than 50% for all categories of non-Jew, apart from 'Russians') indicated that many had either not made up their mind or were not prepared to be drawn even on an anonymous and confidential survey. Class was also a factor and several interviewees explained that ethnicity would make little difference to them if their neighbours were of the same economic class and culture or possessed a similar 'secular world-view' – i.e. that they accepted the same set of social or local values (such as keeping up the state of the property, gardens etc.) which would override any specific cultural differences. They said they would prefer neighbours ('provided they do not interfere with me') who are culturally integrated into the mainstream of British society – decent people, not 'extremists, fanatics or fundamentalists' - no matter what the background (i.e. Jewish or non-Jewish).

Family contact with other groups: intermarriage

The last question got even closer to the bone, and asked, again on a five-point scale of pleasure/displeasure, responses to a similar range of suitors for the hands of their sons and daughters in marriage. Not all interviewees had children and they were asked to imagine their response, and most did so. However, some nine refused and a higher number of 'Don't knows' were recorded where interviewees were so conflicted that number '3'/ambivalence on the scale could not reconcile their dilemma.

Figure 58 Ethnic preferences for spouse of children



The largest proportion of the sample (55%) expressed extreme pleasure, and a further 19% just mere pleasure, at the prospect of a secular Jewish in-law (see above for comment on 'secular'), though 5% - mostly Orthodox - expressed some displeasure at this prospect, and even a quarter of secular Jews were ambivalent on the subject.⁷⁴ This degree of acceptance was much higher in the peripheral areas of Southwark, Kingston and Kensington and Chelsea (76.5%), compared with the 'heartland of Camden-Barnet-Harrow where pleasure of 51.4% (almost four percentage points below the entire sample average) was recorded, as well as the only expressions of displeasure at this prospect.

In contrast, only a total of 49% expressed their pleasure at a religious spouse for their child, with 22% expressing displeasure. It was explained that for secular Jews and others of less than Orthodox lifestyle, marriage to an Orthodox partner for their children would effectively preclude them from entertaining their children or grandchildren at their home. While probably true in most cases, this concern ignores the fact that one's child is unlikely to find a religious partner without being equally religious; that this would hardly come as a surprise to the family; and that these religious/cultural objections would have already been raised with the family over a considerable period of time. Looking again at the distribution of pleasure/displeasure in a selection of boroughs, the 'pleasure' response for a religious in-law was highest (32%) in the 'heartland' and lowest (0%) in the periphery.

The attitude towards a Sephardi suitor was relatively positive: 68% pleased or very pleased and only 2.5% unhappy – for the reasons stated above. This was more than for a 'Russian' in-law, which only attracted 40% approval and 13% disapproval. Again, the debate on the extent to which 'Russian' Jews

⁷⁴ Further reinforcing the assumption that the term 'secular' is misunderstood even by (and perhaps especially by) those who identify themselves thus.

are genuine, is probably the reason for this difference in attitude. The sample was not given the option of rating their pleasure response at a 'normal' Jewish marriage for their children but that prospect could be assumed to be an attractive one.

The approach to non-Jews on the list was or should have been relatively straight-forward. Those that wanted their families to remain Jewish needed to ensure a Jewish spouse for the children particularly, given Jewish law, the parents of males. Conversion to Judaism is possible but not popular or universally recognised. For secular Jews, who had abandoned most if not all of the ritual observance and intellectual commitment to Jewish faith or any faith system, the logical path was to accept the inevitability of the 'marrying out' of their children. Nevertheless, this logic seemed sometimes hard to accept, and some of the sample struggled with it. It was not possible to disaggregate responses by the gender of children and there may well have been a differential in the responses of the parents of women, where the religion of the resulting grandchildren were, more or less, assured according to religious law, than that of the parents of men, where only conversion of the daughter-in-law, where it was permitted, would ensure the succession of the Jewish family line.

Only 5% of the sample was happy in any sense for their children to marry an Arab and 58% were very unhappy. The figures for marriage to a Muslim or a Black African/Caribbean spouse varied only slightly from these proportions. Marriage to an East European was slightly more acceptable with a 10% pleasure rating, an ambivalence rating 5-8% points higher than these other non-Jews, and a displeasure rating 10-12% point lower than the others. One could conclude that colour and culture do make a difference, but only a slight difference. The category of 'Christian' was added to this question, as the likelihood of 'marrying out' to an Arab or a Russian is less likely in the UK than to a nominal member or ex-member of one of the standard Christian churches. 14% professed themselves to be pleased at this prospect; 29% ambivalent; and over half unhappy – less than for marriage to an East European or West Indian Christian, and considerably less than for a Muslim, but still a high rate of displeasure.

Some concern was expressed that the responses to this 'dreadful question' would reveal the interviewees as 'racist at heart'. Responses were often accompanied by a nervous smile or a knowing gesture, suggesting that the research team had treacherously saved the more difficult questions for last – not entirely wrong. The responses show that a parent's desire for their children to marry within the faith was strong but was not necessarily in all cases a deciding factor. Many conceded that a good marriage to someone outside the faith was preferable to an unhappy Jewish marriage or to the single life, and not a few confessed to having little effect on the children's choices regarding lifestyle, work or relationships. But, as one interviewee put it, 'Happiness trumps everything'.

Summary

- 60% of our sample said they felt quite strongly Jewish, but were equally conscious of other aspects of their life and a further 24% said they felt extremely conscious of being Jewish and it was the most important thing in their identity.
- Almost a third of the sample had attended a Jewish day school and most of the rest had attended South African supplementary Jewish education classes (*cheder*). 72% had attended a Jewish or Zionist youth group in South Africa, Habonim being the most popular.
- Over a third claimed a 'Traditional' practice, 12% strict Orthodoxy; 7% Masorti; 16% identified with forms of Progressive Judaism, and a quarter identified themselves as secular Jews.
- Over a third of the sample were 'regular' attendees at synagogue, and a half of those attended at least once a week. The vast majority attended much less than this – almost a quarter not attending at all.
- Almost 60% described the Torah as a historical document of human authorship; a quarter as a divinely-inspired, but not completely or literally true document; 13% as the actual word of God.
- Over three-quarters of the sample lit candles on a Friday night either regularly or sometimes, and more than half claimed to mark the Sabbath in some way. 80% of the sample claimed to always observe Yom Kippur, with slightly higher figures for Rosh Hashanah observance, and the highest for Passover observance.
- About two thirds of the sample remembered their dead by the lighting of *jahrzeit* or memorial candles, and 82% mark their homes with a *mezuzah* as a public sign of the faith of the household.
- Regular readership of the *Jewish Chronicle* and/or the *Jewish News* was confined to less than 50% of the sample.
- 30% of the carnivorous part of the sample purchased only kosher meat, and three quarters refused to eat pork.
- Over 50% claimed to give regularly to charity; a further 22% occasionally. Contributions were spread over a variety of recipients; three-quarters to British charities; 39% to Israeli; 30% to South African. Almost half calculated that they gave substantially more to Jewish charities than to others and over three quarters of the sample felt it was important to give to Jewish charities.
- 35% of parents enrolled their children in Jewish day schools, and the remainder were or are being sent to *cheder* for Jewish education or Bar/Bat-Mitzvah lessons. Those children in primary and early years' education were four times more likely to be in Jewish schools. Most

parents thought it important to teach their children about Jewishness, Israel and the Holocaust.

- South African Jews in London in general mix in large measure with their own religious group. Jewish friendships made up the majority of relationships, particularly amongst recent arrivals and those living in the 'heartland' of Camden-Barnet-Harrow.
- Three-quarters said that they felt more Jewish than British, and those who continue to associate with relatively high numbers of South Africans at synagogue generally thought that their levels of Jewishness had increased since arriving in London.
- Interviewees were more pleased to have Jewish neighbours, and preferred secular Jews to religious ones, but they were broadly ambivalent about the religion or ethnicity of their neighbours so long as they reflected the general cultural values of tolerance.
- They preferred a Jewish spouse for their children, even a secular Jewish one, and viewed the prospect of an Arab, Black or East European spouse with general disfavour. Colour and culture do make a difference, compared with the imperative to 'marry in'.
- Over half the sample (55%) thought there had been an increase in anti-Semitism of late, and about a third that it was unchanged. Most of the sample thought that anti-Semitism was a problem in this country, a third of the sample saying it was a 'major problem'.
- The sample was very conscious of their Jewishness even if it was not the most important element of their lives. There seems to be no significant change in observance since their move to London, and there seems to be no impediment to enjoy the kind of religious life of one's choice.

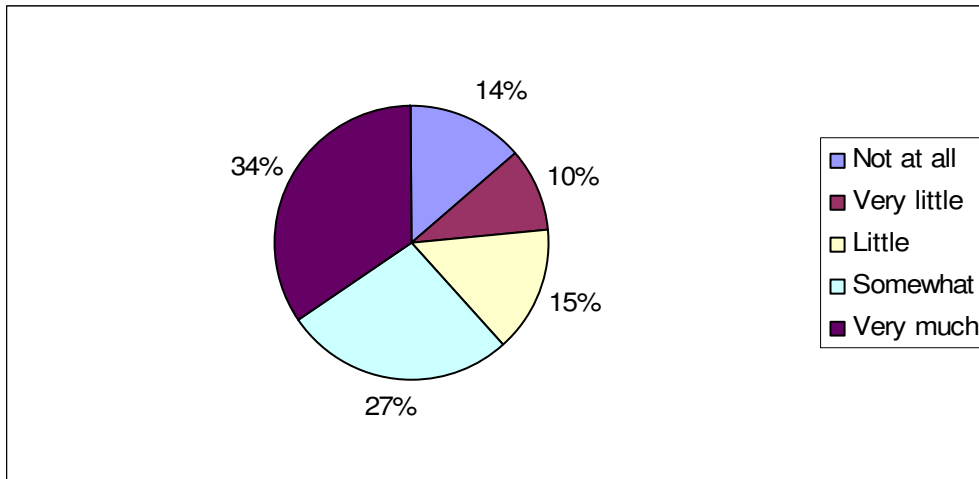
10. ATTITUDE TOWARD ISRAEL

South African Jewry was noted for its support of Israel, contributing more per capita to it than any other Diasporic community (Mendelsohn and Shain, p. 170). The British Jewish community, too, is strongly supportive of Israel with respondents to a recent survey on the subject (Graham and Boyd, p. 7), exhibiting

strong personal support for, and affinity with, Israel: 95% have visited the country; 90% see it as the “ancestral homeland” of the Jewish people, and 86% feel that Jews have a special responsibility for its survival.

Zionism

Figure 59 The extent of Zionism in identity



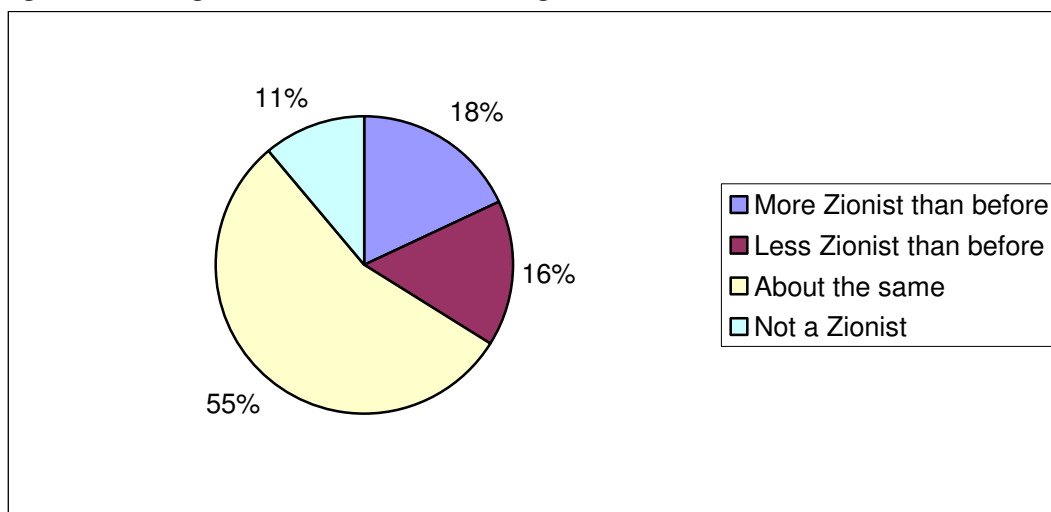
Over 60% of our sample said that they felt somewhat or very Zionist, and all but 14% of the sample felt Zionist to some degree. 72% of British Jews describe themselves as Zionists (Graham and Boyd, pp. 9 & 13). Virtually all had attended Jewish day schools or supplementary schools in their youth and had received at the very least a basic grounding in Israeli history and current events.

Table 23 Attendance at Jewish/Zionist youth movements in South Africa

Organisation	Number	% of entire sample	% of attendees
Habonim	150	47.8%	64.4%
Hashomer Hatzair	3	1.0%	1.3%
Bnei Akiva	23	7.3%	9.9%
Betar	32	10.2%	13.7%
Netzer/Maganim	7	2.2%	3.0%
Bnei Zion	11	3.5%	4.7%
Young Israel	5	1.6%	2.1%
Other	19	6.1%	8.2%

72% had belonged to a Jewish or Zionist youth group in South Africa, 64% of them to Habonim (since 1982 Habonim Dror), which had a particular relationship to the kibbutz movement in Israel.

Figure 60 Changes in Zionism since leaving South Africa



Of those who identified themselves as Zionists to some degree (86% of the sample), 62% felt that their move to the UK had not affected their commitment to Zionism, while the remainder divided roughly equally between those who felt it had increased in the UK and those who felt it had diminished (20:18% respectively). The seeming discrepancy between those claiming on this question to be 'not a Zionist' (11%) and the response to a previous question asking 'the extent to which one feels Zionist' (14% said 'not a Zionist') is mainly accounted for by those current non-Zionists who responded to this question by stating that they felt 'less Zionist' now than before or they felt about 'the same'.

Israeli visits

19% of the sample had lived in Israel, most for two years or less (57%), though 30% of them had lived there for five years or more.

Table 24 Contacts living in Israel (whole sample)

close friends	198	63.1%
close relatives	211	67.2%
acquaintances	54	17.2%
extended family	74	23.6%
business acquaintances	6	1.9%

Of those living here for 40 years or more, the 1954/1970 cohort, almost all knew people in Israel: 63% close friends and 63% close relatives. Virtually the entire sample also had visited Israel since moving to the UK – approximately 10% on annual visits and a few of these for several times a year, compared with approximately 70% of South African Jews (Katz, 2008). The frequency of visits to Israel varied according to the length of time the individuals had been in Britain, with the more recent arrivals making at least

annual visits compared with the earliest arrivals where visits were managed no more than every second year. The Orthodox were the most frequent visitors, with Traditional, Progressive and secular Jews in descending order, and not surprisingly those who claimed strong attachments to Israel demonstrated this with frequent visiting. Therefore most of the sample knew Israel well, and were to a substantial degree committed to it by education and upbringing.

Attachment

Numbers immigrating to Israel from South Africa declined after the turn of the century, but uncritical support for Israel remained common.⁷⁵

Table 25 Attachment towards Israel

strong attachment	170	54.1%
moderate attachment	90	28.7%
no special attachment	26	8.3%
critical	7	2.2%
negative feelings towards Israel	6	1.9%
ambivalent	5	1.6%
other	10	3.2%
		100.0%

Strong attachments to Israel were experienced by 54% of the sample and another 29% claimed a moderate attachment; only 2% expressed negative feelings.⁷⁶ The survey choices failed to satisfy 6.7% of the sample who preferred to express their attachment individually. A third of these (2.1% of the total) phrased this as 'critical' ('strong, but critical, attachment'; 'emotional, but critical'; 'reluctant critic'), but emphasised their support for or commitment to Israel within the context of a strong relationship. Others of the dissatisfied described the relationship using a variety of terms: disappointment, dismay, concerned, troubled, love/hate, ambivalent and guilty. This was reinforced in the additional points made to researchers by many interviewees that their strong attachment did not imply agreement with the current or recent policies of Israeli governments, and that their own role was best described as a 'critical friend'.

Nature of Israel

There was no questioning of Israel's right to exist or of the constant threat to Israel's existence, but this did not preclude the right of the Diaspora Jew to criticise what one described as Israeli arrogance and its so-called 'betrayal of its human values'. Clearly, many found it difficult to disentangle their feelings for the 'Land of Israel' and its people from their concern about the actions and the policies of particular governments and parties. It may need reiterating that these concerns and anxieties are also reflected in Israeli society and are not the sole problem of the Diaspora. Nevertheless, several comments stressed that the presence of the State of Israel contributed to a sense of security in the Diaspora – i.e. that at the last resort there was an escape route from

⁷⁵ Among British Jews one in five were very or fairly likely to emigrate to Israel (Graham and Boyd, p. 18).

⁷⁶ These were close to Bruk's findings (p. 117) where the respective figures were 53:33:1%

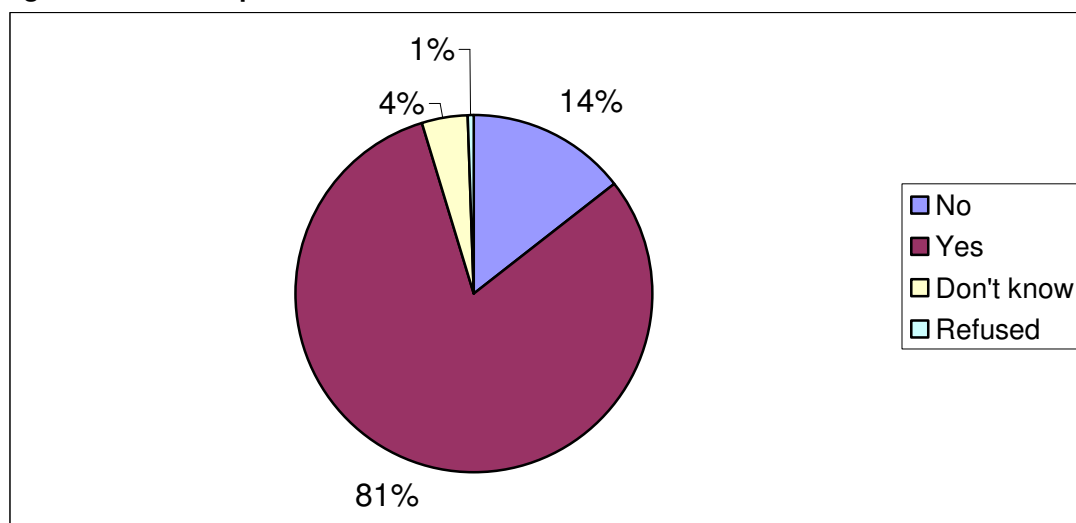
persecution, and that the price for that was a sense of guilt: 'Israel is important to the Jewish people, but I wouldn't want to live there'; 'I accept the State of Israel as a necessity, but I do not want to have anything to do with it personally'. The relationship can be seen as a circular one: Jews need a strong identification with their religion '... because Israel needs it. Israel's success gives Diaspora Jews a lot of pride and allows them to be outspoken'.

The sample divided equally (47% each) on the question of what sort of state Israel should be (with 5% professing an inability to choose): the state of the Jewish people, or the state of all its citizens, regardless of religion or national origin. This question caused a great deal of reflection and some difficulty and frustration. It aimed at a polarised response (sometimes called 'a false choice' or the excluded middle), and more nuanced alternatives were not presented in order to eliminate the possibility of everyone choosing the middle ground. Some simply resolved their dilemma by opting for 'Don't know'. Many of the 'Jewish State' responses were accompanied by the proviso that minority rights had to be honoured in full: 'with tolerance towards other people'. Indeed, it was claimed that this was the *de jure* situation at the moment in Israel, despite routine *de facto* breaches. Others claimed that being a 'state of all its citizens' was not contradictory to Israel's 'perfect entitlement to think of itself as a Jewish state'. There seemed a need by some to justify their answer by citing the unequal relationship between Israel and its Arab neighbours. Concern was expressed that the logical consequence of Option 2 was that Israel would cease to be 'Israel' - and that therefore was not a real possibility. Some insisted on providing their own formula as an alternative to the survey choices: e.g. 'It should be the state of the Jewish people which seeks to provide equal citizen's rights for everyone who is a citizen'. This 'having-one's-cake-and-eating-it-too' resolution seemed to reflect the concern that: a) the Jews have a right to have a state just like anyone else; b) a Jewish state is a necessity for Jews at this point in world history; c) nevertheless this state should conform to the liberal standards we would expect of any democracy – no matter how difficult this might be in practice.

There is not direct comparative data on the views of British Jews to these questions, but the responses to the JPR survey of 2010 (Graham and Boyd, pp. 20-22) provide some interesting related findings. A large majority of British Jews (80%) believed in the vibrancy of Israeli democracy, though there were concerns about levels of corruption (by 67%), the influence of Orthodox Judaism (by 74%), and about the degree of discrimination suffered by *Jewish* minority groups (by 60%) and *non-Jewish* minority groups (by 56%).

Israeli policy

Figure 61 Land for peace?



On the question of the current policy, 81% of our sample agreed that Israel should give up some territory in exchange for credible guarantees of peace.⁷⁷ Some found this 'impossibly difficult to answer'. Whereas there was acceptance that this, as stated, was a reasonable bargain ('if other people are willing to play ball then they should be welcomed'), there was considerable pessimism/scepticism that '*credible* guarantees' could ever be achieved through negotiations, and general suspicion that the Arab states could never be trusted to keep their bargains and that therefore their guarantees would never be credible. The question of which territory was to be exchanged also was raised by interviewees. Jerusalem was non-negotiable, but some were prepared to accept boundary changes on the Golan or to settlements on the West Bank. There was general agreement that Israel should only 'give up areas that do not impinge on its security in exchange for peace'.

British Jewish attitudes to this and related questions showed the host community to be 'highly engaged with Israel' but essentially 'dovish ... on the key political issues':

78% favour a two-state solution to the conflict with the Palestinians; 74% oppose the expansion of existing settlements in the West Bank; and 67% favour exchanging land for peace. A majority (52% against 39%) favours negotiating with Hamas to achieve peace (Graham and Boyd, p. 7).⁷⁸

In addition, over a third of British Jews were clear on their right to speak out as Diaspora Jews on Israeli matters (Graham and Boyd, p. 33) and almost three-quarters felt it was at least right to do so in some circumstances (see Independent Jewish Voices).

⁷⁷ The South African figure for this question was 60% agreement (Bruk, p. 119)

⁷⁸ Dovishness was more likely among the highly educated and the secular (p. 11).

As noted above, the commitment to Israel, nurtured in South Africa, does not seem to have shifted significantly due to the migration to London. The change in views that was noted by some may be a product of the British environment, or of being older and more knowledgeable, or of the changing relationship between Israel and the wider world, particularly since the 1967/1973 periods of the Six Day and Yom Kippur Wars. This aging factor and the mere passage of time, not merely UK residence, needs to be considered, in this and in other questions too, as a likely or possible cause of changes in attitudes and commitment. More than one interviewee said that their views of the Middle East had undergone changes as a result of their acquisition of greater knowledge about its history and problems, and consequently their admiration for Israel had grown along with their defence of its right to exist: 'A different sort of Zionism now; more open-eyed and less idealistic.' In addition, the popular image of Israel has changed over the decades, and the press and politicians, once silenced or made cautious by the shadow of the Holocaust, do not now feel as reticent about voicing criticisms of Israeli policy. Jews too are more vocal in their criticisms of Israel though there is no evidence that their commitment to it has diminished.

Summary

- Over 60% of our sample said that they felt somewhat or very Zionist, and all but 14% of the sample felt Zionist to some degree.
- 72% had belonged to a Jewish or Zionist youth group in South Africa, and most felt that their emigration had not changed their Zionist commitment.
- Most of the sample knew Israel well and had contacts there, 19% having lived there. Virtually the entire sample had visited Israel, and half of it described their attachment to it as strong.
- The sample divided equally on the question of what sort of state Israel should be: the state of the Jewish people, or of all its citizens. Most agreed that Israel should give up some territory in exchange for credible guarantees of peace.
- Despite some criticisms, South African Jews in London remain committed to Israel and Zionism, if only in the abstract, and support for it, while perhaps not at South African levels, remains strong.

11. CONCLUSIONS

This section contains the outcomes of the mapping survey as related to the five aims of the Project and recommendations for future research.

FINDINGS RELATED TO AIMS

1. Identification of changes to behaviour and attitude over time

This survey's aim is to identify the changes in behaviours and attitudes to the South African Jewish community in London over time - with the implication that these changes are in some degree due to their emigration and not to the natural and inevitable processes of aging and learning. However, neither individuals nor communities are constantly stable. Immigrant communities, no matter how tightly defined, with inputs from both home and homeland affecting behaviours and attitudes, present particular assessment challenges. The passage of time in itself, containing as it does learning, maturing and aging processes, as well as the stimuli from passing events, works its ways on mind and emotions, transforming us by increments. It is beyond the scope of this research to identify with certainty all the immigration-related influences; it can only record perceptions of change as assessed by the individuals themselves, and try to make some connection with aspects of their condition as immigrants that might have influenced these changes or these perceptions of change.

- Most of the sample retained a moderate to strong attachment to South Africa, with this attachment somewhat stronger in second and third generation South Africans. The same proportion of the sample (three-quarters) felt that they were still perceived as South African by British people, with the exception of those more immersed in a totally British environment during their working day, and with those with a British partner. The attachment to South Africa was reinforced by regular visits back home; the facility with which it is possible to follow South African events in the news; levels of contact with family and friends in South Africa and abroad; and sustained contact with an ex-South African friendship network in London (now often composed of former relationships from home). The proportions of South African friendships were higher amongst the more recently arrived although proportions of British friendships have increased over time. Early arrivals to London have immersed themselves in British relationships to a greater degree, reflecting the comparative rarity of South Africans in London in the past. Almost half of the sample thought that a familiarity with South African culture and customs was important enough to pass on to their children.
- More notable than the continuing strength of South African identity is that of Jewish identity and consciousness. In over 90% of the sample this is at least as strong as any national identity, and undiminished in 80% of it, especially amongst those who continue to associate with relatively high numbers of South Africans at synagogue. However levels of religious observance have fallen off in 40% of the sample since their arrival in London, only partially compensated for by the 20%

who claim an increase in religiosity. Nevertheless, there seems to be a general commitment to Jewish education, and children in infant and early years' education were four times more likely to be in Jewish schools, and an equal chance of attending a Jewish secondary school. Thus, it seems important to parents that their children get a Jewish education, at least until Bar-/Bat-Mitzvah. In addition, the community seems to have continued the tradition, fostered in South Africa, of charitable giving (mainly to Jewish charities), though these are now twice as likely to benefit British recipients as South African. Finally, the generally left-leaning/liberal electoral preferences of Jewish South Africans have changed to a preference for Conservatism by almost half the sample.

- Over half the sample thought there had been an increase in anti-Semitism of late, and most thought that it was a problem in this country, a third saying it was a 'major problem'. Many thought this was an expression of anti-Zionism and an attack on Israel, a cause to which they seem to have maintained a commitment over the years and a country to which they visit regularly and frequently. Though there were criticisms of the State of Israel's policies and practices, only one in seven did not identify to some degree as a Zionist, and the move to London does not seem have affected the sample's commitment to a Diaspora-centred Zionism. Changes in attitudes towards Israel may be a product of the British environment, of being older and more knowledgeable about Israel, or of Israel's changing relationship with the wider world.

2. Examination of the impact of different settings and of different periods of migration

The South African Jewish community in London surveyed by the Project originate largely from the Johannesburg and Cape Town areas, and have settled in over two-thirds of the London area. They have arrived over a 60 year period during which time South Africa has experienced seismic changes in its politics and social structure, and the UK and London have undergone considerable changes in its economic and international position, from the post-imperial years of the complacent 1950s to the uncertain, and now fragile, situation of the first decade of the 21st century. The 'push and pull' vectors have operated on different groups of this community with various force over time, and this study intended to identify which of these variations have been particularly important in the migration and settlement of the target community.

- In the early years of migration after the War, immigrants were generally young people, but the age of emigration has risen over the period of study but is still a fraction of that of young people.
- The reasons for emigration (the 'push' factors) varied widely from a disbelief in the viability of their future, politically and economically, in South Africa, particularly during the Apartheid regime, to a feeling of displacement and distrust of the new South Africa since the fall of

Apartheid. Spikes in immigration reflect, and follow with a short time lag, various crises in modern South African history. Personal and family reasons, especially those related to children, are important motivations for emigration.

- For those with access to British and EU nationality, Britain was an obvious choice for emigration given ease of entry, fluency in the English language, availability of business connections and job opportunities, familiarity with and fondness for Britain, and the intrinsic attractions of London as a base and home.

3. Descriptions of the integration of the migrants into their new communities

The degree to which South African Jews have integrated into London's communities relates to some degree to the factors discussed above, i.e. where they came from and when they arrived, as well as how open they are to change and adaptation. The history of Jewish migration suggests a strong ability (indeed, necessity) to adapt and integrate into hitherto alien societies, and most of the South African Jewish community itself is no more than three generations away from that experience of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. One may assume that the relative prosperity of the South African Jewish community and the modern methods of travel and communication open to them have had some impact on the necessity and means to integrate. The fact that, in large measure, the migration of South African Jews was a voluntary phenomenon and not an expulsion or dispersal in the classic sense has also had some impact.

- Despite feeling South African, the vast majority of settlers had developed a substantial attachment and affection for 'England', especially those who hale from the provinces of Cape and Natal. They feel 'at home' in what is seen as a comfortable environment, which is attractive, physically and emotionally. Migrants were familiar with British culture and systems even before they arrived, and had friends or relations (or both) already living in the UK. However, their sojourn in this country thus far has not transformed them into 'Englishmen', although the basic stages of this metamorphosis can be discerned in the earliest arrivals, particularly if their children have gone through the English educational system or they have English partners. Women, especially those who make the homes or work from home, were more likely to be seen as South African, have a higher proportion of South African friends, and feel more alienated from English neighbours. In general, South Africans have accommodated themselves very well to their new lives in London, aided by its cultural similarity, prepared by their educational background, and supported by the plethora of expatriates, and they are unlikely to leave their new homes.
- Politically, almost half transferred their allegiance to the Conservative Party, whilst in sport retaining their support for South African teams in rugby and cricket. South African Jewish immigrants follow a general pattern of seeking out one's own and have tended to congregate in the

normal areas of Jewish settlement. Though they claim that the presence of South Africans was irrelevant to their decision to settle, those who arrived as adults were more likely to have South African close friends at first, though this tendency appears to diminish over time. It is possible to locate Jewish South African communities in London and for that to be reflected in the congregations of synagogues. Despite variations in religious practice, observance, feeling and commitment, South African Jews in London in general mix in large measure with their own religious group. The heaviest concentration of those who associate largely or exclusively with Jewish friends are those who have come to London in the last twenty years, and those who live in the 'heartland' boroughs of Camden-Barnet-Harrow. The relative dearth of South Africans in London in the first years of migration (c.1954/1978) meant seeking friendships amongst the British. When migration increased after this point it became much easier to link up with South Africans and even recreate former friendship groups in London.

- The community keeps in regular touch with a network of ex-South African Jews in London, as well as with family and friends back home and around the world. South African-based friendship groups are centred on the home and family, reinforced at times by the synagogue. Such networking is important in locating and securing employment, though the firms that provide them jobs are largely British ones, and the positions they occupy are generally in the professional and managerial band.

4. Exploration of the attitudes of migrants to their experiences

Interviewees shared with researchers their views on many subjects apart from the specific focuses of the survey. Their reflections are particularly interesting on the significance of the experiences of migration and on their assessments of South Africa and the UK.

- South African Jews like living in London, but a significant proportion of them retain a moderate to strong attachment to South Africa focused on family and home, reflecting the power of early associations and the familiarity they have with South African life and culture: landscape, climate - 'the smell of Africa'. Still, it was not clear whether it was 'South Africa' to which they felt attached, or whether it was nostalgia for the cultural and religious life of the *Jewish* community and the great educational and work opportunities that it had afforded them. Important too is their admiration for the peaceful way South Africa has weathered its political transition, and the feeling that they need to 'put back something' through charitable giving.
- Beyond this rosy glow of recollection was the strong sub-theme that emigration from South Africa had been inevitable for many Jewish South Africans who envisioned their future outside the country irrespective of local events. For some, this was due to a desire to fulfil their Zionist dream; others felt constrained by the insularity, restrictive

culture, and lack of opportunity and challenge presented by South African society and institutions. These 'public' reasons were also mixed with reasons related to family and other close and personal relationships, as well as opportunism related to business and study opportunities abroad, and the general desire for travel and a 'foreign experience'. Constant however, whether in Apartheid or ANC South Africa, was a feeling of a collapsing future that would not include them.

- Emigrants to the UK expected to find a home (or a foreign experience) in a land that was not 'foreign', was congenial for their children, with the same value systems and forms of Judaism with which they were familiar. The latter was important because, for all their ambivalence and rationalisation about religious practice and observance, they felt strongly conscious of being Jewish and sought an environment for passing that on to the next generations.

5. Comparisons with other groups of South African Jewish migrants.

The study is infused with elements of comparison – over time, place and grouping – but there is only one published study of South African Jewish migrants (to Australia) with which our findings can be compared. Consequently, the main comparisons which can articulate the findings of this study have to be with the whole Jewish community of South Africa itself and the London Jewish community.

- The South African Jewish community surveyed is spread over 23 of the 32 London boroughs and four bordering Home Counties of the capital. 89% of the sample are owner-occupiers, a figure larger than the average for London Jews, living in six rooms on average. Most live in relatively close proximity to other South African Jews, though this seems to be a consequence of seeking out property with a similar set of purchase priorities (e.g. access to a good Jewish school) rather than any conscious desire to coalesce as a community. However they generally preferred Jewish neighbours next door to them, and Jewish partners for their children.
- The UK is not the first choice for South Africans Jewish emigrants, who prefer Israel and Australia above it. The average age of immigrants to Australia has increased since 1990 and this is confirmed by the London study, although over the entire period of this study 18-34 year olds still account for two thirds of immigrants and over-50s for only 8%. Whereas emigration to Australia was prompted by the attraction of a country that was 'essentially ... as like as possible to the places they were leaving' (Tatz, p. 209), the attraction of London was because, though familiar, it was different.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH

In carrying out this research project the team came across areas of research, revealed by gaps in the literature or by issues raised by interviewees, that were not covered by our questions and that could not be commented on in our findings. What follows is our selection from those areas.

- There is little research done on the migration of gay people from South Africa to the UK, during the Nationalist period or after. It has been suggested that the repression of gay people, or simply that their exclusion from South African society, was a 'push' factor, creating the impetus to emigrate to cities where gay behaviour was more tolerated if not more welcome.
- There are several synagogues in London with relatively high South African memberships. Membership of such synagogues may have had an effect on certain attitudes and identity. Furthermore, given the number of South African rabbis now in post in key synagogues, these congregations must have felt the effects of such an influx in terms of their social outlook, political commitment, charitable work, as well as their ritual and worship.
- Much was said about identity in this survey, without capturing the nature of South African identity. The remarks from several interviewees that emigration from South Africa was an implicit option for many Jewish South Africans needs more investigation.
- It was asserted that variations in Anglophilia between Capetonian and Durbanite South Africans on the one hand, and Johannesburg/Pretoria South Africans on the other, were significant, but this could not be explored here.
- The effect of television on identity, national consciousness and emigration was suggested but not examined.
- There was some correlation between the longevity of South African residence and identity and attachment. Some first generation South Africans, suggested that insufficient roots had been set down in South Africa for them to be a disincentive to emigration.
- The achievements of the South African community abroad are felt to be considerable and it would be interesting to explore what it has brought to the individual recipient states, with particular reference to the areas of concentration such as The City and other financial institutions; areas of settlement such as Golders Green and Hampstead Garden Suburb; and certain synagogues with South African rabbis or considerable congregations (as suggested above).

REFLECTIONS ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Throughout the report the authors have reflected on the nature of the Project and the means by which it was processed. Incorporated into the main text are comments on certain questions that were less than effective and suggestions on how they may have been improved. This has been in the interests of academic honesty, contextualising the findings along a continuum of reliability, and informing future researchers of effective/ineffective method. What follows are further hindsight observations on the process of survey mapping.

1. Questionnaire

- a. Not enough questions on 'how you feel'. This would have shifted the quantitative/qualitative balance, but would have provided more access to 'attitudes'.
- b. More in-depth interviewing to access the rich experience of immigrants to the UK and their South African background.
- c. Not all the Israeli elements from the model survey had been expunged from the London questionnaire and some of the questions had little relevance from a British perspective.
- d. More trialling of the questionnaire regarding:
 - Phrasing of questions which needed more consideration as initial interviews required more explanation. Subsequently questions were slightly re-phrased to ensure consistency of delivery and response.
 - Possible responses needed more consideration so that subsequent coding could be anticipated. This was not a debilitating problem as re-coding was carried out after interviewing took place.
 - The placing of questions and their sequencing would have been improved by some revision.

2. Key informants: The team utilised the advice and experience of three key informants – South Africans resident in London, known to the Kaplan Centre, and supportive of its mission. They varied in expertise and balanced each other nicely. They were prompt in their responses, focussed in their feedback and generous with their time. Their contribution in the initial phase of the process was invaluable.

3. Sample: the choice of using snowball sampling has been explained in the Introduction. It has proved successful in accessing a representative sample reflecting the shape of the South African Jewish community in London. Given the networks within this community it would have been little problem to have accessed many more within the community had time permitted. The research team were not obliged to rely on advertising or on utilising the services of synagogues, Jewish community or cultural centres or the network of South African rabbis within the capital.

4. Interviewing team: issue of Jewish interviewers concerned the research team at the beginning and the decision taken was to use a Jewish researcher in the first instance and then if demand increased beyond

capacity to use either the non-Jewish members of the team, properly briefed, or to draft in others as needed. It was felt possible to recruit post-graduate students from the RHUL student body using our contacts in the Department of History. As the interviewing phase proceeded several interviewees with experience in sociological, anthropological and market-based research expressed an interest and willingness to take part and their offers were welcomed. In the end, the volume of interviewing never exceeded capacity and additional interviewers were not required.

5. interviewing style

- a. The interviewer's background seemed to be relevant to the interviewing process, though it is impossible to say definitively without accurate feedback data. Being of Jewish background meant it was possible to put some interviewees at their ease and to access qualitative information that might not have been offered to a non-Jewish interviewer.
- b. Also important to the process was the fact that the interviewer was also the main report-writer and therefore had a strong interest in the integrity of the interview.
- c. Furthermore, the interviewer also was an emigrant to the UK and could empathise with that experience too. Arguably, this was more important than being Jewish since the survey was firstly aimed at accessing experiences of emigration and secondly at the impact of that experience on faith-based practice.

6. Input and cleansing data was a phase of the process that was underestimated and could have held up progress. This is a key element of the research and a more generous allocation of time and resources would have expedited the analysis phase.

7. Report writing: findings

- a. **Identification of changes to behaviour and attitude over time.**
The amount of data collected on the sample's life in South Africa was fairly minimal, and the report relies on research largely carried out by the Kaplan Centre over the last 20 years on Jewish South Africa. The information collected by the survey on changes over time relied on honesty and the accuracy of recall. Historical research relies on the accuracy of memory and is aware of its failings. Concrete findings based on such material must be treated with care. An individual's experience for them is of a piece. It is natural to see one's life as a natural progression without shifts and changes; consistency and continuity are its themes. It is sometimes difficult for the individual to see or admit to changes in what is perceived as a whole life. In addition, for some of the sample the experience of being asked to recall may encompass a time span of over 50 years and for others may only be two or three years and therefore raises two kinds of problem. When the time span is short it is difficult to see the difference, if there is any, in behaviours and attitudes, and indeed there may be little difference to notice. When the time span is longer, and very long indeed, there is the problem

of long term memory recall unaided by recognition (Bahrick et al, 1975). Certain questions asked the interviewees to recall feelings and impressions from the childhood and their early experiences as an immigrant. Research has shown that interpretation can play a large part in recall

b. Examination of the impact of different settings and of different periods of migration.

The research team lacked in-depth experience of South African society and so findings related to specific features of South African life or nuances of the behaviours of peoples were not attempted. When findings referred to aspects of South African life they could only be 'suggested' in the report rather than asserted, and, where possible, authority was sought in the works of those whose expertise lies in that area (see the Literature Review for an indication of the work most used by the research team).

c. Descriptions of the integration of the migrants into their new communities.

The term 'integration' has acquired a particular resonance in British race relations discourse (see for example, Masroor, 2007). In questioning the sample on the degree to which they have access to and feel part of the mainstream and/or retain connections with their former life in South Africa we relied upon impressions that were difficult to quantify and present on an objective basis. The interviewees were provided with no consistent benchmarks to anchor an impression of 'very important' compared with just 'important'. This remark applies to many of the questions in the survey.

d. Exploration of the attitudes of migrants to their experiences.

The exploration of attitudes relied greatly on the consistency of the impressions provided by the sample and, as mentioned above, no benchmarks were provided to ensure that one impression was equivalent to another.

e. Comparisons with other groups of South African Jewish migrants.

Although comparative information exists in limited quantity and scope for the London Jewish population, the South African Jewish population, and South African emigrants to Australia, the data was not exactly correlated. Within the sample group useful comparisons could be made, and there was sufficient material to suggest interesting correlations. Opportunities to compare the London sample with a study of South African emigrants to Israel proved not possible due to the unavailability of the data from that survey at the time of writing.

8. Consultation on drafts was another key element in the analysis process which was underestimated and could have used more time.

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APPENDIX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE
CAPITALISED TEXT [IN BRACKETS] ARE INSTRUCTIONS TO
INTERVIEWER – DO NOT READ!

[ADD] INTERVIEW NUMBER: _____ DATE _____

OPENING

[READ] Thank you again for the time you are giving us.

While we have likely told you this on the phone, just in case I'll go over some background information.

- This survey is being conducted by the **Centre for Minority Studies** of the Department of History at the Royal Holloway University of London. It is the first research ever to be done in this country among South African Jewish immigrants and their offspring.
- The **principal aims** of this survey are:
 - **To obtain as thorough knowledge as possible about ex-South Africans in London, including data which can be compared to Israeli and South African data.**
 - **To examine the impact of migration of South African Jews to the London area on a range of issues, including religiosity and levels of integration.**
 - **To generate a deeper understanding of the migration experience and the manner in which South African Jews and their offspring live in this part of Great Britain**
- **Some of the questions will not be relevant to you. In particular,** some you may not know or remember the answers or want to answer. That is perfectly understandable and acceptable. Answer only the questions you wish to answer and please do so in your own way. If you want to discuss an option, we can do so.
- Some of the questions may sound obvious or repetitive and that is inevitable in a survey like this which aims at a wide range of experience and where sometimes a question differently put may elicit a different answer which we then can compare with previous answers.
- **All information you provide us is completely confidential and held anonymously.** All data analysis will be done at a general level and never focus on your answers in particular.

[ASK IF THERE ARE ANY QUESTIONS BEFORE WE PROCEED.]

PERSONAL DETAILS

We begin the survey with some personal background questions.

1. What is your area of residence?

[LOCAL BOROUGH OR CITY/TOWN IF SUBURBAN (POSTCODE IS UNNECESSARY)] _____

2. What is your age? _____

3. In what year were you born? 19____

[IF DOESN'T KNOW/REFUSED – ASK FOR ESTIMATE, OR RECORD 98/99]

4. GENDER OF INTERVIEWEE:

1. MALE
2. FEMALE

5. Where were the following family members [READ CATEGORIES IN FIRST ROW] born?

[ASK SEPARATELY FOR EACH COLUMN. NO NEED TO READ THE CATEGORIES IN THE FIRST COLUMN BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH. IF ADOPTED – ASK ABOUT ADOPTIVE PARENTS. RECORD THE ANSWERS IN THIS TABLE:]

	2. You (Interviewee)	3. Mother	4. Father	5. Grand-mother (mother's mother)	6. Grand-father (mother's father)	7. Grand-mother (father's mother)	8. Grand-father (father's father)
South Africa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sub-Saharan Africa (including Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
United Kingdom	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Germany	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Rest of 'Eastern Europe' (incl. former USSR)	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Other Europe	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Israel	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Canada	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
New Zealand	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
United States	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Australia	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Other country SPECIFY	13	13	13	13	13	13	13

BELOW:							
DOESN'T KNOW	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
REFUSED	99	99	99	99	99	99	99

If 'Other', which country? _____

6. Do you have children, irrespective of whether or not they live with you?

- 1. No
- 2. Yes.
- 98. DOESN'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

[****IF 1 – GO TO 13]

7. How many (now)? _____

[IF DOESN'T KNOW/REFUSED – RECORD 98/99]

[NOT RELEVANT – 0]

8. How many children did you have when you immigrated to the UK?

_____ [IF NONE – RECORD "0", IF DOESN'T KNOW/REFUSED – RECORD

[NOT RELEVANT – 0]

9. What are the ages of your children?

[THE INTERVIEWER READS THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CURRENT CHILDREN TO THE RESPONDENT TO CHECK THAT IT IS CORRECT. RECORD THE ANSWERS IN THIS TABLE:]

Ages	Number of children
0-6	
7-12	
13-17	
18-21	
22-34	
35+	
Total	

[NOT RELEVANT – 0]

10. IF 18 OR UNDER, ARE THE CHILDREN AT:

[IF IN EDUCATION, PLEASE INDICATE WHETHER THE INSTITUTION IS A SECULAR OR JEWISH SCHOOL]

	Child 1		Child 2		Child 3		Child 4		Child 5		Child 6	
Employed												
	Secular	Jewish	Secular	Jewish	Secular	Jewish	Secular	Jewish	Secular	Jewish	Secular	Jewish
University												
6 th F College												
FE College												
Secondary School												
Junior School (KS2)												
Infant School (KS1)												
Nursery												
Pre-School												
OTHER. SPECIFY:												

[NOT RELEVANT – 0]

10a. Child 1 – Other Specify _____ (PLEASE INDICATE JEWISH OR SECULAR)

10b. Child 1 – Other Specify _____ (PLEASE INDICATE JEWISH OR SECULAR)

10c. Child 1 – Other Specify _____ (PLEASE INDICATE JEWISH OR SECULAR)

10d. Child 1 – Other Specify _____ (PLEASE INDICATE JEWISH OR SECULAR)

10e. Child 1 – Other Specify _____ (PLEASE INDICATE JEWISH OR SECULAR)

10f. Child 1 – Other Specify _____ (PLEASE INDICATE JEWISH OR SECULAR)

11. FOR THOSE CHILDREN CURRENTLY IN SECULAR EDUCATION: Do any of them attend separate *cheder*/Hebrew/Jewish education classes, i.e. which are not part of their normal school curriculum?

Child 1	Child 2	Child 3	Child 4	Child 5	Child 6

[ADD DEFAULT VALUE – 0]

12. IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN 22 YRS AND OLDER: Which ONE of the following applies?

[READ THE ALTERNATIVES AND RECORD ONE ANSWER:]

1. All your children who are 22 yrs and older live in the UK
2. All your children who are 22 yrs and older live in another country
3. Of your children who are 22 yrs and older, some live in the UK and some live in another country
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

[ADD DEFAULT VALUE – 0]

13. What is your marital status currently?

[RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

- (i) Married.
- (ii) Unmarried but living with a partner.
- (iii) Divorced.
- (iv) Separated.
- (v) Single (NEVER MARRIED AND NOT LIVING WITH A PARTNER).
- (vi) Widowed.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

[****IF NOT 1 OR 2 – GO TO 16]

14. In which country was your current spouse or partner born?

[RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. South Africa
2. United Kingdom
3. Sub-Saharan Africa/Other Africa
4. Other English-speaking country. SPECIFY:
5. Israel
6. Eastern Europe. SPECIFY:
7. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

[ADD DEFAULT VALUE – 0]

15. Was one of your current spouse or partner's parents born in ...

[READ ONLY THE FIRST CATEGORY. IF NO, READ SECOND. IF NO, READ THIRD. IF NO – RECORD 4.]

1. South Africa
2. United Kingdom
3. Other English speaking country
4. NONE OF THE ABOVE
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

[ADD DEFAULT VALUE – 0]

16. What is the highest level of education which you completed?

[IF STILL STUDYING RECORD ONLY COMPLETED QUALIFICATION.
RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE.]

1. Ph.D. or equivalent (INCLUDING M.D., D.D.S. etc.)
2. Masters degree (INCLUDING MB Ch B)
3. Honours degree or the equivalent
4. Bachelors Degree
5. Technikon diploma/degree.
6. Diploma/certificate (e.g. technical, vocational) from an institute of higher education.
7. Matriculation certificate/'A' levels.
8. No matriculation/A levels, but Non-academic (technical/vocational) certificate from institute of tertiary education.
9. High School certification (e.g. GCSEs or equivalent)
10. OTHER. SPECIFY:
11. NO EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATION
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

17. [IF 1-6] In what subject/discipline did you take your highest qualification?

1. Language/Literature study
2. Education
3. Mathematics
4. Science
5. Medicine
6. Information Technology
7. Social Science
8. Law
9. Psychology
10. Engineering and Built Environment professions
11. Geography/Geology
12. Accountancy/Business Studies/Management
13. Humanities/Arts
14. Performance/Media
15. Vocational
16. Other. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

18. In which country did you receive your highest level of education?

[RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. South Africa
2. United Kingdom
3. Israel
4. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

19. ASK MALES ONLY: Did you serve in the South African armed forces while in South Africa?

1. No
2. Yes.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

****[IF 1 – GO TO 20-21; IF 2 – GO TO 21; FEMALES: ADD DEFAULT VALUE '0']

20. ASK MALES ONLY: For what reason did you not serve in the South African armed forces?

[DO NOT PROMPT]

1. Health
2. Religious beliefs
3. Age
4. Ideological reasons
5. Conscription had ended
6. Exempt. REASON:
7. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

[FEMALES ADD DEFAULT VALUE '0']

21. Have you served in the armed forces of any other country?

No ₁ Yes ₂

[IF YES, WHICH?]

1. Israel
2. The United Kingdom
3. Rhodesia/Zimbabwe
4. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

22. While in South Africa did you ever attend/belong to a Jewish or Zionist youth movement?

[IF YES: Which? MULTI-MENTION RESPONSES POSSIBLE]

No ₁ Yes ₂

1. Habonim
2. Hashomer Hatzair
3. Bnei Akiva
4. Betar
5. Netzer/Maganim
6. Bnei Zion
7. Young Israel
8. Other. SPECIFY:
9. Not a Zionist
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

23. While in South African did you [i.e. as an adult] belong to:

Question	Yes	No	Doesn't Know	Refused
A Jewish country club/s?				
A non-denominational country club/s?				
Any other Jewish associations or societies? [IF "YES", SPECIFY AND RECORD AS MANY AS VOLUNTEERED BY RESPONDENT]: <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>				

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED KINGDOM

I'm now going to ask a few questions about your migration experience.

24. Where in South Africa did you live before leaving?

[RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE FOR EACH] [CATEGORIES INCLUDE SUBURBS]

1. Johannesburg
2. Cape Town
3. Durban
4. Port Elizabeth
5. East London
6. Pretoria
7. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

25. ASK ALL RESPONDENTS: When you came to the United Kingdom did you do so ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Alone
2. With family
3. With friends
4. With family and friends
5. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

26. ASK ALL RESPONDENTS: Why did you and/or your family decide to emigrate from South Africa – i.e. what was the 'push'?

[MULTI-MENTION RESPONSES - DO NOT PROMPT]

1. Family reasons
2. Conscription
3. Apartheid politics
4. No future in South Africa
5. Crime
6. Political corruption
7. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

27. ASK ALL RESPONDENTS: Why did you (and/or your family) choose the United Kingdom as a country to emigrate to – i.e. what was the 'pull'?

[MULTI-MENTION RESPONSES - DO NOT PROMPT]

1. Family living in UK
2. Family origins/descent
3. Friends in the UK
4. Job/Economic opportunity
5. Academic opportunity: work or study
6. Better opportunities for children (e.g. education, not army)
7. English-speaking country

- 8. Lifestyle/culture/familiarity with British culture (e.g. previous residence)
- 9. No other alternative/refused first choice
- 10. OTHER. SPECIFY:
- 98. DOESN'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

28. ASK ALL RESPONDENTS: Did you leave South Africa to move ...
 [READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

- 1. Directly to the United Kingdom, or
- 2. Move elsewhere, and later move to the United Kingdom?
- 98. DOESN'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

****IF 2 – GO TO 31-33

29. ASK THOSE WHO MOVED DIRECTLY TO UK: In what year did you (and your family) leave South Africa to live in the United Kingdom?

[IF DOESN'T KNOW/REFUSED – ASK FOR ESTIMATE, OR RECORD 98/99 OR ADD DEFAULT VALUE – 0]

30. ASK THOSE WHO MOVED DIRECTLY TO UK: How old were you when you left South Africa?

Ages	
0-6	
7-12	
13-17	
18-21	
22-34	
35-49	
50-64	
65+	

- 98. DOESN'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

[NOT RELEVANT – 0 SKIP TO 33]

****IF ANSWERED THIS QUESTION - GO TO 34

31. ASK THOSE WHO MOVED ELSEWHERE FIRST: To what country did your family emigrate from South Africa?

- 1. Australia
- 2. New Zealand
- 3. USA
- 4. Canada
- 5. Israel
- 6. OTHER. SPECIFY
- 98. DOESN'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

32a. ASK THOSE WHO MOVED ELSEWHERE FIRST: In what year did you leave South Africa? _____

98. DOESN'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

32b. ASK THOSE WHO MOVED ELSEWHERE FIRST: What age were you when you left SA to live in that country?

Ages	
0-6	
7-12	
13-17	
18-21	
22-34	
35-49	
50-64	
65+	

98. DOESN'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

33a. ASK THOSE WHO MOVED ELSEWHERE FIRST: In what year did you move to the United Kingdom? _____

98. DOESN'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

33b. ASK THOSE WHO MOVED ELSEWHERE FIRST: How old were you when you came to live in the UK?

Ages	
0-6	
7-12	
13-17	
18-21	
22-34	
35-49	
50-64	
65+	

98. DOESN'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

34. ASK ALL: When you arrived in the United Kingdom, did you (OR, IF MOVED WITH FAMILY WHEN YOUNG, YOUR FAMILY) ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Have relatives who were already living in the United Kingdom?

2. Have friends who were already living in the United Kingdom?
3. Have both relatives and friends who were already living in the United Kingdom?
4. Have neither relatives nor friends who were already living in the United Kingdom?
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

INTEGRATION

We now move to questions having to do with your experience integrating into British society.

35. Do most British people, on first acquaintance (as far as you know), regard you primarily as ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. British
2. South African
3. Equally/alternately British-South African
4. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

36. What type of attachment do you feel towards the United Kingdom? Would you say that you have ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Negative feelings toward the United Kingdom
2. No special attachment
3. A moderate attachment
4. A strong attachment toward the United Kingdom.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

37. To what extent do you feel 'at home' in the United Kingdom? Would you say you feel ...

[RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Not at all at home
2. Not really 100% at home
3. Neither at home nor not at home
4. Fairly much at home
5. Very much at home
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

38. Irrespective of whether you are qualified to vote in the UK elections, how would you define yourself politically on the following scale?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Inclined to vote for the Conservative Party
2. Inclined to vote for the Labour Party
3. Inclined to vote for the Liberal Democrat Party
4. Inclined to vote for the Green Party
5. Inclined to vote for the UK Independence Party
6. Independent voter
7. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

39a. Thinking of the next five years, which alternative come closest to what applies to you?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. It is very likely that you will leave the United Kingdom to live elsewhere
2. It is fairly likely that you will leave the United Kingdom to live elsewhere
3. It is fairly likely that you will continue living in the United Kingdom
4. It is very likely that you will continue living in the United Kingdom
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

39b. For responses 1 and 2 above, what is your main reason for being very or fairly likely to leave the UK in the next five years?"

[SPONTANEOUS RESPONSE. DO NOT PROMPT.]

1. Children/family members will be leaving UK and want to be with them
 2. Wanting to be with family already living elsewhere
 3. Work opportunities abroad
 4. Study opportunities for myself abroad
 5. Educational opportunities for child(ren)/Better education for my children
 6. Worsening political situation in the UK/better political situation elsewhere
 7. Worsening economic situation in the UK/ better economic situation elsewhere
 8. Worsening social situation in the UK/ better economic situation elsewhere
 9. Better climate
 10. OTHER. SPECIFY:
 98. DOESN'T KNOW
 99. REFUSED
- ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

40. If you were to move again to another country, which country would you be most likely to move to?

1. South Africa
2. USA
3. Australia
4. Canada
5. Israel
6. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ASK ALL WHO CAME TO UK BEFORE AGE OF 16 YRS:

41a. In your early years in the UK, what proportion of your *close* friends were South African?

[NO NEED TO READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. All
2. Most
3. Half
4. Less than half
5. Very few
6. None
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

41b. In your early years in the UK, what proportion of your *close* friends were born in the United Kingdom?

[NO NEED TO READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. All
2. Most
3. Half
4. Less than half
5. Very few
6. None
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

42a. Currently, what proportion of your *close* friends in the UK are South African?

[NO NEED TO READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. All
2. Most
3. Half
4. Less than half
5. Very few
6. None
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

42b. Currently, what proportion of your *close* friends are born in the United Kingdom?

[RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. All
2. Most
3. Half
4. Less than half
5. Very few
6. None

98. DOESN'T KNOW

99. REFUSED

**** IF ANSWERED HALF OR MORE – SKIP TO 44

43. READ CATEGORY IN FIRST COLUMN: Do you associate with British people (Jewish or non-Jewish):

[ASK FOR EACH CATEGORY SEPARATELY.]

RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE.	Very often	Quite often	Some-times	Rarely	Not at all	IRRELEVANT	DOESN'T KNOW/ REFUSED
43a. At your workplace	5	4	3	2	1	97	98/99
43b. In your Neighborhood	5	4	3	2	1	97	98/99
43c. On social occasions	5	4	3	2	1	97	98/99
43d. In your Studies	5	4	3	2	1	97	98/99
43e. At Synagogue	5	4	3	2	1	97	98/99

44. READ CATEGORY IN FIRST COLUMN: Do you associate with South African Immigrants:

[ASK FOR EACH CATEGORY SEPARATELY]

RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE	Very often	Quit e ofte n	Some-times	Rarely	Not at all	IRRELEVANT	DOESN'T KNOW/ REFUSED
44a. At your Workplace	5	4	3	2	1	97	98/99
44b. In your Neighborhood	5	4	3	2	1	97	98/99
44c. On social occasions	5	4	3	2	1	97	98/99
44d. At family gatherings	5	4	3	2	1	97	98/99
44e. In your Studies	5	4	3	2	1	97	98/99
44f. At Synagogue	5	4	3	2	1	97	98/99

LANGUAGE

The next set of questions touch on your knowledge and use of language.

45a. Including your mother tongue, please indicate which languages you speak.

[DO NOT PROMPT. RECORD AS MANY AS MENTIONED]:

1. English
 2. Afrikaans
 3. Hebrew
 4. Yiddish
 5. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

45b. Which language do you speak most often at home?

[DO NOT PROMPT]:

1. English
2. Afrikaans

3. Hebrew
4. Yiddish
5. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

LABOUR MARKET INVOLVEMENT

We will now focus on questions touching on your work and economic situation.

46. In the last 12 months, what has been your major occupation?

[NO NEED TO READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Working
2. Studying
3. Working and studying
4. Unemployed, looking for work
5. Looking after home and family members (HOMEMAKER)
6. Voluntary or charitable work
7. Traveling abroad (AS A TOURIST)
8. Ill (EXTENDED ILLNESS) or disabled (PHYSICALLY)
9. Retired
10. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

**** IF RESPONDENT IS NOT WORKING, OR STUDYING, OR UNEMPLOYED - SKIP TO 55

**** IF WORKING OR UNEMPLOYED – BUT NOT STUDYING – SKIP TO 48

**** IF ANSWER IS 4 OR 10 - GO TO Q. 48

IF NOT 1, 3, 4 OR 10 – SKIP TO 55

47. [IF 2.] Study, what is the area of your studies?

1. Education (Teaching)
2. Arts/Humanities
3. Social Science
4. Engineering
5. Natural Sciences
6. Physical Sciences
7. Law
8. Finance (ACCOUNTING, BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION)
9. Medicine (OR VETERINARIAN)
10. Vocational/skills training. SPECIFY:
11. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

****IF STUDYING BUT NOT WORKING – SKIP TO 55

48. In your current (or last) employment/s, including paid work at home, how many hours do (did) you work in total per week? Please include overtime and preparation hours. _____

[IF CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED – ASK ABOUT LAST WORKPLACE; IF NUMBER OF HOURS NOT FIXED – RECORD 97; IF DOESN'T KNOW/REFUSES – RECORD 98/99]
ADD DEFAULT TEXT – '0'

49. For those employed in Britain: Where is (was) your primary place of work located?

_____ (name of London Borough or city/town/borough if outside London).

[IF CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED/RETIRED – ASK ABOUT LAST WORKPLACE IN THIS AND ALL FOLLOWING QUESTIONS]
ADD DEFAULT TEXT – '0'

50a. In your *primary place of employment*, is (was) your position considered ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Full time
2. Part time
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

50b. In your *primary place of employment*, are (were) you ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. An employee
2. An employer with one or two paid employees
3. An employer with three or more paid employees
4. Self employed (WITH NO EMPLOYEES)
5. Working for a family member without receiving a salary
6. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

***IF ANSWER 1 OR 6 – SKIP TO Q. 51b.

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

51a. IF EMPLOYER (2 or 3 ABOVE): Are (were) your employees:

1. Mostly non-Jewish
2. Mostly Jewish
3. Some Jewish and some non-Jewish
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

51b. IF EMPLOYEE (1 FOR QUESTION 50b ABOVE): Are (WERE) your employers at your primary place of employment ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. British
2. South African
3. Other African
4. Immigrants from other English speaking countries
5. Immigrants from non-English-speaking countries
6. Mixed. SPECIFY:
7. OTHER: SPECIFY
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

51c. Are (WERE) your co-workers at your primary place of employment mostly...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. British
2. South African
3. Immigrants from other English speaking countries
4. Mixed
5. OTHER: SPECIFY
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

51d. At your current (last) primary place of employment:

	Non-Jewish	Jewish	Mixed	Doesn't Know	Refused
i) Are (WERE) your <u>employers</u> : mostly non-Jewish, mostly Jewish or some Jewish and some non-Jewish					
ii) Are (WERE) your <u>co-workers</u> : mostly non-Jewish, mostly Jewish or some Jewish and some non-Jewish					

52a. How did you get your most recent job? [FOR CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED: last job?]

[NO NEED TO READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Newspaper advertisement
2. Job listing on the internet
3. Internet forum
4. Neighborhood notice board
5. Employment agency
6. Through a British friend/acquaintance
7. Through an ex-South African friend/acquaintance living in the UK
8. Through family connections
9. Head hunter
10. Progression/promotion
11. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

52b. IF 6 - 9 ABOVE: Was the acquaintance or contact through whom you found your current primary place of employment

1. Jewish
2. Non-Jewish
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

53a. Thinking of your customers in this current primary place of employment, were they ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Mostly British-born
2. Some British-born
3. Mostly other countries
4. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

IF 2 OR 3 ABOVE:

53b. Of those who were from other countries, were they ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Mostly ex-South African
2. Some ex-South African and some from elsewhere
3. Mostly elsewhere
4. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

54a. Generally speaking, are (were) you satisfied or dissatisfied with your current primary place of employment?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Totally dissatisfied
2. Somewhat dissatisfied
3. Not satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Somewhat satisfied
5. Very satisfied with your work.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

54b. Are (were) you satisfied or dissatisfied with your income from your current primary place of employment?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Totally dissatisfied
2. Somewhat dissatisfied
3. Not satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Somewhat satisfied
5. Very satisfied with your income from work.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

55a. In total, how many years have you worked in countries other than the United Kingdom, i.e. including South Africa? _____

[IF HASN'T WORKED ABROAD AT ALL – RECORD "0". IF DOESN'T KNOW/REFUSES – RECORD 98/99.]

ADD DEFAULT TEXT – '0'

55b. In total, how many years have you worked in the United Kingdom?

_____ [IF HASN'T WORKED IN THE UK AT ALL – RECORD "0". IF DOESN'T KNOW/REFUSES – RECORD 98/99.]

ADD DEFAULT TEXT – '0' **** AND IF ANSWER IS 0 – SKIP TO Q. 58b.

56. Identify the main activities or 'business' of your current primary place of employment.

[E.G. FOOD PRODUCTION, IT TECHNICAL SUPPORT, RETAIL, ETC.]

57. Describe your work *and* position in your primary (latest or last) place of employment.

[E.G. TELEPHONE TECHNICIAN, PC PROGRAMMER, SELF-EMPLOYED CARPENTER ETC.]

ADD DEFAULT TEXT – '0'

58a. For research purposes, what was your gross personal income from all UK employments, in the *last month* (if unemployed: *in the last month you were working*)?

[CHOOSE FROM THE FOLLOWING BANDS]

- A. **LESS THAN** £1,000
- B. £1000 **TO LESS THAN** £2,000
- C. £2,000 **TO LESS THAN** £2,500
- D. £2,500 **TO LESS THAN** £3,500
- E. £3,500 **TO LESS THAN** £4,000
- F. £4,000 **TO LESS THAN** £5,000
- G. £5,000 **TO LESS THAN** £6,500
- H. £6,500 **TO LESS THAN** £8,000
- I. £8,000 **TO LESS THAN** £10,000
- J. £10,000 **OR MORE**
- 97. NEVER WORKED IN THE UK
- 98. DOESN'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

58b. In the last month (UNEMPLOYED: last month you were working), what was your gross household's total income from all sources, including work, social security payments, rental income, pension, etc.?
[CHOOSE FROM THE FOLLOWING BANDS]

- A. **LESS THAN** £1,500
- B. £1,500 **TO LESS THAN** £3,000
- C. £3,000 **TO LESS THAN** £4,000
- D. £4,000 **TO LESS THAN** £5,500
- E. £5,500 **TO LESS THAN** £7,000
- F. £7,000 **TO LESS THAN** £9,000
- G. £9,000 **TO LESS THAN** £10,500
- H. £10,500 **TO LESS THAN** £12,000
- I. £12,000 **TO LESS THAN** £18,000
- J. **MORE THAN** £18,000
- 97. NEVER WORKED IN THE UK
- 98. DOESN'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

59. Do you cover all your household expenses and bills (GROCERIES, ELECTRICITY, TELEPHONE, RENTAL, CAR EXPENSES, ETC.) ...
[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

- 1. Without difficulty, or do you
- 2. Just about cover all your expenses, or do you
- 3. Not really cover all your expenses, or do you
- 4. Not cover your expenses at all.
- 98. DOESN'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

60. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your general economic situation at the moment?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

- 1. Totally dissatisfied, or
- 2. Somewhat dissatisfied, or
- 3. Not satisfied nor dissatisfied, or
- 4. Somewhat satisfied, or
- 5. Totally satisfied with your economic situation.

- 98. DOESN'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

WITH REGARD TO CHARITIES:

61a. Do you contribute to or volunteer your time for charities?

- 1. Regularly
- 2. Occasionally
- 3. Sometimes, depending on the organization or appeal
- 4. Never
- 98. DOESN'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

IF 1-3 THEN:

61b. Do you contribute to or volunteer help for charities concerned with any of the following and, if so, which?

[READ OPTIONS AND RECORD AS MANY AS MENTIONED]

- 1. The United Kingdom
- 2. South Africa
- 3. Other Africa
- 4. Israel
- 5. Other Middle East
- 6. Medical needs
- 7. Artistic/cultural
- 8. OTHER. SPECIFY:
- 98. DOESN'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

[YOU MAY CHOOSE MORE THAN ONE OPTION]

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

61c. Of all the time and contributions which you personally make to charity, how much is to Jewish charities and how much to other charities. Which of the following applies:

- 1. Definitely more to Jewish than other charities
- 2. Probably more to Jewish than other charities
- 3. Probably more to other than Jewish charities
- 4. Definitely more to other than Jewish charities
- 5. Equally to Jewish and other charities
- 98. DOESN'T KNOW
- 99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

61d. How important is it to you to contribute to Jewish charities?

- 1. Very important

- 2. Important
 - 3. Not really important
 - 4. Not important at all
 - 98. DOESN'T KNOW
 - 99. REFUSED
- ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

CONNECTIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA

The following questions touch on your continuing connection to South Africa.

62. When you were at school, say 16 years of age, where did you live?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. WHEN RESPONDENT GIVES POSITIVE ANSWER, DO NOT FORGET TO ASK FOR SPECIFIC LOCATION]

1. Country _____
2. City (IF YES, SPECIFY: _____)
3. Small town (IF YES, SPECIFY: _____)
4. Village (IF YES, SPECIFY: _____)
5. Farm (IF YES, SPECIFY NEAREST TOWN OR PROVINCE)
6. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

63. At this point in your life, how important was your South African identity to you?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Not important at all
2. Fairly unimportant
3. Neither important nor unimportant
4. Fairly important
5. Very important
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

64a. What type of attachment, or otherwise, do you feel towards South Africa now? Would you say that you have ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Negative feelings toward South Africa
2. No special attachment
3. Ambivalence
4. A moderate attachment
5. A strong attachment toward South Africa.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

64b. [IF 4 OR 5 ABOVE]: What is it about South Africa that you feel attached to?

[MULTI-MENTION: DO NOT PROMPT]

1. 'The People' in general
2. Family
3. Friends
4. Nostalgia: my roots are there/still my home/my place of birth/familiarity
5. Environment: weather/climate/landscape/scenery/outdoor life
6. Lifestyle/quality of life/way of life
7. Sport
8. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW

99. REFUSED
ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

65. How many times have you visited South Africa since you moved to the United Kingdom?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. None and I do not plan to do so.
2. None, but I plan to do so.
3. Once
4. Twice
5. Three times
6. Four times
7. Five or six times
8. Seven or eight times
9. Nine or ten times
10. More than ten times
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

66. How important is it for you to follow the news from South Africa? Do you ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Never follow South African news
2. Hardly ever follow South African news
3. Occasionally follow South African news
4. Follow South African news on a fairly regular basis
5. Follow South African news on a **very** regular basis.
6. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

67. How interested are you in South African popular culture, such as sports, music, theatre, arts etc? Are you...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Not interested at all
2. Fairly uninterested
3. Neither interested nor uninterested
4. Fairly interested
5. Very interested
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

68. Irrespective of whether or not you have children, how important is it to you that the children of South African immigrants in the UK will be familiar with South African culture and customs? Is it ...

[IF NO CHILDREN – ASK ABOUT FUTURE CHILDREN. READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Not important at all
2. Fairly unimportant
3. Neither important nor unimportant
4. Fairly important
5. Very important
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED
- 0 NOT RELEVANT

69. How important is it for you to keep in touch with other ex-South Africans, as South Africans? Is it...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Not important at all
2. Fairly unimportant
3. Neither important nor unimportant
4. Fairly important
5. Very important.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

70. Do you participate in organised activities for ex-South Africans?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Never, or
2. Very rarely, or
3. Sometimes, or
4. Quite frequently, or
5. Very frequently.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

71. To what extent do you keep in contact with:

Extent	71a. family and/or friends who remained in South Africa?	71b. family and/or friends who live abroad in countries other than South Africa?
Never		
Very rarely		
Sometimes		
Quite frequently		
Very frequently		
No, or very few relatives or friends left in SA/or in other countries		
DOESN'T KNOW		
REFUSED		

JEWISH IDENTITY

Moving from your South African identity, we now focus on questions about Jewish identity.

72. Are you ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Jewish by birth
2. Jewish by conversion
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

73. Is your spouse or partner ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Jewish by birth
2. Jewish by conversion
3. Non-Jewish
4. NO SPOUSE/PARTNER
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

74. Currently, which of the following statements best describes how you feel about your Jewishness?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Although you were born Jewish (or converted to Judaism) you do not think of yourself as being Jewish in any way.
2. You are aware of your Jewishness, but do not think about it very often.
3. You are aware of your Jewishness, but do not practise it in any way.
4. You feel quite strongly Jewish, but you are equally conscious of other aspects of your life.
5. You feel very conscious of being Jewish and it is the most important thing in your identity.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

75. In terms of Jewish religious practice, which of the following best describes your position currently?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. A secular Jew
2. A Reform/Progressive/Liberal Jew
3. Traditional, but not strictly Orthodox
4. Orthodox
5. Haredi: SPECIFY
6. Aish Hatorah
7. Masorti
8. Sephardi
9. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

76. With what frequency do you attend synagogue?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. At least once a week
2. Two or three times a month
3. About once a month
4. The High Holidays and a few times a year
5. Only on High Holidays (ROSH HASHANA, YOM KIPPUR)
6. Only on special occasions (e.g. bar-mitzvahs)
7. Not at all
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

77a. Were you ever enrolled (in SA or the UK) in a Jewish day school?

1. No
2. Yes. SPECIFY COUNTRY/COUNTRIES _____
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

77b. During your school going years, did you ever attend supplementary *cheder*/Hebrew/Jewish education classes which were not part of your normal school curriculum?

1. No
2. Yes. SPECIFY COUNTRY/COUNTRIES _____
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

78a. Considering your children who have left school, were any of them ever enrolled in a Jewish day school?

1. No
2. Yes. SPECIFY COUNTRY/COUNTRIES _____
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

[NOT RELEVANT – 0]

78b. Considering your children who have left school, during their school going years, did any of them ever attend *cheder*/Hebrew/Jewish education classes which were not part of their normal school curriculum?

1. No
2. Yes. SPECIFY COUNTRY/COUNTRIES _____
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

[NOT RELEVANT – 0]

79. Have you ever attended a Yeshiva/ Seminary?

1. No
2. Yes. SPECIFY COUNTRY/COUNTRIES _____
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

80a. IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN UNDER 22 YEARS OF AGE, do or did any of them ever attend/ belong to a Jewish or Zionist youth movement in South Africa?

[IF YES: Which? CAN HAVE MULTI-MENTIONS]

1. Habonim Dror
2. B'nei Akiva
3. Betar
4. Netzer/Maganim
5. Hashomer Hatzair
6. Young Israel
7. OTHER. SPECIFY:
8. Never
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

[NOT RELEVANT – 0]

80b. IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN UNDER 22 YEARS OF AGE, do or did any of them ever attend/ belong to a Jewish or Zionist youth movement in the United Kingdom?

[IF YES: Which? CAN HAVE MULTI-MENTIONS]

1. B'Nai B'rith Youth Organization
2. Betar
3. Bnei Akiva
4. FZY, the Federation of Zionist Youth
5. Habonim Dror
6. HANOAR HATZIONI
7. NCSY
8. RSY-NETZER
9. OTHER. SPECIFY:
10. Never
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

[NOT RELEVANT – 0]

81. For those who arrived under 22 years old: Have you personally ever attended/belonged to a Jewish or Zionist youth movement in the UK? [IF YES: Which? CAN HAVE MULTI-MENTIONS]

11. B'Nai B'rith Youth Organization
12. Betar
13. Bnei Akiva
14. FZY, the Federation of Zionist Youth
15. Habonim Dror
16. HANOAR HATZIONI
17. NCSY
18. RSY-NETZER
19. OTHER. SPECIFY:
20. Never
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

82. Which one of the following comes closest to describing your feelings about the Torah?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE.]

1. The Torah is an ancient book of history and moral precepts recorded by people
2. The Torah is the inspired word of God, but not everything need be taken literally
3. The Torah is the actual word of God.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

83. Do you carry out any of the following? Do you:

	Always	Sometimes	Never	Doesn't Know	REFUSED
83a. Light Sabbath candles					
83b. Observe the Sabbath					
83c. Observe Yom Kippur					
83d. Observe Rosh Ha'shanah					
83e. Observe Passover					
83f. Light <i>jahrzeit</i> candles on commemorative occasions					
83g. Have a mezuzah on your doorpost/s					
83h. Send Chanukah or 'Season's Greetings' cards to Jewish people					
83i. read the <i>Jewish Chronicle/News</i>					

84. What kind of meat, if any, is bought for your home?

1. None (vegetarian)
2. Only from a Kosher butcher
3. Sometimes from a Kosher butcher and sometimes from a non-Kosher butcher, but not pork products
4. From a non-Kosher butcher, but not pork products
5. Sometimes from a Kosher butcher and sometimes from a non-Kosher butcher, including pork products
6. From a non-Kosher butcher, including pork products
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

85. What proportion of your current friends (i.e. not just close friends) are Jewish?

1. Nearly all
2. Most
3. About half
4. A few
5. Almost none
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

86. What proportion of your social mixing or socialising is done with Jewish People?

1. Nearly all
2. Most
3. About half
4. A few
5. Almost none
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

87. In defining your own identity, to what extent do you feel or not feel the following:

[ASK FOR EACH CATEGORY SEPARATELY. FOR THE FIRST QUESTION READ THE DIFFERENT OPTIONS]

	Very much	Somewhat	Little	Very little	Not at all	DOESN'T KNOW/ REFUSED
87a. British	5	4	3	2	1	98/99
87b. Jewish	5	4	3	2	1	98/99
87c. Zionist	5	4	3	2	1	98/99
87d. South African	5	4	3	2	1	98/99

88. Would you say you feel ...

[RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. More British than South African
2. More South African than British, or
3. Both equally
4. Neither
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

89. Would you say you feel ...

[RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. More British than Jewish
2. More Jewish than British, or
3. Both equally
4. Neither
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

90a. Since your settlement in the United Kingdom, do you feel that you are now ...

1. More religiously observant than in South Africa
2. More secular than in South Africa
3. About the same (no change)
4. Neither
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

90b. Since your settlement in the United Kingdom, do you feel that your identity is ...

1. More prominently Jewish than in South Africa
2. Less Jewish than in South Africa
3. About the same (no change)
4. Neither
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

91. Is it important to you for your children/grandchildren ...

[RECORD AS MANY AS MENTIONED]

1. to have a knowledge of Israel (i.e. more than average)
2. to have a knowledge of 'Jewishness' (*Yiddishkeit*)
3. to have a knowledge of the Holocaust (i.e. more than average)
4. to join/attend Jewish societies in the community/at university
5. No children
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

92a. What do you think about the levels of anti-Semitism in the United Kingdom? Do you think that there is:

1. More anti-Semitism in Britain now than there was 5/6 years ago
2. Less anti-Semitism in Britain now than there was 5/6 years ago
3. About the same amount as 5 years ago?
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

92b. Do you believe that at present in Britain anti-Semitism is a:

1. Major problem
2. Minor problem
3. Not a problem at all?
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ISRAEL

We are now going to talk about issues relating to Israel.

93. Have you ever lived in Israel - and (if so) for how long?

1. Yes, for _____ years
2. No
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

94. Do you have any close friends or relatives living in Israel?

[SELECT MORE THAN ONE IF RELEVANT]

1. Close friends
2. Close relatives
3. Acquaintances
4. Extended family
5. Business acquaintances
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

95a. Have you ever visited Israel?

1. Yes
2. Never
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

95b. IF YES: How many times have you been to Israel since you have been living in the United Kingdom? _____

[ADD NUMBER]

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

96. How would you characterise your attachment towards Israel? Would you say it is ...

1. A Strong attachment
2. A Moderate attachment
3. No special attachment
4. Negative feelings towards Israel
5. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

97. In your opinion, should the state of Israel be ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. The state of the Jewish people, or
2. The state of all its citizens regardless of religion or national origin.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

98. Considering present developments in the Middle East, do you feel that Israel should give up some territory in exchange for credible guarantees of peace?

[NO NEED TO READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. No
2. Yes
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

99. Since leaving South Africa do you think you are ...

1. More Zionist than before
2. Less Zionist than before
3. About the same
4. Not a Zionist
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES

We have reached the final section of questions. Here we will focus on questions having to do with the area you live in.

100. For how many years have you lived in London? _____
[IF DOESN'T KNOW/REFUSED – RECORD 98/99]

101. How satisfied are you with living in London? Are you ...
[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Very dissatisfied
2. Somewhat dissatisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Somewhat satisfied
5. Very satisfied.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

102. Do you rent your home, or own it, or do you have some other residential pattern?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Owned by you or spouse
2. Owned by a family member.
3. Rented in the open market
4. Rented from the Council or a Housing Association
5. OTHER. SPECIFY:
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

103. Including yourself, how many people live in your home? _____
[IF DOESN'T KNOW/REFUSED – RECORD 98/99.]

104. How many rooms are there in your home, including living room and small rooms, but excluding kitchen, bathrooms, and rooms dedicated to business? _____

[IF DOESN'T KNOW/REFUSED – RECORD 98/99.]

105a. What is the proportion of ex-South Africans in your neighborhood currently? Are you ...

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. The only family
2. Limited number of ex-South Africans
3. Substantial number of ex-South Africans
4. Ex-South Africans are the vast majority in your area of residence.
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

****IF 1 SKIP TO Q. 106

105b. To what extent did the presence of ex-South Africans influence your decision to live in the area?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Not at all

2. A little
3. Somewhat
4. To a great extent
5. To a very great extent
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

ADD DEFAULT VALUE – '0'

106. To what extent was the desire to be in a Jewish environment or area in London important in your choice of residence initially and now?

[READ CATEGORIES BELOW. RECORD ONLY ONE RESPONSE]

1. Important initially and important now
2. Important initially, but not important now
3. Not important initially, but important now
4. Not important initially and not important now
98. DOESN'T KNOW
99. REFUSED

SOCIAL CONTACT WITH OTHER GROUPS

107. On a scale from 1 to 5 (where 1 is 'very pleased' and 5 is 'very unhappy'), how pleased would you be to have [READ CATEGORIES IN FIRST COLUMN] as your neighbors?

[ASK FOR EACH CATEGORY SEPARATELY. RECORD THE CATEGORY THAT IS MOST APPROPRIATE.]

	1	2	3	4	5	DOESN'T KNOW/ REFUSED
107a. Secular Jews	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
107b. Religious Jews	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
107c. Sephardi Jews	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
107d. Arabs	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
107e. Black African/Caribbean	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
107f. Jewish Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
107g. East Europeans (EU)	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
107h. Muslims	1	2	3	4	5	98/99

108 On a scale from 1 to 5 (where 1 is 'very pleased' and 5 is 'very unhappy'), how pleased would you be to have one of the following as the husband or wife of your child?

[IF RESPONDENT HAS NO CHILD, ASK HIM TO IMAGINE HE HAS ONE. ASK FOR EACH CATEGORY SEPARATELY. RECORD THE CATEGORY THAT IS MOST APPROPRIATE.]

	1	2	3	4	5	DOESN'T KNOW/ REFUSED
108a. Secular Jews	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
108b. Religious Jews	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
108c. Sephardi Jews	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
108d. Arabs	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
108e. Black African/Caribbean	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
108f. Jewish Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
108g. East Europeans (EU)	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
108h. Muslims	1	2	3	4	5	98/99
108i. Christian	1	2	3	4	5	98/99

CONCLUSION

Thank you very much for participating in this research project. We are positive that it will help to generate valuable knowledge which will help future generations of South African Jewish immigrants to this country.

109. We are planning to conduct more detailed interviews in the future. Would you be willing to participate in such an interview?

[NO NEED TO READ CATEGORIES.]

1. Yes.
2. No.

APPENDIX 2a: Letter of Invitation to Participate in the Research Survey

Dear

Your name was kindly suggested to us by [name] as someone who might be willing to assist us with a research project entitled '**Mapping the South African Jewish Community in the London Area**'. This project originates from the Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research at the University of Cape Town (www.uct.ac.za/faculties/humanities/research/kaplan) under the directorship of Professor Milton Shain.⁷⁹

On the British side, the research is being carried out by the Centre for Minority Studies of the Royal Holloway, University of London, under the directorship of Professor Humayun Ansari, OBE (<http://www.rhul.ac.uk/Minority-Studies/>). The research team will be led by Dr. Andrew Caplan, with administrative support by Equality Research and Consulting (<http://www.eqrc.org/>). The overall aim of this research project is to examine the impact of migration of South African Jews to the United Kingdom (specifically the Greater London area), with specific objectives including:

- identification of changes within this community over time
- examination of the impact of different settings and periods of migration
- descriptions of the integration of the migrants into their new communities
- exploration of the attitudes of migrants to their experiences
- comparisons with other groups of South African Jewish migrants.

Data will be derived from responses by individuals to a survey questionnaire, comparable to other surveys previously conducted, which will focus on the behaviour, beliefs, and attitudes of South African Jewish migrants. It is anticipated that the interview will take up to an hour to complete on average. The research team hope to complete their fieldwork by Spring 2010. We guarantee confidentiality and anonymity to all interviewees.

We hope that you will be able to participate in this important project. If you agree to participate, please confirm by e-mailing jjackson@eqrc.org or telephoning June Jackson at **01932 561320** to make an appointment (***please provide a contact telephone number***) at your convenience to complete the survey questionnaire.

Yours sincerely

Andrew Caplan

Dr A. S. Caplan

Senior Researcher, Centre for Minority Studies Department of History

Royal Holloway University of London

Egham Surrey, TW20 0EX

⁷⁹ The Kaplan Centre is an autonomous centre, located within the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, which seeks to stimulate and promote the field of Jewish studies and research with a special focus on the South African Jewish community. It has already supported similar researches into the impact of migration of South African Jewish migrants to Australia and to Israel.

APPENDIX 2b: Flyer

‘Mapping the South African Jewish Community in the London Area’.

This project originates from the Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research at the University of Cape Town (www.uct.ac.za/faculties/humanities/research/kaplan) under the directorship of Professor Milton Shain. The Kaplan Centre is an autonomous centre, located within the Department of Hebrew and Jewish Studies, which seeks to stimulate and promote the field of Jewish studies and research with a special focus on the South African Jewish community. It has already supported similar researches into the impact of migration of South African Jewish migrants to Australia and to Israel.

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Data will be derived from responses by individuals to a survey questionnaire, comparable to other surveys previously conducted, which will focus on the behaviour, beliefs, and attitudes of South African Jewish migrants. It is anticipated that the interview will take up to an hour to complete on average. The research team hope to complete the bulk of interviews by the end of 2009. We guarantee confidentiality and anonymity to all interviewees.

We hope that you will be able to participate in this important project. If you agree to participate, please confirm either by letter, by e-mail to a.caplan@rhul.ac.uk or telephone me direct on **0208 941 5425** and we can make an appointment at your convenience to complete the survey questionnaire.

Andrew Caplan

*Dr A. S. Caplan
Senior Researcher, Centre for Minority Studies
Department of History
Royal Holloway University of London
Egham Surrey, TW20 0EX*

‘Mapping the South African Jewish Community in the London Area’

The Centre for Minority Studies of the Royal Holloway, University of London

wants to interview South African Jews living in the London area for a major research study funded by the

Isaac & Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies & Research at the University of Cape Town

(www.uct.ac.za/faculties/humanities/research/kaplan).

If you are interested, or know anyone who is, please contact:

June Jackson on 01932 561320

for further details or to make a booking. Interviews take 45 mins to an hour and can be conducted at home, at work, at Royal Holloway’s premises in London, or by telephone. We guarantee confidentiality and anonymity to all interviewees.

Andrew Caplan
Dr A. S. Caplan
Senior Researcher, Centre for Minority Studies
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Egham Surrey, TW20 0EX