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Kaplan Centre JEWISH STUDIES

The Jews of South Africa in 2019

Identity, community, society, demography

David Graham

JCSSA JEWISH COMMUNITY SURVEY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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The Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) is a London-based independent research organisation, consultancy and think-tank. It aims to advance the prospects of Jewish communities in the United Kingdom and around the world by conducting research and informing policy development in dialogue with those best placed to positively influence Jewish life.

The Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research was established in 1980 at the University of Cape Town by the Kaplan Kushlick Foundation and is named in honour of the parents of Mendel and Robert Kaplan. An autonomous centre, with its own governing body, the centre is the only one of its kind in South Africa. The centre stimulates and promotes the field of Jewish Studies, with a special research focus on Jewish life in South Africa. This is the fourth national study of the Jews of South Africa undertaken by the Kaplan Centre.

Author

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This study was produced by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research and the Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research at the University of Cape Town.

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/ Introduction and acknowledgements

The data presented in this report are the result of work undertaken over the course of almost three years by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research and the Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research at the University of Cape Town.

Our shared goal from the beginning was to conduct a survey of Jews in South Africa to generate data to support planning for the community. However, in order to do so, we first needed to determine how best to conduct such a survey from a methodological point of view. Thus, before embarking on the process of gathering new survey data, we worked together to gather key sources of existing data to construct an up-to-date socio-demographic profile of the South African Jewish population.

The best source of such information in many countries is a national census, and since the early twentieth century, the South African census has provided valuable information about Jews in the country. However, the last time a religion question was asked in the South African census was in 2001 and significant changes are known to have taken place in the community since then. Importantly, large numbers of South African Jews have emigrated from the country, a process which began as early as the 1970s, with an estimated 21,000 Jews leaving between 1970 and 1979 alone;[1] this has continued up to the present day, albeit at highly varied rates along the way. In addition, internal movement has taken place between South African cities, as well as other processes common to all Jewish communities: changes in age structure and patterns of Jewish identification.

Moreover, all this has been happening in the context of a country that has experienced profound social and political change, which will inevitably have left its mark on all South Africans, including South African Jews. The past two decades began with a sustained period of rapid economic growth that was interrupted by the global financial crisis and ended with a long period of economic and political malaise. Nevertheless, as this report confirms, the Jewish community has been galvanised and, in many ways, is thriving. It has adapted to new and ever-changing realities in the spheres of education and welfare, and has approached religious and cultural life in positive and innovative ways. Indeed, while some of its creativity has been inspired by initiatives elsewhere, it has also served as a source of innovation to Jewish communities worldwide.

Given that the size of South Africa's Jewish population has not been systematically re-examined since 2001, it was particularly important to utilise this opportunity to undertake that work.[2] The pre-survey socio-demographic work involved gathering information about Jewish births and deaths, geographical distributions, Jewish school enrolment and synagogue membership. This ensured we had access to a reliable demographic profile of the South African Jewish population that could be used

1 Dubb, A.A. (1994). *The Jewish Population of South Africa: The 1991 Sociodemographic Survey*. Kaplan Centre – Jewish Studies and Research, University of Cape Town, p.20.

2 DellaPergola, S. (2018). *World Jewish Population, 2018*. Number 23 (reprinted from the American Jewish Year Book 2018), Berman Jewish DataBank, Table 4 p.20.

to weight data derived from the survey itself. In many respects, each of these issues could constitute a study in and of itself. Nevertheless, the key results of this preliminary work have been incorporated into this report, alongside an estimate of the size of the contemporary South African Jewish population.

Most importantly, this work confirmed that it would be possible to undertake a national survey of the South African Jewish population using the methodology outlined in the appendices to this report. The Jewish Community Survey of South Africa 2019 (JCSSA) is the first national survey of the Jewish population to take place since 2005.[3] The fieldwork for it took place between May and July 2019, and it generated a final sample size of 4,193 individuals (aged 18 and over) living in 2,402 unique households.[4] Accounting for everyone living within those unique households (e.g. spouses and children) as well as those in communal institutions such as care homes, meant that we have been able to draw on data on 5,287 individuals. A response on this scale is extraordinary and reveals a great deal about the Jewish community's desire to participate in the exercise and better understand the many issues covered in this report.

JCSSA was carried out online and should be considered representative, if not of every conceivable Jewish person in South Africa, then of every Jewish person who is ever likely to engage with the Jewish community during their lifetime. A detailed description of the methodology can be found in the appendices.

This project is preceded by a long history of survey taking in the South African Jewish community, dating back to the 1970s and indeed earlier. Three major studies have been carried out on behalf of the Kaplan Centre since 1990: by Allie Dubb in 1991 (N=1,755 households); by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research in 1998 (N=1,000 households); and by Shirley Bruk in 2005 (N=1,000 households).[5] Each of these played a valuable part in informing our work.

JCSSA was carried out online and should be considered representative, if not of every conceivable Jewish person in South Africa, then of every Jewish person who is ever likely to engage with the Jewish community during their lifetime

However, focusing on the specific work that has been done to produce this report, there are a number of people we want to acknowledge and thank. The project as a whole was overseen by a small management team, comprised of Oren Kaplan and Associate Professor Adam Mendelsohn, Director of the Isaac and Jessie Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies at the University of Cape Town, ourselves from JPR, and Professor Stephen H. Miller OBE, a leading specialist in the social scientific study of Jews and a senior research adviser to JPR, who provided independent academic advice and feedback. This team met regularly throughout

3 Bruk, S. (2006). *The Jews of South Africa 2005 – Report on a Research Study*. Shirley Bruk Research on behalf of the Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research at the University of Cape Town.

4 It is important from an analytical point of view to distinguish between responses from individuals and responses from unique households. If more than one person from the same household answers the questionnaire, which is possible in an online survey, there are several household-based measures that would be distorted if all the responses are included and this is known as double-counting. For example, if we asked whether kosher meat is consumed at home, we are primarily interested in gathering household-level data. The results would be unreliable if some households answered this question multiple times and other households only answered it once.

5 Kosmin, B.A., Goldberg, J., Shain, M. and Bruk, S. (1999). *Jews of the 'new South Africa': highlights of the 1998 national survey of South African Jews*. Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London and Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research at the University of Cape Town; Dubb 1994, op. cit.; Bruk 2006, op. cit. See also: DellaPergola, S. & Dubb, A. (1988). 'South African Jewry: A Sociodemographic Profile.' *The American Jewish Year Book*, 88, pp. 59–140.

the process to provide input on all key elements of the research, including reviewing and approving the survey questionnaire to determine the subjects and means of inquiry, and interrogating the analysis and write-up of the findings. We are particularly grateful to Oren for his substantial and ongoing support for the project and for ensuring that empirical data underlie decision-making in South African Jewish communal life, and to Adam for ensuring the project had full professional oversight within South Africa and for supporting the survey team throughout the process. We thank Stephen for his sharp insights on methodology, questionnaire design, data analysis and write-up, all given voluntarily. As ever, his insights have been invaluable.

Beyond the core management team, many different people brought their skills and experiences to the project and we are particularly grateful to Lisa Tuck, formerly at Ipsos South Africa, who steered the project from Johannesburg during the fieldwork stage, on behalf of Ipsos. The project also benefited immensely from the creative expertise of Elyse Chert, who conceived and managed the entire marketing campaign. Libby Young of Go Africa applied her skills and professionalism to all website-related matters, and Dr Kerri Serman, of the Kaplan Centre at UCT, gave generously of her time and resources whenever needed by the survey team. Thanks too to Richard Goldstein, Director of Operations at JPR, who helped to manage key aspects of the project in London, as well as to Judith Russell of JPR, who managed the editing of the final manuscript and worked closely with Autumn Forecast and her design team at Soapbox to produce the polished version of the report you see in front of you.

We also wish to thank the numerous Jewish community leaders in South Africa who supported the survey by allowing us to access three community registers forming the bedrock of the sampling process, answering multiple queries, and providing valued advice and feedback. In particular, we wish to thank Saul Tomson and Glenn Chalmers at the Chevrah Kadisha ('The Chev') in Johannesburg for their assistance.

Finally, we wish to thank Reviva Hasson, formerly of the Kaplan Centre, who performed two essential roles in this project. First, Reviva was instrumental in assisting with the huge data gathering exercise required for the project's preliminary work in assessing the present state of statistical data on Jews in South Africa. Second, it would simply not have been possible to carry out such a complex survey without her dedication and professionalism as the project's 'eyes and ears on the ground' throughout the entire process.

Our role in the project was made easier by the input of all these people and others working behind-the-scenes. Our wish is that the data in this report – and indeed in the dataset as a whole – will be used to support discussion in the South African Jewish community about how best to maintain and build Jewish life in the country going forward. Whilst some of the findings are undoubtedly challenging, there is much in here that should give the community a sense of pride, and plenty to help community leaders to develop thoughtful and constructive policies for the future.

Dr Jonathan Boyd, JPR Executive Director
Dr David Graham, JPR Senior Research Fellow

/ Executive summary

The survey

The Jewish Community Survey of South Africa (JCSSA) was an online survey carried out between May and July 2019. The sample contains data on 4,193 Jewish respondents aged 18 and above living in 2,402 separate households.

Unless otherwise stated, all figures below relate to Jewish respondents across South Africa in 2019. All JCSSA data have been weighted.

Jewish population size

For the period 2016 to 2019, South Africa's Jewish population was estimated to be 52,300. The estimated Jewish population of Johannesburg was 30,000 (58%), Cape Town 12,500 (24%), and Durban 3,400 (7%). Jews comprise 0.09% of the national population.

Demography

- The median age of the South African Jewish population (including children) is 45 years.
- Of all Jews living in Johannesburg, 34% are aged 60 and above; in Cape Town the equivalent proportion is 46% and in Durban 58%.
- Average household size: 2.27 persons per household.
- Using communal data sources on circumcisions as a proxy, an estimated 516 Jewish babies were born in 2015. In Johannesburg circumcisions have been declining by 3.4% annually since the mid-1990s.
- Using communal data sources on Jewish burial and cremation data as a proxy, an estimated 722 Jewish deaths occurred in 2015. Communal data from Johannesburg show deaths have been declining by 1.7% annually since the mid-1990s.
- Therefore, 266 more Jewish deaths occurred than Jewish births in 2015, indicating natural decline over time.
- 65% of Jews aged 18 and above are married and living with their spouse.
- According to communal sources, an estimated 245 Jewish marriages took place in 2015. In Johannesburg the numbers of Jewish marriages have been declining by 3.3% annually since the mid-1990s, and declining by 2.4% annually in Cape Town since 2003.

Country of birth and citizenship

- 89% of Jews in South Africa were born in the country; of the remaining 11%, a quarter was born in Zimbabwe, a fifth in the UK, and a further fifth in Israel.
- 96% hold South African citizenship. Of these, a quarter hold citizenship of at least one other country.

Migration

- 69% of those currently living in Johannesburg have always lived there. The proportion of those who have always lived in Cape Town is 50%.
- 3% of Joburgers lived in a different region of South Africa five years before the survey, compared to 6% of Capetonians. It is likely that a net Jewish population flow away from Johannesburg towards Cape Town took place over this period.
- 37% say they are likely to move from their current location in the next five years (whether to a different suburb, city or abroad): 60% of those aged under 30 and 54% of those who are 'Single (never married)'; 37% of those in Johannesburg, and 30% of those in Cape Town.
- Top reason given for wanting to live in a different part of South Africa: to seek a better lifestyle.
- 41% of those who said they are likely to move in the next five years (that is 15% of overall) say they would leave South Africa; of these, 51% say they would go to Israel.
- Top reason for wanting to live in a different country: concerns about the future of South Africa (political stability/government).
- 43% say that they have considered leaving South Africa permanently in the past year: 46% of Joburgers, 39% of Capetonians, 37% of Durbanites; 62% of those aged 40–44.
- 57% have close family (parents, siblings, children, grandchildren) who have left South Africa; 86% of those aged 80+.
- Country of residence of immediate family members who have left South Africa: Israel 26%, USA 21%, Australia 20%, UK 20%.

Jewish identity

- 86% have two Jewish parents; 10% have one.
- 6.7% have converted to Judaism (some of these had a Jewish-born parent).
- 64% in Johannesburg and 49% in Cape Town rate the strength of their Jewish identity at 9–10 on a scale running from 1 (low) to 10 (high).
- 47% in Johannesburg and 25% in Cape Town assess their degree of religiosity at 7 or above on a scale running from 1 (low) to 10 (high).
- 88% in Johannesburg completely agree with the statement 'I am proud to be a Jew'. The equivalent proportion in Cape Town is 81%.
- 71% in Johannesburg completely agree with the statement 'I believe in God,' compared to 51% in Cape Town.
- 85% of Jews in South Africa completely agree that 'upholding strong moral and ethical behaviour' is important to their sense of Jewish identity. 53% say the same about believing in God, and 20% about 'studying Jewish religious texts.'
- Compared with Jews in Australia and the UK, South African Jews are more likely to select 'very important' to a standard set of thirteen Jewish identity markers. Overall, Jewish identity in South Africa appears to be stronger, and more religious, than in either Australia or the UK.
- 32% currently self-identify as Traditional, 30% as Orthodox, 14% as Secular/Cultural and 12% as Progressive/Reform, whereas 45% were brought up Traditional, 26% Orthodox, 7% Secular/Cultural and 9% Progressive/Reform.
- In Johannesburg 48% self-describe as either Orthodox or Strictly Orthodox, compared with 22% in Cape Town and 28% in

Durban. In Cape Town 40% self-describe as Progressive or Secular, compared with 18% in Johannesburg.

- 81% attend a Passover *seder* meal and 76% fast on Yom Kippur every year. 21% refrain from using electric light switches on Shabbat every week.

- 33% of households eat only kosher meat at home; 13% eat pork products there.

- 28% of individuals eat only kosher meat outside the home.

- 99% have circumcised their son(s); 90% of these circumcisions took place under Jewish religious auspices.

- 57% of Jews in Johannesburg read Hebrew quite well or better, compared to 48% in Cape Town.

- 80% of Jews in Johannesburg say that more than half or all of their friends are Jewish; in Cape Town the equivalent proportion is 60%, in Durban it is 48%. In South Africa overall it is 71%, compared to 68% in Australia, and 56% in the UK.

Synagogue life

- Communal data indicate an estimated 12,867 Jewish households belonged to 103 synagogues in South Africa in 2019. 59% were in Johannesburg and 30% in Cape Town. 84% of synagogue members belong to Orthodox synagogues.

- An estimated 57% of Jewish households belong to a synagogue.

- 74% of all respondents said they attended a synagogue on Yom Kippur in the previous year, 72% on Rosh Hashana. 33% attend synagogue 'once a week or more often'; 18% had not attended a synagogue in the previous year at all.

Jewish community life

- 76% of males had a bar mitzvah; 40% of females had a bat mitzvah.

- 45% of all South African Jews attended youth movement camps, and 40% attended youth movement meetings. 33% attended Habonim Dror and 20% Bnei Akiva. However, among those under 30, 21% attended Habonim Dror and 37% Bnei Akiva.

- 78% said they attended at least one Jewish communal event in the previous year; 37% said they attended the Shabbos Project.

- 19% said they were currently a board or committee member of a Jewish communal group, organisation or institution. Men are twice as likely as women to be board members (10% of men versus 5% of women), but equally likely as women to serve on committees.

- 47% read *The South African Jewish Report* frequently, 31% occasionally.

- 67% feel very well accepted by the Jewish community, 23% feel somewhat accepted, 6% feel not very well accepted or not accepted at all. The less religious respondents are, the more likely they are to say they do not feel very well accepted.

- 74% agree with the statement that 'the organised Jewish community goes to great lengths to help the underprivileged majority in South Africa;' 11% disagree.

Israel

- 89% have visited Israel; 21% in Johannesburg have visited ten or more times, compared with 15% in Cape Town and 10% in Durban.
- 32% say it is likely they will permanently settle in Israel at some point in the future; 37% of all Joburgers, 21% of all Capetonians.
- 66% feel strongly attached to Israel, 24% feel moderately attached.
- 69% self-define as Zionist, 18% do not, 11% are unsure.
- 92% agree 'Israel is the ancestral homeland of the Jewish people', 51% say they 'support the elected government of Israel right or wrong.'
- 57% say it is sometimes or always acceptable to criticise Israel in the Jewish public sphere; 37% say it is sometimes or always acceptable to do so in the broader South African media.
- 83% feel it is never acceptable for Jews to publicly support a boycott of Israel.

Charitable giving and volunteering

- 51% have done voluntary work in the previous twelve months, 39% have not done any.
- 46% have volunteered in the past year for Jewish organisations; 34% for non-Jewish organisations.
- Charitable priorities: 64% give the highest priority to Jewish charities in South Africa; 20% to general charities in South Africa.
- 71% gave more than half of the total amount they had personally donated in the past year to Jewish charities.
- In the year prior to the survey, 59% donated to Jewish welfare causes and 44% donated to a local synagogue.
- 12% said they did not donate to any Jewish charitable cause in the previous year; 26% said they did not donate to any non-Jewish charitable cause.
- 27% said they had supported animal welfare causes; 23% homelessness; 22% support for children.
- Four in ten gave between R501 and R5,000 to charities in the previous year; only 7% gave nothing. On average, Joburgers gave more than Capetonians.

Intermarriage

- 12% of all Jews in South Africa are currently intermarried: 6% of Joburgers, 18% of Capetonians and 29% of Durbanites. Men are more likely to be intermarried than women (14% to 10%). People in their fifties are more likely to be intermarried than any other age band.
- 19% of Jews marrying between 2015 and July 2019 married a non-Jew.
- For the period 2010 to 2014, South Africa's intermarriage rate was 17%, compared with 21% in Australia, 26% in the UK, and 58% in the US.

Jewish schooling

- Overall, 35% of Jews in South Africa attended a Jewish primary school in South Africa, and 38% attended a Jewish high school.
- 75% of school-aged Jewish children in South Africa currently attend Jewish schools.
- Among families with school-aged children, 72% only send their children to Jewish schools, 26% only to non-Jewish schools, and 2% to both Jewish and non-Jewish schools. In Johannesburg 77% only send to Jewish schools, in Cape Town the equivalent figure is 69%.
- The main reasons why parents choose to send their children to Jewish schools are to help strengthen their child's Jewish identity and sense of belonging to the Jewish community.
- The main reasons why parents choose to send their children to non-Jewish schools are convenience and a desire to give their children a more diverse cultural experience.
- 55% of families with a child(ren) at a Jewish school say the cost entails significant or major financial sacrifices.
- 39% of families with school-age children say the cost of Jewish schooling may have impacted their decision to have more children.
- Drawing on official data sources, it is estimated that 6,189 Jewish pupils attended Jewish schools in South Africa in 2016.

Life in South Africa and crime

- 74% have a very or quite strong sense of belonging to South Africa.
- 61% are satisfied with their life in South Africa, 18% are dissatisfied.
- 94% say that unemployment is a 'very big' problem in South Africa; similar proportions say the same about government corruption (93%) and crime levels (87%). The proportions saying the same about antisemitism and anti-Israel sentiment are 31% and 57% respectively.
- 66% feel unsafe walking alone in their local neighbourhood after dark: 79% among women, 51% among men; 68% overall in Johannesburg, 61% in Cape Town.
- 50% feel crime has increased in their neighbourhood over the previous five years: 54% among women, 47% among men; 43% in Johannesburg, 63% in Cape Town.
- 23% of householders have been a victim of burglary in the past five years.
- 5.3% of individuals have been the victim of an assault in the past five years; 6.9% among men, 3.9% among women.
- 13% of women have felt discriminated against in the past year on the basis of their sex, compared to 4% among men.
- 9% of women had been harassed in a public setting (e.g. a street or a shop) in the past year; 8% said they had felt discriminated against in a Jewish communal setting.
- 26% have felt discriminated against on the basis of their skin colour at some point in the past year; 20% have felt discriminated against on the basis of their Jewishness.
- 80% feel that Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) has only benefited a small minority; 42% feel that it has adversely affected them directly; 19% feel that it has successfully reduced inequality.

Antisemitism

- 92% feel that anti-Israel sentiment has increased over the past five years; 74% feel the same about anti-Jewish sentiment. The older respondents are, the more likely they are to feel both have increased.

- 38% say that antisemitism is a very big problem on the internet; 33% say it is in political life; 31% in the media. Joburgers are more likely than Capetonians to believe each was a very big problem. The younger respondents are, the more likely they are to feel that antisemitism on the internet is a very big problem.

- 10.5% have personally witnessed an antisemitic incident in the past year. Younger people are more likely than older people to have seen this (e.g. 18% of those aged 18–39, compared to 2% of those aged 80+) and men are more likely than women (14% versus 8%).

- 8.8% have personally experienced an antisemitic attack in the past year, mostly involving verbal insults or harassment. Younger people are more likely than older people to have experienced this (e.g. 12% of those aged 18–39, compared to 4% of those aged 80+) and men are more likely than women (11% versus 7%).

- The more religious respondents are, the more likely they are to have witnessed or experienced an antisemitic incident.

- 68% have heard Israel labelled an 'apartheid state' in the past year, and 63% have heard non-Jewish people call for a boycott of Israeli products.

- 78% consider a non-Jew calling for a boycott of Israeli products to be either probably or definitely antisemitic; 75% feel the same way about non-Jews labelling Israel an apartheid state.

Socio-economic wellbeing and disadvantage

- 38% of Jewish South Africans are employed full-time, 19% are self-employed full-time.

- 16% are retired. In Durban, where the population is older, 20% are retired, compared with 18% in Cape Town and 12% in Johannesburg where the population is younger.

- 59% hold a bachelor's degree or above; 76% among those aged 30–39.

- Median pre-tax personal income = R421,000; median pre-tax household income = R803,000; median household income is higher in Johannesburg than in Cape Town.

- 28% in Johannesburg self-describe as 'just getting along' or 'poor', compared to 23% in Cape Town and 18% in the rest of South Africa.

- 10% of respondents said they had to reduce the size of their meals in the previous year because they did not have sufficient money to buy food: 12% in Johannesburg, 8% in Cape Town; 14% of those aged 40–59; and 14% of those identifying as strictly Orthodox/ Haredi/Chasidic.

- 7% said that they or a household member had to forgo prescription medicine in the previous year because they could not afford it; 5% said they or a household member had sought financial assistance from the Jewish community.

- 84% of families employ domestic help/staff; 51% in Johannesburg employ at least one full-time member of staff at home, compared with 32% in Cape Town.

- 15% have made no financial provisions for their retirement, although the proportion decreases as age increases.

Health and welfare

- 13% report fair, bad or very bad general health, rising to 20% of those aged 75–79, and 34% of those aged 85+.

- 32% report some level of anxiety or depression; 30% some degree of pain or discomfort.

- 27% look after a close relative with physical or mental ill health; 14% look after or give regular help or support to an elderly family member with physical ill health.

1 / Demography

1.1 Jewish population estimate

By far the best source of geographic and demographic data any community could wish for is a national census: when censuses include a question on religion, as some do, they produce a potential goldmine of information for any Jewish community wishing to understand itself and its place in a national context. Unfortunately, the last time South Africa's census included a question on religion was in 2001, almost twenty years ago, and the Jewish community has undergone considerable change since then. Nevertheless, it is worth noting what was found at that time.

The 2001 Census recorded 61,675 Jews in South Africa.[6] Given that not every Jew necessarily identified as Jewish in that census, this figure could arguably be adjusted to 69,142 Jews.[7] Indeed, this latter number has formed the basis of all scholarly assessments ever since, including the most recent World Jewish Population report which placed the estimate at 69,000.[8] However, a detailed assessment carried out by the JCSSA team in the lead-up to the project concluded that this figure can no longer be empirically justified.

In the absence of any recent census data, it was necessary to use alternative approaches to estimate the current size of South Africa's Jewish population. In doing so, it must be recognised that all population estimates of this type are necessarily provisional, even those based on census data. However, in the present case, our confidence in our estimate is increased by triangulation – an approach that applies multiple methods and utilises multiple sources to derive several alternate estimates. In the course of our work, we derived four separate estimates of South Africa's Jewish population and calculated the average of these, resulting in a total population estimate of 52,300 for the period 2016–2019 (see Appendix 1). To put this figure in context, the national population of South Africa was estimated to be 58.8 million people in mid-2019, meaning Jews comprise 0.09% of the total.

1.2 Age structure

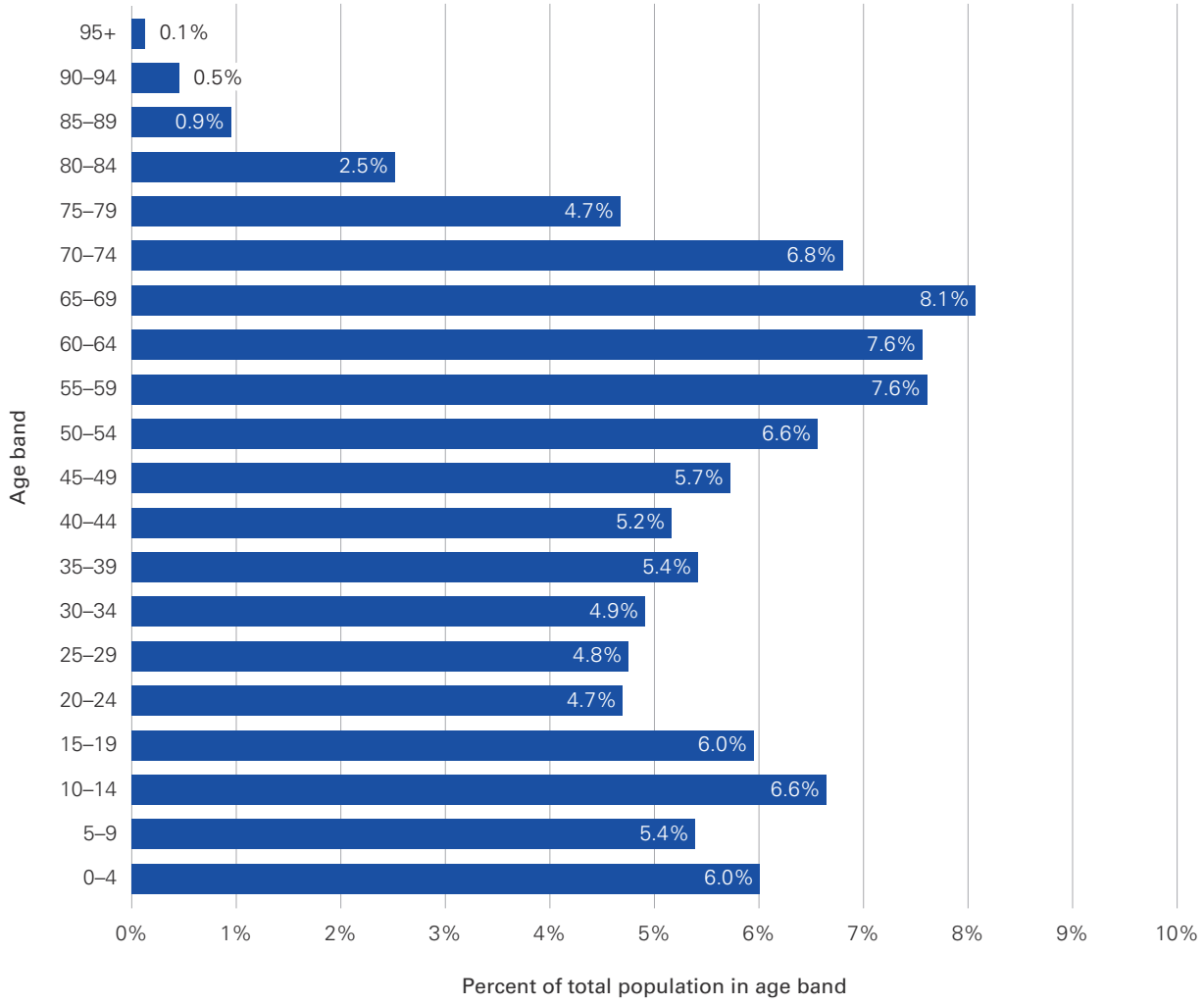
While JCSSA respondents were limited to South African Jews aged 18 and above, the survey also captured information about other people who lived in their households, many of whom were not eligible to take part in the survey, for example, children and non-Jewish adults. A total of 5,287 Jewish individuals were sampled in this way, providing an opportunity to estimate the age structure and average age of the South African Jewish population as a whole.

6 Note this figure is for Jews who self-identified as White. See Appendix 4 on page 101 for an explanation of the significance of skin colour to this question.

7 2% of White respondents did not answer the religion question and 8.8% reported No religion. This assumes Jews report No religion at the same rate as other Whites. There is no evidence to suggest non-White Jews amounted to more than a few hundred at most.

8 DellaPergola, S. (2018). *World Jewish Population, 2018*. Number 23 (reprinted from the American Jewish Year Book 2018), Berman Jewish DataBank, Table 4, p.20.

Figure 1. Age structure of the South African Jewish population, 2019 (N=5,287)*



* Estimated age structure including data from householders about the ages of other household members.

The median age (i.e. the age of the middle person when everybody is arranged in age order from youngest to oldest) is 45 years, similar to the median age of Australia's Jewish population (44 years).[9]

The age structure of South Africa's Jewish population is shown in Figure 1. It presents a 'top heavy' pattern with relatively large numbers of older people and relatively few in the younger age groups, which is typical of many diaspora Jewish communities.

In terms of the sex ratio, there are slightly more females than males, with 104 Jewish females for every 100 Jewish males.

JCSSA data indicate that there is a difference in age structure between the three largest Jewish geographical centres in South Africa. Johannesburg appears to have the youngest population (likely related to it being a more Orthodox community – Figure 30 on page 39), with 30% aged 18 to 40, compared with 16% in Cape Town and 7% in Durban which has

9 Source: Graham, D. and Narunsky, L. (2019). *The Jewish population of Australia: Key findings from the 2016 Census*, p.28. JCA/Monash University.

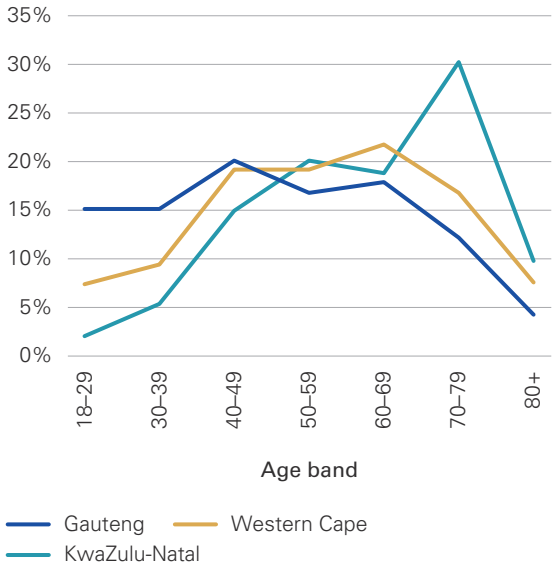
the oldest population (Figure 2). By contrast, 34% of Johannesburg's population is aged 60 or over, compared with 46% in Cape Town and 58% in Durban.

1.3 Average household size

In addition to recording information on individual Jews, JCSSA was designed to identify unique Jewish households[10] and to allow a designated person within each household to provide some details about other people living in their household. The final sample contains data on 2,402 unique households.

The average size of Jewish households in South Africa (excluding domestic staff) was 2.27 persons per household (2.65 including domestic staff). Over a quarter (26%) of householders live alone (rising to 31% when domestic staff are excluded). The likelihood of living alone increases with age: about 7% of each group under 50 lives alone, rising to 37% among those in their eighties and 48% for those in their nineties.

Figure 2. Age structure by location* (population aged 18 and over) (N=4,193)



* For statistical reasons, we have occasionally referred to provincial regions rather than cities. Nevertheless, JCSSA data indicate the vast majority of Jews in Gauteng (92%) lives in Johannesburg; the vast majority in Western Cape (92%) lives in Cape Town; and the vast majority in KwaZulu-Natal lives in Durban (90%).

1.4 Population group

South Africa's complex and troubled history with race inevitably means that the issue remains an important aspect of demographic analysis. The South African census includes a question on 'population group,' as does Statistics South Africa's Community Survey (see Appendix 6). In 2016 this survey found that 81% of people selecting Judaism as their religion said they were White, implying that almost one in five Jews in the country is non-White (and of these 59% were Black).[11] A detailed analysis of these data (and similar data from South Africa's 2001 Census) showed that, whatever the reason non-White South Africans chose to identify as Jewish, there is no evidence that the vast majority can be meaningfully considered part of the organised Jewish community. Geographically, socially, educationally and economically these non-White Jews are all but indistinguishable from the general South African population. (A more detailed assessment and justification is presented in Appendix 4 on page 101.) That is not to say all Jews in South Africa are White, nor that all White Jews are at variance from the South African norm, but rather, that JCSSA has found that 98.2% of respondents (aged 18 and above) identify as White.

10 Since JCSSA was an online survey, it was possible for more than one person in a household to complete the questionnaire. However, some analyses are based on the household unit and it is important to be able to anonymously identify households where multiple people have responded to avoid double counting such households.

11 Author's calculations based on analysis of the 2016 Community Survey dataset published by Statistics South Africa and downloaded from DataFirst. The sample contains 3.3m datapoints of which 1,371 are Jewish and 903 of these are White. The 95% confidence interval for this White sub-sample is ±6.5%.

1.5 Sexual orientation

The vast majority (95.1%) of South African Jews aged 18 and above identified as being heterosexual, with 2.6% identifying as gay or lesbian and 1.1% identifying as bisexual.

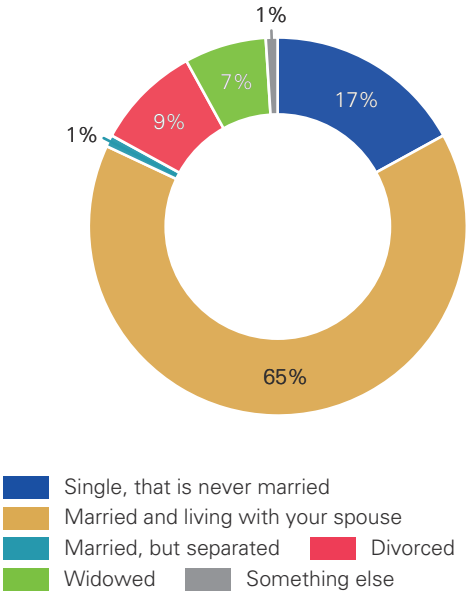
1.6 Marital status

Two out of three (65%) respondents are married and living with their spouse (Figure 3). Among the third of the population for whom this is not the case, 30% of them (i.e. 11% of all adult Jews) said they were nevertheless in a long-term partnership, whether or not they were living with that partner.

1.7 Jewish weddings[12]

As part of the preliminary work for the JCSSA study, data were collected on the number of Jewish weddings that had taken place in South Africa in recent years. In 2015, 181 Orthodox Jewish weddings took place in Johannesburg and 33 took place in Cape Town (Durban has around three per year) – a national total of 217. In addition to these, we estimated that there were about 27 Progressive marriages in 2015, giving a grand total of 245 Jewish marriages in that year.[13] As South Africa is considered a destination country for marriages, it is not known how many of these weddings involved couples who do not live there.

Figure 3. Marital status (age 18 and above) (N=4,193)



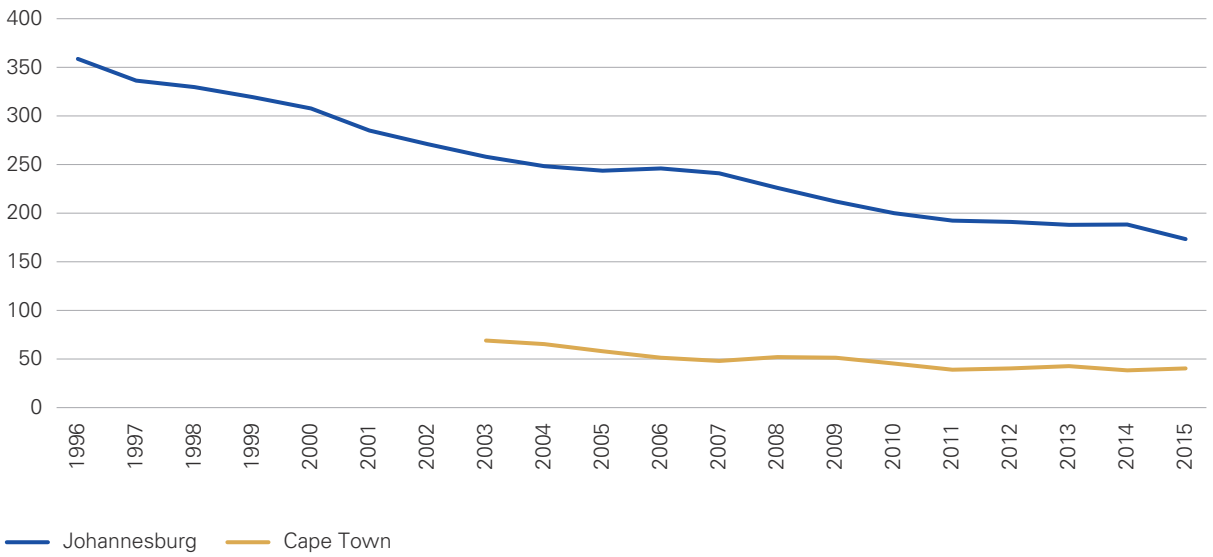
Q: What is your current legal marital status?

Annual (Orthodox) marriage data are available from Johannesburg going back to 1995 and from Cape Town back to 2003. They reveal a steady decline in Jewish marriages in Johannesburg from an average of 359 in the mid-1990s to 173 in recent years. This represents an annual average decline of 3.3% (i.e. the number of Orthodox Jewish weddings taking place has decreased by just over 3% every year since the mid-1990s). Marriage data for Cape Town also show a decline of 2.4% annually from 2003.

12 Note that this section, and the following two on births and deaths (1.8 and 1.9), present statistics almost exclusively sourced from Jewish community records. As such, their reliability and quality vary, and we do not advise placing too much reliance on any particular data point. However, as with similar data gathered in other countries, their value lies in terms of the unique temporal perspective they offer. Even countries with censuses that include a religion question can only obtain year-on-year records using these kinds of datasets. Their inclusion here is primarily because, averaged out and taken as a whole, they provide an independent and unambiguously clear indicator of Jewish population change in South Africa over a period that has been data-poor in this regard.

13 We were unable to obtain the number of Progressive marriages that took place in Johannesburg, although it was suggested to the team that the ratio of Orthodox to Progressive marriages is around 11:1. Data from Cape Town indicate it is around 3:1 (see: Serman, K. and Mendelsohn, A. (January 2020). *A Demographic Snapshot of the Affiliated Cape Town Jewish Community*, Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies, University of Cape Town, pp.8–9).

Figure 4. Number of Jewish marriages per annum*, Johannesburg and Cape Town, 1995–2016^



* Orthodox weddings only.
^ All data points are three-year averages.
Source: Johannesburg: Beth Din, Cape Town: Beth Din.

1.8 Jewish births

In the absence of data from birth certificates or the national census on how many Jews are born each year in South Africa, circumcision data provide a valuable proxy resource. Despite only applying to males, information on the sex ratio at birth allows us to extrapolate the size of the whole birth cohort.

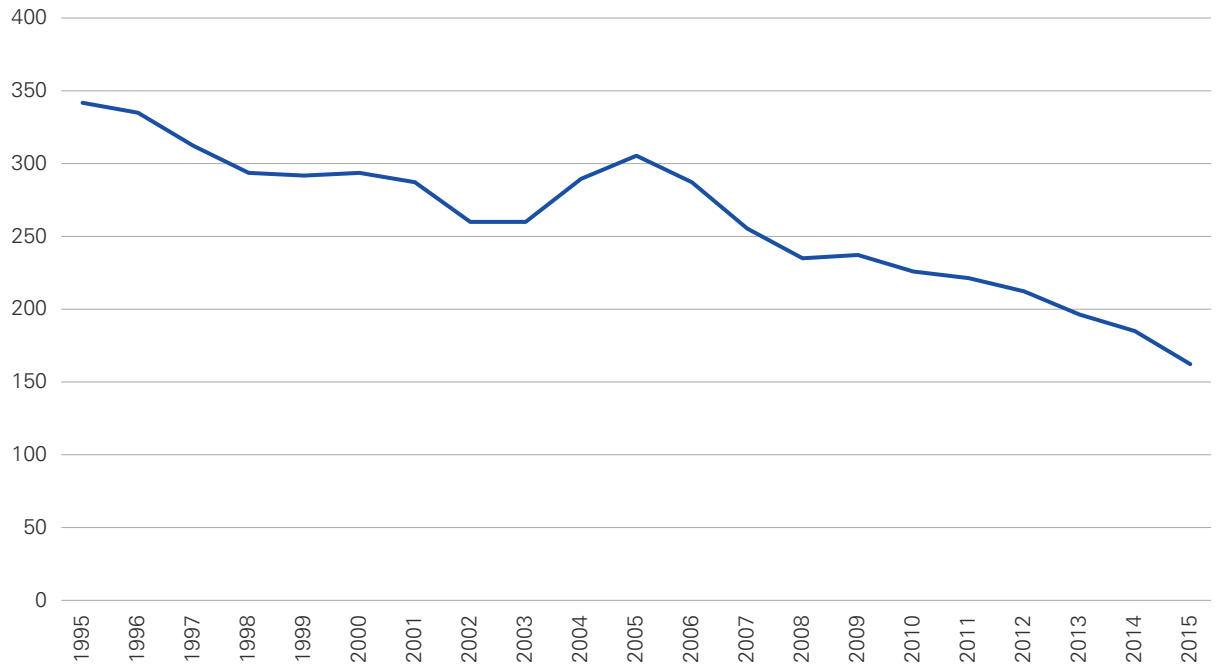
The survey team collected data on the number of circumcisions recorded in South Africa in recent years. In 2015, 172 were recorded in Johannesburg, about 90 in Cape Town, and about 3–4 per year in Durban – a total of 265.[14] Since we know from JCSSA that virtually all parents circumcise their male children (Table 6 on page 40) and that, on average, approximately 105 boys are born for every 100 girls (a biological constant), we can estimate that about 516 Jewish babies were born in South Africa in 2015 (and an average of 484 for the period 2015–2016 used in the natural change calculation below).

Circumcision data are also available from Johannesburg going back to 1995 and these reveal a more or less steady decline in circumcision numbers, and therefore births, over the period shown, from an average of around 350 in the mid-1990s to an average of just above 150 in the last few years, an average annual decline of 3.4%. It can be assumed that the main reason fewer and fewer Jewish babies are being born each year is that the size of the Jewish female population of reproductive age is also declining year on year, rather than fewer Jews choosing to circumcise their babies or a major decline in fertility rates.

Separately, JCSSA data reveal that the average age of women at first birth is 28 years old.

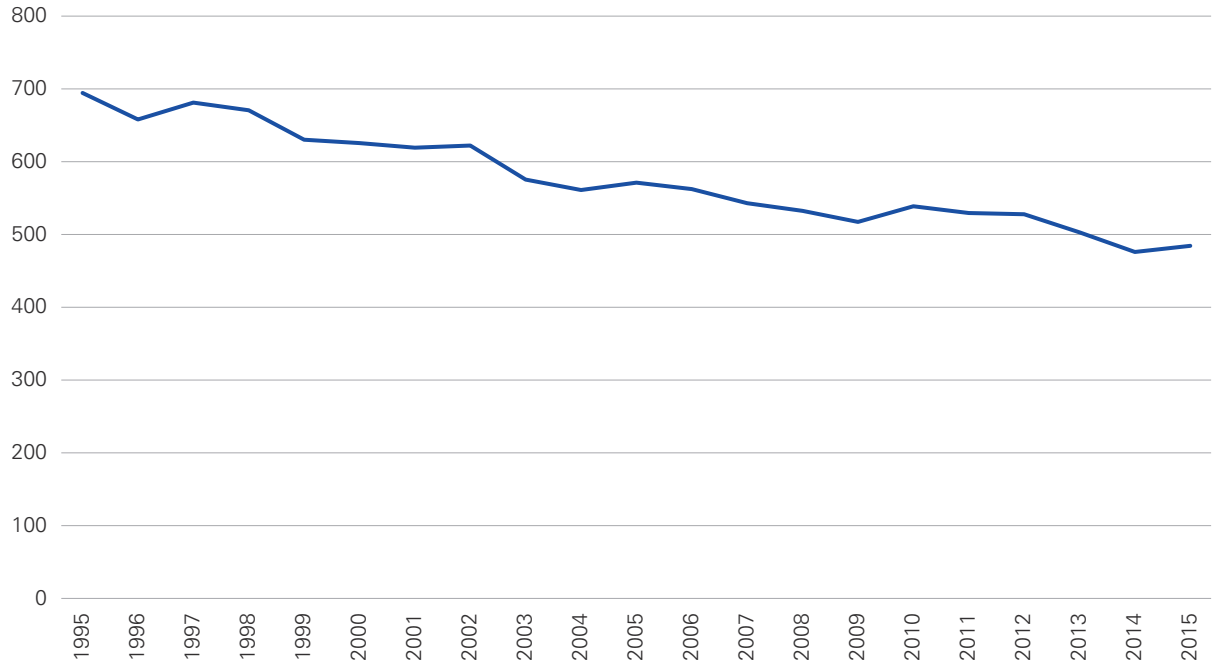
14 More recent data relating to Cape Town in 2019, gathered just prior to publication, suggest the figure of 90 circumcisions in 2015 may be an overstatement and so caution should be exercised. Source: Johannesburg Beth Din, and personal communication with the relevant mohelim in Cape Town and Durban.

Figure 5. Number of circumcisions per annum^, Johannesburg, 1994–2016*



^ Circumcisions held under Orthodox auspices only.
* All data points are three-year averages.
Source: Johannesburg Beth Din.

Figure 6. Number of Jewish burials per annum^, Johannesburg, 1994–2016*



^ Orthodox burials only.
* All data points are three-year averages.
Source: Johannesburg Chevrah Kadisha.

1.9 Jewish deaths

In the absence of data from death certificates on how many Jews die each year in South Africa, funeral data provide a valuable proxy resource. The survey team collected data on the number of Jewish burials and cremations that took place in South Africa in recent years. In 2015, 472 were recorded in Johannesburg, 229 in Cape Town, and 21 in Durban – a total of 722.[15] About 7% of these funerals were cremations.

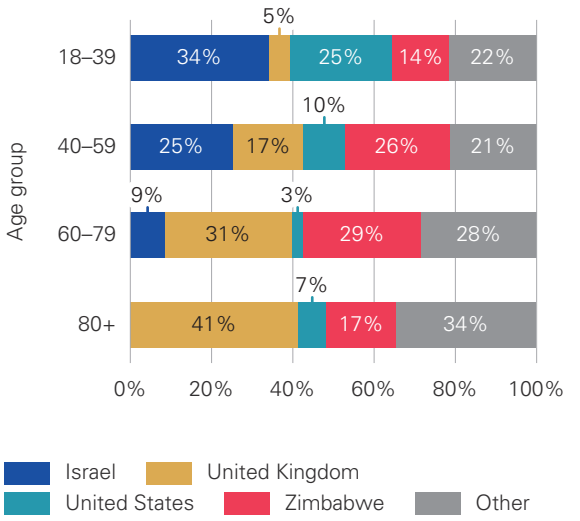
Jewish burial data are available from Johannesburg going back to 1995 and these reveal a steady decline in numbers over the period, from an average of around the high 600s in the late-1990s to under 500 since 2014, an average annual decline of 1.7%.

1.10 Natural population change

In summary, we have recorded an average of 751 Jewish deaths in South Africa for the period 2015–2016 and inferred an average of 484 Jewish births for the same period. This suggests that for every two births there are three deaths. The difference between these numbers is known as the level of 'natural' population change over the period, in this case, an excess of 266 deaths over births. Note this figure does not reflect other population changes resulting from net migration and assimilation.

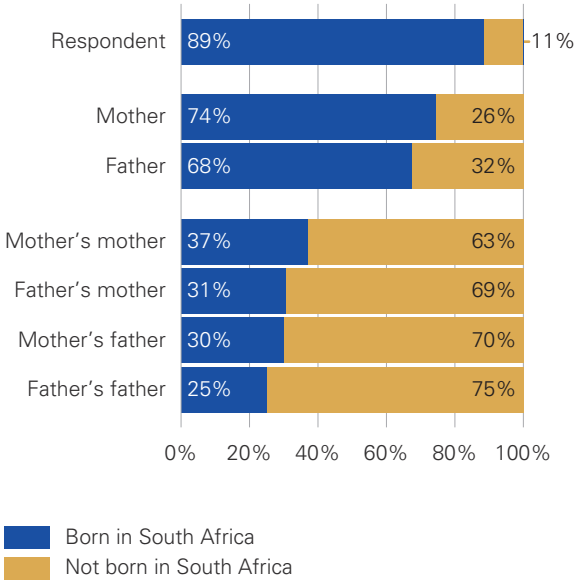
We have recorded an average of 751 Jewish deaths in South Africa for the period 2015–2016 and inferred an average of 484 Jewish births for the same period. This suggests that for every two births there are three deaths

Figure 7. Country of birth by age group for non-South African born Jews age 18+ (N=469)



Q: In which country were you born? Please relate your answers to present day geographical borders.

Figure 8. Country of birth of respondent, respondent's parents and grandparents (N=4,193 per item)



Q: In which country were you born?; In which country were the following members of your family born? Please relate your answers to present day geographical borders.

15 Sources: Burials – Chevra Kadisha of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban; Cremations – Johannesburg Beit Emanuel, Cape Town Progressive Temple Israel, Progressive Community Durban.

1.11 Country of birth

The vast majority (89%) of respondents was born in South Africa. Among the 11% who were not, two out of three were born either in Zimbabwe (24%), the UK (22%) or Israel (19%). However, this is sensitive to age: the younger a person is, the more likely they were to have been born in Israel and the less likely they were to have been born in the UK (Figure 7). Moreover, half (50%) of these non-South Africa born respondents arrived before 1980, whereas 16% have arrived since 2000.

Whilst 89% of South African Jews today are native born, evidence of the population's immigrant background can be seen by looking at the birthplaces of respondents' parents and, even more so, their grandparents. Depending on the respondents' gender, 68% or 74% of their parents were born in South Africa, whereas this is the case for just 25% to 37% of their grandparents (Figure 8). The country that respondents' grandparents are most likely to hail from is Lithuania (with proportions ranging from 22% to 31%, and among respondents aged 60 and above, this rises to between 36% and 43%).

1.12 Citizenship and language

Whilst 89% of respondents were born in South Africa, 96% hold South African citizenship. Of those who hold South African citizenship, 25% hold citizenship of at least one other country, i.e. the majority holds South Africa citizenship only.

In line with these figures, almost all Jewish South Africans' "main language or mother tongue" is English (97%) (99% among those born in South Africa). Among those for whom it is a different language, 40% identify Hebrew and 18% Afrikaans as their mother tongue. (Knowledge of Hebrew is discussed separately in Section 3.8.)

2 / Geography and migration

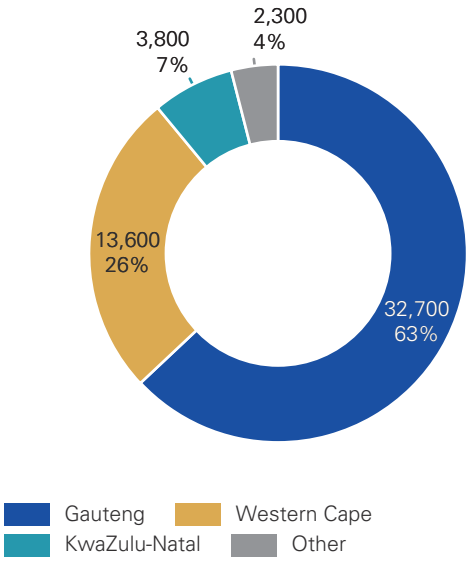
2.1 National population distribution

The distribution of Jews across the country can be obtained from Statistics South Africa's 2016 Community Survey (see Appendix 6). To our knowledge, this is the only comprehensive, independent source of data available about the full geographical distribution of Jews across the country. Applying these percentages to the population estimate of 52,300 (see Appendix 1) indicates that Gauteng has the largest Jewish population, with an estimated 32,700 people (63% of the total), followed by Western Cape with 13,600 (Figure 9). Together, these two provinces account for 89% of Jews in South Africa, with most living in the urban areas of Johannesburg and Cape Town respectively.

Gauteng has the largest Jewish population, with an estimated 32,700 people (63% of the total), followed by Western Cape with 13,600

At a more detailed level of geography we find that eight out of ten (81%) respondents live in either Johannesburg or Cape Town (Table 1). Indeed, JCSSA data indicate that over half (52%) of respondents live in just four postcode areas: 28% in 2192 (Highlands North, Glenhazel, Orange Grove, Linksfield); 10% in 8005 (the Atlantic seaboard from Green Point to Camps Bay); 10% in 2196 (Sandton); and 4% in 2090 (Waverley, Savoy, Bramley, Kew and Wendywood). Three-quarters of the entire population lives in just sixteen postcode areas of South Africa.

Figure 9. Estimated Jewish population distribution by province, South Africa, 2019^*



^ Data have been rounded to the nearest 100 people. As a result, these estimates total 52,400, although the population estimate should still be considered 52,300. Proportions are based on data from the 2016 Community Survey (see Appendix 6).
* For statistical reasons, we have occasionally referred to provincial regions rather than cities. Nevertheless, JCSSA data indicate the vast majority of Jews in Gauteng (92%) lives in Johannesburg; the vast majority in Western Cape (92%) lives in Cape Town; and the vast majority in KwaZulu-Natal lives in Durban (90%).

2.2 Population movement

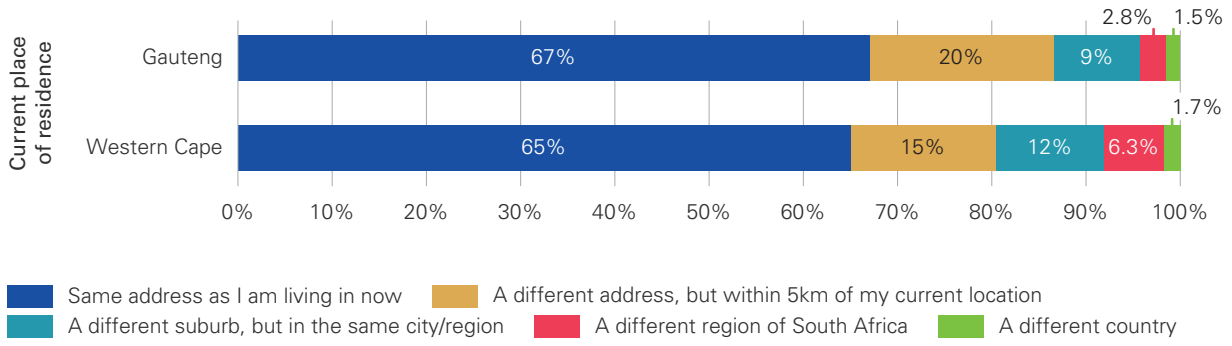
Most respondents (59%) have always lived in their area of residence (or within 5km of that location). This, however, is more likely to be the case for those in Johannesburg (69%) than those in Cape Town (50%), suggesting that Capetonians are more mobile than Joburgers. Since 1990, Capetonians have also moved more recently, with 69% having last moved more than 5km distance, compared with 57% of those from Johannesburg.

Table 1. Estimated Jewish population size by detailed area*

Province	City/sub region	Estimated population	Proportion
Gauteng	City of Johannesburg^	30,000	57.5%
Western Cape	City of Cape Town^	12,500	23.9%
KwaZulu-Natal	Durban/Umhlanga – eThekwini^	3,400	6.5%
Gauteng	East Rand – Ekurhuleni^	1,000	2.0%
Western Cape	Western Cape Province (other than Cape Town)	1,000	2.0%
Gauteng	Pretoria – City of Tshwane^	900	1.7%
Gauteng	Gauteng Province (other than Johannesburg, Pretoria and East Rand)	700	1.3%
Other	Port Elizabeth – Nelson Mandela Bay^	700	1.4%
Other	Eastern Cape Province (other than Port Elizabeth)	700	1.4%
Other	Free State Province	500	1.0%
KwaZulu-Natal	KwaZulu-Natal Province (other than Durban)	400	0.8%
Other	Other	300	0.6%
Total		**52,100***	**100.0%**

^ = Metropolitan Municipality.
* Data have been rounded to the nearest 100 people. As a result, these estimates total 52,100, although the population estimate should still be considered 52,300. Proportions are based on data from the 2016 Community Survey (see Appendix 6).

Figure 10. Place of residence five years prior to the survey (N=3,990)



Q: Where did you usually live FIVE years ago?

Respondents from Cape Town were also slightly more likely than respondents from Johannesburg to say they had moved within the last five years (35% versus 33%) (Figure 10). They were additionally more likely to have moved further; for example, they were more than twice as likely to have moved from a different region of South Africa than those currently living in Johannesburg (6.3% versus 2.8% respectively). The data further allow us to explore the migratory flows between the main Jewish centres and whilst it is not possible to put an exact figure on these, it appears that there is a net positive flow from Johannesburg to Cape Town (i.e. Cape Town gains at the expense of Johannesburg), although more work is required to establish this conclusively.

To summarise, respondents from Cape Town move more, move more often and move further than respondents from Johannesburg. In addition, there appears to have been a net population flow away from Johannesburg and towards Cape Town in the five years preceding the survey, although it is not possible to establish the magnitude of that flow.

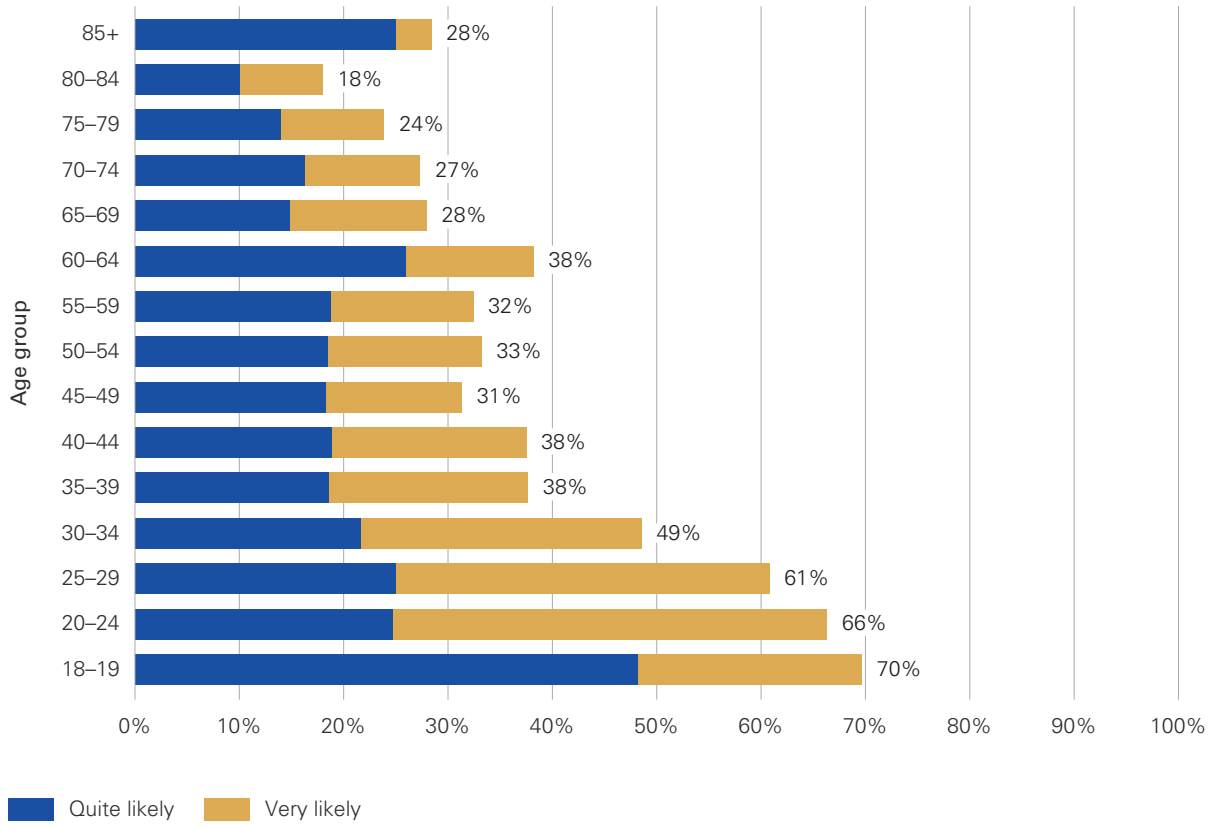
Among those who had moved to a different region of South Africa in the five years prior to the survey, the main reasons for doing so were 'Career move/study related move' (37%), 'To be with family/partner' (19%), and 'Better lifestyle (cultural life, outdoor life)' (14%).

2.3 Plans to move

More than one in three respondents (37%) said they were 'quite likely' (19%) or 'very likely' (17%) to move from their current location in the next five years, whether to a different suburb, city or abroad. People who were 'Single (never married)' were particularly likely to say this (54%). This was also more likely to be the case for respondents in Johannesburg (37%) and Durban (39%) than for those in Cape Town (30%), and for men (38%) than women (34%). However, one of the main factors is age – the younger a person is, the more likely they are to consider moving in the near future (Figure 11). For example, over 60% of respondents aged under 30 said it was likely they would move from their current location, compared with under 30% of those aged 65 and above.

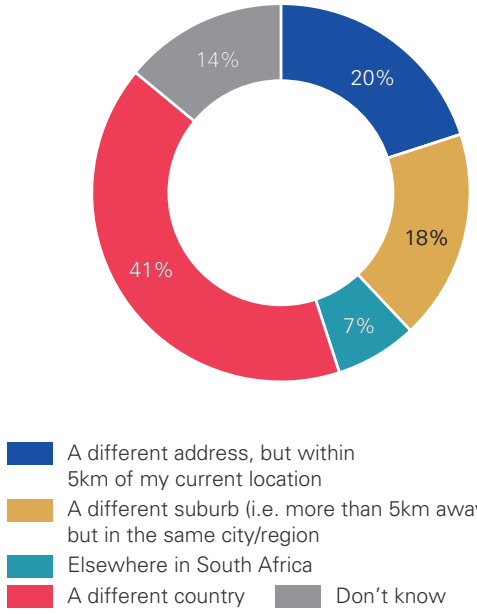
When asked where respondents planned to move to, two in five (38%) said they would move locally i.e. within the same suburb, city or region. Whilst 14% did not know where they would move to, 7% said they were likely to move to a different region of South Africa, with over half of this sub-group (53%) preferring Cape Town, compared to 22% who preferred Johannesburg. The main reason given for moving to a different part of South Africa was for a 'Better lifestyle (cultural life, outdoor life)' (37%).

Figure 11. Likelihood of moving from current place of residence to a different suburb, city or abroad in the next five years, by age (N=4,193)



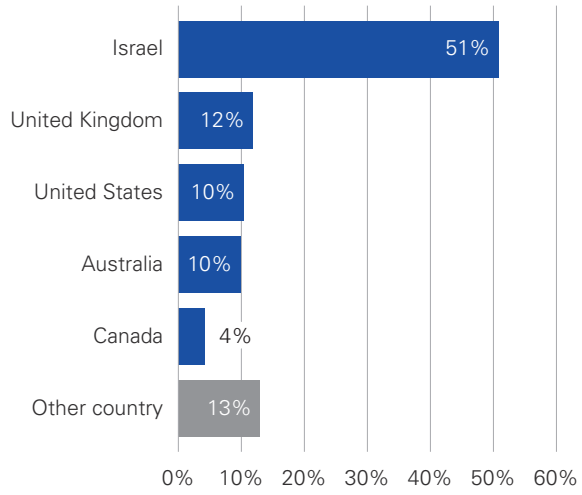
Q: How likely are you to move from your current location in the next FIVE years, including abroad?

Figure 12. Preferred destination of those likely to move in next five years* (N=1,384)



Q: Where would you move to in the next FIVE years?
* Asked of anyone who said it was very or quite likely they would move from their current location in the next five years.

Figure 13. Preferred destination of those saying they were likely to emigrate from South Africa in next five years (N=555)



Q: Where would you move to in the next FIVE years?

2.4 Plans to move internationally

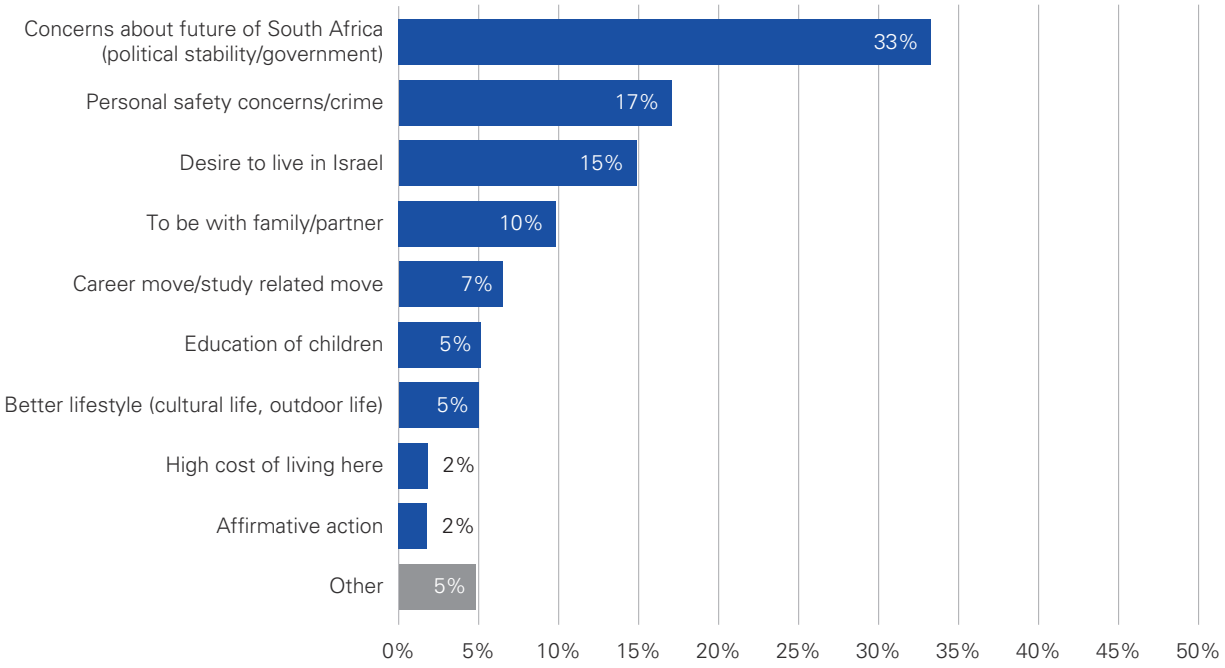
However, it was those who said they would likely leave South Africa who constituted the largest sub-group (41%) (Figure 12).[16] This amounts to 15% of the entire sample of South African Jews aged 18 and above. The preferred destination for would-be emigrants was Israel (51%), far ahead of any other country (Figure 13). (See also Figure 51 regarding *aliya*.)

Respondents were asked to list the three main reasons why they would likely move to a different country in the next five years. In all three cases, the top reason given was 'Concerns about the future of South Africa (political stability/government).' One in three (33%) gave this as their first main reason for wanting to leave South Africa, followed, at some distance, by 'Personal safety concerns/crime' (17%) and 'Desire to live in Israel/Aliya' (15%) (Figure 14). Given that more than half cited Israel as the country they hoped to move to, it is notable that any pull factors of Israel do not appear to be as potent as some of the push factors from South Africa.[17]

16 There are many potential pitfalls in drawing comparisons between JCSSA data and earlier surveys (for example, different methodologies, different question wording and/or answer options, and different weighting strategies). However, an examination of the 1998 (Kosmin et. al. 1999, op. cit.) and 2005 (Bruk 2005, op. cit.) raw datafiles (unweighted) indicates that, among those who said they were somewhat or very likely to move to a different country, 41% in 2019 can tentatively be compared with 14% in 2005 and 41% in 1998.

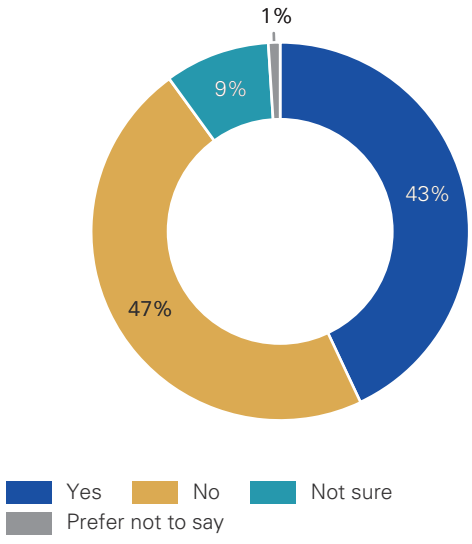
17 When the first, second and third main reasons are combined, a similar picture arises, with 27% citing 'Concerns about future of South Africa (political stability/government)', 19% citing 'Personal safety concerns/crime' and 11% citing 'Desire to live in Israel'.

Figure 14. First main reason given for wishing to emigrate from South Africa (N=555)



Q: Why would you consider leaving South Africa?

Figure 15. Have respondents considered leaving South Africa for another country, on a permanent basis, over the past twelve months? (N=4,193)

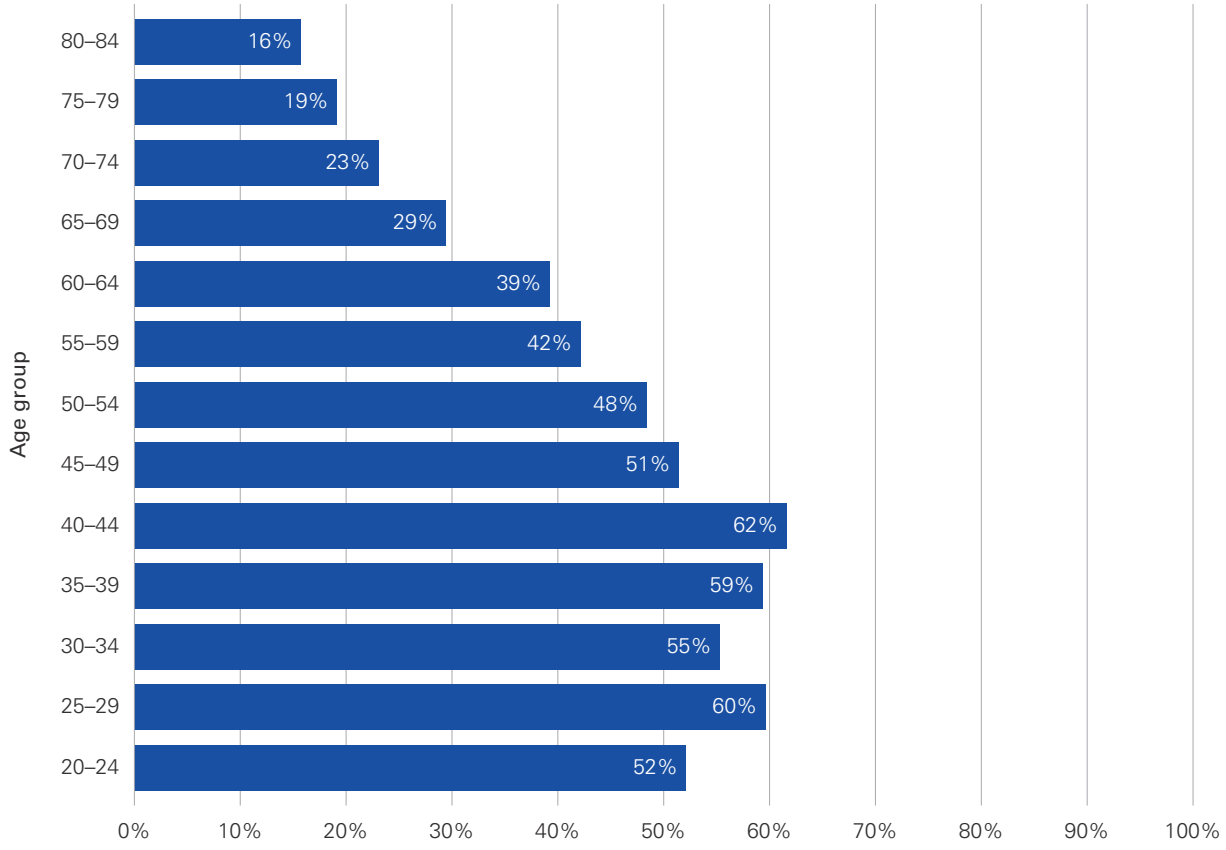


Q: In the last 12 MONTHS, have you considered permanently leaving South Africa to live in another country?

Finally, all respondents were asked whether they had, at any point in the previous twelve months, considered permanently leaving South Africa to live in another country. This was asked irrespective of reported intentions or plans to do so and is indicative of 'collective state of mind' rather than a reflection of actual plans to emigrate. Almost half (47%) said they had not considered a permanent move but a substantial minority (43%), said they had (Figure 15). The remaining 10% were not sure or were unwilling to say.

The proportion saying they had considered leaving South Africa varied by location. Those living in Johannesburg were most likely to say this (46%), compared to those in Cape Town (39%) and Durban (37%). Age is also an important factor here: among respondents aged under 50 years, more than 50% had considered leaving in the previous twelve months, peaking at 62% among those in their early forties (Figure 16). However, after age 45, the likelihood of people considering leaving South Africa steadily declines.

Figure 16. Proportion of each age group who had considered permanently leaving South Africa to live in another country in the last twelve months* (N=4,193)



Q: In the last 12 MONTHS, have you considered permanently leaving South Africa to live in another country?
* Including 'Not sure' and 'Prefer not to say.'

Men are more likely to say they had considered leaving South Africa than women (45% versus 40%) and more than half (54%) of single 'Never married' respondents had considered this.

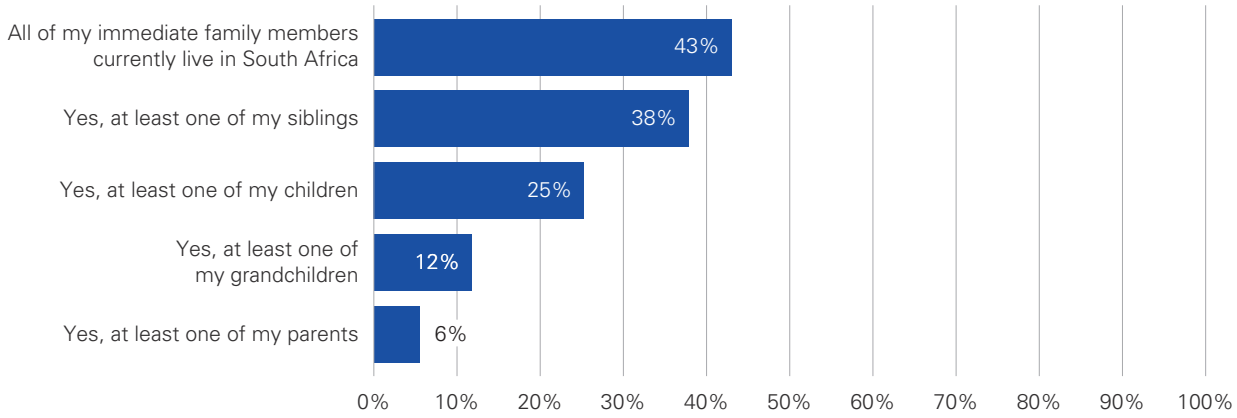
2.5 South Africa's Jewish diaspora

Respondents were asked to tell us about immediate family members (i.e. parents, siblings, children or grandchildren) who had left South Africa and were now living in another country. The survey revealed that almost three in five (57%) respondents had close family living abroad. In Figure 17 we see that 38% said at least one sibling lived abroad, 25% said at least one child, 12% at least one grandchild and 6% said at least one parent.

Among those with children living abroad, 41% said this was the case for two or more children. Among those with grandchildren living abroad, 35% said this was the case for four or more grandchildren.

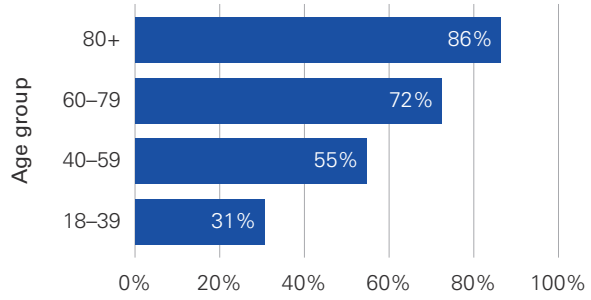
Given that younger people are more likely to emigrate, it is unsurprising that the older people are, the more likely they are to have close family living abroad. For example, this is the case for just 31% of those aged under 40 but it applies to almost all (86%) of those aged 80 and above (Figure 18). Further analysis showed that 46%

Figure 17. Proportions of Jews in South Africa with immediate family members living abroad (N=4,193 for each item)



Q: Do any of your immediate family members who USED TO LIVE in South Africa, CURRENTLY live in another country, and if so, how many? Please indicate up to four relations per category.

Figure 18. Proportion of each age group with at least one immediate family member* living abroad (N=4,193)



Q: Do any of your immediate family members who USED TO LIVE in South Africa, CURRENTLY live in another country, and if so, how many? Please indicate up to four relations per category.
* An immediate family member was defined as a parent, sibling, child or grandchild.

of those aged between 40 and 59 had at least one sibling living abroad and 73% of those aged 80 and above had at least one child living abroad.

There are four main countries in which immediate family members live. First is Israel: just over a quarter (26%) of respondents have close family there. However, the three other key destinations share almost exactly the same proportions: USA 21%; Australia 20%; and the UK 20% (Figure 19). These four destinations account for almost all (87%) of immediate family members living abroad.

73% of those aged 80 and above had at least one child living abroad

In Australia, where the Jewish population totals 118,000 people, South African-born Jews make up 13% of that total, and as much as 26% in Western Australia.[18]

The exact size of the South African Jewish diaspora is unknown but could be accurately estimated with some dedicated research. The survey team did not set out to investigate this figure and so the following calculation should be considered provisional at best. 15,635 South African-born Jews appeared in Australia's 2016 Census (an adjusted figure) and 6,671 appeared in the 2011 Census of England and Wales (an unadjusted figure).[19] In Israel, data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) for

18 Graham and Narunsky (2019), op. cit. p.27.
19 Graham and Narunsky, op. cit. p.28; ONS 2011 Census table CT0283 – Country of birth.

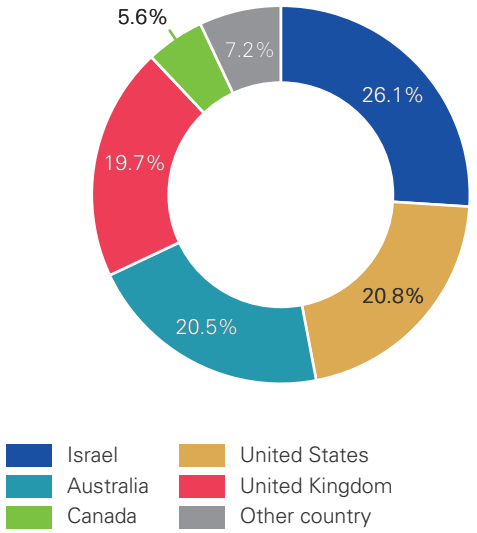
mid-2018 reveal 13,800 Jews born in sub-Saharan Africa (excluding Ethiopia). There were possibly 8,000 South African-born Jews in Canada in 2018.[20] Together these totals sum to about 44,000 but this excludes the United States. If, as noted in Figure 19, we can assume that 21% of Jewish South African emigrants have gone to the US, then the total, including the US, would be around 56,000 (as 44,000 is 79% of the total). If this is the case (and it should be stressed, these calculations are provisional estimates), the expatriate population may now be larger than the Jewish population in South Africa.

2.6 Jewish South African emigration since 2001 and return migration

While there is no way to measure directly how many Jewish people have left South Africa since the last census in 2001, international records do capture some of this information. For example, Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) collects data annually on the number of migrant arrivals by country of origin. In addition, both the Australian census and the census of England and Wales capture data on year of arrival by country of birth and religion. While the numbers are only indicative (they do not include data from other key destination countries, in particular, the United States) they do provide an independent, empirical check on what might have occurred since 2001.

Together, these three external data sources suggest that just over 10,000 Jews may have left South Africa for Australia, Israel and the UK[21] between 2001 and 2015 (Table 2). They indicate that emigration fell sharply between 2001 and 2006, then rebounded to a peak in 2008, before declining continuously until 2014.

Figure 19. Countries in which immediate family members, who emigrated from South Africa, now live*^



Q: In which country/countries does/do the members of your immediate family who USED TO LIVE in South Africa, CURRENTLY live? If there are more than four people in any category, please limit your answers to the ELDEST FOUR.
* An immediate family member was defined as a parent, sibling, child or grandchild.
^ The question, presented to all 4,193 respondents, asked the country of residence for each immediate family member living abroad. Therefore, percentages relate to the total number of mentions per country, per family member, per respondent.

To what extent, if any, are these Jewish emigrants from South Africa counterbalanced by Jewish migrants to South Africa? Survey data indicate that only a very small proportion of respondents (1.7%) were not living in South Africa five years prior to the survey. Of this group, most (89%) were originally from South Africa, so they left but subsequently returned, although 42% had only ever planned to leave temporarily in the first place (for travel, work or study etc.). A majority, 54%, had left with the intention of emigrating

20 30% of a recent sample of Canadian Jews were 'immigrants,' of whom 7% came from South Africa. Assuming a total population of 392,000, we can derive 8,232. (See: Brym, R., Neuman, K. and Kenton, R. (2019). *2018 Survey of Jews in Canada*, Environics Institute for Survey Research.)

21 The number of South African Jews migrating to Scotland will have been negligible given the very small size of the Jewish population there.

Table 2. Estimated annual migration of Jews from South Africa to Israel, Australia and the UK, 2001–2015*

Year	Israel	Australia	United Kingdom	Total
2001	171	768	190	**1,129**
2002	180	600	190	**970**
2003	92	465	190	**747**
2004	112	371	190	**673**
2005	135	277	190	**602**
2006	139	243	190	**572**
2007	159	339	145	**643**
2008	291	475	145	**911**
2009	319	305	145	**769**
2010	266	226	145	**637**
2011	202	238	145	**585**
2012	171	163	145	**479**
2013	198	140	145	**483**
2014	157	120	145	**422**
2015	220	122	145	**487**
Total	**2,812**	**4,853**	**2,444**	**10,109**

* Migrants are defined as anyone planning to stay in a country for twelve months or longer. Data for Australia are from the 2011 and 2016 censuses and published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Both censuses record religion, country of birth and year of arrival. Enumerated data have been adjusted for undercount given that the religion question is voluntary. Data for the UK are commissioned from the 2011 Census of England and Wales published by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) (Table CT0265) – note that they exclude small numbers of people who may have settled in Scotland or Northern Ireland. It recorded religion, country of birth and year of arrival data, although only grouped totals were available and these have been averaged out in the table. Data for Israel are from the Statistical Abstract of Israel, Table 4.4, published by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and they record annual numbers of arrivals by country of origin. Note that data for Israel record migrant *flows*, whereas data for Australia and the UK record stocks so may not be completely comparable.

but had since returned; however, given the very small number of people this involves (about half of 1.7%), it strongly suggests that the role of return migration to South Africa is, in statistical terms, very small. Therefore, the gross figures (reflecting all those who have left in a certain time period) are unlikely to be that different from the net figures (which account for all those who have left as well as those who have returned).

3 / Jewish identity

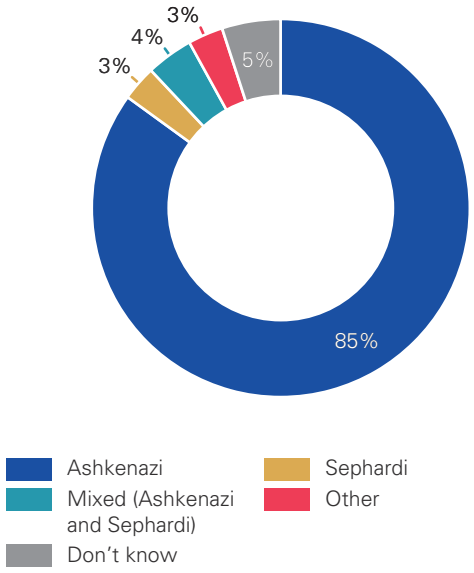
Jewish identity is a multi-dimensional concept and no single measure can describe it satisfactorily. But despite the enormous variation in the way it manifests itself, there are a number of tried and tested approaches that can be used to understand its complexity within the confines of a quantitative survey such as JCSSA. This section investigates several of these.

3.1 Jewish ethnicity and conversion

For many Jews, their ethnic background constitutes a key indicator of their Jewishness. The two main ethnic Jewish groups are Ashkenazi (typically of central and eastern European origin) and Sephardi (tracing their familial origins to the Jewish diaspora in Spain and Portugal prior to the expulsions at the end of the fifteenth century). The survey found that most respondents in South Africa (85%) define themselves as Ashkenazi, with only a small proportion (7%) saying they were Sephardi or mixed Sephardi/Ashkenazi (Figure 20). This is reflective of the country of birth data of the respondent's grandparents (see further Figure 8 on page 18).

Another common way for Jews to be defined is through matrilineal descent, i.e. a person may be considered Jewish if their mother is Jewish, and their mother's mother is Jewish and so on. This is the Orthodox *halachic* approach, but some non-Orthodox bodies have broadened this definition to include patrilineal descent.[22] A majority (86%) of respondents said that both their mother and father were Jewish by birth and a further 10% said that either their mother or their father had been born Jewish (Table 3).

Figure 20. Type of Jewish ethnic group* (N=4,193)



Q: Which of the following categories BEST describes you?

This demonstrates that Jewish identity in South Africa is largely embedded in ethnic and ancestral traits.

All branches of Judaism permit conversion even though it is not explicitly encouraged. 6.7% of respondents said they had converted to Judaism. About half of these (48%) converted through Progressive authorities and the same proportion (48%) did so through Orthodox authorities (Table 4). It is also the case that mothers of respondents were far more likely to have converted to Judaism (5.0%) than fathers (1.2%) (Table 3).

22 In particular, the Union of Reform Judaism (URJ) in the United States – representing the largest part of the Reform Jewish population in the world today – has done this, although the South African Union of Progressive Judaism (SAUPJ) has not.

Table 3. Religion of respondent's parents (N=4,193)

		Father's Jewish background			
		Jewish by birth	**Jewish by conversion**	**Not Jewish**	**Total**
Mother's Jewish background	**Jewish by birth**	85.6%	1.1%	2.4%	**89.1%**
	Jewish by conversion	4.7%	<1%	<1%	**5.0%**
	Not Jewish	1.4%	–	4.6%	**6.0%**
	Total	**91.7%**	**1.2%**	**7.1%**	**100.0%**

Q: Which of the following applies to your parents? Please relate your answer to your biological parents, if possible.

Table 4. Type of conversion to Judaism (N=238)

A Progressive conversion in South Africa	46%
An Orthodox conversion in South Africa	42%
An Orthodox conversion outside South Africa	5%
A Progressive conversion outside South Africa	2%
Another type of conversion to Judaism	3%
Prefer not to say	1%
Total	**100%**

Q: You previously mentioned you converted to Judaism. Was this:

3.2 Jewish attitudes

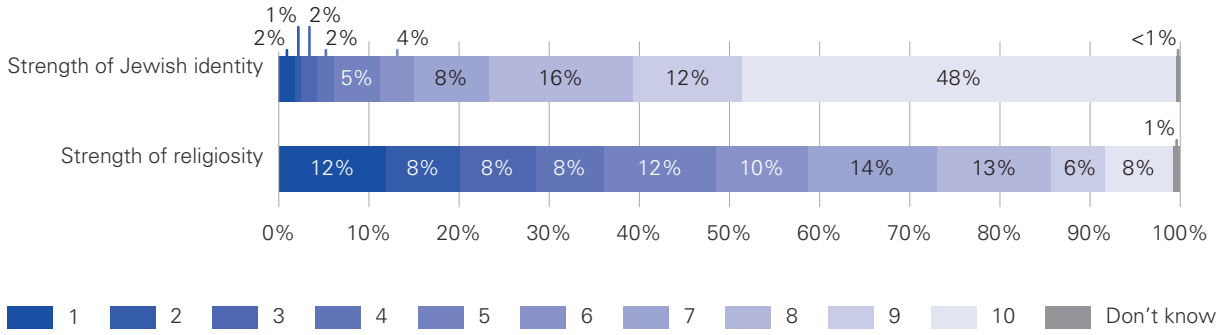
Respondents were asked to place themselves on a ten-point scale assessing the strength of their Jewish identity. As can be seen in Figure 21, almost half (48%) of the entire sample self-assessed its Jewish identity with a top score of 10 out of 10, and three quarters (76%) placed themselves at level 8 or above. As will become clear in the following analysis, this indicates a remarkably high level of Jewish consciousness among the South African Jewish population. However, this should be compared with a similar scale measuring 'religiosity' which reveals a very different distribution. The spread is fairly even along the whole scale, with just under half (49%) of respondents placing themselves in the lower half (1–5) and just over half (51%) placing themselves in the upper half (6–10). Clearly, for South African Jews, as Jews elsewhere, Jewishness and religiosity are not synonymous.

Examining the Jewish identity data in more detail reveals a notable difference between the two main Jewish population centres. Whilst levels of Jewish identity are very high in all regions, somewhat fewer respondents in Cape Town selected the top two scores (9–10) than in Johannesburg (49% versus 64% respectively). Indeed, self-assessed levels of Jewish identity among those living in Cape Town appear to be rather less strong than among Jews living elsewhere in South Africa (Figure 22).

Meanwhile the data indicate no difference between men and women on the Jewish identity scale, although there is a slight age relationship, with around 61% of those aged 40 and above scoring 9–10, compared with 54% for those under 30.

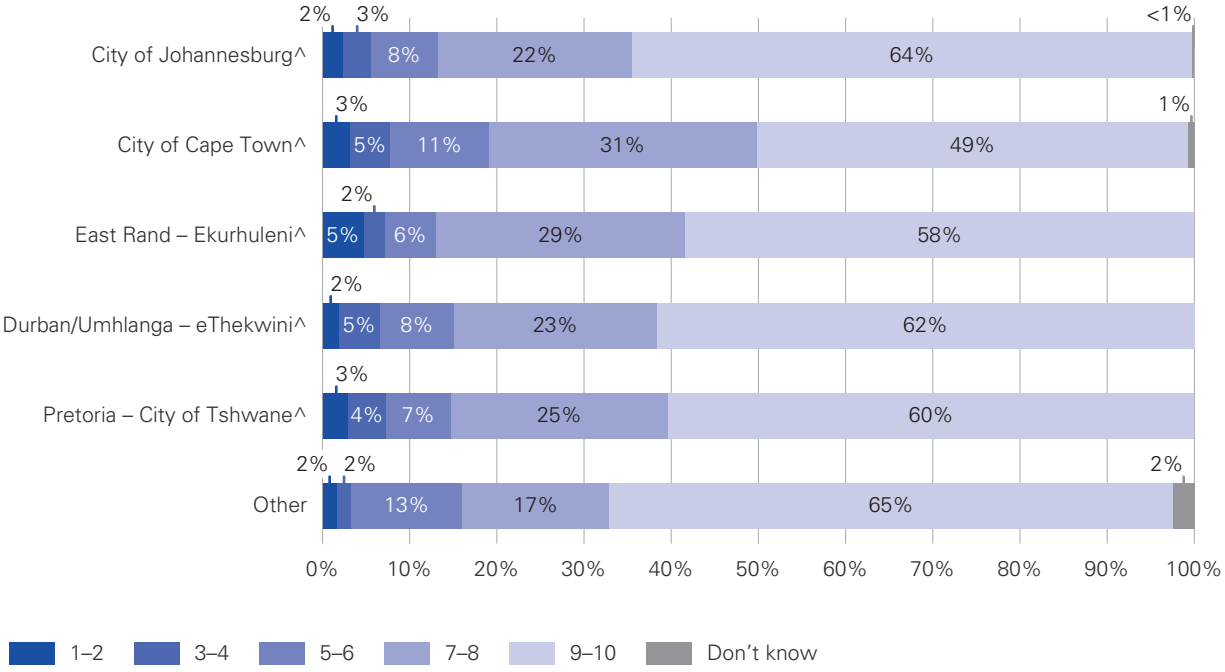
Focusing on religiosity, almost half (47%) of respondents in Johannesburg self-assess their religiosity at level 7 or higher, compared with just 25% of those in Cape Town (Figure 23). Pretoria was higher still at 59%.

Figure 21. Self-assessed levels of Jewish identity and religiosity (N=4,193 per scale)



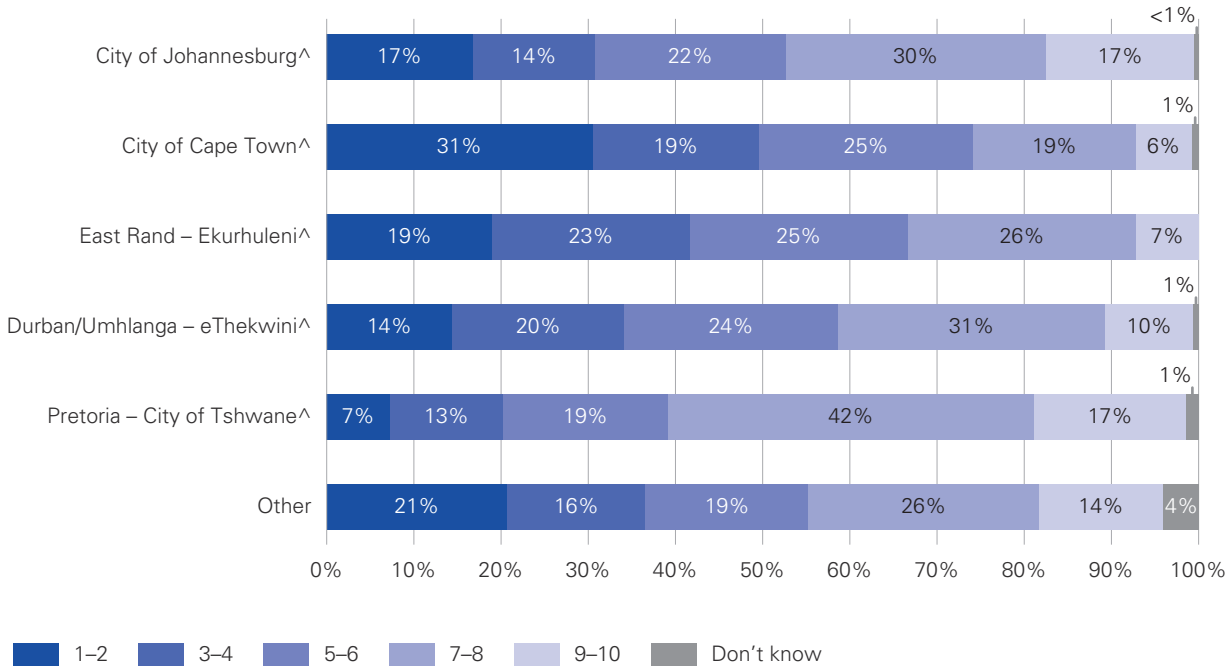
Q (upper scale): Please position yourself on a scale ranging from 1 to 10 according to the strength of your Jewish identity, where 1 means very low strength and 10 means very high strength.
Q (lower scale): How religious would you say you are? Please position yourself on a scale ranging from 1 to 10, where 1 means not religious at all and 10 means very religious.

Figure 22. Self-assessed levels of Jewish identity by location (N=4,193)



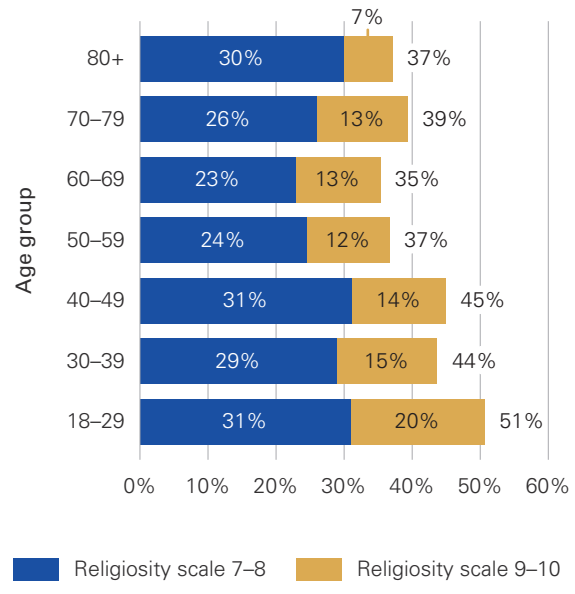
Q: Please position yourself on a scale ranging from 1 to 10 according to the strength of your Jewish identity, where 1 means very low strength and 10 means very high strength.
^ = Metropolitan Municipality.

Figure 23. Self-assessed levels of religiosity by location (N=4,193)



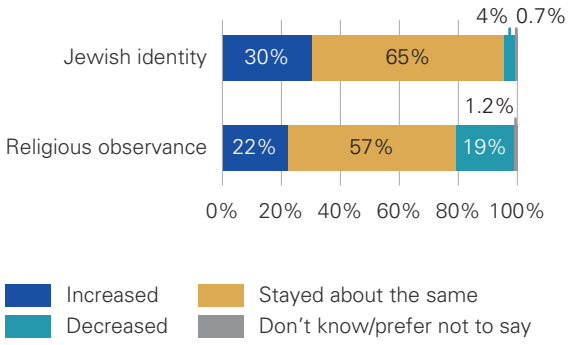
Q: How religious would you say you are? Please position yourself on a scale ranging from 1 to 10, where 1 means not religious at all and 10 means very religious.
^ Metropolitan Municipality.

Figure 24. Self-assessed levels of religiosity by age (N=4,193)



Q: How religious would you say you are? Please position yourself on a scale ranging from 1 to 10, where 1 means not religious at all and 10 means very religious.

Figure 25. Self-assessed changes in strength of Jewish identity and religiosity over the past five years (N=4,193)

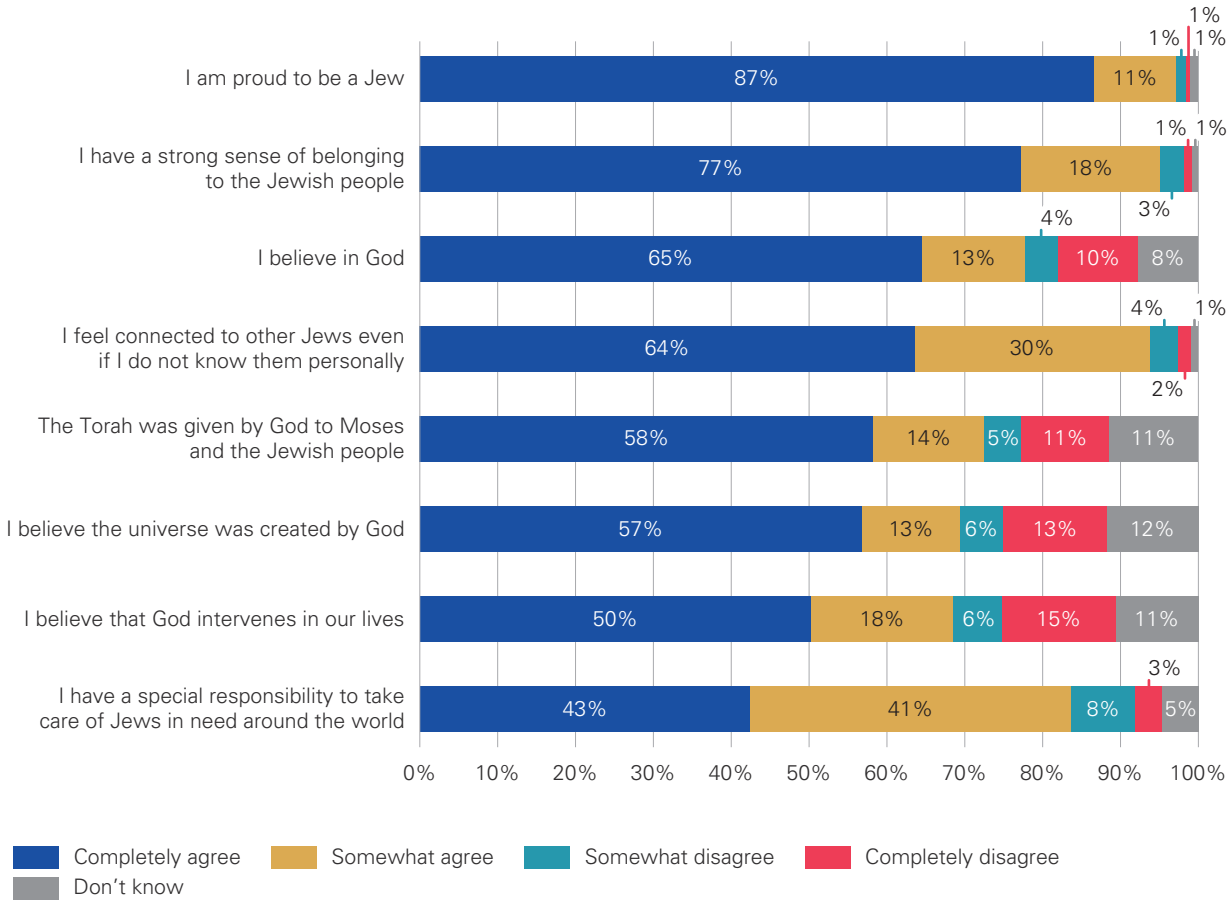


Q: How would you say each of the following has changed for you personally over the last FIVE years?

Unlike Jewish identity, where men and women report very similar levels, there is a gender difference in the case of religiosity, with men scoring themselves higher than women (44% of males scored 7 or above compared with 38% of females). In terms of age, the pattern is complex. Members of the youngest cohort aged under 30 years are the most likely to rate themselves as 7 or more, with more than half (51%) doing so, followed by those in their thirties and forties (around 45%). Those aged 50 years and above are least likely to rate their religiosity at 7 or more (Figure 24). This is to be contrasted with the finding noted previously showing that the youngest cohort has the weakest level of Jewish identity. A more detailed discussion of the complex relationship between age and various measure of Jewish identity can be found in Appendix 5 and warrants further analysis.

Respondents were asked whether they felt either of these indicators had changed in the previous five years (Figure 25). On average, respondents were more likely to say their Jewish identity had increased (30% reported an increase versus 4% a decrease), than they were to say their religious observance had increased (22% reported an increase versus 19% a decrease).

Figure 26. Levels of agreement with statements on various aspects of Jewish identity (N=4,193 per item)



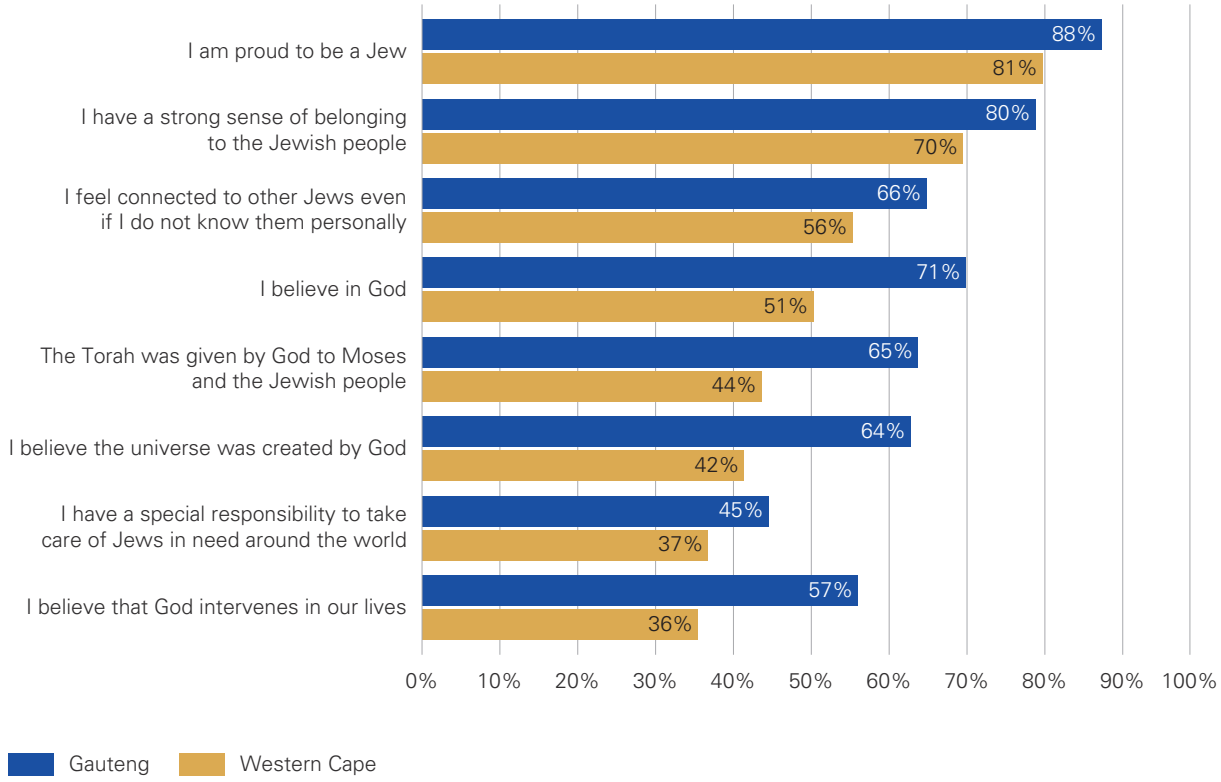
Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

3.3 Jewish belief

To assess levels of Jewish belief, and to compare them with ratings of ethnic identity, respondents were presented with a set of eight statements (in random order for each person) and asked to say whether they agreed or disagreed with each one (Figure 26 on page 33). The two statements receiving the highest level of 'complete' agreement related to ethnic aspects of Jewishness. By contrast, the four statements dealing specifically with belief in God and His role in the world received lower levels of agreement and higher levels of uncertainty (i.e. 'Don't know' responses). Moreover, if the two levels of agreement offered among the responses are combined ('completely' agree plus 'somewhat' agree), the top four items are "I am proud to be a Jew" (97%), "I have a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people" (95%), "I feel connected to other Jews even if I do not know them personally" (94%) and "I have a special responsibility to take care of Jews in need around the world" (84%). Evidently, notions of ethnicity, belief in peoplehood, and Jewish interconnectedness are more universally held and, potentially, more unifying, than notions of divinity and belief in God among South African Jews. Indeed, this was already seen in Figure 21 above, and, as will be shown, has been noted in other countries.

Again, differences in these aspects of Jewish identity are apparent between Johannesburg and Cape Town: on every one of these items, respondents in Johannesburg were more likely to 'completely' agree than respondents

Figure 27. Proportion who 'completely agree' with statements on various aspects of Jewish identity, by location (N=4,193 per item)*



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

* For statistical reasons, we have occasionally referred to provincial regions rather than cities. Nevertheless, JCSSA data indicate the vast majority of Jews in Gauteng (92%) lives in Johannesburg; the vast majority in Western Cape (92%) lives in Cape Town.

in Cape Town (Figure 27). In addition, the gap is notably wider on each of the specifically religious or God-related items.

Assessing the data by age band, we find that the younger respondents are, the weaker their level of agreement with statements relating to ethnic identity, but the stronger their agreement with statements relating to religious belief. For example, 73% of under thirties completely agree with the statement "I have a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people," compared with 85% of those aged 80 and above. By contrast, 64% of under thirties completely agree with the statement "I believe the universe was created by God," compared with 48% of those aged 80 and above.

Regarding gender (not shown graphically), it is notable that female respondents outscore their male counterparts on six of the eight items examined, despite men exhibiting higher levels of religiosity than women, noted above. The two items where this is not the case are "I have a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people" and "I have a special responsibility to take care of Jews in need around the world," although, in percentage terms, the differences between men and women are small in all cases and may not be statistically significant.

3.4 Elements of Jewish identity

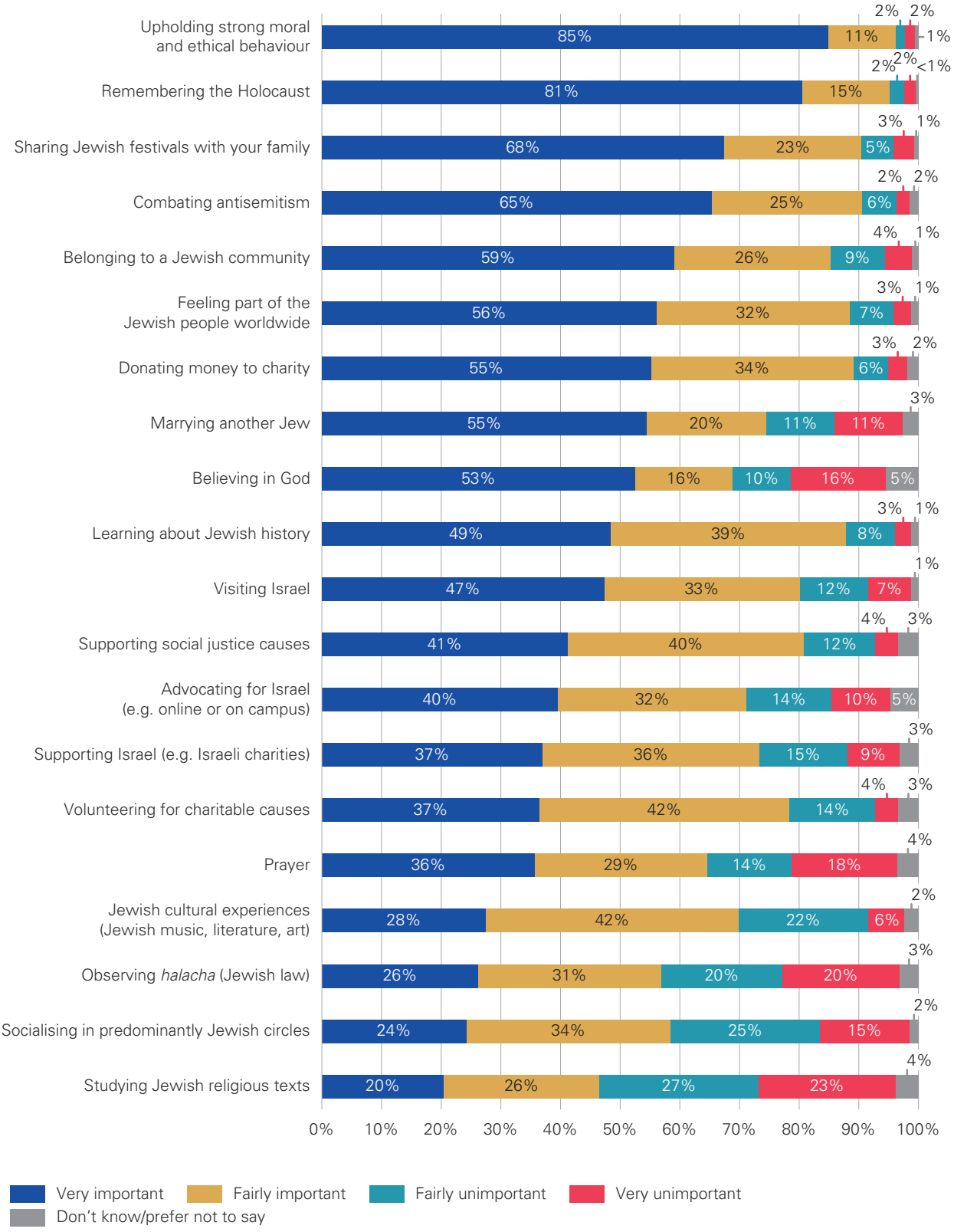
Another common way to assess this topic is to ask what matters most to people's sense of Jewish identity. To do this we presented respondents with an array of key elements (randomised for each person) and asked them how important each one is to their personal sense of Jewishness. The results are shown in Figure 28, and as with the belief and ethnic identity statements above, it is apparent that the ethnic (and in this case, morally focused) statements, are rated as more important to the respondents' sense of Jewish identity than the religious statements. For example, we see that 'upholding strong moral and ethical behaviour' is viewed universally as important (96%), whereas 'studying Jewish religious texts' is important to less than half (47%) the respondents.

Comparing Johannesburg and Cape Town again shows that in every case, scores are higher in Johannesburg, in some instances to a considerable degree. For example, 44% of respondents in Cape Town say 'marrying another Jew' is very important, compared with 69% of respondents in Johannesburg. In only one instance ('supporting social justice causes') does Cape Town outscore Johannesburg (42% versus 40% respectively).

Beyond the valuable insights these data provide about Jews in South Africa, their meaning is enhanced by drawing comparisons with data obtained about Jews living elsewhere. In Figure 29 we compare results for thirteen of the statements observed in South Africa, Australia and the UK. The comparison is remarkable for both its similarities and differences. In particular, the pattern showing that statements related to ethnic belonging and other non-religious aspects of Jewish identity appear ahead of religious items is apparent in all three countries – the difference being a matter of degree rather than kind. At the same time, South Africa stands out: in all but one of the items ('feeling part of the Jewish people worldwide'), South African respondents are more likely to select 'very important' than respondents in Australia or the UK. Moreover, on five of the items, South Africa stands out particularly strongly: 'upholding strong moral and ethical behaviour,' 'remembering the Holocaust,' 'donating money to charity,' 'believing in God,' and 'Prayer.'

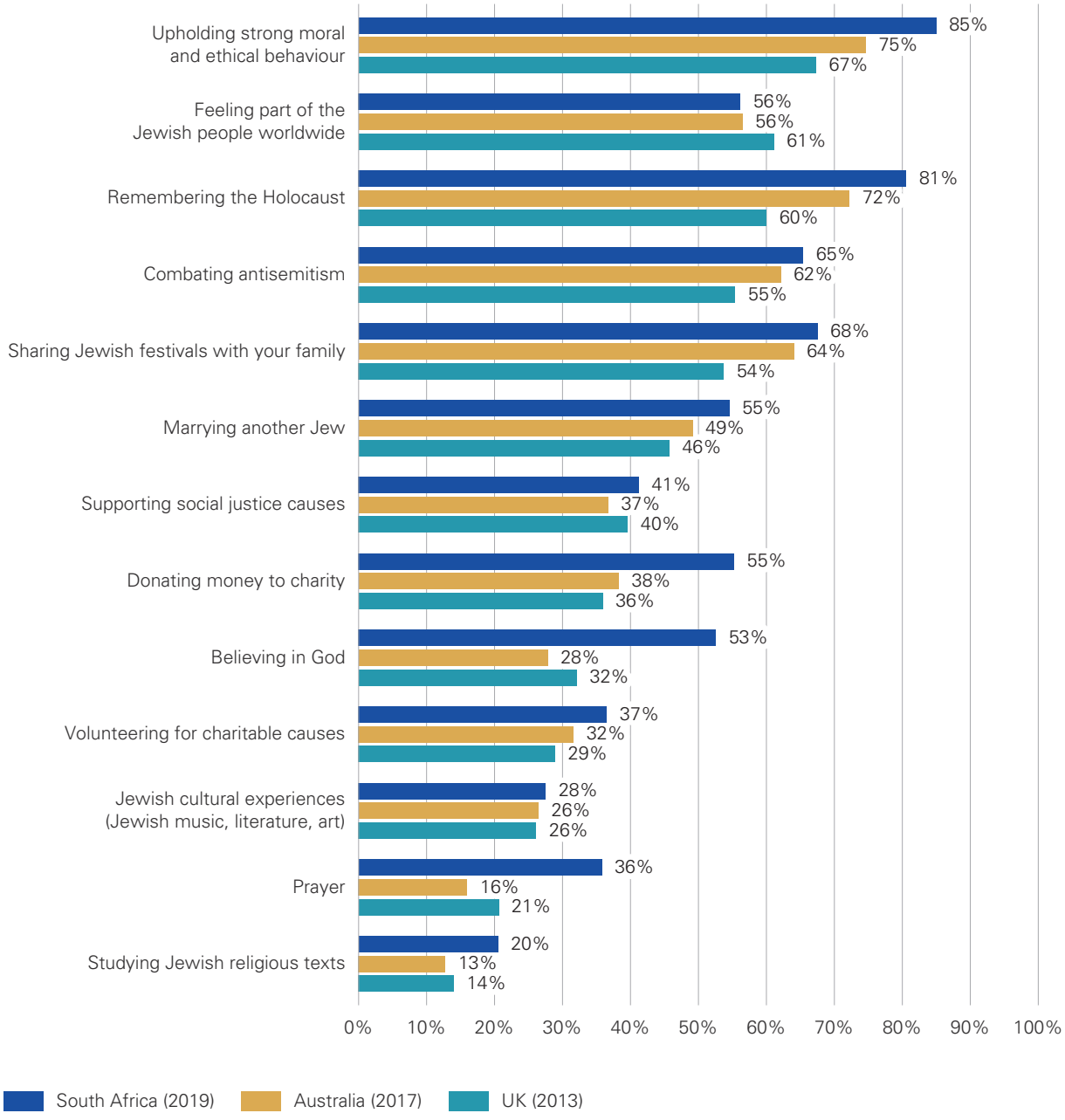
Averaging out these scores across all thirteen items shows that 42% of UK respondents and 44% of Australian respondents report 'very important,' on average, compared with 52% of South African respondents. This suggests that, in general, Jewish identity in South Africa may well be stronger, and more religious, than in either Australia or the UK.

Figure 28. Level of importance attached to various aspects of respondents' sense of Jewish identity (N=4,193 per item)



Q: How important or unimportant are each of the following to your own sense of Jewish identity?

Figure 29. Comparison between proportions of Jews in South Africa, Australia and the UK rating various elements of Jewish identity as 'very important'*



Q: How important or unimportant are each of the following to your own sense of Jewish identity?
* Author's calculations using NJCS 2013 data for the UK (N=3,736), Gen17 (2017) data for Australia (N=8,621) and JCSSA 2019 data for South Africa.

3.5 Strands of Jewish identity

The labelling and categorisation of different strands of Jewish identity are fraught with difficulty and yet when Jews talk about their Jewish identities to each other, they use particular labels, imbuing them with meaning in an unproblematic way. Labels do not always sit easily or neatly on a scale or accord with institutional constructions of Jewish lifestyle, and they may even be alien to some, whilst being common knowledge among others. Respondents were presented with a list of common Jewish categorisations and asked to identify which one they would apply to describe their upbringing and their current religious/Jewish identification. Fewer than 1% were unable to select one of the seven categories presented (Table 5).

The largest two groups based on current self-identification are Traditional (32%) and Orthodox (30%). Comparing this with the respondents' classification of their upbringing, we find clear signs of movement away from centre positions: 45% of respondents described their upbringing as Traditional – a middle-of-the-road label among those investigated. In relative terms, there has been an increase in the Orthodox and particularly strictly Orthodox strands, as well as an increase in the Progressive and Secular strands. This pattern has been noted elsewhere, including the UK, where it was described as a thinning or shakeout of the middle ground.[23]

Almost half (48%) of the adult Jewish population of Johannesburg described itself as either Orthodox or Strictly Orthodox, compared with less than a quarter (22%) of the adult population in Cape Town and 28% in Durban

Almost half (48%) of the adult Jewish population of Johannesburg described itself as either Orthodox or Strictly Orthodox, compared with less than a quarter (22%) of the adult population in Cape Town and 28% in Durban (Figure 30). By contrast, two out of five respondents (40%) in Cape Town described themselves as Progressive or Secular, compared with 18% in Johannesburg.

Table 5. Self-defined religious/Jewish identification, upbringing versus current position (N=4,193)

	Upbringing	Current
Strictly Orthodox/Haredi/Chasidic	4.8%	8.4%
Orthodox	26.4%	30.2%
Traditional	45.2%	31.7%
Progressive/Reform	9.4%	11.9%
Secular/Cultural	7.4%	13.7%
Mixed religion (Jewish and another religion)	2.0%	2.3%
Not Jewish	4.4%	0.6%^
Other (please specify)	0.5%	1.3%

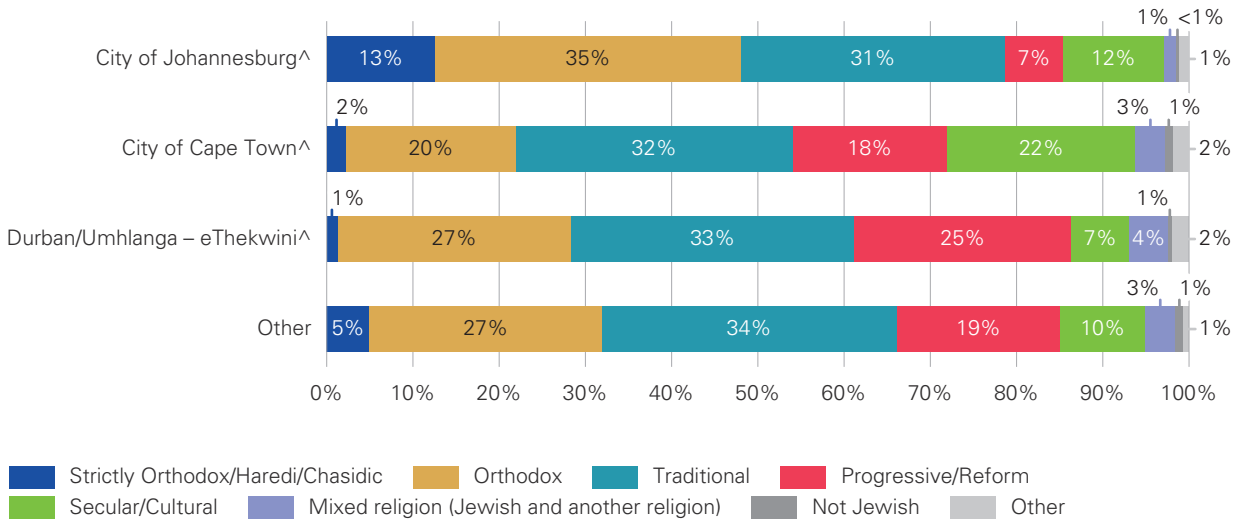
Q: How would you describe the religious/Jewish identification of the home in which you grew up? And how would you describe your current religious/Jewish identification?
^ Detailed analysis of these twenty respondents revealed that they either identified as Jewish elsewhere in the survey (not including the screening question) or had Jewish parents and would therefore be identified as Jewish by at least some authorities.

23 Graham et. al. (2014), op. cit. p.16.

3.6 Jewish practice

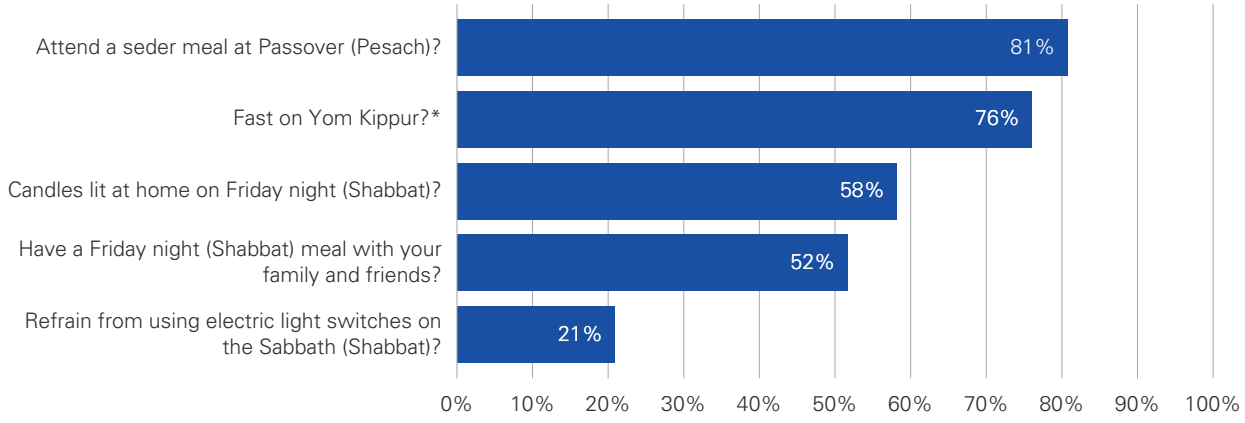
The survey examined the extent to which South African Jews reported observing different types of Jewish practices. The most commonly observed one is attendance at a Passover *seder* meal, which most respondents (81%) said they did every year, closely followed by fasting on Yom Kippur, currently observed by over three quarters (76%) of respondents on an annual basis (Figure 31). Refraining from using electric light switches on Shabbat (the Sabbath) every week – a measure of strict religious observance – was least likely to be observed, even though this was still done by more than one in five respondents (21%).

Figure 30. Current self-defined religious/Jewish identification by location (N=4,193)



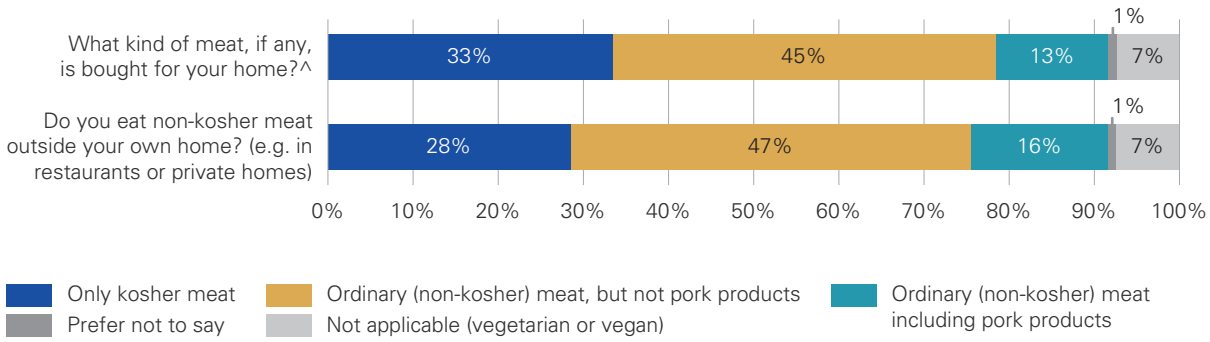
Q: And how would you describe your current religious/Jewish identification?
^ Metropolitan Municipality.

Figure 31. Proportions observing various Jewish religious practices 'always' or 'usually' (N=4,193 per item)



Q: How often, if at all, do/did you…? (Always; Usually; Sometimes; Never; Prefer not to say).
* Excluding those who do not fast for health reasons.

Figure 32. Proportions consuming kosher meat at home and outside the home



Q (upper bar): What kind of meat, if any, is/used to be bought for your home? (N=4,193 individuals).
Q (lower bar): Do/did you eat non-kosher meat outside your own home? (e.g. in restaurants or private homes) (N=2,402 households).
^ Selecting unique households only.

Table 6. Proportion of respondents who had their male child circumcised by type of ceremony* (N=1,479 householders only)

Yes, he was circumcised under Jewish religious auspices (i.e. by a mohel)	89%
Yes, he was circumcised, but **not** under Jewish religious auspices (e.g. by a medical practitioner in a hospital)	10%
Yes [I have had a son, but] he was not circumcised	1%
Total	**100%**

Q: Have you had a son, and if so, was he circumcised? If you have more than one son, please answer for your youngest son.
* Respondents were instructed "If you have more than one son, please answer for your youngest son."

One in three (33%) Jewish households in South Africa consumed only kosher meat at home; the proportion who ate pork products at home was only 13% (Figure 32). In terms of individuals, just over a quarter (28%) ate only kosher meat outside the home.

Circumcision is a practice Jews have observed for millennia. To establish how prevalent it is, all respondents who reported having male children were asked whether or not they had chosen to circumcise their son as a baby. This revealed that virtually all respondents (99%) had circumcised their son* (Table 6). The vast majority had done so under religious auspices, but 10% did so under medical, but not religious supervision, for example, in a hospital.

3.7 Synagogue life

As part of the JCSSA project, a separate national synagogue membership survey was carried out to establish how many Jewish households belong to synagogues. The provisional results are shown in Table 7 alongside denominational and locational breakdowns.[24] Note that the data relate to the numbers of *households* holding membership, not individuals.

An estimated total of 12,867 households belonged to 103 synagogues in South Africa in 2019. 7,540 (59%) households belonged to synagogues in Johannesburg, compared with 3,898 (30%) in Cape Town. While most (84%) synagogue members in South Africa belonged to Orthodox synagogues, in Johannesburg the proportion was 91%, compared with 75% in Cape Town and 69% elsewhere.

JCSSA survey data indicate that average household size (excluding domestic staff) of synagogue members was 2.27

24 Data collection was carried out by Reviva Hasson at the Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies during 2019.

Table 7. Synagogue membership survey results, 2019

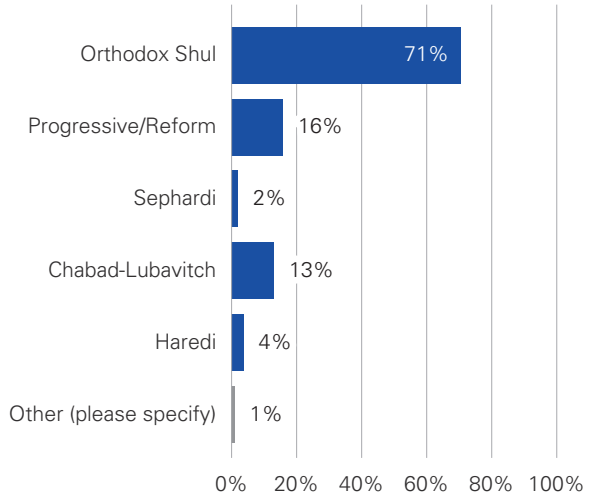
Location	Denomination	Total number of members by household	Denomination by percent per area
Johannesburg	Orthodox	6,880	91%
	Progressive	660	9%
	Total	**7,540**	**100%**
Cape Town	Orthodox	2,914	75%
	Progressive	984	25%
	Total	**3,898**	**100%**
Other	Orthodox	993	69%
	Progressive	436	31%
	Total*	**1,429**	**100%**
South Africa	**Orthodox**	**10,787**	**84%**
	Progressive	**2,080**	**16%**
	Total	**12,867**	**100%**

Source: We are grateful to the numerous individuals and institutions from within the South African Jewish community that kindly provided information to help us compile this table.
* 45% of this total is in Durban.

compared with 2.07 for non-members. Using this information it can be estimated that the total household membership of 12,867 equates to approximately 29,200 Jewish individuals.[25] Further, it can also be estimated that 57% of approximately 22,700 Jewish households in South Africa belonged to a synagogue, compared with 43% of households that did not.

Synagogue membership can be held in various ways as there is no single agreed definition. JCSSA asked respondents a multi-select question about the type – or types – of synagogue membership they held. Most synagogue members (80%) held paid membership for one synagogue only. The remainder held paid membership for more than one synagogue and/or other kinds of membership (such as honorary membership).

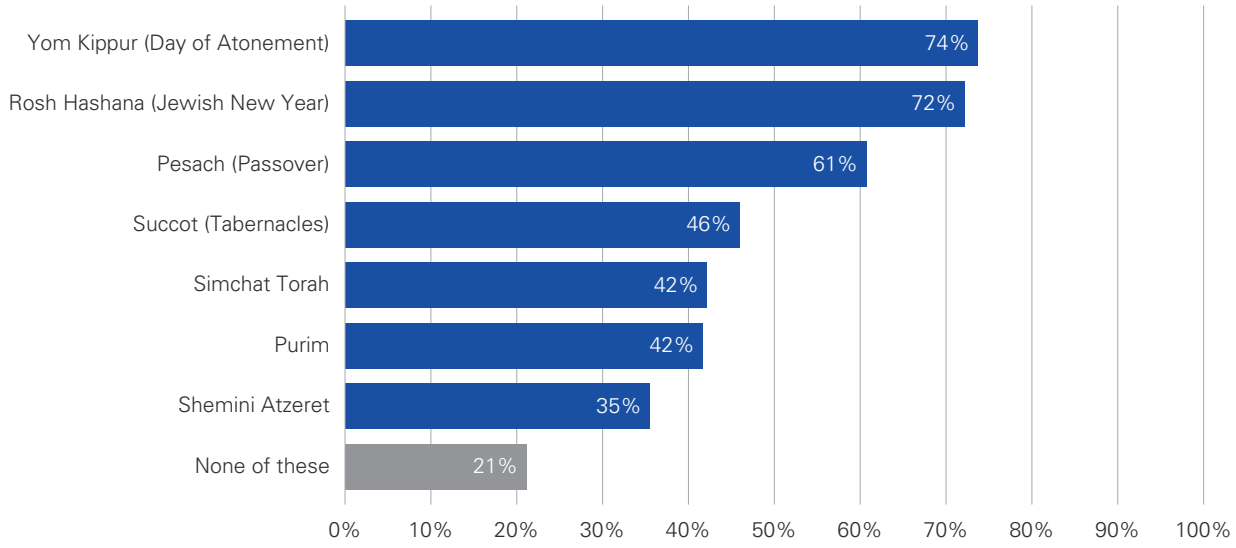
Figure 33. Distribution of synagogue member households by denomination (N=1,513 households per item)



Q: What type of synagogue is this/are these?

25 This assumes the household size of synagogue members (excluding domestic staff) is 2.27 person per household – calculated separately from JCSSA data.

Figure 34. Proportions attending a synagogue or an organised Jewish religious service on particular holidays over the previous twelve months (N=4,193 per item)



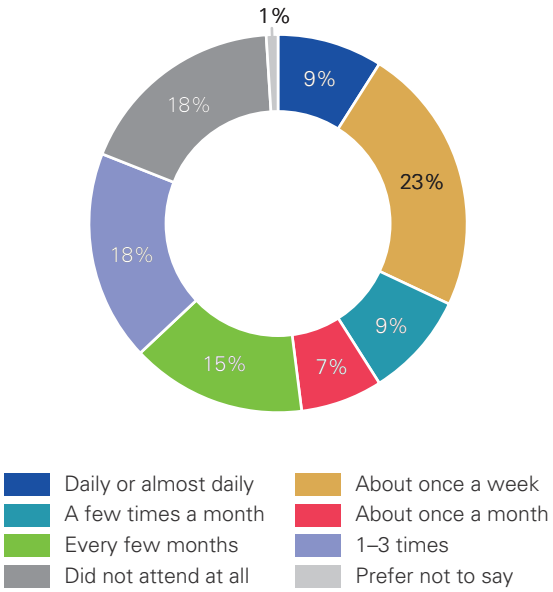
Q: Did you attend any type of synagogue or organised Jewish religious service on the following occasions in the last 12 months?

JCSSA respondents were also asked to describe the kind of synagogue they were members of. As noted (Table 7), the majority of synagogue members in South Africa were Orthodox, although, as can be seen in Figure 33, several different strands of Orthodox synagogues can be identified and some households belonged to more than one type. Indeed, some belonged to more than one denominational strand.

As is the case with Jews elsewhere, South African Jews are most likely to attend synagogue during the High Holydays of Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur. This can be seen in Figure 34 which shows that almost three quarters (74%) of respondents attended a synagogue on Yom Kippur in the previous year, just ahead of the proportion that attended on Rosh Hashana (72%).

One in three (33%) respondents attended synagogue frequently, i.e. 'once a week or more often' (Figure 35). By contrast, almost one in five (18%) said that they had not attended a synagogue at all in the previous year for any type of organised religious service.

Figure 35. Frequency of attending synagogue or an organised Jewish religious service in previous twelve months (N=4,193)



Q: And how frequently did you attend any type of synagogue or organised Jewish religious service in the last 12 months?

3.8 Knowledge of Hebrew

Hebrew is both a living language and a language of prayer and study, so knowledge of it is another marker of Jewish identity. It is well known that the ability to speak Hebrew does not correspond well with the ability to read Hebrew among Jews living outside Israel. South Africa is no exception: whereas over half (54%) of respondents said they could read Hebrew at least quite well, less than a quarter (24%) said they could speak it at least quite well (Figure 36).

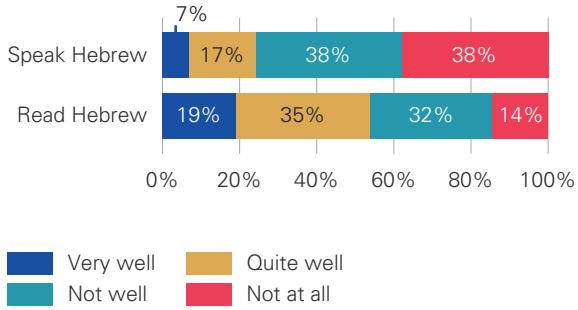
Compared with respondents in Johannesburg, respondents in Cape Town were less likely to say they could read Hebrew at least quite well (57% versus 48%) or speak Hebrew at least quite well (27% versus 18%). The younger respondents were, the more likely they were to say they could read and speak Hebrew. For example, 33% of respondents aged under 40 years reported that they could speak Hebrew very well, compared to just 8% of respondents aged 80 years and above. Unsurprisingly, the more religious a person reports being, the more likely they are to be able to read and speak Hebrew well.

3.9 Jewish friends

71% said that more than half or all of their friends were Jewish, compared with 68% in Australia and 56% in the UK, suggesting the Jewish population of South Africa is a relatively close-knit community

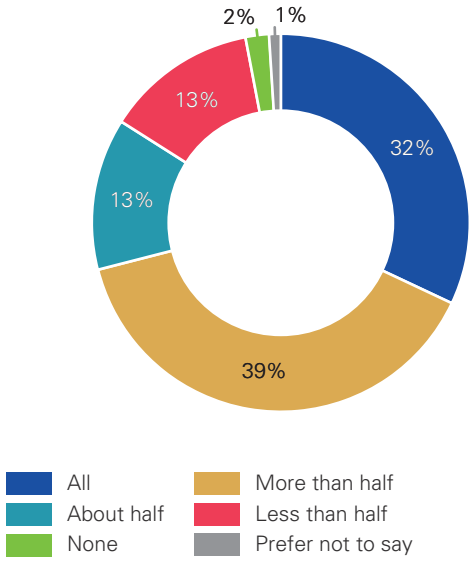
It was noted in Figure 28 on page 36 that 58% of respondents believe that socialising in predominantly Jewish circles is an important facet of their Jewish identity. The survey also asked more specifically about the proportion of respondents' close friends who are Jewish, as this is known to be an important indicator of the strength of one's Jewish identity. 71% said that more than half or all of their friends were Jewish, compared with 68% in Australia and 56% in the UK,

Figure 36. Ability to read and/or speak Hebrew (N=4,193 per item)



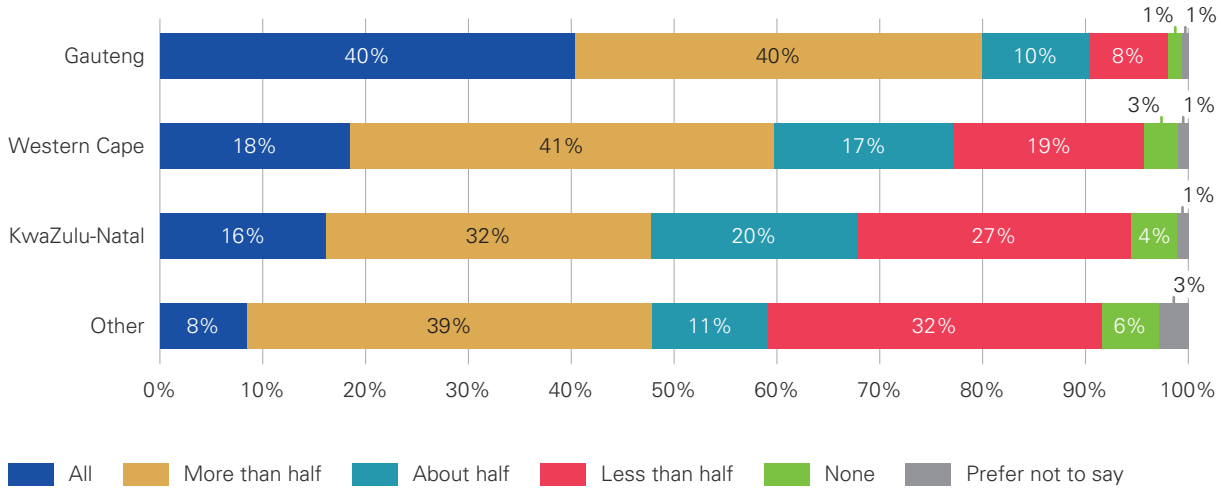
Q: How well can you read and speak Hebrew?

Figure 37. Proportions of close friends who are Jewish (N=4,193)



Q: How many of your close friends are Jewish?

Figure 38. Proportion of close friends who are Jewish, by location* (N=4,193)



Q: How many of your close friends are Jewish?
* For statistical reasons, we have occasionally referred to provincial regions rather than cities. Nevertheless, JCSSA data indicate the vast majority of Jews in Gauteng (92%) lives in Johannesburg; the vast majority in Western Cape (92%) lives in Cape Town; and the vast majority in KwaZulu-Natal lives in Durban (90%).

suggesting the Jewish population of South Africa is a relatively close-knit community (Figure 37).[26]

The number of Jewish friends a person has is related to where they live, with those living in larger Jewish communities being more likely to have more Jewish friends than those living in smaller Jewish communities. This is reflected in the data, with eight out of ten respondents (80%) in Johannesburg, the largest community, saying that more than half of their close friends were Jewish, compared with six out of ten (60%) in the smaller community of Cape Town and just under half (48%) in the even smaller community of Durban (Figure 38). This variable also related to age, but in a complex way, and this unusual relationship is discussed in Appendix 5 (Figure 101 on page 104).

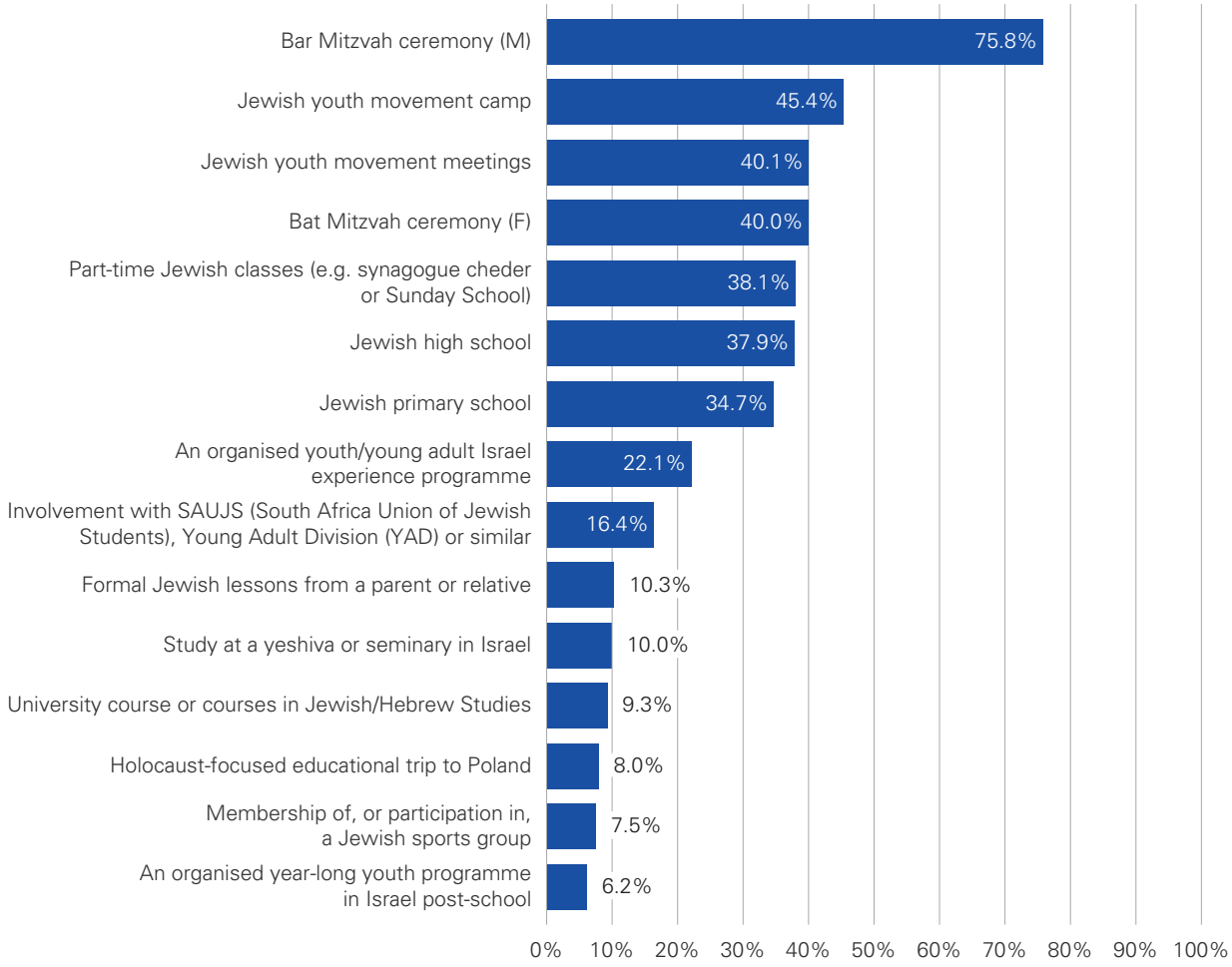
26 Author's calculations using NJCS 2013 data for the UK (N=3,736) and Gen17 (2017) data for Australia (N=8,621).

4 / Jewish community life

4.1 Jewish educational experiences

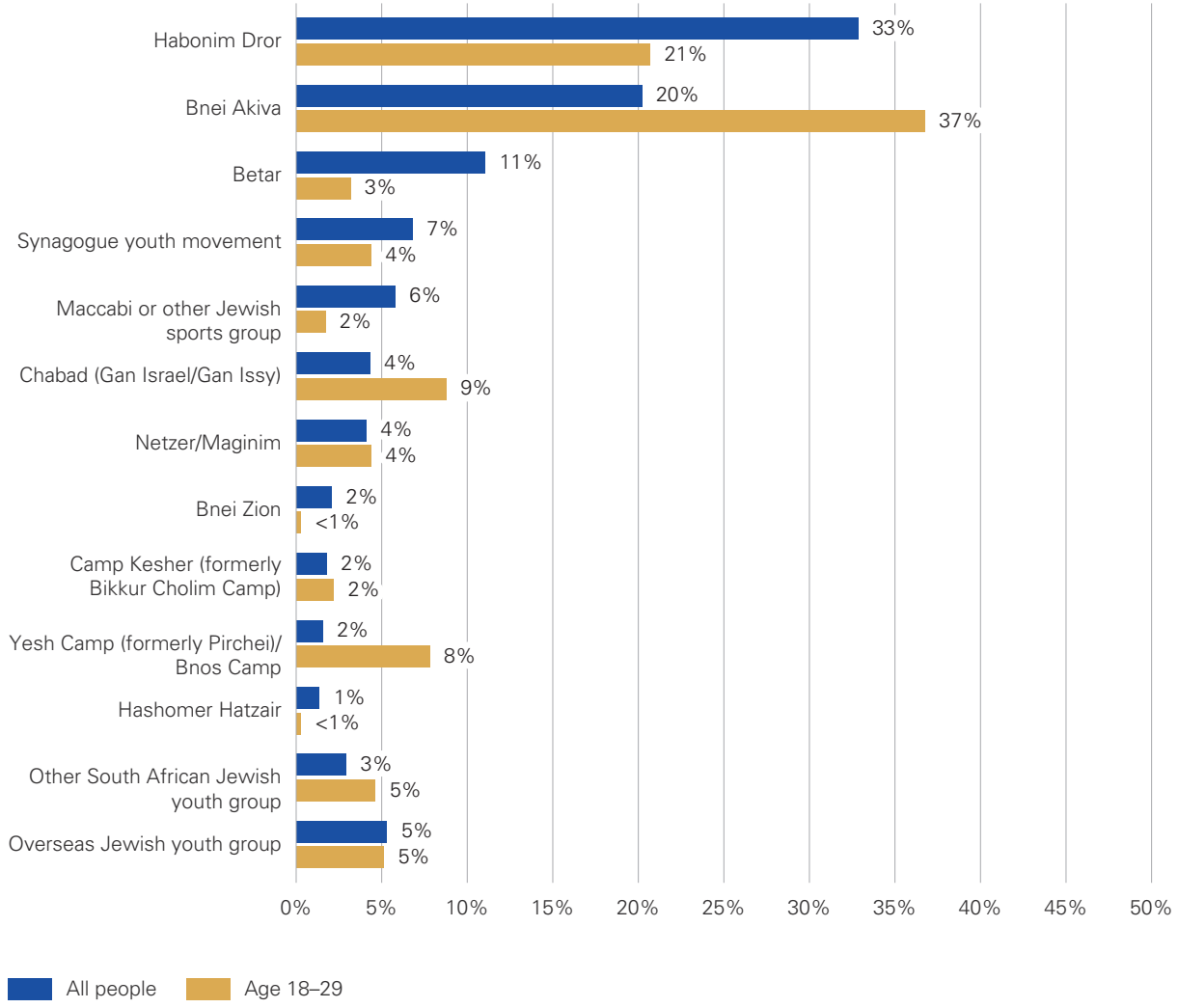
The types of Jewish education people experience can have an important bearing on the nature of their Jewish identity in later life. Accordingly, we investigated a range of experiences from having a bar/bat mitzvah ceremony to studying in a yeshiva or seminary. By far the most common Jewish educational experience among Jews in South Africa is the bar/bat mitzvah ceremony: 76% of male respondents and 40% of female respondents went through this (Figure 39).

Figure 39. Proportion who have experienced various types of Jewish educational experiences (N=4,193 per item)



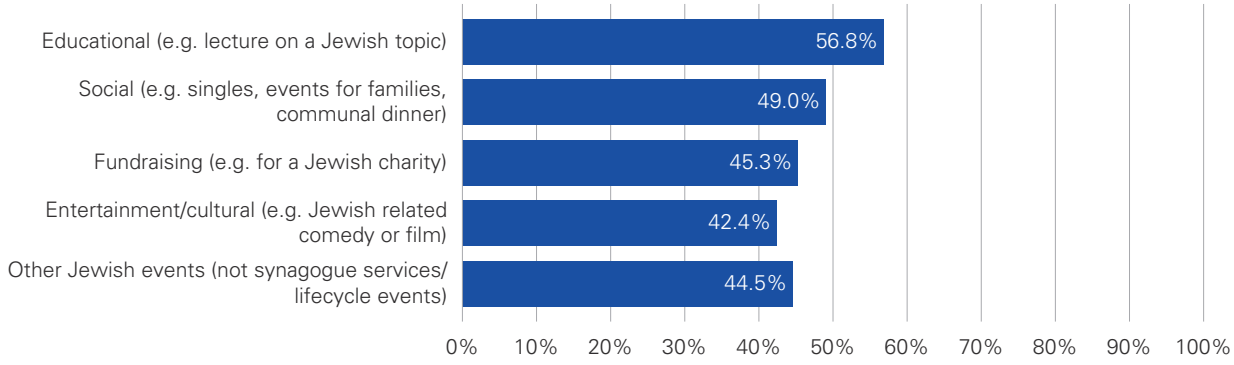
Q: Which, if any, of the following formed part of your Jewish education and development?

Figure 40. Jewish youth group involvement by age (N=4,193 per item)



Q: Which, if any, of the following Jewish youth groups were you involved in (at any level) growing up, and for how long?

Figure 41. Proportion attending various types of Jewish communal events over the previous twelve months (N=4,193 per item)



Q: In the last 12 MONTHS, have you attended any Jewish communal events? Please EXCLUDE synagogue services and Jewish lifecycle events (such as bar mitzvahs and weddings).

The next most common experiences are youth movement camps (45%) and youth movement meetings (40%).

Note Jewish schooling is discussed separately in Section 8 on page 67.

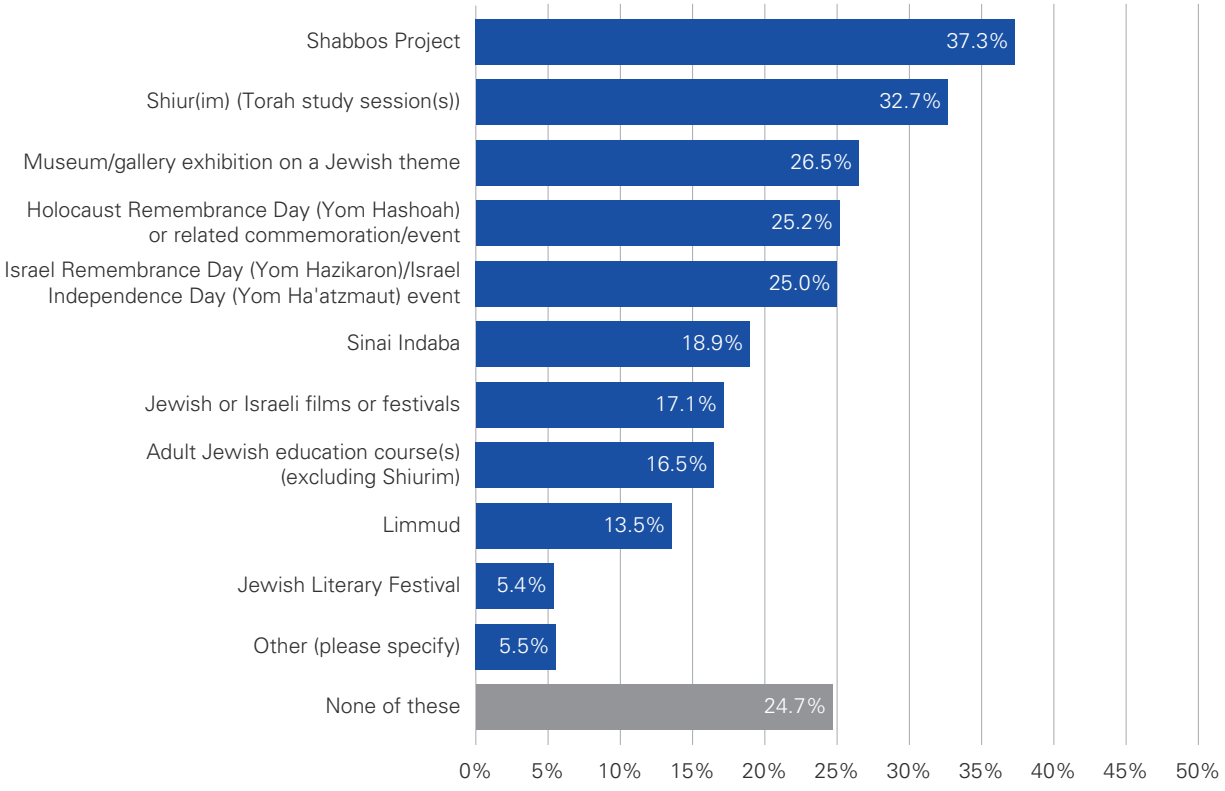
In a separate question, respondents were asked whether they had ever been involved in a youth group whilst growing up and, if so, which one(s). Half (50%) said they had attended a youth group with two in particular standing out: one in three (33%) respondents had gone to Habonim Dror and one in five (20%) to Bnei Akiva (Figure 40). Interestingly, when examined by age, the picture is reversed. For example, among those aged under 30, the most commonly mentioned youth group is Bnei Akiva (37%) followed by Habonim Dror (21%).

4.2 Communal events

The survey found that South Africa's Jewish population is highly active in Jewish communal life, with over three quarters of respondents (78%) having attended at least one communal event in the previous twelve months. More than half (57%) had attended a specifically educational event during that period (Figure 41).

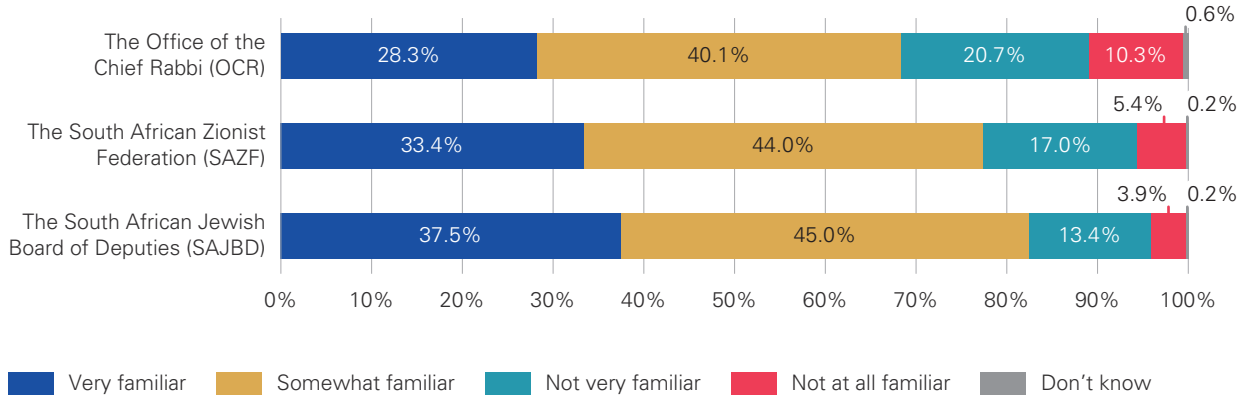
To investigate communal life in more detail, respondents were presented with a list of popular Jewish communal events that take place in South Africa and asked whether they had attended any in the previous year (Figure 42). The event most likely to be mentioned was the Shabbos Project mentioned by 37%. This initiative started in South Africa and has since become popular across Jewish communities worldwide. A quarter (25%) of respondents said they had neither attended any of the events listed nor any other unlisted communal ones.

Figure 42. Proportion attending various Jewish community activities/events over previous twelve months (N=4,193 per item)



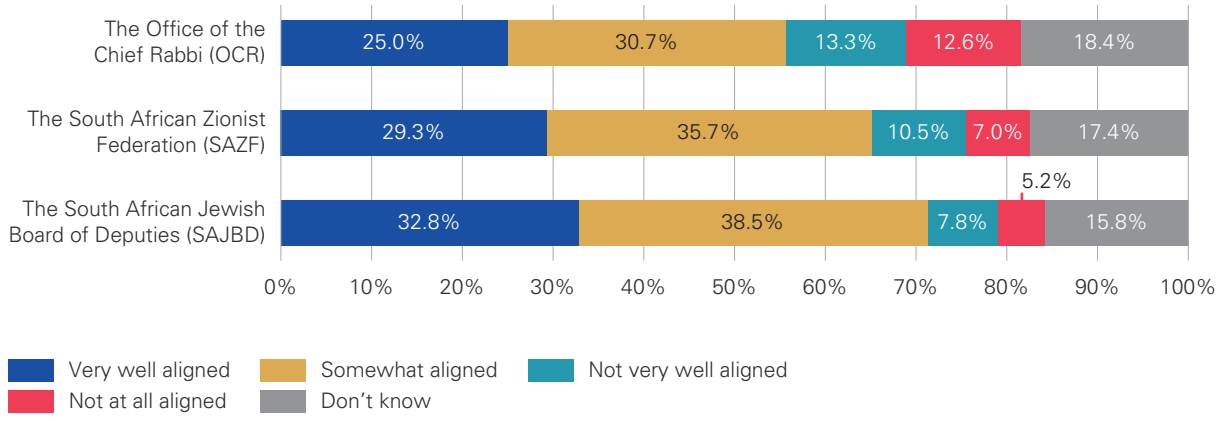
Q: Over the last 12 months, which of the following Jewish community activities/events have you attended, if any?

Figure 43. Levels of familiarity with the role and purpose of three Jewish communal organisations (N=2,122)



Q: How familiar are you with the role and purpose of the following national Jewish communal organisations?

Figure 44. Extent to which respondents feel their views as Jews living in South Africa align with those of three Jewish communal bodies (N=2,122)



Q: Some national Jewish organisations occasionally speak to the wider South African public on behalf of all Jews in South Africa. To what extent do you feel that your views as a Jew living in South Africa align with the following Jewish communal bodies?

4.3 Jewish organisations

Respondents were asked about their familiarity with the roles of three particular national Jewish organisations (Figure 43). The South African Jewish Board of Deputies (SAJBD) was the most well-known, with 83% saying they were at least somewhat familiar with its role, followed by the South African Zionist Federation (SAZF) (77%) and the Office of the Chief Rabbi (OCR) (68%).

Respondents were then asked a follow-up question about the extent to which they felt their "views as a Jew living in South Africa align with" these bodies. 71% said their views at least somewhat aligned with the SAJBD, compared with 65% for the SAZF and 56% for the OCR (Figure 44).

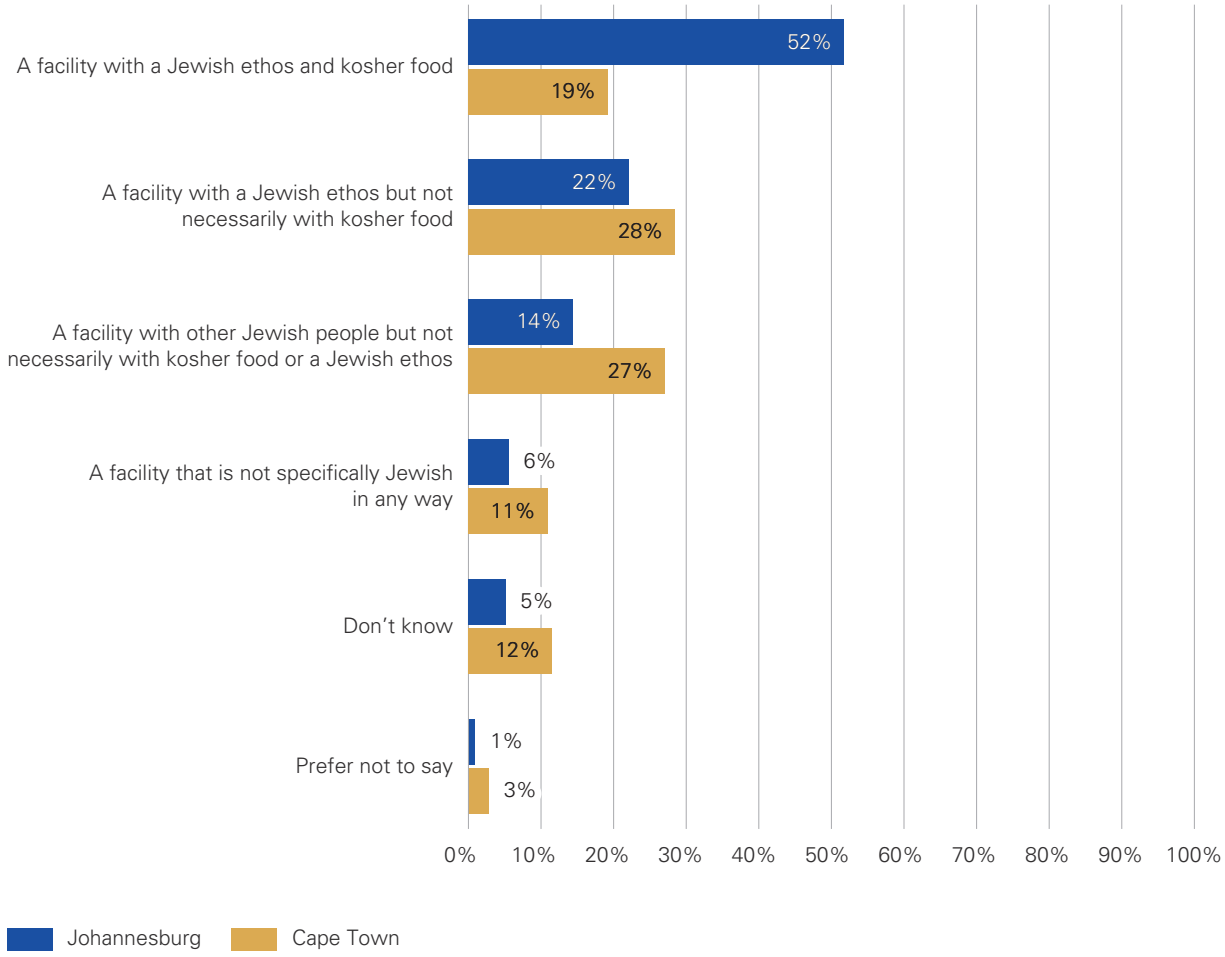
4.4 Jewish board and committee representation

Respondents were also asked whether or not they were "currently a board or committee member of any Jewish communal group, organisation or institution?" A total of 19% said that they were, with 11% serving only committees, 5% serving only boards, and 3% serving both committees and boards. Men were twice as likely as women to be members of Jewish boards (10% versus 5% respectively) but similarly likely to be members of Jewish committees (14% versus 13% respectively).

4.5 Residential care facilities

Whilst most people will not require residential care until they are very elderly, if at all, respondents were asked about what kind of care home or supported living environment they would choose should it ever become necessary. Beyond the value of their answers to the elderly care sector, they also tell us something about the nature of their Jewishness. Two out of five (40%) said that they would choose a facility with kosher food, and a further 26% said they would choose a facility with a Jewish ethos but not necessarily with kosher food. However, again, responses were markedly different based on location, with over half (52%) of those in Johannesburg preferring a facility with kosher food, compared with just under one in five (19%) of those in Cape Town (Figure 45).

Figure 45. Preferred type of care facility, by location (N=2,122)

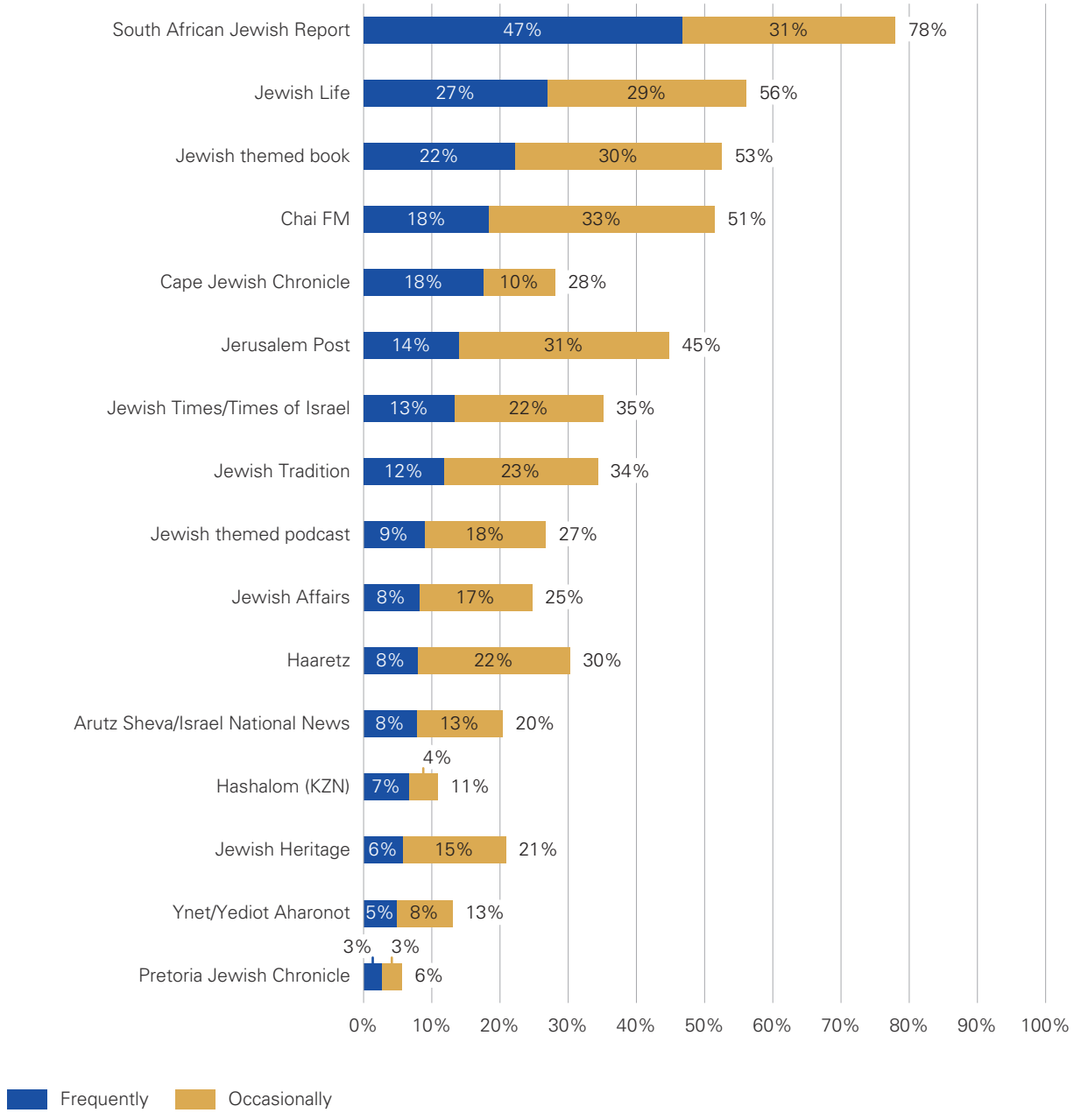


Q: If you needed to be looked after in a care home or supported living environment, which type of facility, if any, would you prefer?

4.6 Jewish news media

Respondents were asked about how frequently they consumed Jewish news media, with the most common response being for the weekly publication, *The South African Jewish Report*, which is frequently read by almost half (47%) of respondents (and occasionally by a further 31%). As can be seen in Figure 46, South African Jews consume a wide variety of news media, both national and international (especially Israeli sources).

Figure 46. Frequency of consumption of various Jewish media/content in previous twelve months? (N=2,122 per item)



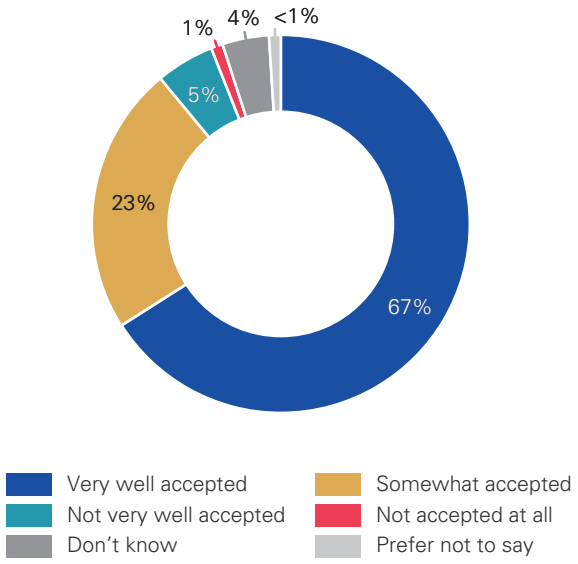
Q: How frequently have you consumed any of the following Jewish media/content in the last 12 months?

4.7 Acceptance and marginalisation

Respondents were asked how accepted they felt by the Jewish community. Two out of three (67%) said they felt very well accepted, but 23% said they only felt somewhat accepted. Over one in twenty (6%) said they felt not very well accepted or not accepted at all.

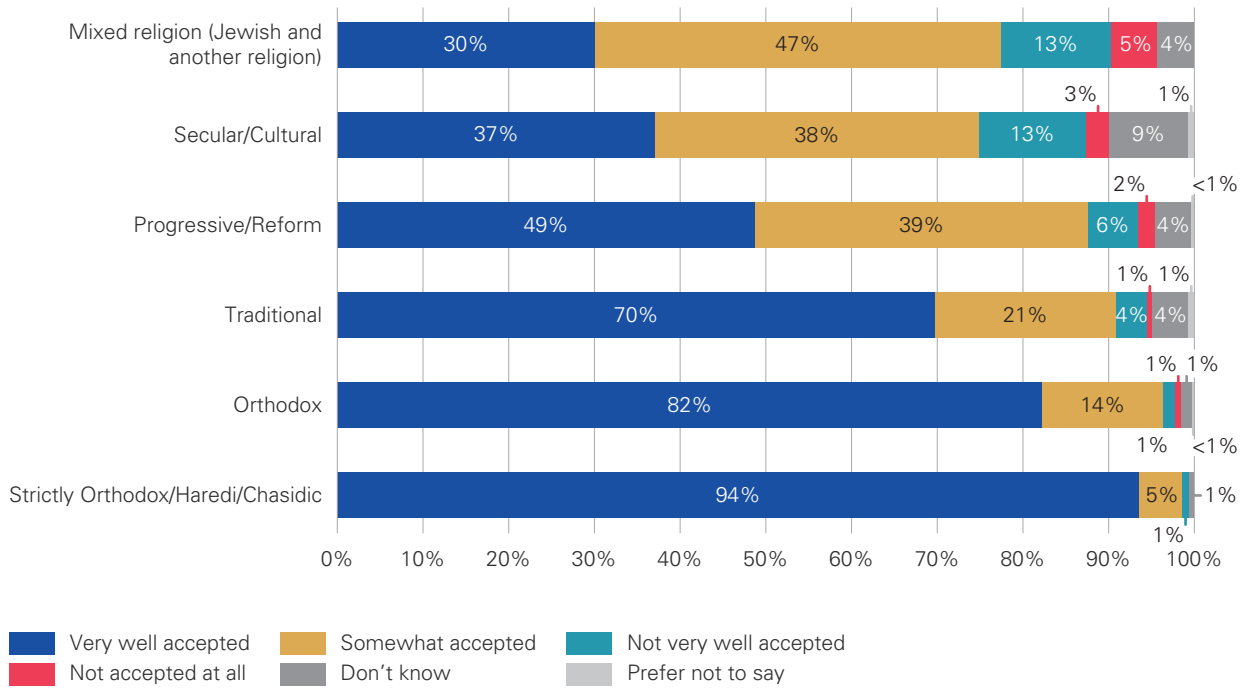
Who are these people? Respondents in Johannesburg were more likely to say they felt very well accepted (75%) than respondents in Cape Town (68%), and across the country men were more likely to say this than women (77% versus 67% respectively). The less religious respondents were, the more likely they were to say they did not feel very well accepted. Similarly, those adhering to non-orthodox denominations report feeling less accepted by the community (Figure 48).

Figure 47. Extent to which respondents feel accepted by the Jewish community (N=4,193)



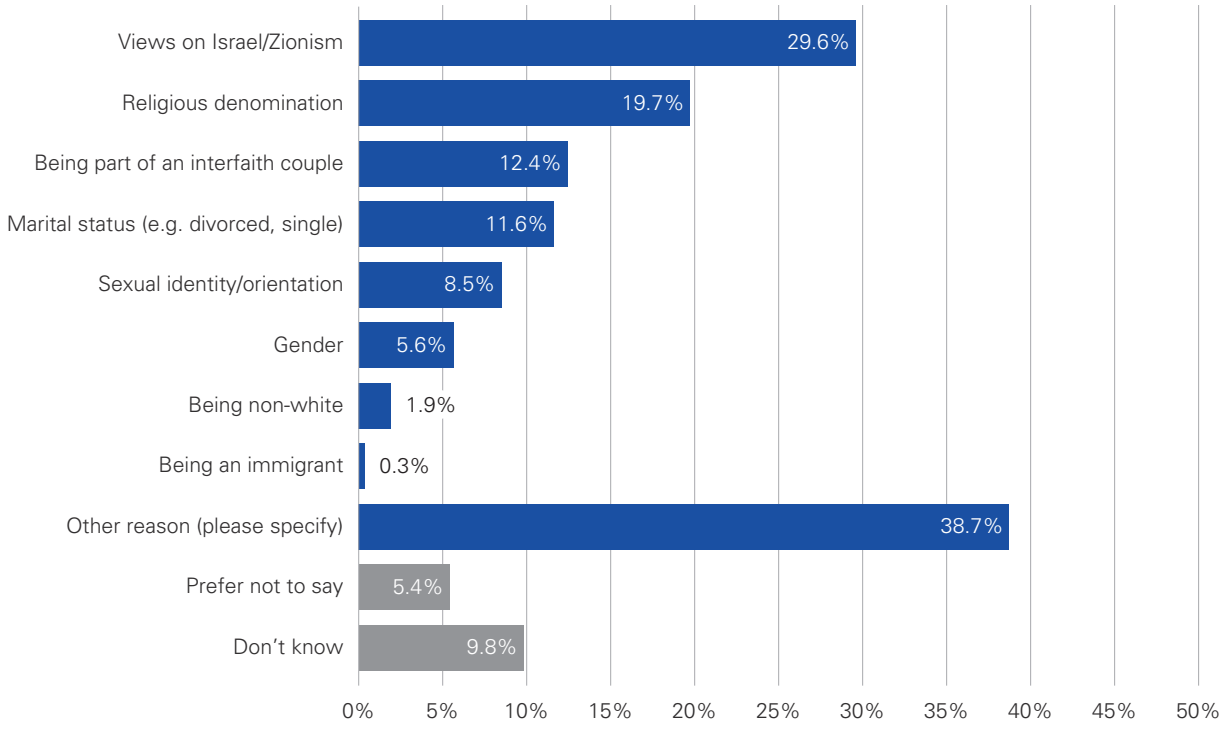
Q: How accepted do you feel by the Jewish community? Do you feel you are…

Figure 48. Extent to which respondents feel accepted by the Jewish community, by current denomination (N=4,193)



Q: How accepted do you feel by the Jewish community? Do you feel you are…; And how would you describe your current religious/Jewish identification?

Figure 49. Reasons given for not feeling accepted by the Jewish community (N=187*)



* Asked if respondents said they felt 'Not very well accepted' or 'Not accepted at all' in the previous question.
Q: You said you do not feel fully accepted by the Jewish community. Is this because of your:

The 6% of respondents who reported they did not feel accepted by the Jewish community were asked why. 30% of this group said it related to their views on Israel and 20% said it related to their religious position. Among the 39% who wrote in other reasons, many mentioned their lack of wealth or wealth status as the main reason.

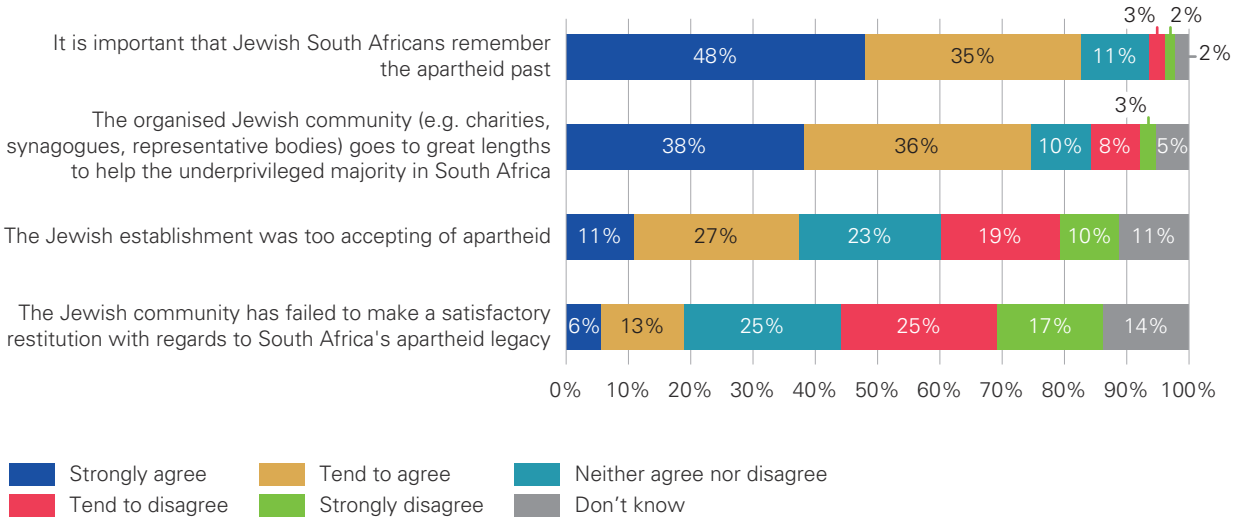
4.8 The Jewish community and apartheid

The legacy of apartheid looms large in South Africa and the survey investigated the communal relationship with that legacy. Respondents were presented with four statements and asked to say whether they agreed or disagreed with each one.

The legacy of apartheid looms large in South Africa and the survey investigated the communal relationship with that legacy

Two of the statements garnered widespread agreement: first, that "it is important Jewish South Africans remember the apartheid past" (83%), and second, that "the organised Jewish community goes to great lengths to help the underprivileged majority in South Africa" (75%) (Figure 50). However, views were more mixed about whether "the Jewish establishment was too accepting of apartheid," with 42% disagreeing but 38% agreeing.

Figure 50. Levels of agreement with various statements about South Africa's apartheid past (N=4,193)



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

5 / Attachment to Israel

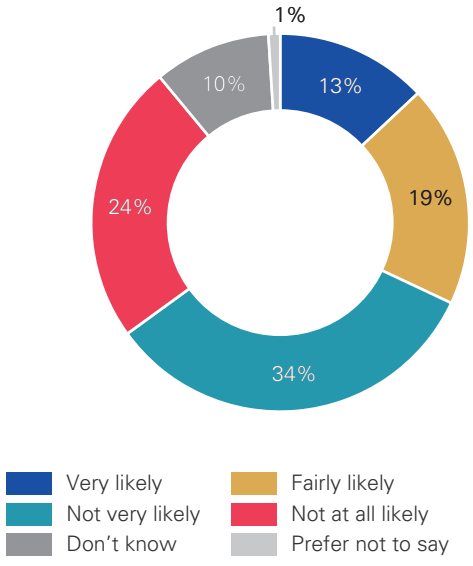
5.1 Israel visits

The vast majority (89%) of respondents has visited Israel, with most having done so on multiple occasions. More than one in five (21%) respondents in Johannesburg had visited Israel ten or more times, compared with 15% of respondents in Cape Town and 10% in Durban.

As has been noted previously (see Figure 13 on page 23), Israel is the most likely destination to be mentioned by those considering leaving South Africa. When asked specifically whether they planned to settle in Israel 'at some point in the future,' almost a third (32%) of respondents said it was either very likely or fairly likely that they would (Figure 51).

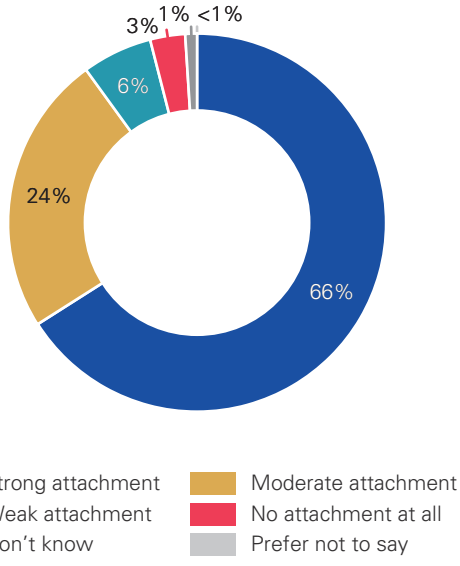
Respondents from Johannesburg were more likely to say they would choose to live permanently in Israel (37%) than those in Cape Town (21%) (Table 8). In general, the younger respondents were, the more likely they were to say they wanted to live in Israel, although there is a notable exception regarding respondents in their thirties. It is unclear why this is the case, but it may be related to life-stage. For example, there may be a perception of the expense and difficulty of relocating a young family to Israel. Finally, the more religious respondents were, the more likely they were to want to live in Israel.

Figure 51. Likelihood of living permanently in Israel in the future (N=4,193)



Q: How likely is it that you will choose to live permanently in Israel at some point in the future?

Figure 52. Strength of attachment to Israel (N=4,193)



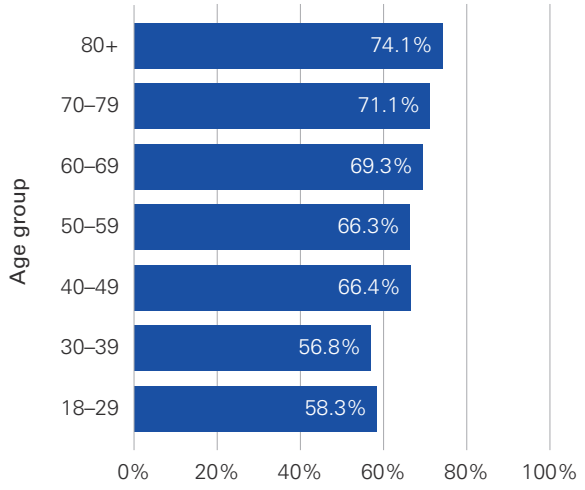
Q: Whether or not you have visited Israel, what type of attachment (or otherwise) do you feel towards Israel?

Table 8. Likelihood of choosing to live permanently in Israel, by various attributes (N=4,193)

		Very likely	Fairly likely	Total likely*
Total		**13%**	**19%**	**32%**
Location	Johannesburg	14%	22%	37%
	Cape Town	8%	14%	21%
	Durban	13%	13%	26%
Age group	18–29	18%	29%	47%
	30–39	13%	18%	31%
	40–49	16%	26%	42%
	50–59	15%	20%	35%
	60–69	12%	18%	30%
	70–79	7%	10%	17%
	80+	4%	5%	9%
Religiosity scale (1 low, 10 high)^	1–2	5%	10%	15%
	5–6	11%	17%	28%
	9–10	30%	25%	56%

Q: How likely is it that you will choose to live permanently in Israel at some point in the future?
^ How religious would you say you are? Please position yourself on a scale ranging from 1 to 10, where 1 means not religious at all and 10 means very religious.
* Totals may not sum due to rounding.

Figure 53. Proportion feeling strong attachment to Israel, by age (N=4,193)



Q: Whether or not you have visited Israel, what type of attachment (or otherwise) do you feel towards Israel?

The younger respondents were, the less likely they were to feel a strong degree of attachment to Israel

Most South African Jews feel attached to Israel. Almost all (90%) respondents feel at least moderately attached and two out of three (66%) feel strongly attached (Figure 52). However, the younger respondents were, the less likely they were to feel a strong degree of attachment (Figure 53). A more in-depth analysis is required to establish which factors (such as age, religiosity, location and so on) underlie attachment to Israel.

5.2 Zionism

While the majority of respondents said they felt attached to Israel (Figure 52), not all of them self-defined as Zionist: 69% did, but 18% did not, with a further 11% being unsure (Figure 54). Respondents in Johannesburg were more likely to self-define as Zionist (71%) than respondents in Cape Town (62%).

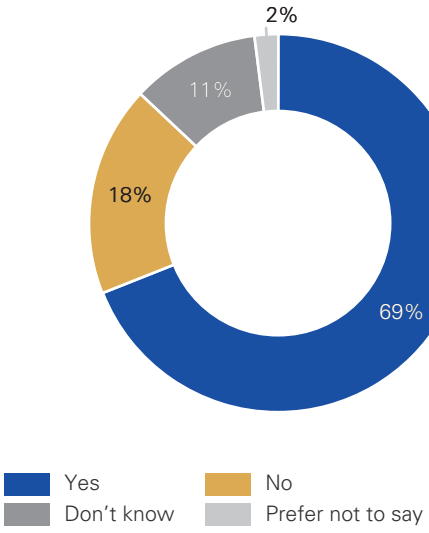
Respondents were presented with three statements in order to explore Israel attachment in greater depth. Whilst the vast majority (92%) maintained that Israel is the "ancestral homeland of the Jewish people," only half (51%) agreed with the statement "I support the elected government of Israel right or wrong." 12% of respondents opposed the idea of "a state specifically for Jews."

5.3 Criticising Israel

A majority of respondents (58%) said they believe it is acceptable to criticise Israel in the Jewish public sphere, such as in the Jewish media, but only a minority (37%) said they felt it was acceptable to do so in the broader South African media. A large majority (83%) felt it was unacceptable for Jews to publicly support a boycott of Israel, although 13% believed this was acceptable.

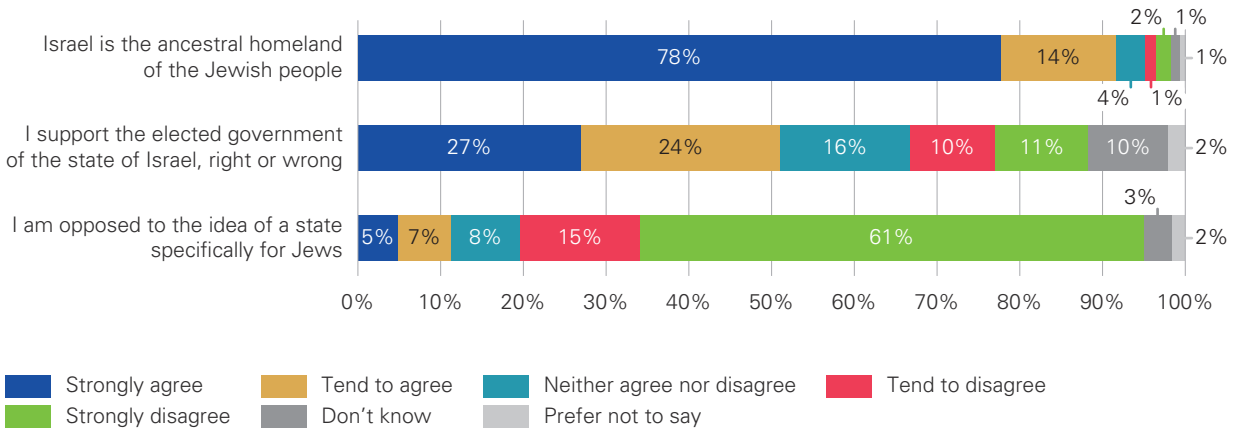
A majority of respondents (58%) said they believe it is acceptable to criticise Israel in the Jewish public sphere

Figure 54. Extent to which respondents self-define as Zionist (N=4,193)



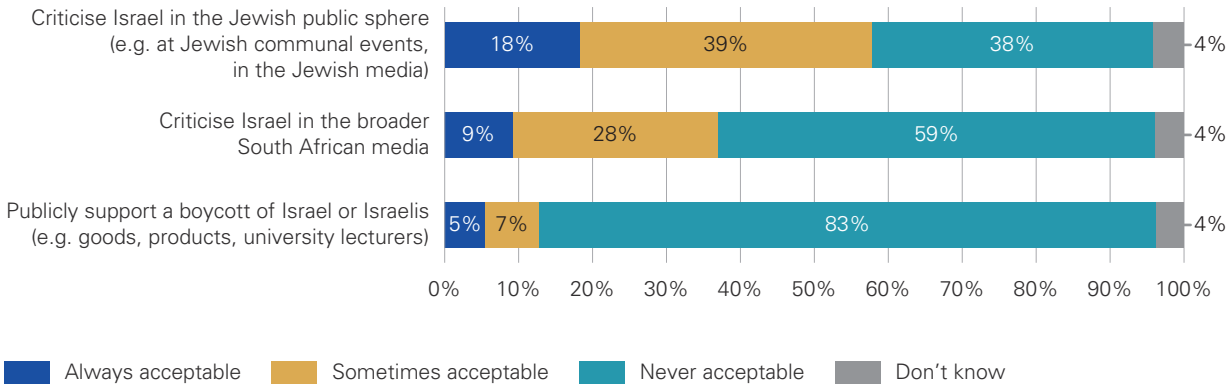
Q: Although there are different opinions about what the term Zionism means, in general, do you consider yourself to be a Zionist?

Figure 55. Responses to statements exploring the nature of Israel attachment (N=4,193 per item)



Q: To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about Israel:

Figure 56. The acceptability, or otherwise, of criticism of Israel by Jews in South Africa (N=4,193 per item)



Q: To what extent do you feel it is acceptable or unacceptable for JEWISH people in South Africa to:

6 / Charitable giving and volunteering

6.1 Volunteering

Just over half (51%) of respondents said they had done some voluntary work in the previous twelve months, either for Jewish or non-Jewish organisations. Two out of five (39%) had done no voluntary work, with the remainder (10%) giving no clear response.

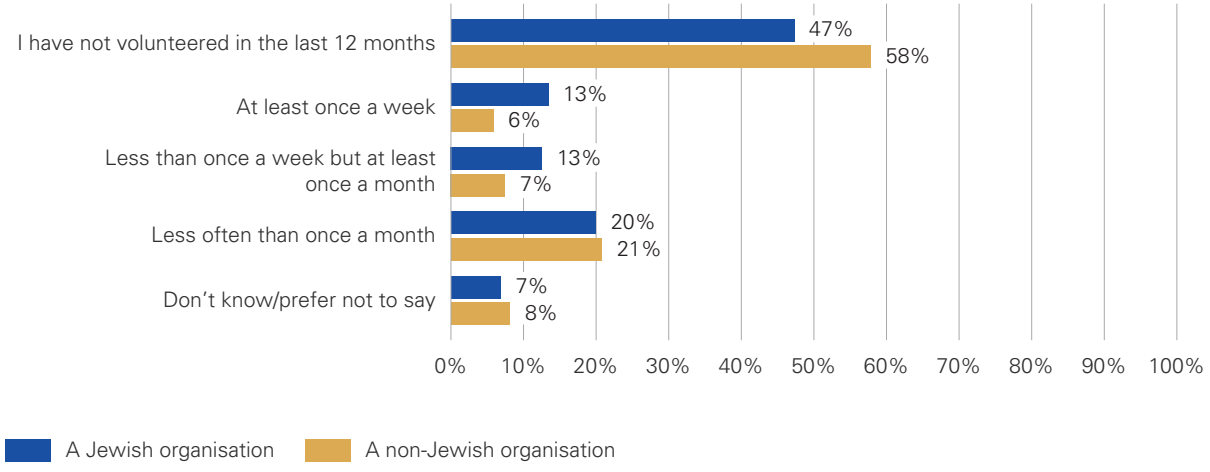
Respondents were more likely to have volunteered for Jewish organisations (46%) than for non-Jewish organisations (34%) (Figure 57). They also tended to have volunteered for Jewish organisations on a more frequent basis than for non-Jewish ones: while 6% said they volunteered for a non-Jewish organisation at least once a week, the equivalent proportion for Jewish organisations was 13%.

6.2 Charitable causes

The survey investigated the types of charitable causes respondents were most likely to support. Two out of three (64%) said they gave the highest priority to 'Jewish charities in South Africa,' with a further 20% saying they gave the highest priority to 'General charities in South Africa' (Table 9). However, in terms of their second highest priorities, one in three (32%) mentioned 'General charities in South Africa' and one in five (20%) mentioned 'Israel charities'.

51% of respondents said they had done some voluntary work in the previous twelve months

Figure 57. Proportion of respondents doing voluntary work for Jewish and non-Jewish organisations in past twelve months, by frequency (N=4,193 for each type)



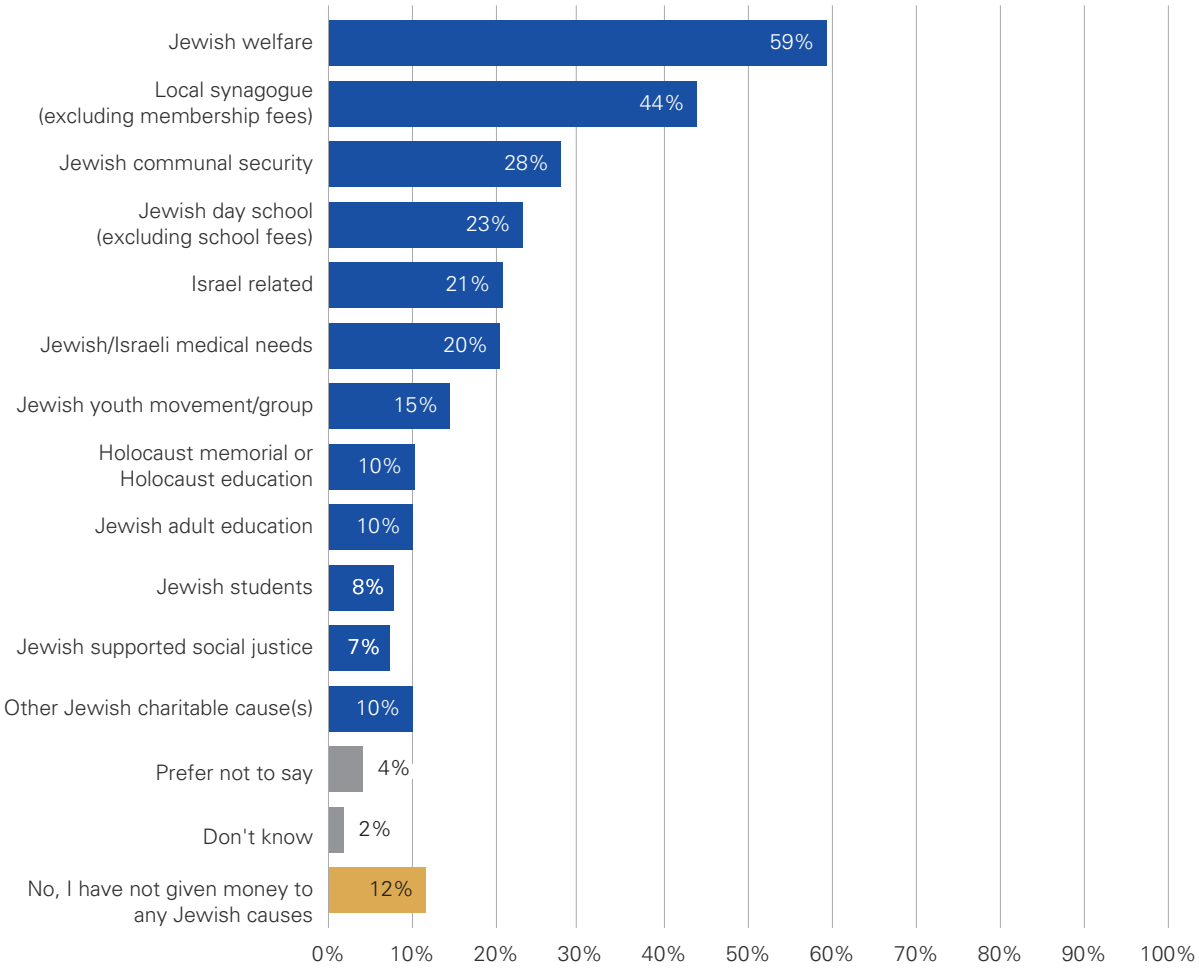
Q: In the last 12 months, how often, if at all, have you done unpaid voluntary work for:

Table 9. Charitable giving priorities (N=4,193 per column)

	Highest priority	Second highest priority
Jewish charities in South Africa	64%	13%
General charities in South Africa	20%	32%
Aid for the poor in other countries (i.e. outside South Africa)	1%	5%
Israel charities	5%	20%
Jewish charities outside Israel and South Africa	1%	7%
Other charities outside South Africa	1%	10%
None of these	4%	6%
Don't know/Prefer not to say	5%	7%
	100%	**100%**

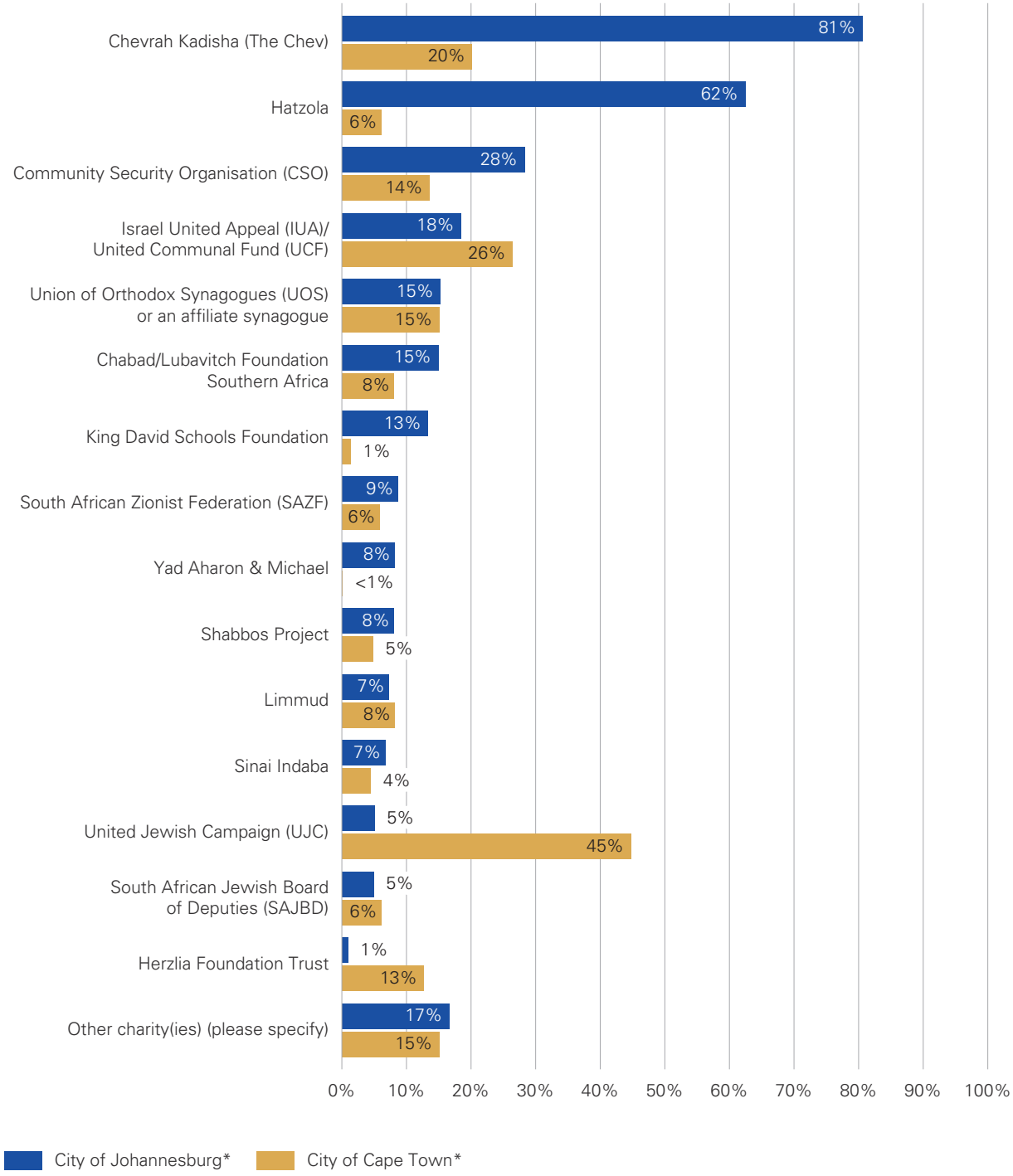
Q: To which of the following causes, if any, do you give the highest (and second highest) priority?

Figure 58. Proportion of respondents who donated to particular charitable *causes* in the previous twelve months (N=4,193 per item)



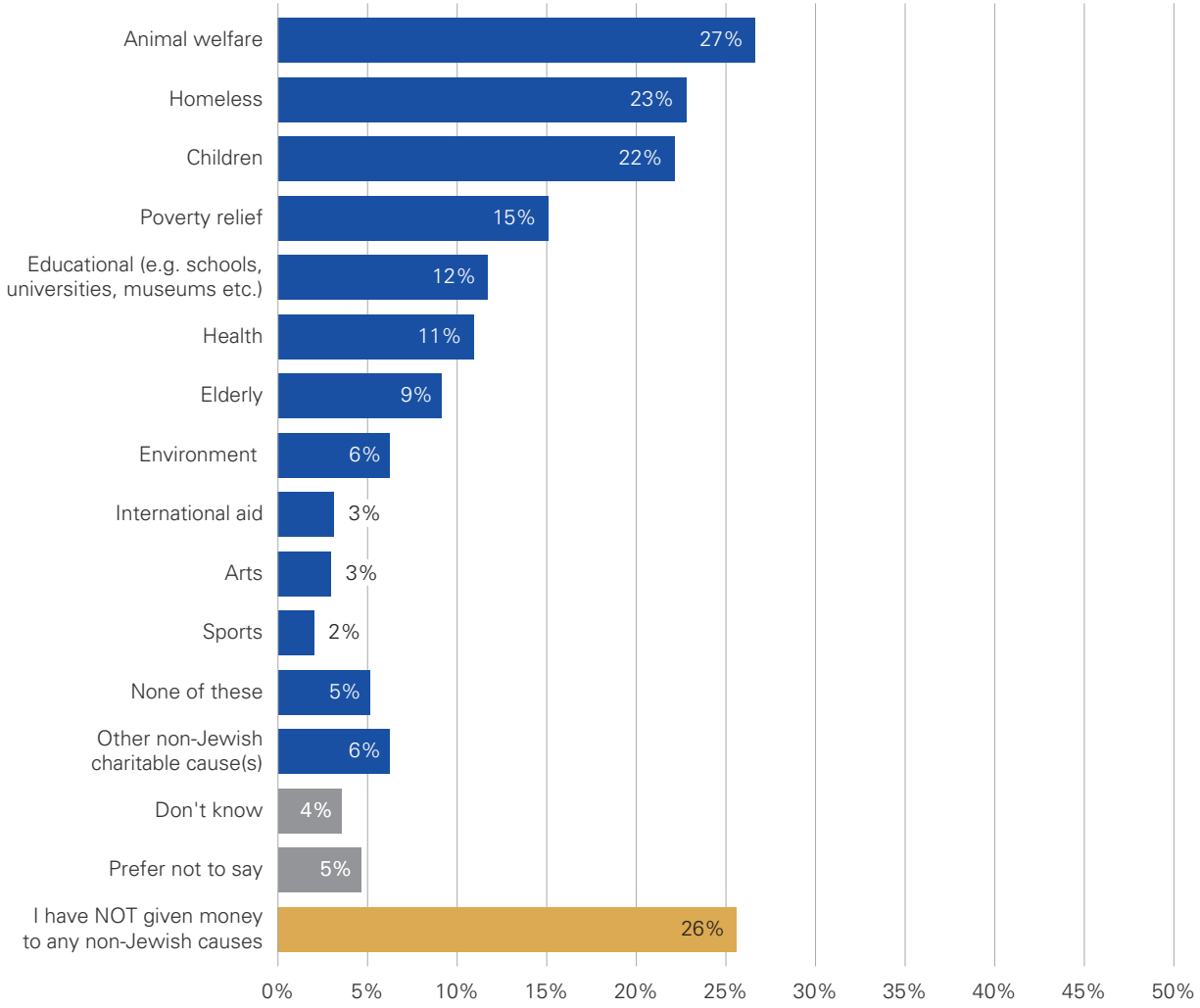
Q: Have you personally given money to any JEWISH organisations representing the following charitable CAUSES in the last 12 months?

Figure 59. Proportion of respondents who donated to specific Jewish charitable organisations/initiatives, by location of donor (N per item = 2,187 for Johannesburg and 803 for Cape Town)



Q: To which Jewish charities/organisations in South Africa have you personally given money in the last 12 months?
* Metropolitan Municipality.

Figure 60. Proportion of respondents who donated to non-Jewish charitable causes in the previous twelve months (N=4,193 per item)



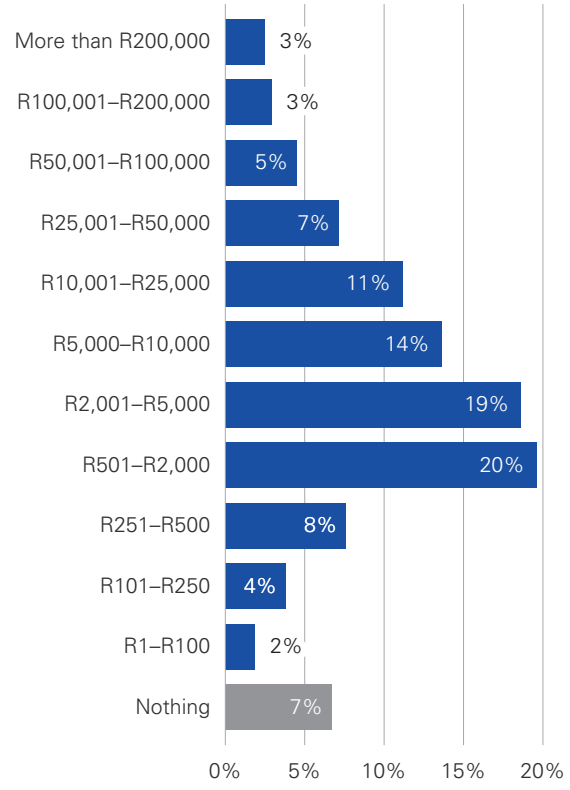
Q: Have you personally given money to any NON-JEWISH organisations representing the following charitable CAUSES in the last 12 months?

Respondents were also asked about their giving habits in the previous twelve months and to distinguish between the general charitable *causes* they support and the individual *organisations* they donate to. Regarding the former, three out of five (59%) respondents said they had donated to Jewish welfare causes and 44% had donated to a local synagogue (Figure 58).

This was followed by a question about which particular South African Jewish charities and organisations they had personally given money to in the previous twelve months. Support for many Jewish charities was location specific, with a majority (81%) of respondents in Johannesburg having donated to the Chev whose operations are primarily focused on that community (compared with 20% in Cape Town) (Figure 59). By contrast, 45% of those in Cape Town had donated to the UJC, a charity which primarily serves that community (compared with 5% in Johannesburg).

Just over a quarter (26%) said they had not donated any money to non-Jewish (i.e. general) charitable causes in the previous twelve months (Figure 60), more than double the equivalent

Figure 61. Distribution of total amounts donated to Jewish and/or non-Jewish charities in the previous twelve months (N=4,193)



Q: How much in total have you PERSONALLY given to JEWISH and/or NON-JEWISH charities in the last 12 months?

Table 10. Median amount* of individual/ household donations to Jewish and/or non-Jewish charities in the last twelve months, by location (N=4,193 individuals, N=2,402 households)

	Individual	Household
Total	**R3,750**	**R5,500**
Johannesburg	R4,250	R6,250
Cape Town	R2,500	R4,750
Other	R3,500	R4,000

Q: How much in total have you PERSONALLY given to JEWISH and/or NON-JEWISH charities in the last 12 months?
Q: How much in total has your HOUSEHOLD given to JEWISH and/or NON-JEWISH charities in the last 12 months?
* At the time of the survey ZAR R1,000 = US $70.

proportion (12%) for those who had not donated to Jewish causes. Among those who donated to general charities, the most commonly mentioned cause was animal welfare (27%), followed by homeless causes (23%) and causes related to children (22%).

6.3 Charitable donations

Respondents were also asked how much money they had donated to charities (Jewish and/or non-Jewish) over the previous twelve months and were asked to select from a set of bands. Most respondents (39%) had either given between R501 and R2,000 or between R2,001 and R5,000 (Figure 61).

The median personal annual donation made by Jews in South Africa was R3,750.[27] The amount was 70% higher in Johannesburg than in Cape Town (Table 10). However, in multi-person households it is often the case that charitable donations are made on behalf of the household (rather than an individual) and so we also asked householders how much their household had given to charity in the previous twelve months. The median household donation was R5,500, or 32% more than the median individual donation, and although households in Johannesburg donated more money than those in Cape Town, the difference between the two centres was, coincidently, also 32%.

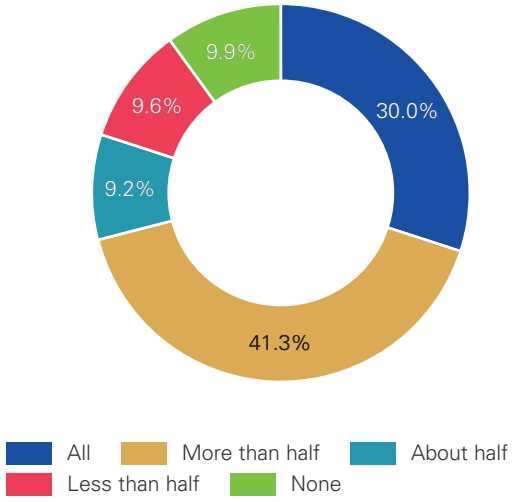
Finally, we asked what proportion of these total charitable donations given in the previous twelve months had been made to Jewish charities. Almost all (90%) respondents directed at least some of their donations towards Jewish charities and most (71%) had given more than half or all to them (Figure 62). Men were more likely than women to have donated predominantly or exclusively to Jewish charities (76% versus 66% respectively), and respondents in Johannesburg were far more likely to have done this than respondents in Cape Town (78% versus 54% respectively).

27 The median is the point at which, in an ordered distribution of incomes, half the values are lower and half the values are higher. It is less sensitive than the mean to small numbers of very high values.

The more religious a respondent reported themselves to be, the more likely they were to have given more than half or all of their donations to Jewish charities

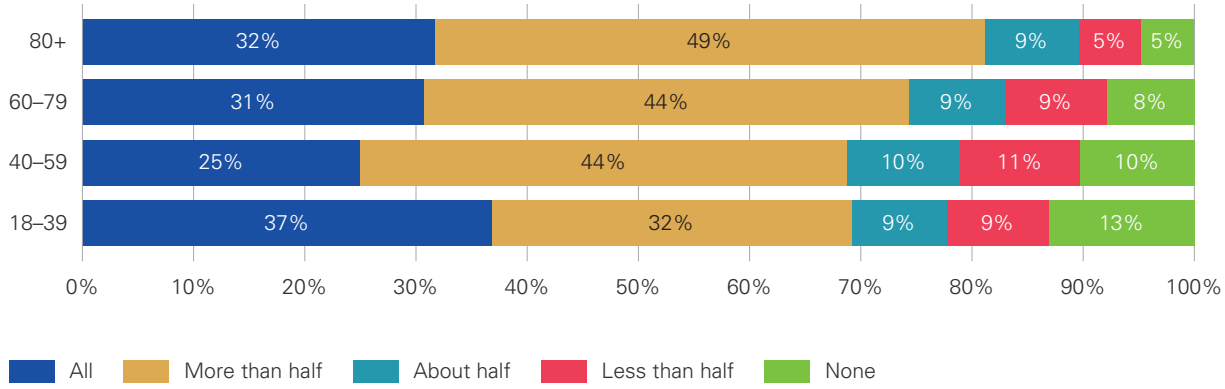
The more religious a respondent reported themselves to be, the more likely they were to have given more than half or all of their donations to Jewish charities. It was also the case that the younger respondents were, the more likely they were to have donated nothing to Jewish charities, although the proportions are small overall (Figure 63). On the other hand, the age relationship was rather more complicated than shown here (see Appendix 5).

Figure 62. Proportion of total personal charitable donations given over the previous twelve months that were directed towards Jewish charities* (N=4,193)



Q: Approximately what proportion of your PERSONAL charitable donations over the last 12 months went to JEWISH charities?
* Excluding 'Don't know,' 'Not applicable,' and 'Prefer not to say.'

Figure 63. Proportion of personal charitable donations directed to Jewish charities by age group* (N=4,193)



Q: Approximately what proportion of your PERSONAL charitable donations over the last 12 months went to JEWISH charities?
* Excluding 'Don't know,' 'Not applicable,' and 'Prefer not to say.'

7 / Intermarriage

Intermarriage, or the marriage of Jews to non-Jews, is a complex and sometimes contentious subject. It is therefore important that each statistic is understood in its own context. Intermarriage statistics can be expressed as a proportion of all *couples* marrying (i.e. all marriages involving at least one Jew) or as a proportion of all Jewish *individuals* marrying.[28] The advantage of the couples-based measure is that it is more intuitive since the unit of marriage is of course a couple, but couples-based intermarriage figures are inevitably higher than those based on individuals and some commentators feel these give an exaggerated indication of the intermarriage level. Ultimately it is simply a matter of preference as neither approach is more accurate than the other, so long as the data are properly understood. In this section, unless otherwise stated, all measures relate to *individuals* rather than couples.

The extent to which Jews are married to non-Jews at any given time is called the 'prevalence' of intermarriage. It can be thought of as a snapshot of intermarriage. (This is distinct from the 'intermarriage rate' discussed separately below.) In terms of the overall prevalence of intermarriage in South Africa in 2019, JCSSA data demonstrate that among all Jewish individuals currently living with their spouses, 88% are in-married and 12% are intermarried.[29] However, among those who are living together but who are not married to each other, the equivalent proportion (i.e. prevalence of having a non-Jewish partner) is 60%.

In Cape Town, the prevalence of intermarriage is three times the level of Johannesburg (18% versus 6% respectively) although it is highest in Durban at 29%

Focusing on all currently married Jews, the likelihood of intermarriage is sensitive to many different factors, one of which is geography. In Cape Town, the prevalence of intermarriage is three times the level of Johannesburg (18% versus 6% respectively) although it is highest in Durban at 29% (Table 11). It is also slightly more prevalent among women than men (14% versus 10%). This gender difference may be related to the matrilineal definition of Jewishness, since, in general, the children of an intermarried Jewish woman will be considered Jewish by all Jews, in contrast to the children of an intermarried Jewish man. Unsurprisingly, the more religious a person is the less likely they are to be intermarried. In terms of age, the prevalence of intermarriage is lowest (1%) among the very youngest married Jews (since those who marry at a young age tend to be religious) and it is highest among those in their fifties (16%) (see Appendix 5).

In contrast to the prevalence measure of intermarriage, the intermarriage rate refers to the proportion of all marriages taking place in a particular time period that involved Jews marrying non-Jews.

28 The issue can be demonstrated by means of a simple example. If one was analysing two *marriages*, one where both partners were Jewish, and the other which involved a Jew and a non-Jew, the couples-based measure would derive an intermarriage rate of 50% (half of the marriages are intermarriages). By contrast, an assessment based on *individuals* derives an intermarriage rate of 33% (one of the three Jews married a non-Jew).

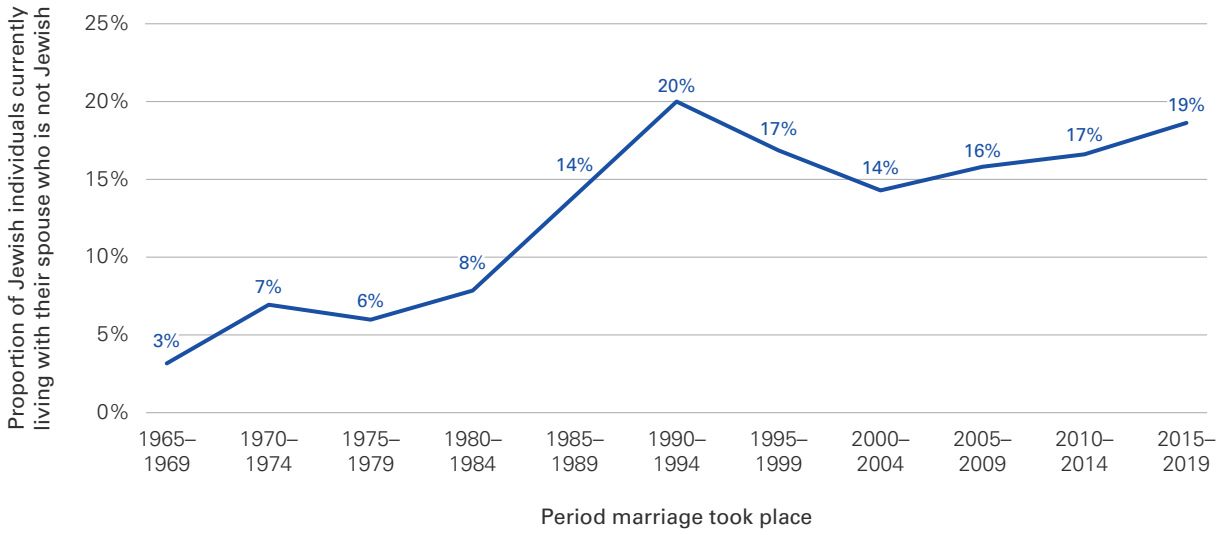
29 Measured in terms of couples the prevalence of intermarriage is 17%.

Table 11. Prevalence of intermarriage in 2019 by location, gender and age* (N=2,851)

		In-married	Intermarried
Total		**88%**	**12%**
Location	City of Johannesburg^	94%	6%
	City of Cape Town^	82%	18%
	Durban/Umhlanga – eThekwini^	71%	29%
	Other	80%	20%
Gender	Male	90%	10%
	Female	86%	14%
Current Jewish	Strictly Orthodox/Haredi/Chasidic	100%	0%
	Orthodox	97%	3%
	Traditional	94%	6%
	Progressive/Reform	68%	32%
	Secular/Cultural	72%	28%
Age band	18–29	99%	1%
	30–39	89%	11%
	40–49	85%	15%
	50–59	84%	16%
	60–69	90%	10%
	70–79	90%	10%
	80+	95%	5%

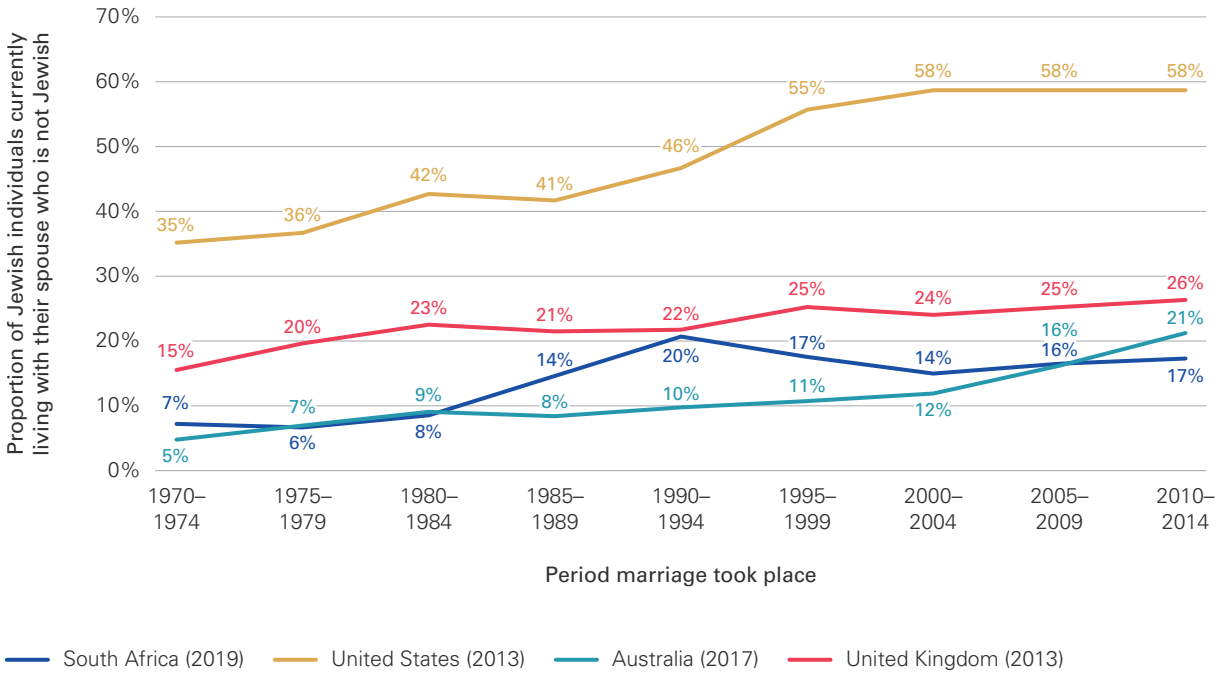
^ Metropolitan Municipality.
* All married Jewish individuals currently living with their spouse.

Figure 64. The estimated South African intermarriage rate over time* (N=2,851)



* For all Jewish individuals who are currently married and living with their spouse.

Figure 65. Trends in estimated intermarriage rates for South Africa, the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States*



* Note that the data shown for the US for the period 2010–2014 (58%) relate to the period 2005–2013, and the data shown for the UK for 2010–2014 (26%) relate to the period 2010–2013.
Sources: Pew (2013), *A Portrait of Jewish Americans: Findings from a Pew Research Center Survey of US Jews*, pp.35; Author's calculations using the Australia Gen17 survey dataset courtesy of JCA, Sydney (N=5,498); Author's calculations using the NJCS 2013 dataset courtesy of JPR, London (N=2,003).

The intermarriage rate in South Africa for Jews marrying between 2015 and July 2019 was 19%.[30] In other words, one in five South African Jews who married in this period married a non-Jew. Figure 64 shows how intermarriage in South Africa has changed over time.[31] Between the 1960s and 1990s, it rose steadily, followed by a notable decline during the 1990s (from 20% to 14%). Since then it has begun to rise again (from 14% to 19%). (The peak in the early nineties is probably related to the unusual relationship between age and Jewish identity in South Africa discussed in Appendix 5.)

Compared with other countries, South Africa's intermarriage rate is low. For example, it was 17% for the period 2010 to 2014, which compares with 21% in Australia and 26% in the UK, all three of which are less than half the intermarriage rate in the US of 58% (Figure 65). In this context, it is also apparent that the Australian intermarriage rate has risen relatively sharply since the turn of the millennium, whereas the intermarriage rates in South Africa and the UK have only risen marginally.

30 The equivalent statistic in terms of couples is 26% – i.e. just over one out of four weddings taking place in that period and involving at least one Jew was an intermarriage.

31 Note this is an approximation of intermarriage over time since it only includes marriages that were extant in 2019. In other words, anyone marrying in earlier years who is no longer alive or who left South Africa is not included in these data.

8 / Jewish schooling

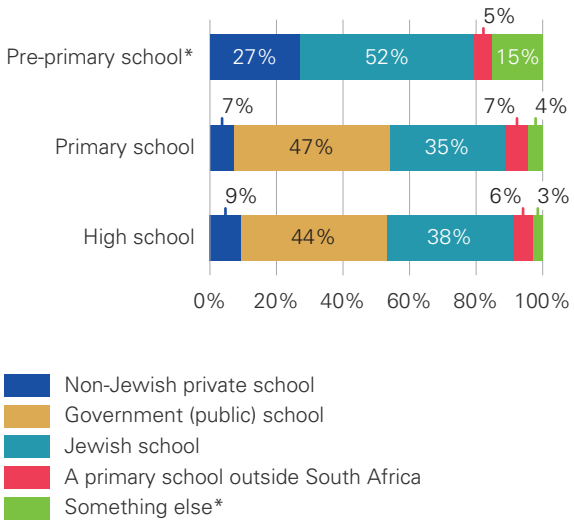
8.1 Type of schools attended

Jewish schools in South Africa are private and there are no government (i.e. public) pre-primary schools. Looking at the sample as a whole (i.e. all South African Jews aged 18-plus), over half of respondents (52%) attended a Jewish pre-primary school (Figure 66). Just over a third (35%) attended a Jewish primary school and a slightly higher proportion, 38%, attended a Jewish high school in South Africa.

However, of those *households* in South Africa that had school-aged children in 2019, 72% have children exclusively in Jewish schools and 26% have children exclusively in non-Jewish schools, with the remaining 2% having children in both Jewish and non-Jewish schools. The likelihood of children only attending Jewish schools is higher in Johannesburg (77%) than in Cape Town (69%) (Figure 67).

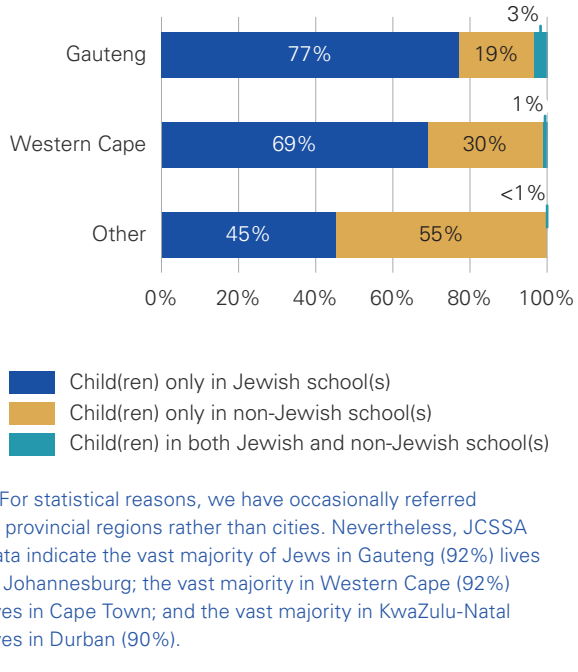
Note that these figures, based on the proportion of *households* with children attending Jewish schools, are not the same as the proportion of Jewish children attending Jewish schools. This is because households with children at Jewish schools are likely to be more religious than those who do not send their children to Jewish schools, and the more religious

Figure 66. Type of school attended by stage of education (N=4,193 per item)



* 'Something else' combines responses for 'Did not attend *x* school', 'Other', and 'Don't know.' There are no Government (public) schools at Pre-primary level in South Africa.

Figure 67. Proportion of (unique) households with school-aged children attending each school type, by location* (N=590)



* For statistical reasons, we have occasionally referred to provincial regions rather than cities. Nevertheless, JCSSA data indicate the vast majority of Jews in Gauteng (92%) lives in Johannesburg; the vast majority in Western Cape (92%) lives in Cape Town; and the vast majority in KwaZulu-Natal lives in Durban (90%).

households are, the more children they are likely to have. JCSSA data indicate that 75% of school-aged Jewish children in South Africa attend Jewish schools.[32]

Parents of school-aged children were asked why they had chosen certain types of schools over others. The main reasons they gave for choosing *non-Jewish* schools, whether public or private, were either practical (i.e. convenience) or to obtain a more diverse cultural experience than they would in a Jewish school (Table 12). By contrast, parents choosing *Jewish* schools said they did so primarily to help strengthen their children's Jewish identities and sense of belonging, and to give them a strong grounding in Jewish studies.

More than half (55%) of the families who send at least one of their children to a Jewish school(s) say the cost entails significant or major financial sacrifices for their household

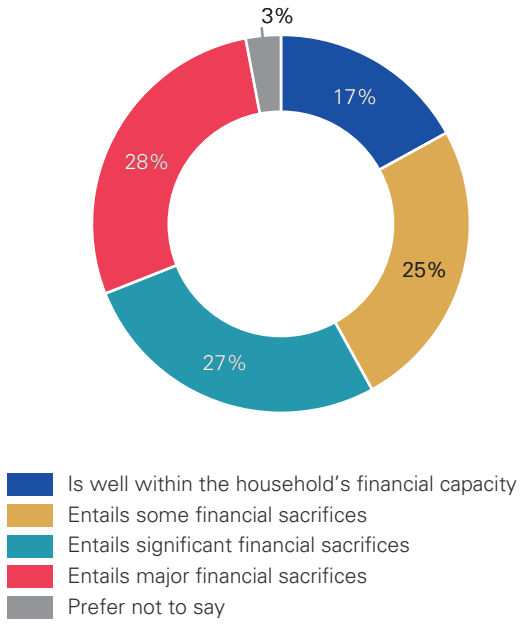
Table 12. Top reasons parents gave for schooling decisions for their children* (N=590 per question)

Why did you choose to send this child to a non-Jewish public school?	
Obtain a diverse cultural experience	50%
Convenience – close to home	42%
Quality of facilities (e.g. music, sport)	37%
Is there a reason you did not send this child to a Jewish school?	
Lack of cultural diversity	37%
Deterred by Jewish schools' religious ethos	32%
No Jewish school close to home	27%
Why did you choose to send this child to a non-Jewish private school rather than a Jewish school?	
Obtain a diverse cultural experience	43%
Quality of facilities (e.g. music, sport)	28%
No Jewish schools available/close to home	21%
Why did you choose to send this child to a Jewish school rather than a non-Jewish private school?	
Strengthen Jewish identity	84%
Learn about Judaism/Jewish studies	83%
Provide a sense of belonging to the Jewish community	81%
Develop Jewish friendships and social networks	74%
Why did you choose to send this child to this Jewish school rather than a different Jewish school?	
Convenience – closest to home	42%
Better social fit (e.g. friends send their children here)	40%
Learning ethos of the school	39%
Religious ethos of the school	38%
Provides more supportive/nurturing environment	37%

* For unique households with school-aged children.

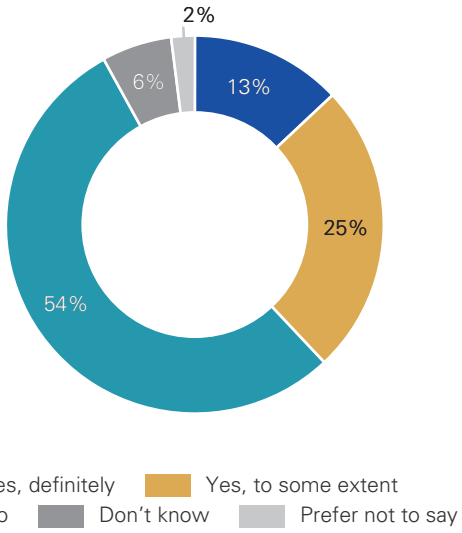
32 This was calculated for all unique households with children aged 5–18, where Person 3 and Person 4 were children of the householder, then averaging out the percentages attending Jewish primary and high schools.

Figure 68. Financial implications for respondent's household of sending child/ren to a Jewish school (N=470)



Q: Would you say the cost of sending your child/children to a Jewish school…
* For unique households with children in Jewish schools.

Figure 69. Proportion of respondents who say that the cost of Jewish schooling in South Africa may have caused them to limit the number of children they chose to have (N=590)*



Q: It has been suggested that the cost of Jewish schooling in South Africa has caused some families to limit the number of children they would otherwise like to have had. Does this include you?
* For unique households with school-aged children, excluding those who said "Not Applicable (e.g. I do not believe Jewish children should attend Jewish schools, or there are no Jewish schools near me)."

8.2 Burden of cost

More than half (55%) of the families who send at least one of their children to a Jewish school(s) say the cost entails significant or major financial sacrifices for their household (Figure 68).

There is also some evidence that the cost of Jewish schooling may have affected fertility in the Jewish population, with almost two out of five households (39%) with school-age children saying that the cost of Jewish schooling was a factor in their decision to limit the number of children they chose to have (Figure 69).

8.3 The number of children in Jewish schools

The Department of Education in South Africa carries out an annual school census called the SNAP Survey for Ordinary Schools. The data are gathered to support monitoring, planning and decision-making processes. They are published annually and schools are legally required to participate.[33] The survey records data for all public and independent 'Ordinary Schools.' Whilst there is no religion category in the data, Jewish schools can be identified using school names. In 2016, SNAP data recorded a total of 6,551 children attending these Jewish schools.

33 The SNAP questionnaire states: "The South African Schools Act No. 84 of 1996 (section 59 [1] and [2]) states that: Every school must supply such information about the school as is reasonably required by the Head of Education, and any person, who without just cause, fails to comply, shall be guilty of an offence."

When this figure is adjusted to account for non-Jewish children, we estimate that there were 6,189 Jewish pupils in Jewish schools in South Africa at that time (Table 13).

Table 13. SNAP survey data on the number of Jewish children attending Jewish schools, 2016*

Johannesburg	4,703
Cape Town	1,439^
Durban	46
Total	**6,189**

^ The total for Cape Town has been adjusted with additional information supplied by Kerri Serman at the Kaplan Centre at UCT that was unavailable in the SNAP data.
* SNAP data have been adjusted based on estimates of the proportion of pupils that are Jewish in each school (95% in Johannesburg, 85% elsewhere). Data include Grade R to Grade 12 where applicable. This includes nine schools in Johannesburg (King David, Yeshiva College, The Torah Academy Primary and High School, Sha-arei Torah Primary School, Yeshiva Maharsha Beis Aharon Community School, Hirsch Lyons School, Beth Jacobs Girls' High School, The Johannesburg Cheder, Sandton Sinai Primary School), four schools in Cape Town (Herzlia, Phyllis Jowell Jewish Day School, Sinai Academy, Cape Town Torah High School) and Umhlanga Jewish Day School in Durban. Data exclude Theodor Herzl High School in Port Elizabeth as the vast majority of students there are not Jewish.
Source: SNAP Survey for Ordinary Schools, files obtained through DataFirst.

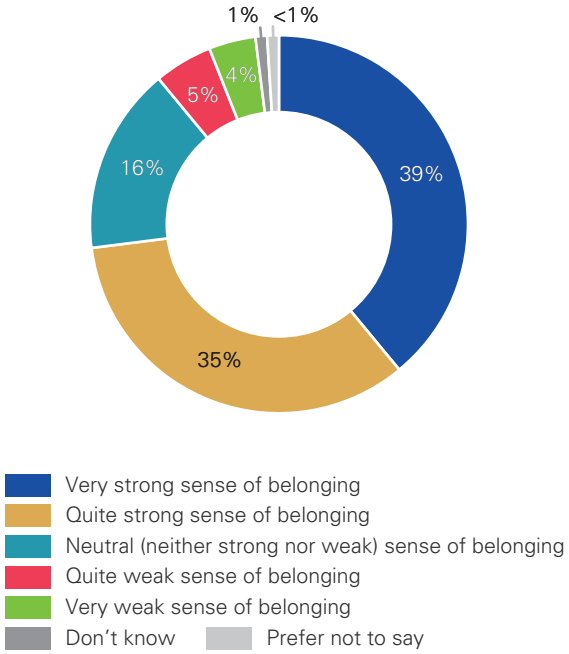
9 / Life in South Africa and antisemitism

Most (74%) respondents said they had either a very strong sense of belonging to South Africa, or quite a strong one. Less than 10% felt a weak sense of belonging (Figure 70). However, in terms of life satisfaction, attitudes were slightly less positive: 61% said they were satisfied with their life in South Africa, while 18% said they were dissatisfied (Figure 71).

Feelings of belonging are weakest among the youngest respondents aged under 25, but otherwise this variable is not sensitive to age. By contrast, life satisfaction is highest among the youngest respondents and lowest among middle-aged respondents aged 45 to 64 years.

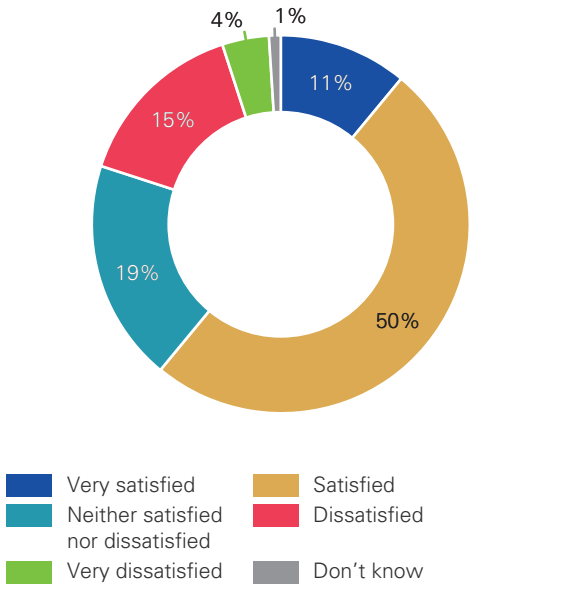
Respondents were presented with a list of social and political issues and asked to state the extent to which they considered them to be a problem in South Africa today. The order in which the list was presented was randomised for each respondent. Three issues were almost universally considered to be problematic: government corruption (99%), crime levels (e.g. assault, theft) (98%), and unemployment (98%). Most respondents identified these as 'very big' problems on the scale offered (Figure 72). Respondents also identified racism and anti-Israel sentiment as significant problems. Indeed, whilst 68% of respondents said that antisemitism was a problem, even more people felt anti-Israel sentiment was a problem (87%).

Figure 70. Sense of belonging to South Africa (N=4,193)



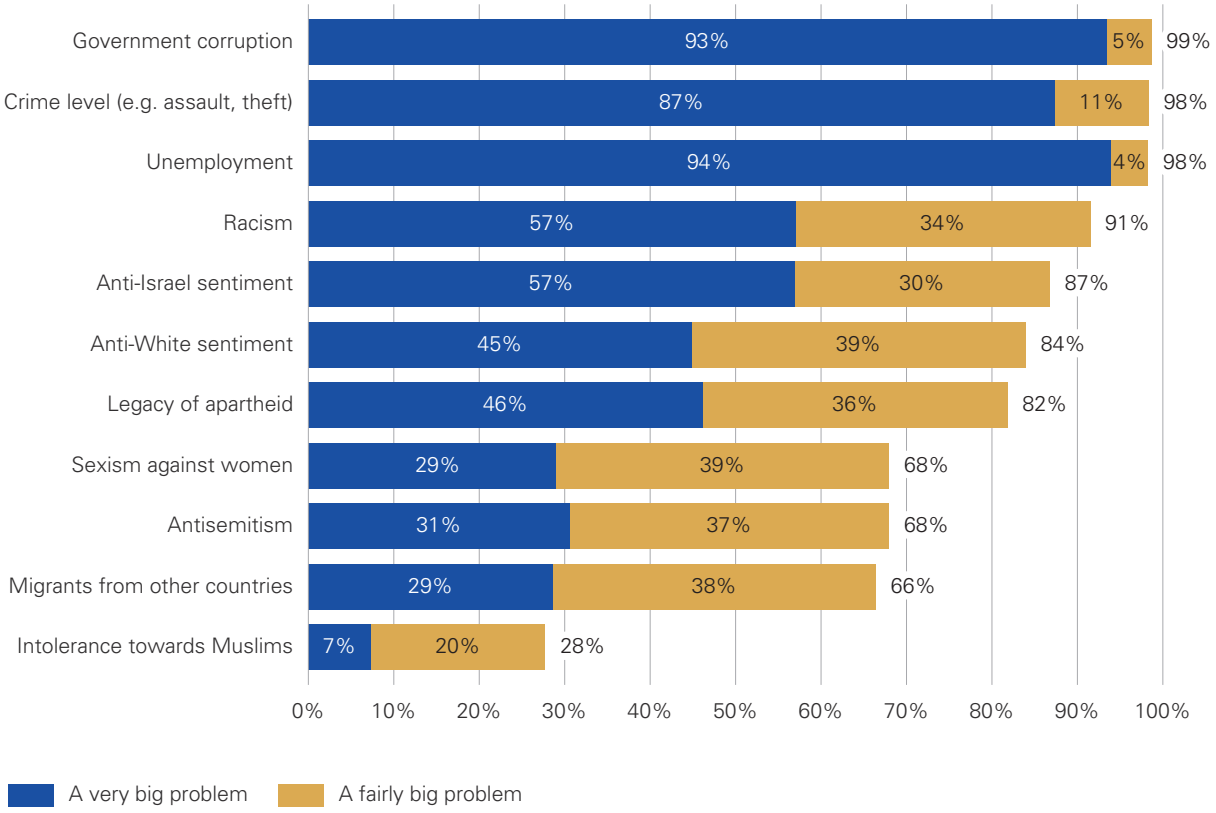
Q: To what extent do you have a sense of belonging in South Africa?

Figure 71. Satisfaction with life in South Africa as a whole (N=4,193)



Q: How satisfied are you with your life in South Africa as a whole?

Figure 72. Extent to which respondents regard various social and political issues to be a problem in South Africa (N=4,193 per item)



Q: To what extent, if at all, do you think each of following is a problem in South Africa today?

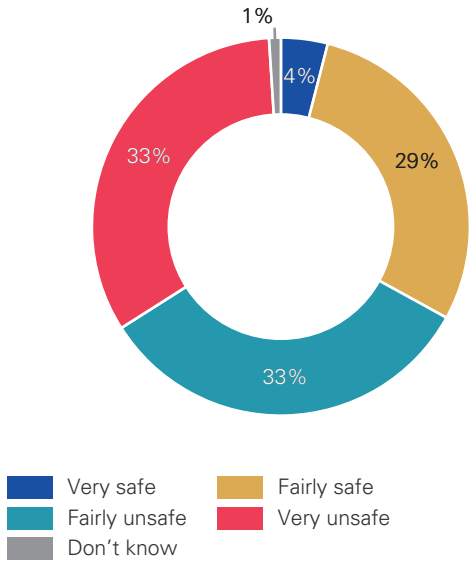
The sample is divided by gender in terms of whether these issues were considered to be a very big problem or not. With the exception of unemployment, where perceptions of the scale of the problem were the same (94% of both genders regarded it to be a very big problem), women were more likely than men to consider all of the other issues to be big problems. For example, more women than men asserted that anti-Israel sentiment is a very big problem (61% versus 54% for men), as was the case with regard to antisemitism (35% versus 26%), sexism against women (30% versus 26%), and racism (61% versus 51%).

Age was also a factor in regard to some of these issues, especially those where there is less than universal agreement. For example, compared to older respondents, younger respondents were more likely to believe that the legacy of apartheid and sexism against women were very big problems. On the other hand, older respondents were more likely to believe that anti-Israel sentiment and antisemitism were very big problems.

9.1 Crime

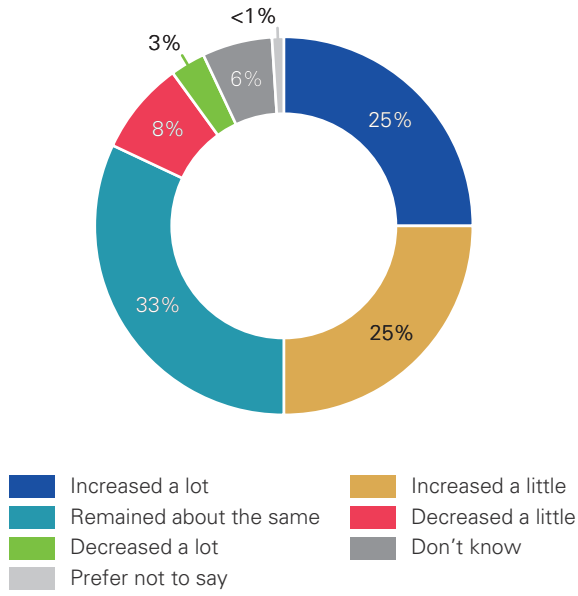
Respondents were twice as likely to say they felt unsafe (66%) walking alone in their local neighbourhood after dark than they were to say they felt safe doing so (33%) (Figure 73). Women were far more likely to feel unsafe walking alone at night (79%) than men (51%), and they were 2.5 times as likely to say they felt very unsafe (45% versus 17% respectively). In terms of location, Jews in Johannesburg were more likely to say they felt unsafe (68%) than Jews

Figure 73. Feelings of safety walking alone in local neighbourhood after dark (N=4,193)



Q: How safe or unsafe do you (or would you) feel walking alone in your local neighbourhood after dark?

Figure 74. Perception of changes in local neighbourhood crime levels over past five years (N=2,122)



Q: Do you think that crime in your neighbourhood has increased, decreased or remained about the same over the last FIVE years?

in Cape Town (61%). They were also rather more likely to say they felt very unsafe there (35%) than those in Cape Town (25%).

Jews in Johannesburg were more likely to say they felt unsafe walking alone at night (68%) than Jews in Cape Town (61%)

Half (50%) felt that crime had increased in their neighbourhood in the previous five years with just 11% saying it had decreased (Figure 74). Women were more likely to say it had increased (54%) than men (47%). While Jews in Johannesburg said they felt less safe than those in Cape Town, it was the coastal group that was more likely to say that crime had increased in their neighbourhood over the previous five years: in Cape Town, 63% believed this was the case, compared with 43% in Johannesburg.

The younger people were, the less likely they were to feel that crime had increased in recent years. 30% of people in their twenties felt crime had increased, compared with almost 60% of people in their fifties.

Meanwhile, almost a quarter (23%) of householders said they had been a victim of burglary in the previous five years (N=1,216). Just over one in twenty people (5.3%) said they had been the victim of an assault in the previous five years (N=2,122), and although women were more likely to feel unsafe (see above), men were almost twice as likely as women to say they had been the victim of an assault (6.9% versus 3.9% for women).

It is also the case that those who said they had been assaulted in the previous five years were considerably more likely than others to say they had considered leaving South Africa in the previous twelve months (57% versus 41%) (see also Figure 15 on page 24).

9.2 Antisemitism

As noted above (Figure 72), 87% of respondents felt that anti-Israel sentiment was a fairly big or very big problem in South Africa, and 68% felt similarly about antisemitism. In Figure 75 we see that whilst a majority felt that both of these issues had increased over the previous five years, the perception of an increase in anti-Israel sentiment was almost universal (92%), but somewhat less marked for anti-Jewish sentiment (74%).

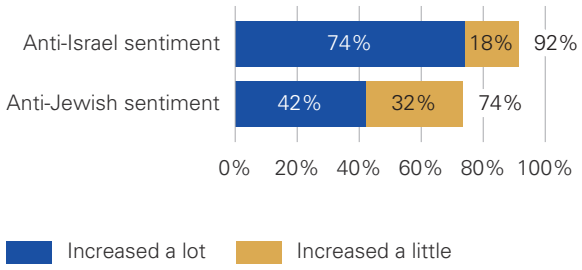
Respondents in Johannesburg were slightly more likely than respondents in Cape Town to feel these two issues had increased (by about five percentage points) and women were more likely to do so than men (by about six percentage points).

The older respondents were, the more likely they were to feel that both anti-Jewish and anti-Israel sentiment had increased in the last five years (Figure 76). It was also the case that the more people viewed themselves as being religious (based on the religiosity scale – see Figure 21 on page 31), the more likely they were to feel that anti-Jewish and anti-Israel sentiment had increased in South Africa.

About two out of three respondents believed that antisemitism on the internet, in political life, and in the media were fairly or very big problems in South Africa today (Figure 77). Almost three quarters of respondents believed these three items had increased at least a little in the previous five years (not illustrated).

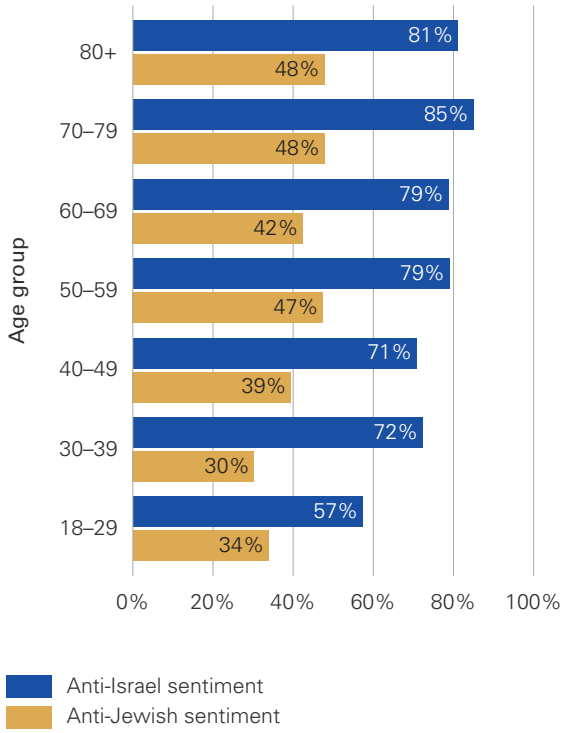
The younger respondents were, the more likely they felt that antisemitism expressed on the internet and social media was a very big problem. For example, 47% of those aged 18 to 39 said this was a very big problem, compared with 21% of those aged 80 and above (Figure 78). This age relationship is also seen in terms of comments/jokes in everyday conversations and hostility in the street, albeit in a more graduated way. Middle-aged respondents were the ones most likely to feel that antisemitism in the media and in political life were very big problems.

Figure 75. Perceived changes in levels of anti-Israel and anti-Jewish sentiment in South Africa in past five years (N=2,122)



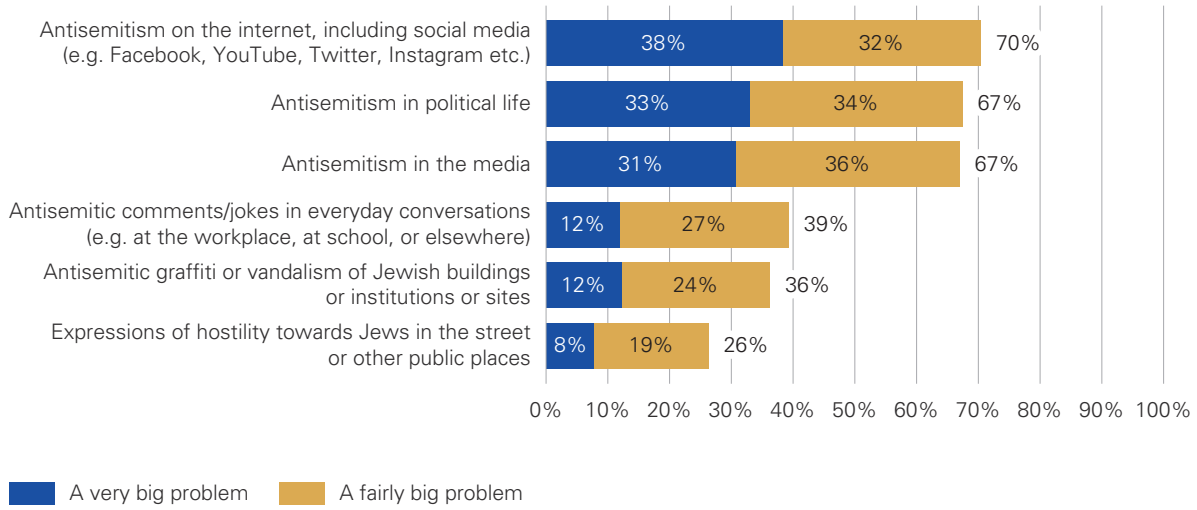
Q: Over the LAST FIVE YEARS, do you think each of the following has increased, stayed the same or decreased in South Africa?

Figure 76. Proportions feeling that anti-Jewish and anti-Israel sentiment have increased over the past five years by age group (N=2,122)



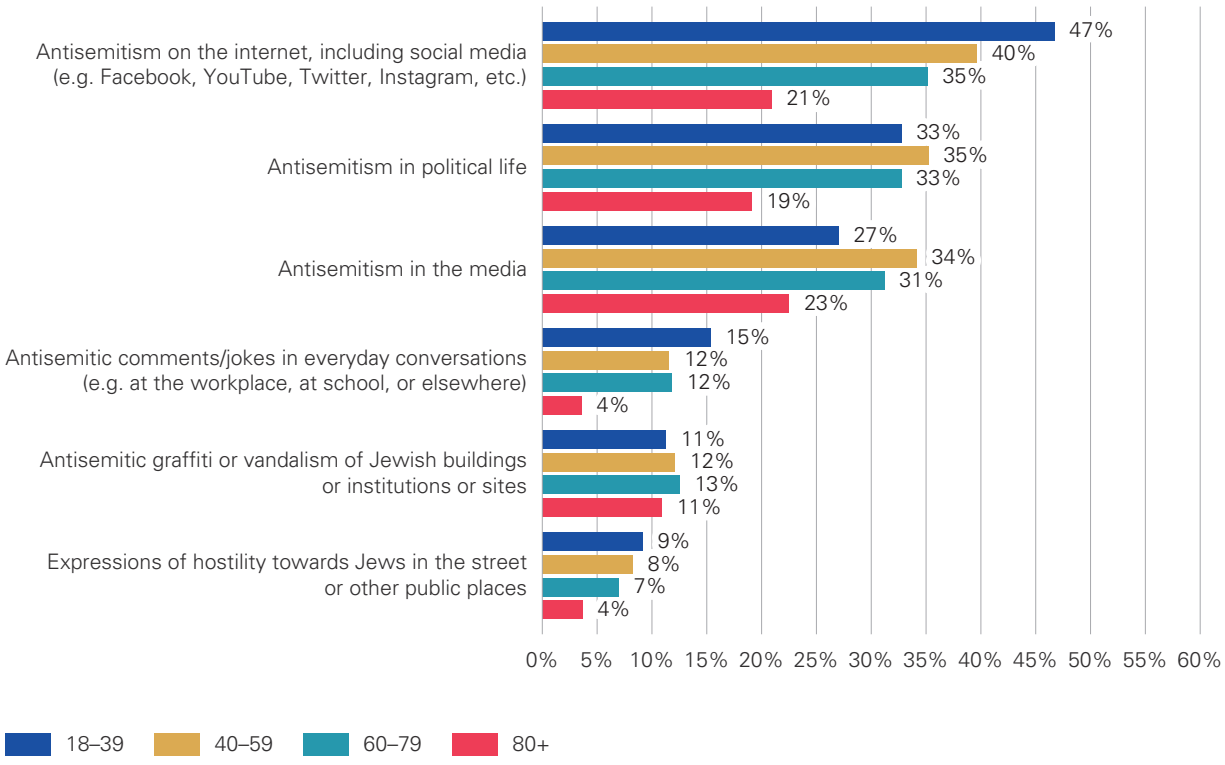
Q: Over the LAST FIVE YEARS, do you think each of the following has increased, stayed the same or decreased in South Africa?

Figure 77. Proportion feeling that specific manifestations of antisemitism are a problem in South Africa today (N=2,122)



Q: To what extent, if at all, do you think each of the following is a problem in South Africa today?

Figure 78. Proportions feeling that specific manifestations of antisemitism are a 'very big' problem in South Africa today by age group (N=2,122)



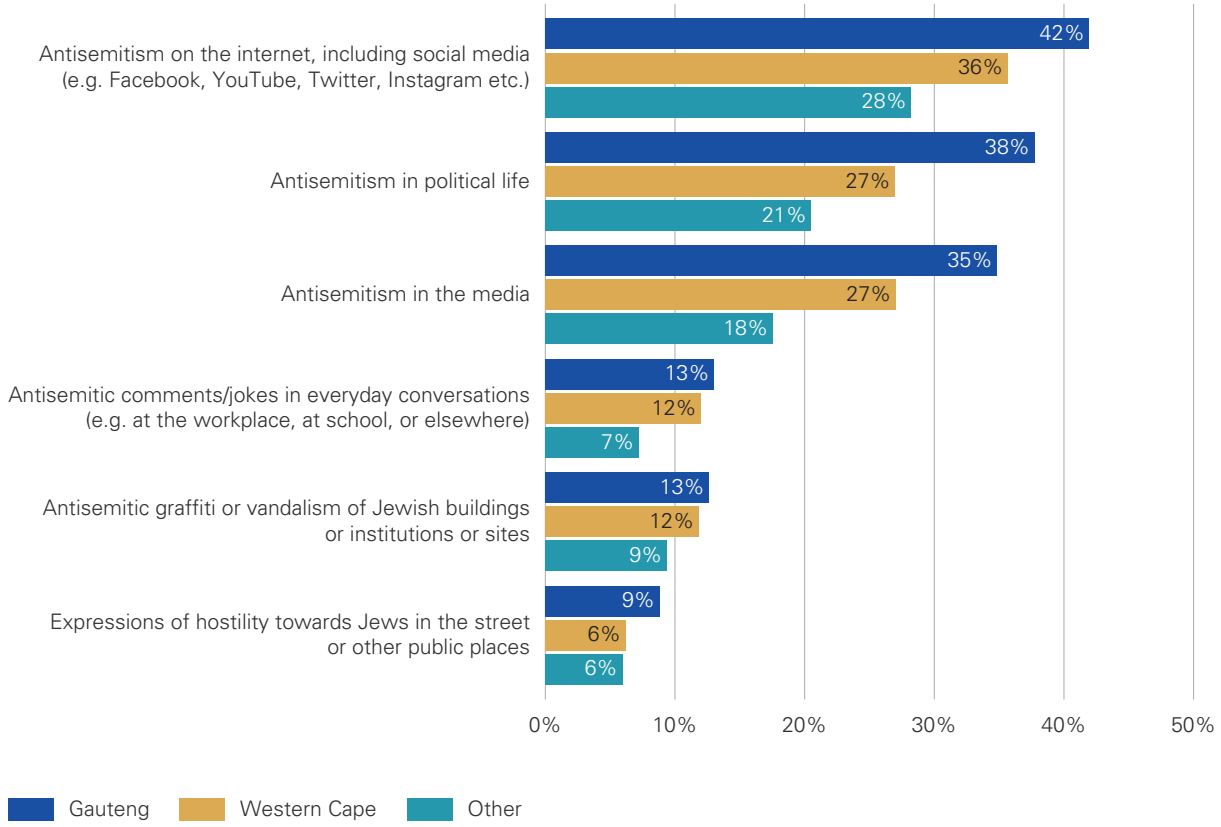
Q: To what extent, if at all, do you think each of the following is a problem in South Africa today?

Respondents in Johannesburg were more likely than respondents in Cape Town to believe that each of these manifestations of antisemitism was a very big problem (Figure 79). For example, 38% of respondents in Johannesburg believed antisemitism in political life was a very big problem, compared with 27% of respondents in Cape Town and 21% of respondents elsewhere in South Africa. Those in Johannesburg were also more likely than those in Cape Town to believe each manifestation of antisemitism had increased over the previous five years.

9.3 Experiences of antisemitism

Respondents were asked whether they had personally witnessed any antisemitic incidents in the previous year. More than one in ten (10.5%) said they had, and in most cases these related to witnessing "other Jew(s) being verbally insulted or harassed" because they were Jewish. A slightly lower proportion (8.8%) said they had personally experienced an antisemitic attack and again, most of these related to respondents being "verbally insulted or harassed."

Figure 79. Proportion feeling that specific manifestations of antisemitism are a 'very big' problem in South Africa today by location (N=2,122)*

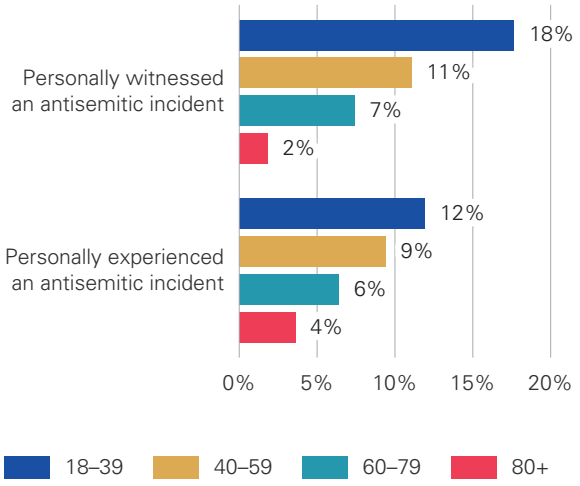


Q: To what extent, if at all, do you think each of the following is a problem in South Africa today?
* For statistical reasons, we have occasionally referred to provincial regions rather than cities. Nevertheless, JCSSA data indicate the vast majority of Jews in Gauteng (92%) lives in Johannesburg; the vast majority in Western Cape (92%) lives in Cape Town.

Age is a key factor here; the younger a person was, the more likely they were to say that they had witnessed and/or experienced an antisemitic incident. For example, 18% of those aged 18 to 39 had witnessed an antisemitic incident in the previous twelve months, compared with just 2% of those aged 80 and above (Figure 80).

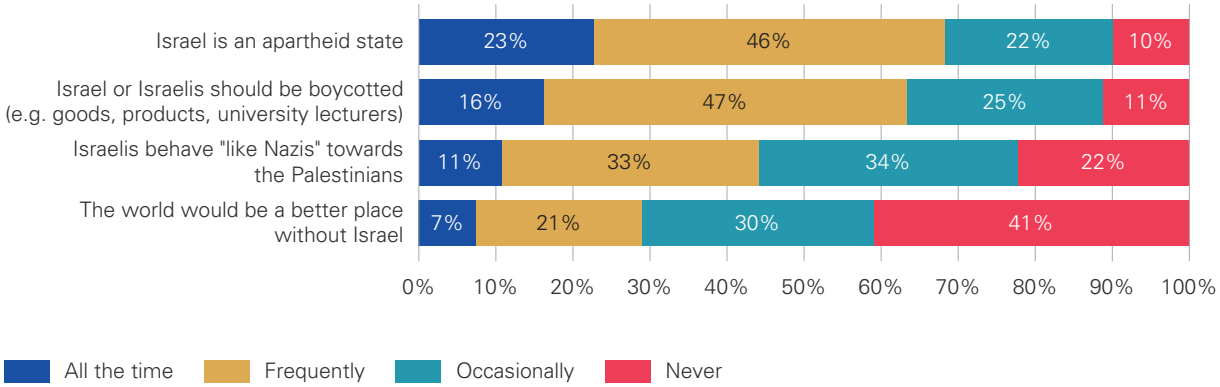
It was found that men were considerably more likely to have witnessed or experienced an antisemitic incident than women: 14% of men had witnessed an antisemitic incident compared with 8% of women, and 11% of men had experienced one compared with 7% of women. It was also the case that the more religious respondents reported being, the more likely they were to have witnessed or experienced an antisemitic incident. For example, 7% of those at the lowest end of the religiosity scale (i.e. scoring 1 or 2 – see Figure 21 on page 31) had experienced an antisemitic incident in the previous twelve months, compared with 11% of those at the highest end of the scale (scoring 9 or 10). This is a common finding in other Jewish communities, and is likely due to the fact that religiously observant Jews tend to be more visibly Jewish than others.

Figure 80. Proportion who have personally experienced and/or witnessed an antisemitic incident* in past twelve months, by age group (N=2,122)



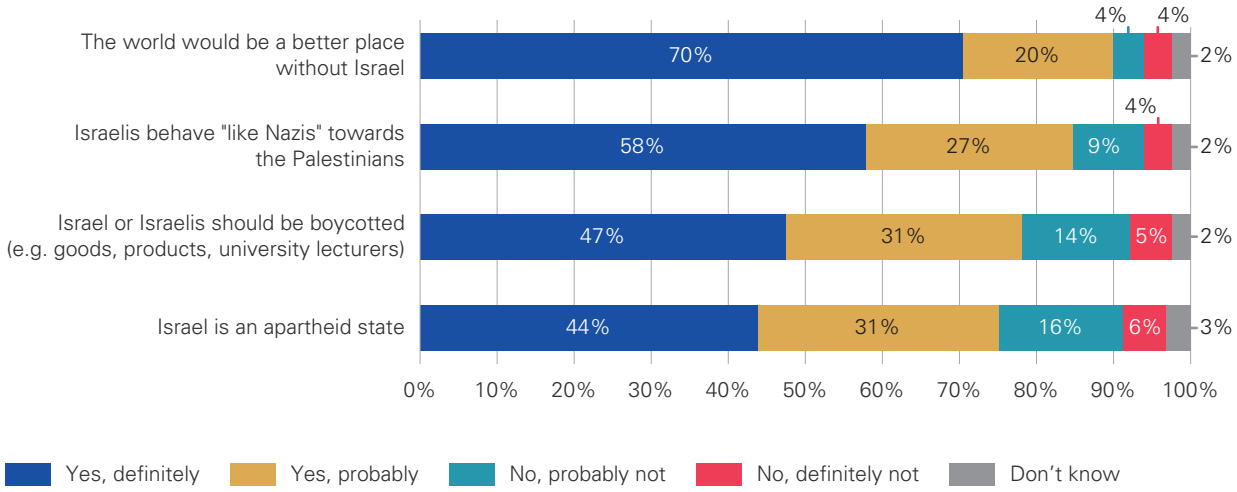
Q: In the last 12 MONTHS in South Africa, have you PERSONALLY WITNESSED any of the following types of antisemitic incidents happening to someone because they were Jewish?
Q: In the last 12 MONTHS in South Africa, have you PERSONALLY EXPERIENCED any of the following types of antisemitic incidents because you are Jewish?
* The options used were 'being verbally insulted or harassed' and being 'physically attacked'.

Figure 81. Proportion of respondents who have heard or seen non-Jewish people in South Africa make various critical or hostile statements about Israel (N=2,122)



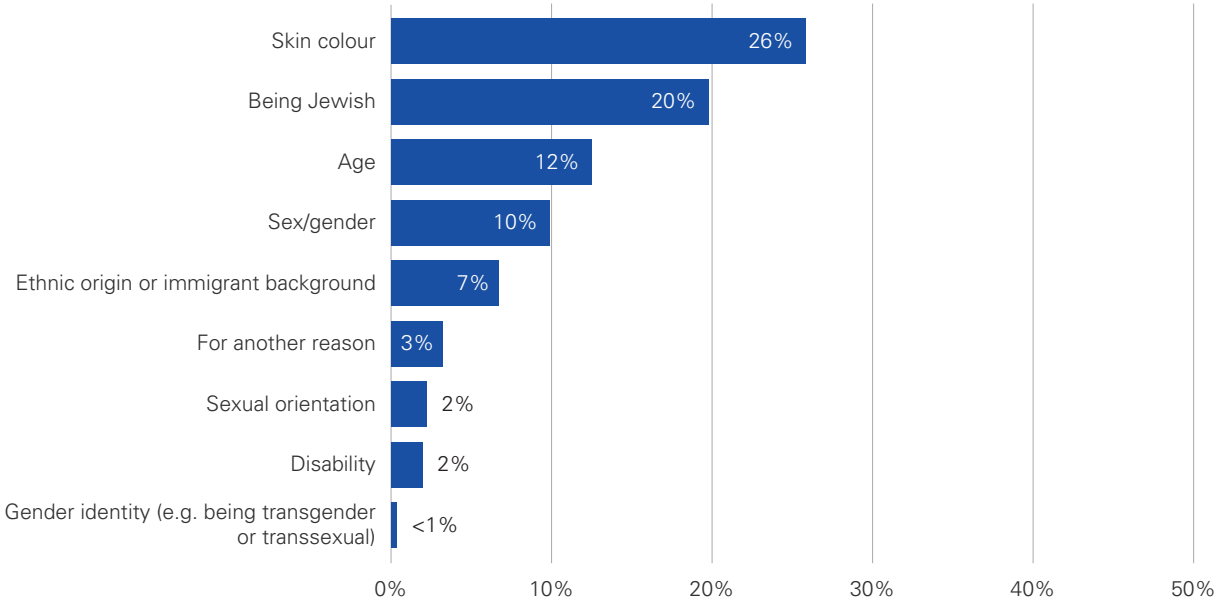
Q: In the last 12 MONTHS, have you heard or seen, in person or in the media, non-Jewish people in South Africa suggest that:

Figure 82. Proportion of respondents who would consider a non-Jewish person to be antisemitic if they expressed particular ideas about Israel or Israelis (N=2,122)



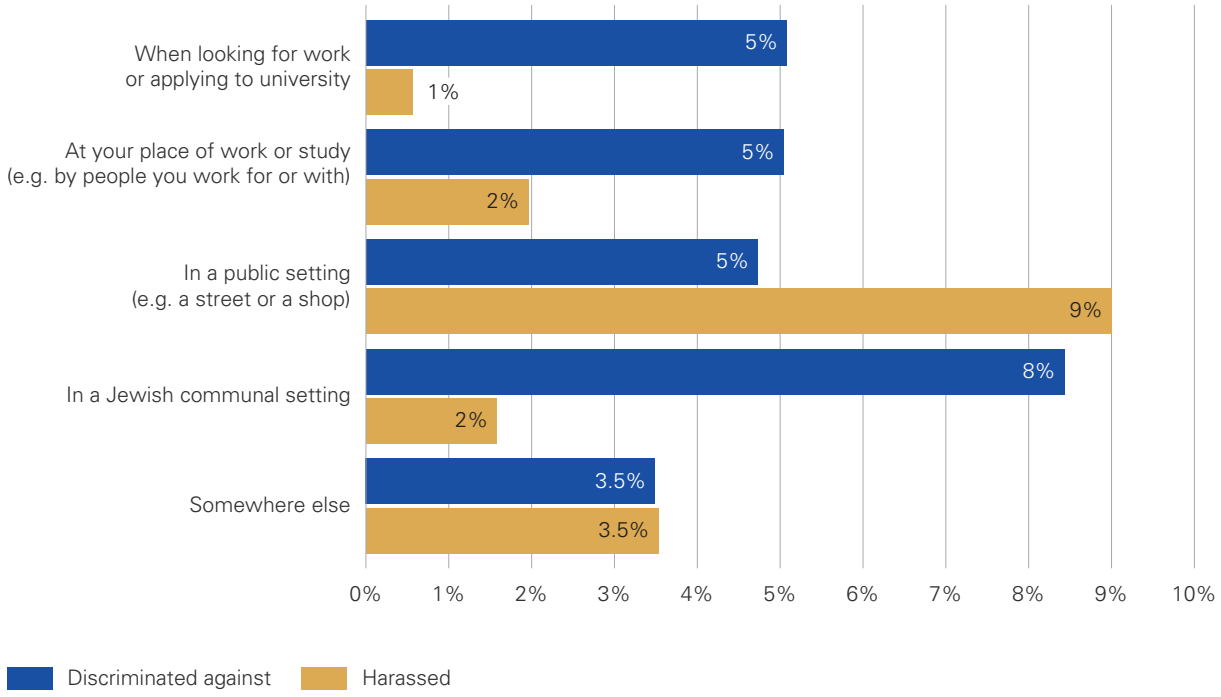
Q: Would you consider a non-Jewish person to be antisemitic if he or she says that:

Figure 83. Proportion of respondents who have felt discriminated against based on various personal attributes over the past twelve months* (N=4,193)



Q: Have you personally felt discriminated against for any of the following reasons in the last 12 MONTHS?
* Respondents were presented with the following definition: "By discrimination we mean being treated less favourably than others because of, for example, your age, gender, ethnic origin, religion or belief. This refers to something that happened to you personally and NOT something you may have witnessed."

Figure 84. Proportion of female respondents experiencing gender-based discrimination or harassment over the previous twelve months (N=2,011 per column)



Q: Have you personally experienced any gender-based discrimination or harassment, as a woman living in South Africa, in the last 12 MONTHS?

9.4 Israel and antisemitism

More than two out of three (68%) respondents said that they had heard Israel being labelled an 'apartheid state' either frequently or all the time over the previous 12 months, an accusation that is particularly potent in the context of South Africa. Almost as many (63%) said they had heard people call for a boycott of Israeli products (Figure 81 on page 77).

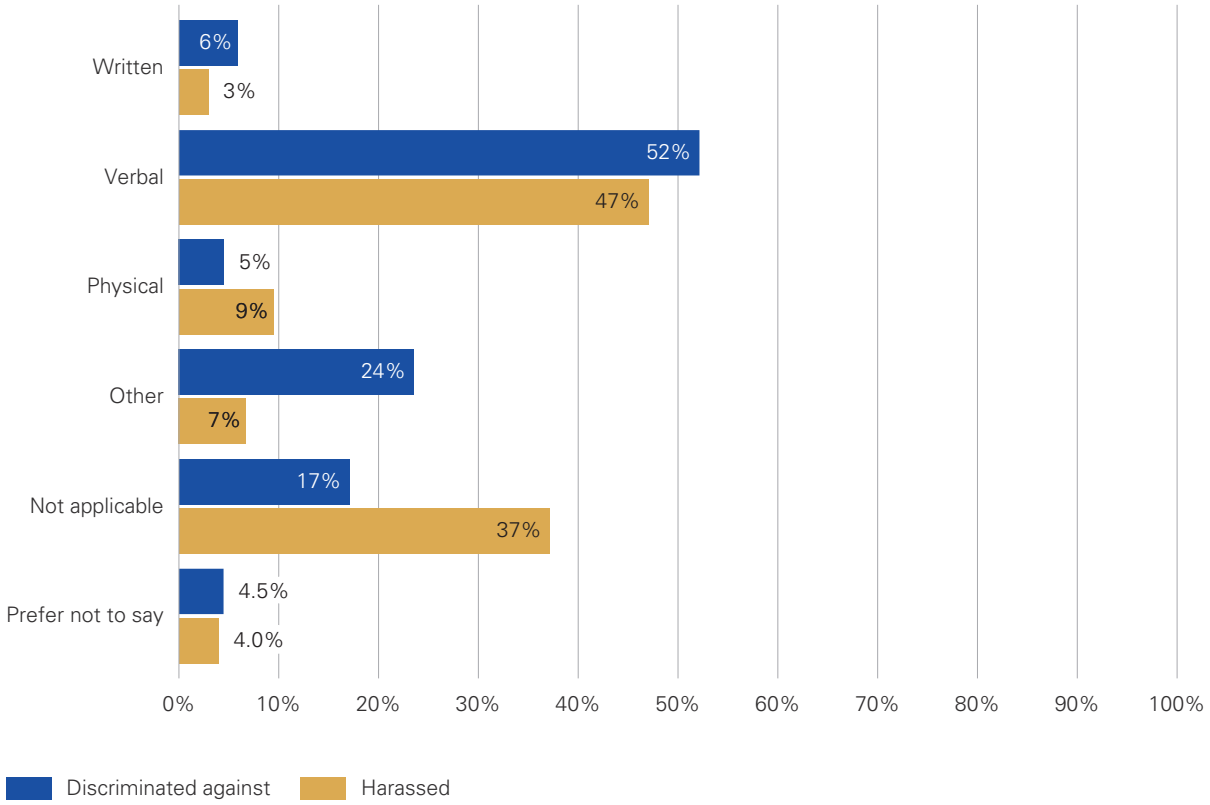
More than three quarters (78%) of respondents felt that a non-Jew calling for a boycott of Israeli products was either 'probably' or 'definitely' antisemitic. A similar proportion (75%) felt that a non-Jew labelling Israel an apartheid state was also either probably or definitely antisemitic (Figure 82 on page 78).

9.5 Discrimination and harassment

It was noted in Section 1.4 on page 14 that over 98% of respondents identified as White. In this context, it is notable that in the twelve months prior to the survey, over a quarter (26%) of the sample said they had felt discriminated against based on the colour of their skin, and one in five (20%) said they had felt discriminated against because they were Jewish (Figure 83).

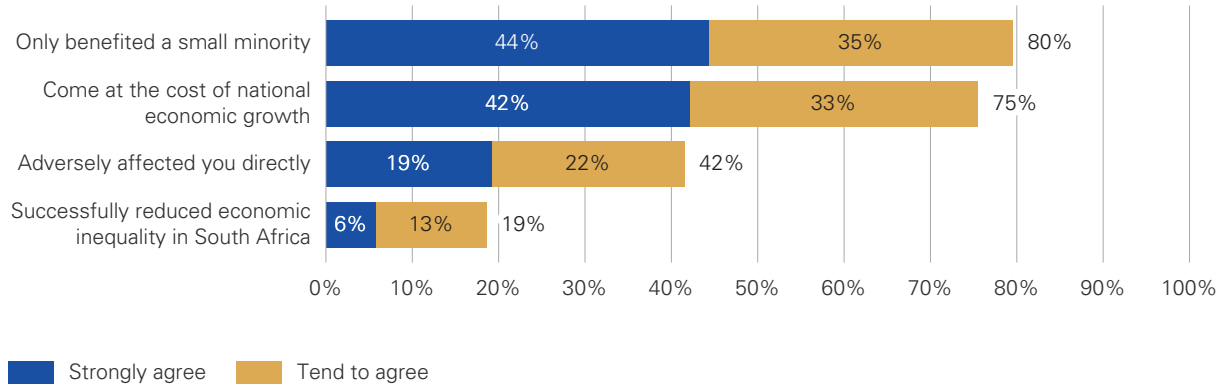
Women were far more likely to report having been discriminated against on the basis of their sex than men (13% versus 4%). In follow-up questions about gender-based discrimination and harassment, almost one out of ten women (9%)

Figure 85. Nature of discrimination or harassment experienced by female respondents in past twelve months (N=2,011 per column)



Q: What form did this/these incidents take?

Figure 86. Attitudes towards the impact of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) laws (% in agreement) (N=2,071)



Q: Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) laws were enacted in South Africa to redress some of the injustices of apartheid. To what extent do you agree or disagree that black economic empowerment has:

reported they had been harassed in a public setting (e.g. a street or a shop), and 8% said they had felt discriminated against in a Jewish communal setting (Figure 84). (Note also that women are far less likely to be on Jewish boards than men (see Section 4.4 on page 49)).

Women were far more likely to report having been discriminated against on the basis of their sex than men (13% versus 4%)

Those women who reported discrimination or harassment (Figure 84) were also asked what form the incident(s) had taken. Over half (52%) reported verbal discrimination and almost half (47%) reported verbal harassment. 10% of women who reported having been harassed said it had involved physical harassment.

9.6 Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and affirmative action

Respondents were asked about the role of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) in redressing the enduring legacy of apartheid. While 19% agreed that BEE had successfully reduced inequality, 80% considered black economic empowerment to have benefited only a small minority (Figure 86). Moreover, 42% felt that they had been directly affected in an adverse way by BEE legislation.

Respondents were also asked if they had been negatively impacted by affirmative action measures (put in place in addition to BEE laws). Many felt they had, with 46% reporting this was the case 'when seeking a business contract or order' (of the 54% who had sought such contracts in the previous five years). 42% felt they had been negatively impacted 'when seeking an employment opportunity' (of the 53% who had sought one in the previous five years). A negative impact was reported least commonly (21%) 'when seeking admission to a school, university or training programme (as a student or as a parent for your child)' (of the 48% of the relevant group).[34]

34 Respondents were guided as follows: Certain laws and regulations have been introduced in South Africa to redress historical workplace discrimination and promote equal opportunity through affirmative action. In the last FIVE years, do you believe you have personally been negatively affected by affirmative action measures taken in the following situations:

10 / Socio-economic wellbeing and disadvantage

10.1 Employment

Just under two out of five respondents are employed full-time and almost one out of five is self-employed full-time. 16% of respondents are retired (Table 14). Data from other countries show that self-employment among Jews tends to be rather higher than is generally the case, and such data also show notable differences between men and women, which can also be seen in South Africa. Men are more likely than women to be employed or self-employed on a full-time basis and less likely to be employed part-time. On the other hand, women are more than twenty times as likely as men to be looking after the home full-time; indeed, almost all people doing this were women.

There are also a number of differences based on location (Table 14). Full-time employment is highest in Johannesburg (40%) and lowest in Durban (25%) where full-time self-employment is highest (31%). It is also the case that higher proportions of people are retired in Cape Town (18%) and Durban (20%) than in Johannesburg (12%). A number of the distinctions seen in Table 14 are probably related to the age structure of the Jewish population in each place (see Figure 2 on page 14).

Table 14. Employment status by sex and location (N=4,193)

	Total	Sex		Location		
		Male	Female	Johannesburg	Cape Town	Durban
Employed full-time	38%	42%	33%	42%	33%	25%
Employed part-time	5%	2%	8%	6%	5%	3%
Employed on casual hours	2%	1%	3%	2%	1%	<1%
Self-employed full-time	19%	27%	11%	19%	20%	31%
Self-employed part-time	7%	5%	9%	6%	8%	8%
Unemployed and looking for work	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	<1%
Looking after the home full-time	3%	<1%	5%	3%	3%	2%
Student – employed	1%	2%	2%	2%	1%	5%
Student – not employed	3%	5%	4%	4%	6%	0%
Retired	16%	12%	18%	12%	18%	20%
Unable to work because of a disability/ long term ill-health	<1%	<1%	1%	<1%	1%	<1%
Something else (please specify)	2%	1%	2%	1%	2%	6%
Prefer not to say	1%	1%	<1%	1%	<1%	<1%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Q: Which of these best describes your present situation?

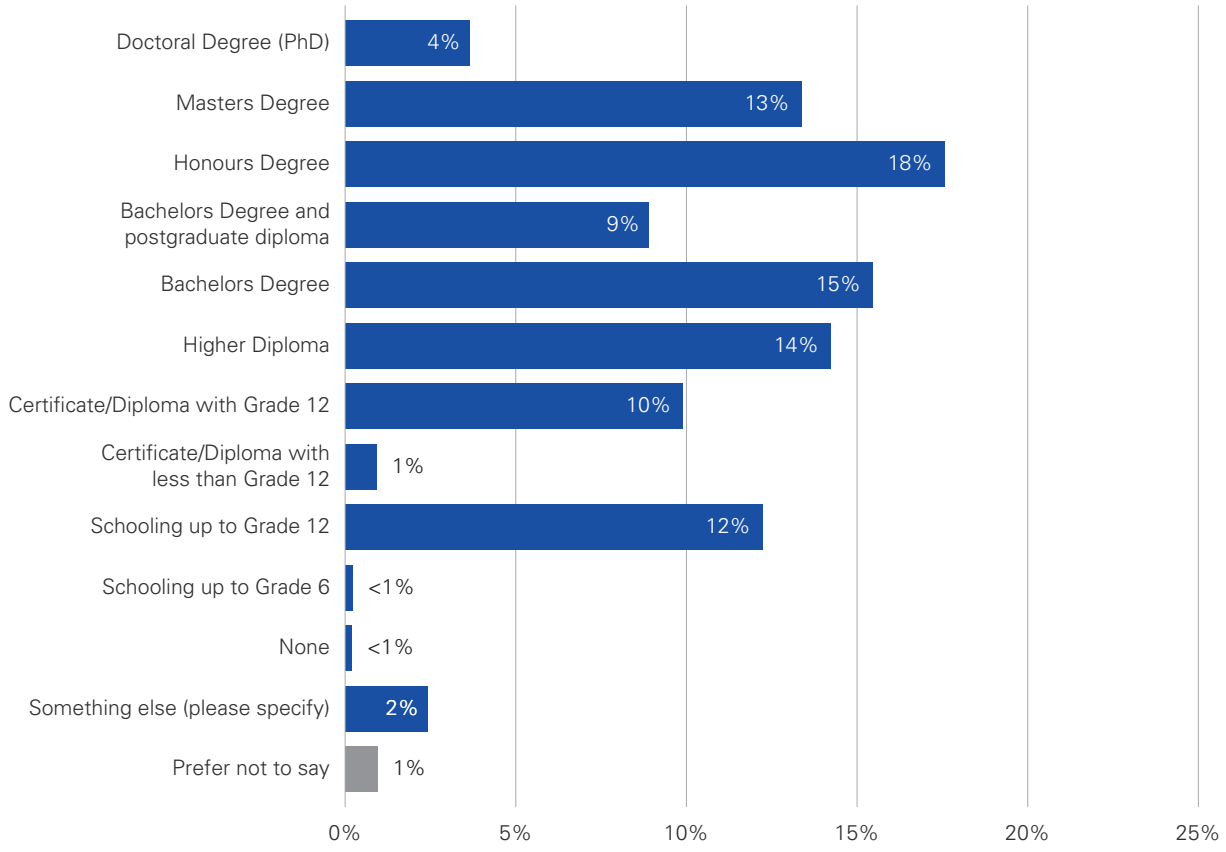
10.2 Educational attainment

Research elsewhere has shown that Jews tend to have very high levels of educational attainment, and this is also evident in South Africa, with 59% of adults having a Bachelor's degree or above (Figure 87). (See also Table 19 on page 102.)

Over three quarters (76%) of those in their thirties have a degree or higher level qualification, compared with 40% of those aged 80 or above and 50% of those in their twenties

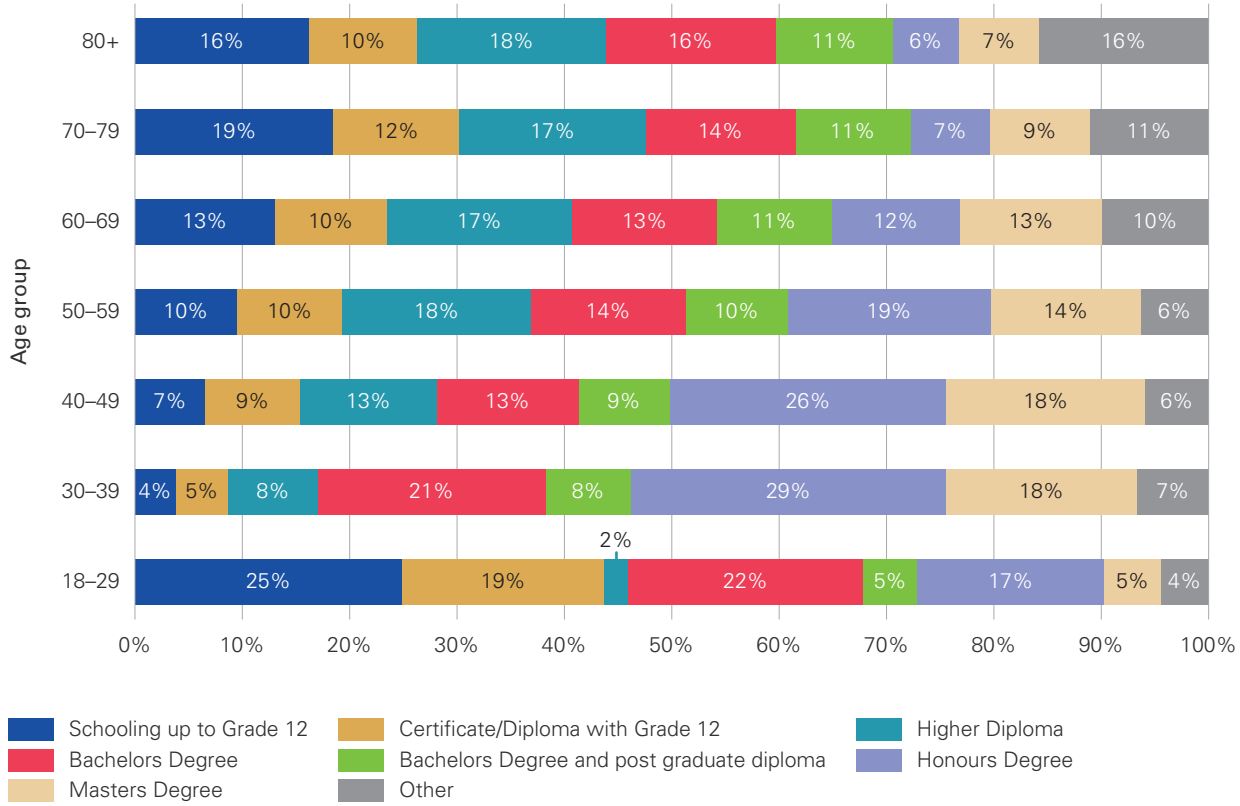
Educational achievement is closely related to age both because young people have not had enough time to complete their education and because older people may not have had the same opportunities to achieve higher level qualifications as younger people. Over three quarters (76%) of those in their thirties have a degree or higher level qualification, compared with 40% of those aged 80 or above and 50% of those in their twenties (Figure 88).

Figure 87. Highest level of qualification obtained (N=4,193)



Q: What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Figure 88. Highest level of qualification obtained by age (N=4,193)



Q: What is the highest level of education you have completed?

10.3 Income, wealth and deprivation

The level of respondents' personal and household incomes was one of the more sensitive issues investigated in the survey: 24% of respondents chose not to answer questions about it and a further 4% said they did not know what their income was. These respondents are excluded from the following analysis.[35]

The Jewish personal annual income distribution is shown in Figure 89. Almost a quarter (24%) of respondents reported having personal annual pre-tax incomes of one million Rand or more. Median[36] personal income is estimated to be R421,000.[37]

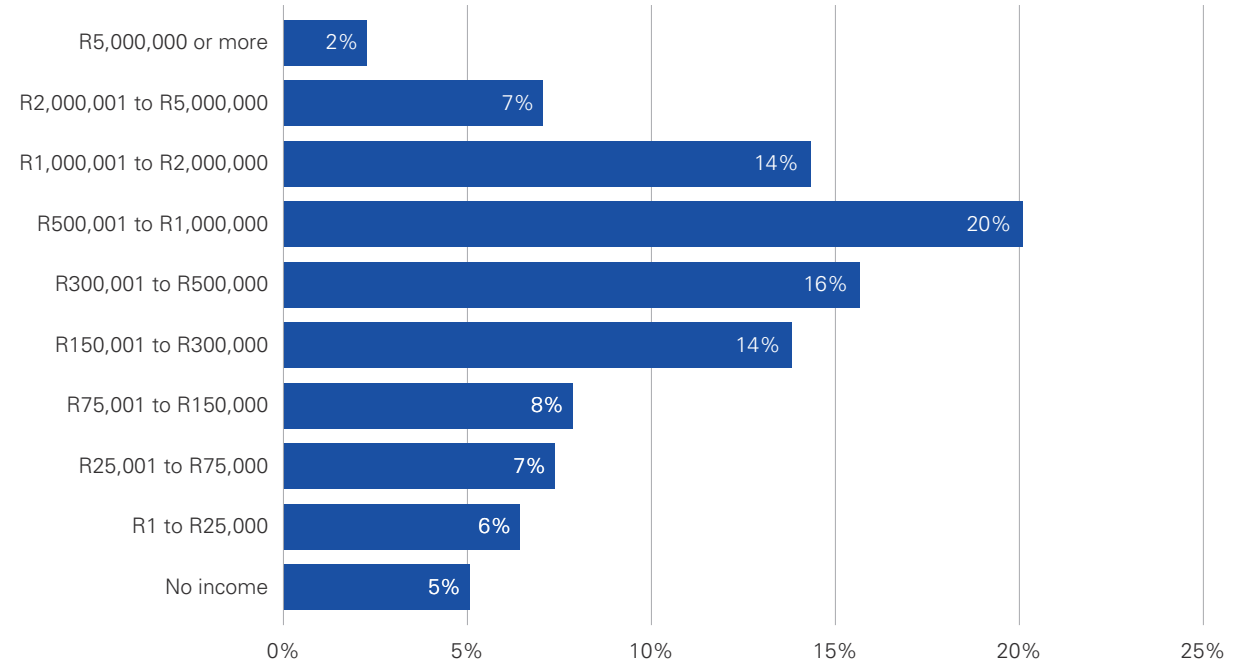
Household income is, of course, higher than personal income. We estimate a median value of R803,000 (Table 15). In terms of location, median Jewish household income was highest in Johannesburg (R892,000), some R156,000 higher than the median for Cape Town. Reported incomes were lower outside these two main centres.

35 This level of non-response is typical in optional sample surveys of the Jewish community. Further, there is no evidence that non-respondents are biased in some way other than their preference for privacy. For example, 10% of respondents who reported 'Prefer not to say' to the income question also reported 'Prefer not to say' to the following question on feelings of wealth. This compares with 3% overall. In all other respects the distribution was the same – i.e. not biased towards particular income groups. Further, income data are a very important base for assessing poverty, deprivation and general levels of hardship in the community.

36 The median is the point at which, in an ordered distribution of incomes, half the values are lower and half the values are higher.

37 At the time of the survey ZAR R100,000 = US $6,750.

Figure 89. Current gross annual personal income*^ (N=2,993)



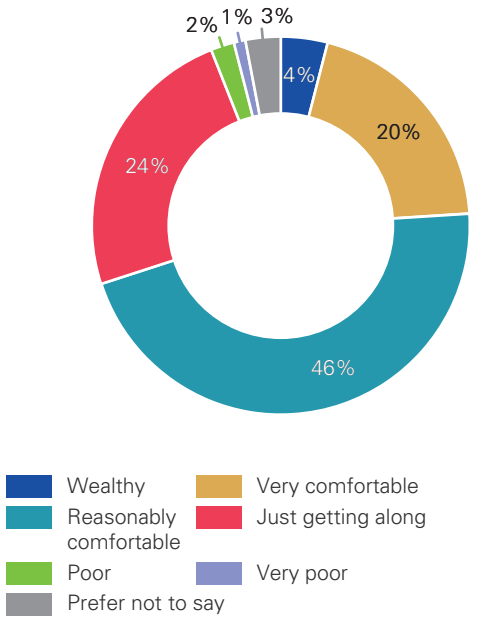
Q: Which of the following best represents your current PERSONAL annual gross income, from all sources, BEFORE taxes and other deductions?
* Excluding 'Don't know' and 'Prefer not to say.'
^ At the time of the survey ZAR R100,000 = US $6,750.

Table 15. Current median gross annual income (personal and household) by location*^

	Personal (N=2,993)	Household (N=1,188)
Total	**R421,000**	**R803,000**
Johannesburg	R436,000	R892,000
Cape Town	R404,000	R736,000
Other	R365,000	R544,000

Q: Which of the following best represents your current PERSONAL annual gross income, from all sources, BEFORE tax and other deductions? Q: Which of the following best represents the annual gross income of your ENTIRE HOUSEHOLD, from all sources, BEFORE tax and other deductions?
* Excluding 'Don't know' and 'Prefer not to say.'
^ At the time of the survey ZAR R100,000 = US $6,750.

Figure 90. Feelings of wealth and poverty (N=4,193)

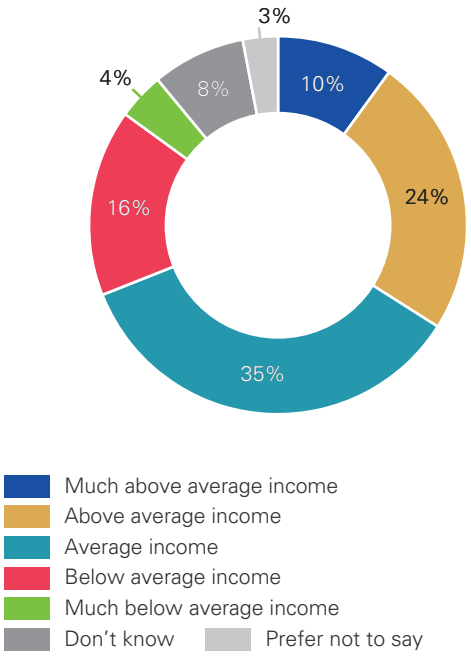


Q: Would you say that you are…

Whilst income is an absolute measure of economic wellbeing, feelings of wealth are more subjective and relative, but still provide a useful index of financial wellbeing. In response to questions on perceived wealth, a majority of respondents said they felt at least 'reasonably comfortable', but over a quarter (27%) said they were 'just getting along' and 3.2% described their situation as poor or very poor (Figure 90). Interestingly, despite having the highest median incomes, respondents in Johannesburg were more likely to feel they were 'just getting along' or poor (28%) than those in Cape Town (23%) and respondents elsewhere in South Africa (18%).

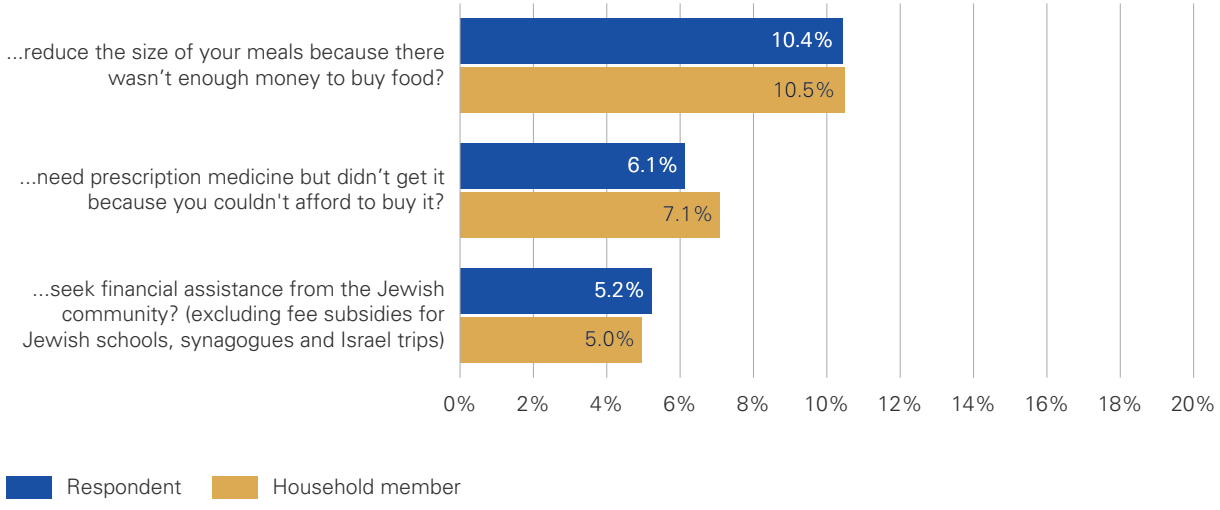
Respondents were also asked how they felt their income compared with other Jewish families in South Africa. A third of respondents (34%) felt their incomes were above average and one in five (21%) felt they were below average (Figure 91). Respondents in Cape Town were more likely to feel their incomes were below average (22%) than those in Johannesburg (19%) or elsewhere (9%).

Figure 91. Respondents' perceptions of how their household incomes compare with other households in the South African Jewish community (N=4,193)



Q: How do you feel your household's total annual income compares with other households in the South African Jewish community?

Figure 92. Proportions experiencing acute financial shortages in past twelve months (N=4,193 personal; N=2,324 households)

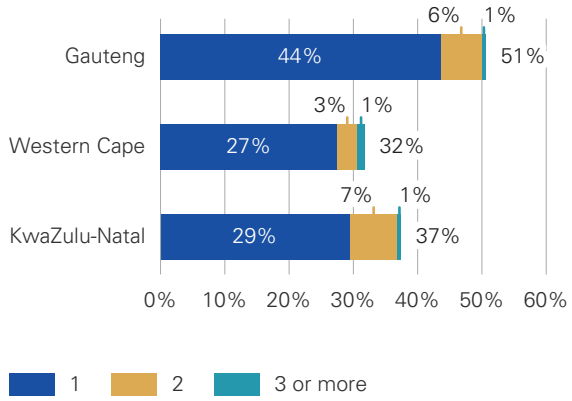


Q: In the last 12 months did you personally/anyone in your HOUSEHOLD, including yourself, ever…

Respondents were also asked questions designed to indicate levels of poverty and deprivation. In particular, they were asked whether or not they had needed to reduce the size of their meals in the previous twelve months because they did not have sufficient money to buy food, and just over 10% of them said this had been the case (Figure 92). They were also asked whether they had forgone prescription medicine because they could not afford it, and 7% said that either they or a household member had needed to do this in the previous twelve months. Finally, 5% said that they or a household member had sought financial assistance from the Jewish community in the previous year.

In Table 16, the proportion who, in the previous twelve months, had personally reduced the size of their meals due to lack of money is examined as a function of location, age and Jewish lifestyle. The proportion is higher in Johannesburg (12%) than in Cape Town (8%) and Durban (9%). It is also higher among those aged under 60 (13% to 14%) than those aged over 60 (2% to 7%), and among the most observant (12% to 14%) than among Traditional, Progressive and Secular Jews (8% to 10%).

Figure 93. Number of full-time domestic helpers/staff employed at home in the previous week (% of households) by location (N=2,402)*



Q: Do you currently employ any domestic help/staff at home? This includes maids, nannies, gardeners, security staff, carers etc.
* For statistical reasons, we have occasionally referred to provincial regions rather than cities. Nevertheless, JCSSA data indicate the vast majority of Jews in Gauteng (92%) lives in Johannesburg; the vast majority in Western Cape (92%) lives in Cape Town; and the vast majority in KwaZulu-Natal lives in Durban (90%).

Table 16. Proportions experiencing acute financial shortages in past twelve months by location, age and Jewish lifestyle (N=4,193)

Total		**10.5%**
Location	City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality	11.5%
	City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality	8.4%
	Durban/Umhlanga – eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality	8.5%
Age	18–39	12.6%
	40–59	13.8%
	60–79	6.6%
	80+	2.3%
Current religious/ Jewish identification	Strictly Orthodox/Haredi/Chasidic	14.0%
	Orthodox	12.0%
	Traditional	9.6%
	Progressive/Reform	8.8%
	Secular/Cultural	7.5%

Q: In the last 12 months did you personally ever… reduce the size of your meals because there wasn't enough money to buy food? (=Yes).

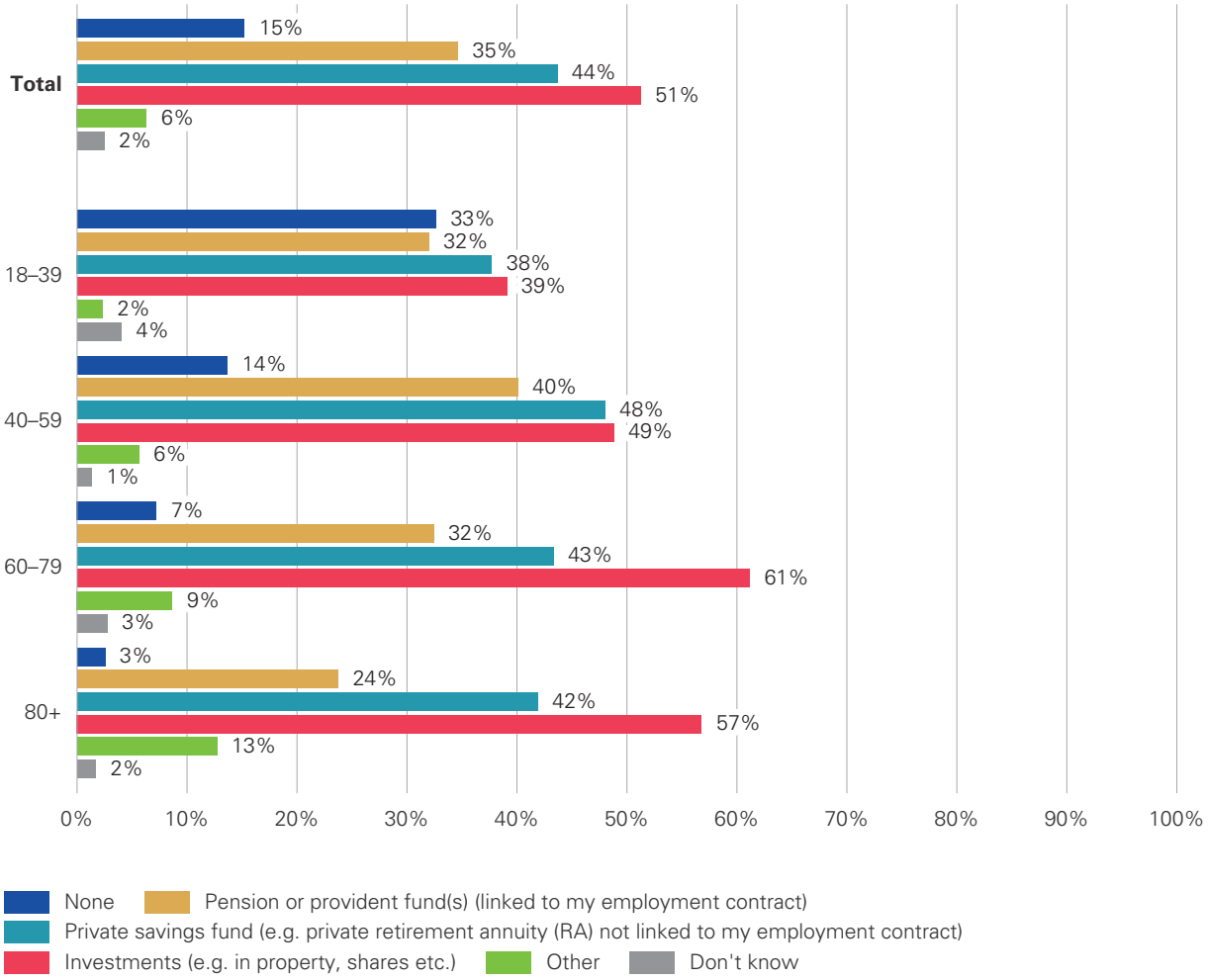
10.4 Domestic staff

Respondents were asked whether or not they currently employed any domestic help/staff at home (including, for example, au pairs, nannies, gardeners, security staff, carers, etc). Based on householder responses, the data show that 84% of families did employ staff at home. Proportions were slightly higher in Johannesburg (87%) than in Cape Town (81%).

More than half (51%) of households in Johannesburg employed at least one full-time member of staff at home, compared with a third (32%) of households in Cape Town (Figure 93). Although most households employ one full-time staff member at home, 7% of households in Johannesburg employed two or more people.

More than half (51%) of households in Johannesburg employed at least one full-time member of staff at home, compared with 32% in Cape Town

Figure 94. Types of financial provisions made for retirement, full sample and broken down by age (N=4,193)



Q: What financial provisions, if any, have you made for your retirement?

10.5 Provisions for retirement and medical aid cover

Respondents were asked what financial provisions they had made for their retirement. The most common type of savings are investments, such as property and shares, held by just over half (51%) of respondents (Figure 94). One in six respondents (15%) said they had made no financial provisions at all, although the likelihood of holding provisions for retirement is, unsurprisingly, related to age: a third (33%) of those aged under 40 had no financial provisions, compared with 7% of those aged in their sixties and seventies.

Finally, respondents were asked whether they had a personal medical aid plan. Almost all (96%) said that they did; most (65%) reported having a 'comprehensive plan,' followed by 19% with a 'basic hospital plan and some additional cover' and 11% with a 'basic hospital plan'.

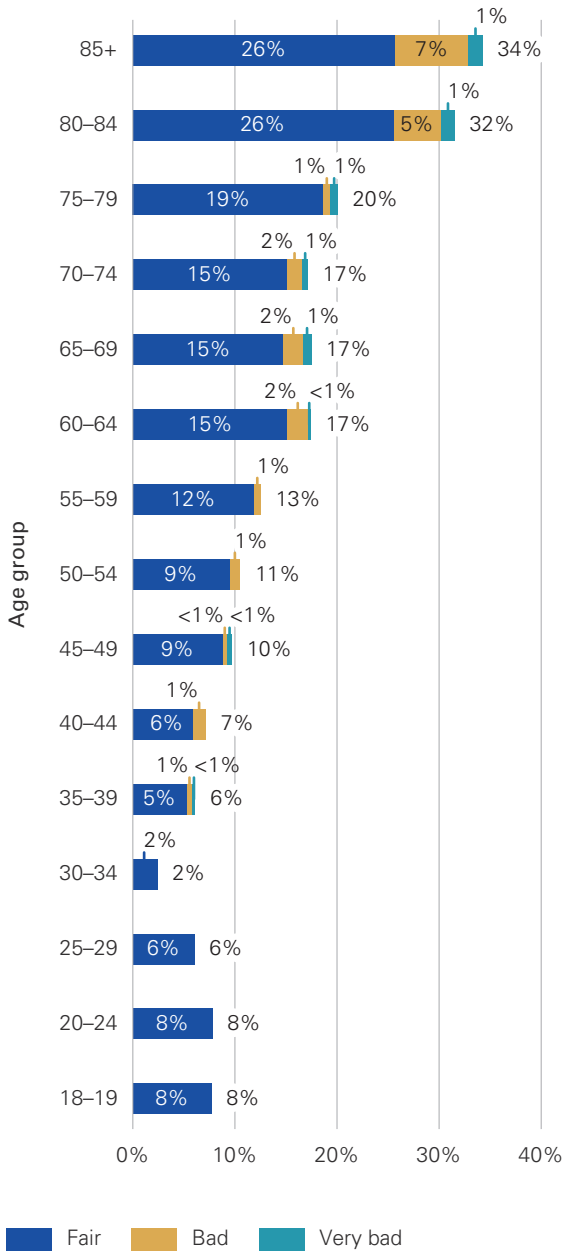
11 / Health and welfare

Respondents were asked to report on their general health. Half (49%) described it as 'very good' and 38% said it was 'good'. Thus, most respondents (87%) reported good health, but the remaining 13% said their health was either 'fair,' 'bad' or 'very bad'. The likelihood of people reporting fair health or worse increases with age, jumping from 10% for those aged in their late forties, to 20% for those aged in their late seventies and to 34% for those aged 85 and above (Figure 95).

Respondents were also asked more specific questions about the state of their health. They were presented with five different categories of ill-health and asked to assess the extent of their impairment under each one. Two categories stood out: 'anxiety or depression,' which was suffered by almost one in three (32%) respondents (mainly at a moderate level), and 'pain or discomfort' affecting 30% of respondents, again mostly at a moderate level (Figure 96). In addition, 8% said they had problems with mobility and 5% had difficulties performing usual activities.[38]

The survey also enquired about the burden of care. More than a quarter of respondents (27%) said they looked after a close relative with physical or mental ill health. One in seven (14%) respondents look after or give regular help or support to an elderly family member with physical ill health (Figure 97). Smaller proportions, 4% in each case, look after other close family members with physical and/or mental ill health.

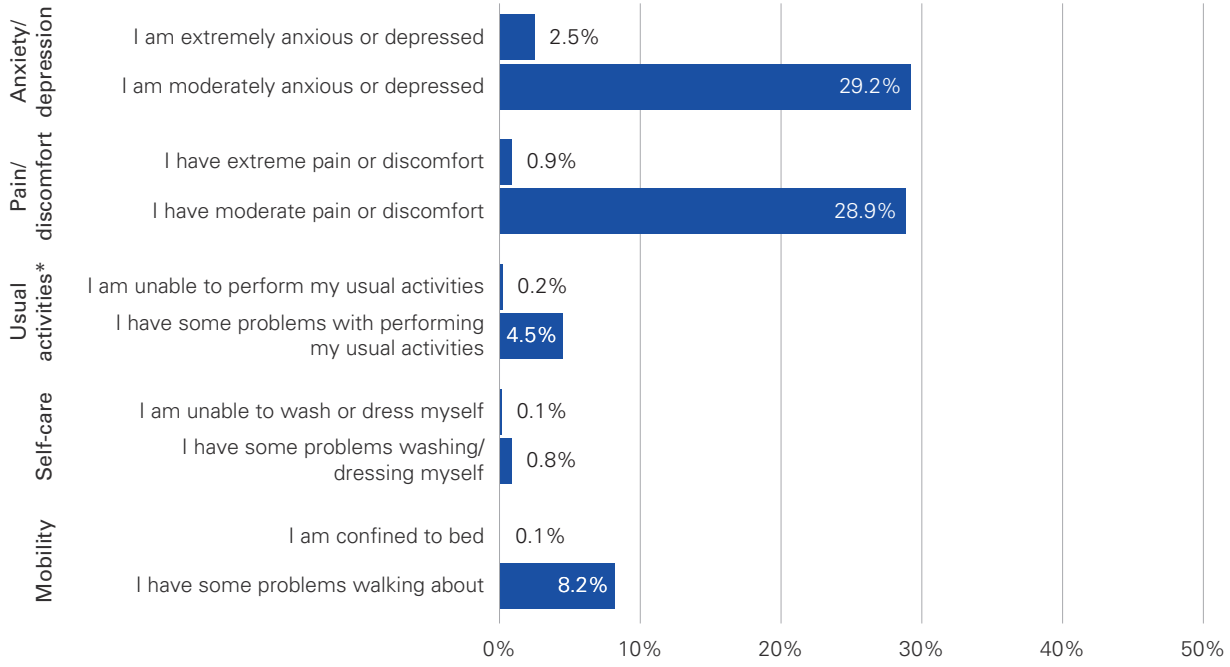
Figure 95. Proportion of respondents reporting fair, bad or very bad health, by age group (N=4,193)



Q: How is your health in general?

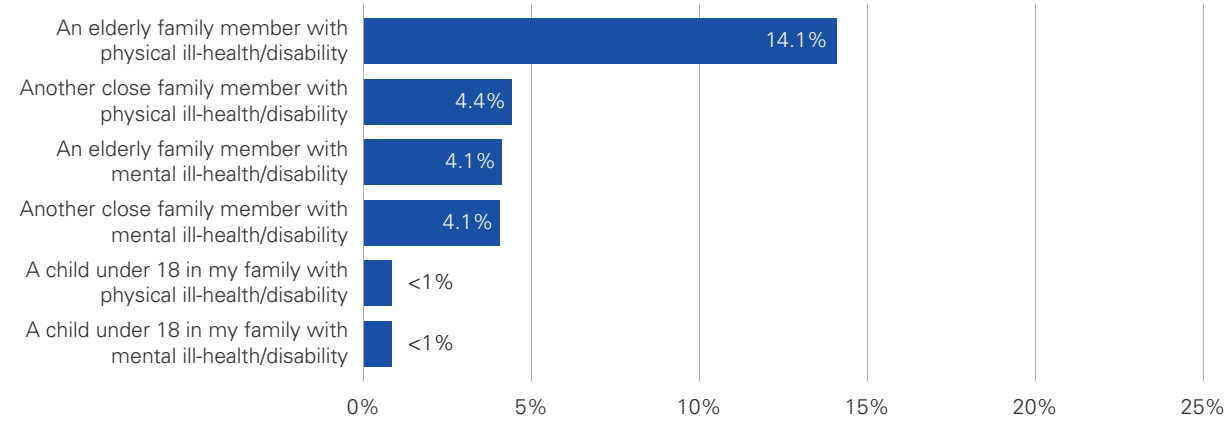
38 'Usual activities' (e.g. work, study, housework, family or leisure activities).

Figure 96. Proportion of respondents with moderate or extreme impairment in five categories of ill-health (N=2,122)



Q: Please indicate which statements best describe your own state of health today.
* 'Usual activities' (e.g. work, study, housework, family or leisure activities).

Figure 97. Proportions looking after or giving regular help or support to a close relative who is suffering from long-term ill-health/disability (N=4,193 per bar)



Q: Do you look after, or give any regular help or support to a close relative (parent, child, spouse, or sibling), either inside or outside your home, who is suffering from long-term ill-health or a long-term disability? Please do not count anything you do as part of your paid employment.

/ Appendices

Appendix 1 – Estimating the size of South Africa's Jewish population in 2019

The size of South Africa's Jewish population in 2019 is estimated to be 52,300. This figure is the rounded average of four estimates derived using four different methods and data sources. Individually, these estimates are not sufficiently robust to be relied upon, but collectively, they strongly suggest the South African Jewish population size is considerably smaller than most current estimates indicate (see Section 1.1 on page 12).

Method 1. Community Survey 2016: Jewish population estimate = 44,472

The Community Survey (see Appendix 6) enumerated a weighted total of 39,871 White Jewish people in 2016. However, among the national White Population Group generally, 1.6% reported 'Do not know' to the religion question and a further 8.8% reported 'No religious affiliation/belief' or 'Atheism' or 'Agnosticism', i.e. 10.3% did not report a religion. Previously, when adjusting the religion data from the census, scholars have used this proportion as the adjustment factor. It tells us that 39,871 is 89.7% of the total Jewish population (i.e. 100% minus 10.3%). Therefore, simple algebra indicates that the total Jewish population must be 39,871 / 0.89654 = 44,472. However, because this is based on an unweighted sample (N=903) it is associated with a ±6.5% margin of error, indicating an estimated population range of between 41,500 to 47,500.

Method 2. Schools data: Jewish population estimate = 53,857

The SNAP Survey of Ordinary Schools[39] (see Section 8.3 on page 69) collects data from all schools in South Africa annually. Jewish schools can be identified by name, but individual students are not identified by religion.

The 2016 SNAP survey identified 6,551 students attending the following 14 schools:

Johannesburg
King David, Yeshiva College, Torah Academy Primary and High School, Sha-arei Torah Primary School, Yeshiva Maharsha Beis Aharon Community School, Hirsch Lyons School, Beth Jacobs Girls' High School, The Johannesburg Cheder, Sandton Sinai Primary School; (N=4,951).

Cape Town
Herzlia, Phyllis Jowell Jewish Day School, Sinai Academy, Cape Town Torah High School; (N=1,546).

Durban
Umhlanga Jewish Day School; (N=54).

(Theodor Herzl High School in Port Elizabeth was not included as almost all students there are not Jewish.)

However, on further analysis it was apparent that the SNAP data for Herzlia in Cape Town excluded Grade R and additional information

39 SNAP data were obtained from the DataFirst repository: (www.datafirst.uct.ac.za/dataportal/index.php/catalog/689/study-description). Analysis was carried out by JPR.

was gathered.[40] To derive a population estimate three adjustments were required, each relying on various assumptions. First, what proportion of students is Jewish? Data gathered by the survey team from schools and other sources suggest the levels are 95% in Johannesburg and 85%[41] elsewhere, meaning the SNAP total can be adjusted to 6,189 (4,703 in Johannesburg, 1,439 in Cape Town and 46 in Durban).[42] Second, what proportion of Jewish pupils in general attends Jewish schools, in other words, what is the take-up? We initially estimated the level to be 80% based on conversations with communal leaders but this was later adjusted to 75% based on an analysis of the JCSSA dataset itself, giving a total of 8,251 (see Section 8.1 on page 67). Third, what proportion of the Jewish population is of school age (5 to 17 years old)? Using detailed census data on Jews from England and Wales (2011; excluding areas known to have majority haredi Jews) and Australia (2016), we derive a proportion of 15.3%, equivalent to a ratio of 6.53. This assumes that the Jewish population structures in these two countries is applicable to South Africa. Applying each of these adjustments derives an estimate of 53,857. Assuming a higher Jewish school take-up figure (80%) derives 50,491 and higher still, 85%, derives 47,521.

Method 3. Geographic ratios: Jewish population estimate = 56,969

The Cape Town Jewish Community Study derives a well-documented estimate for the size of the Cape Town Jewish population in 2016 of 13,877 (midpoint).[43] Meanwhile, the Community Survey 2016 (see Appendix 6) indicates that the Jewish population is distributed across South Africa in the following way: Gauteng 62.5%, Western Cape 25.9%, KwaZulu-Natal 7.3% and Other 4.3%. It also indicates that 94% of the Jewish population of Western Cape live in the City of Cape Town, which implies the Jewish population of Western Cape is 14,736. Therefore, a third population estimate of 56,969 can be derived. (Applying the geographical distribution recorded in the 2001 Census of South Africa – the most recent one to include religion – derives an estimate of 48,471.)

Method 4. International migration data: Jewish population estimate = 53,897

Census and administrative data on the number of Jewish migrants arriving from South Africa since 2001 (the last time religion was included in the South African Census) are available from Israel, England and Wales, and Australia. An estimated total of 10,109 Jewish South African migrants can be identified as having arrived in these countries since 2001 (see Table 2 on page 28). (A migrant is defined as someone who intends to stay in a country for one year or longer.) Unfortunately, similar data are not available for the other key countries, in particular the United States and Canada. However, survey data can be used instead. JCSSA 2019 asked "In which country does/do the members of your immediate family who used to live in South Africa, currently live?" and this showed that 66.3% of respondents reported immediate relatives living in Israel, the UK, and Australia; this implies 15,245 Jews have migrated in total.[44] This method assumes that net migration is entirely negative, i.e. that the number of Jews migrating to South Africa since 2001 is negligible (survey data back this up: see end of Section 2.6 on page 27). When subtracted from the 2001 adjusted census total of 69,142, we therefore derive an estimated Jewish population of 53,897.

40 We are grateful to the Kaplan Centre at UCT for these data.

41 With thanks to Reviva Hasson for contacting individual schools, as well as to Rabbi Kacev for the Johannesburg estimate and Dr Kerri Serman for the Cape Town estimate.

42 The total for Cape Town has been adjusted with additional information supplied by Kerri Serman at the Kaplan Centre at UCT that was unavailable in the SNAP data.

43 Serman K and Mendelsohn A 2020 (January) *A Demographic Snapshot of the Affiliated Cape Town Jewish Community*, Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies, University of Cape Town, p.16.

44 Data from an earlier survey (Kosmin et. al. 1999 op. cit.) which asked what country immediate family members had moved to between 1975 and 1998, indicated that 59% reported these three countries.

Possible fifth approach

A fifth approach was considered but ultimately not used. Community statistics on circumcisions, Jewish marriages and Jewish funerals have been gathered. From these it is possible to extract an average annual rate of change for the period 2001–2016 (-3.2% per year). However, complete data were only available for Johannesburg (and these did not include cremations). Only marriage data from 2003 were available for Cape Town and no long-term data were available for other locations. Therefore, it was decided not to incorporate this approach although it may be valuable should other data become available in the future. For the record, applying this compound rate to the last reliable adjusted census count (69,142 in 2001) gives a population total of 38,542 for 2019, similar to the unadjusted 2016 Community Survey total noted above of 39,871.

Appendix 2 – Jewish Community Survey of South Africa methodology

Carrying out any national study of a hard-to-reach community, such as Jews, is inevitably a highly complex endeavour and the Jewish Community Survey of South Africa (JCSSA) 2019 was no different. In the following section we summarise how the survey was put together and conducted.

An online-only approach

Given the dramatic changes in the way people use the internet, email and social media, it was decided early on to run the survey online, rather than using face-to-face interviews, as had previously been the case in South Africa. There are multiple reasons why an internet-only approach was preferable to alternative methods to survey Jews: it allows for a far broader reach than is feasible with face-to-face interviews; it allows for real-time monitoring of responses and targeted reminders without the cumbersome, slow, expensive and unreliable method of paper and 'snail mail'; online approaches mean questionnaire functionality can be more sophisticated, nuanced and user-friendly than paper technology; respondents can answer the questionnaire in their own time, when it suits them and in multiple sessions, whereas face-to-face interviews are far less flexible. Ultimately, online delivery provides a bigger 'bang for your buck' given the far higher cost per response of alternatives and the fact that Jewish communal resources are limited. The final, clean JCSSA dataset contained 4,193 individual responses from across South Africa.

An important implication is that this complicates the drawing of direct comparisons between JCSSA and earlier face-to-face surveys (see footnote 46). Whilst this is possible, great care should be taken in doing so for this and several other reasons.[45]

Questionnaire development

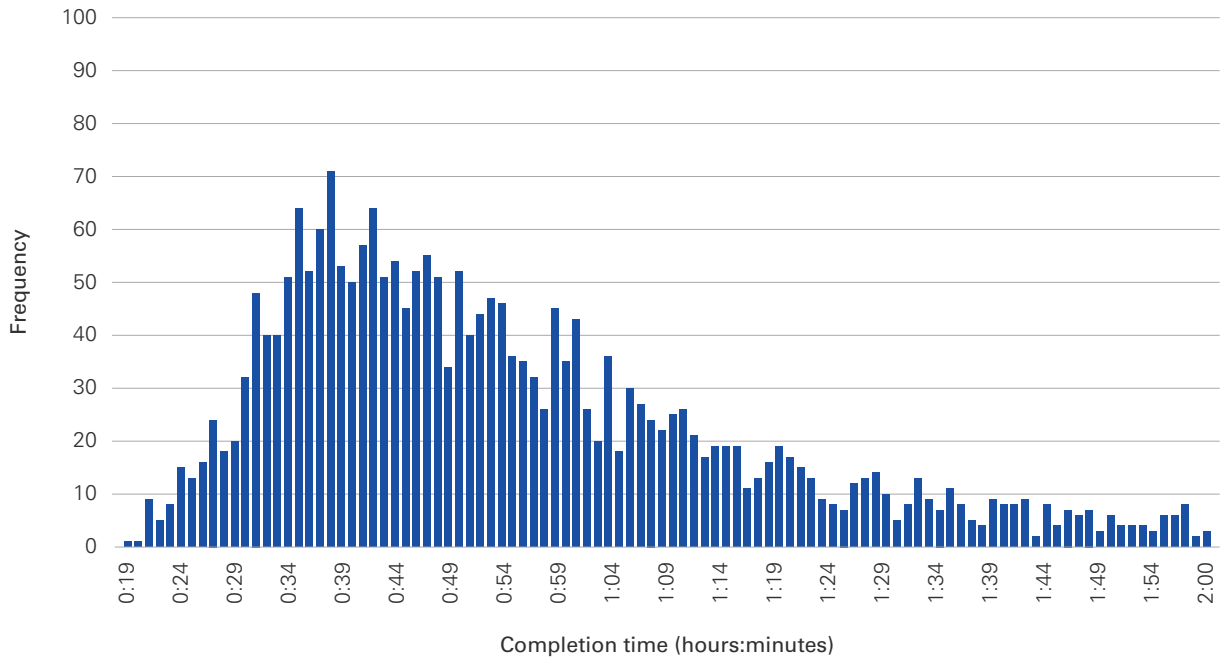
The questionnaire was designed to be carried out online and developed in the following way. Extensive use was made of questionnaires from two previous national studies of Jews in South Africa from 1998 and 2005.[46] In addition, questionnaires from international studies were also consulted, including the National Jewish Community Survey (NJCS) 2012 in the UK and Gen17 in Australia.[47] To establish key priorities and topics of interest, and to ensure new developments and concerns were covered, the draft was assessed, topic by topic,

45 For example, question wording may not be exactly the same, nor may the answer options presented or the question filtering. In addition, different weighting techniques have been used that may also render direct comparisons problematic.

46 Bruk, S. (2006). *The Jews of South Africa 2005 – Report on a Research Study*. Shirley Bruk Research on behalf of the Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research at the University of Cape Town; Kosmin, B.A., Goldberg, J., Shain, M. and Bruk, S. (1999). *Jews of the 'new South Africa': Highlights of the 1998 national survey of South African Jews*. Institute for Jewish Policy Research, London, and Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research at the University of Cape Town.

47 Graham, D., Staetsky, L. and Boyd, J. (2014). *Jews in the United Kingdom in 2013: Preliminary findings from the National Jewish Community Survey*. London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research; Graham, D. and Markus, A. (2018). *Gen17 Australian Jewish Community Survey: Preliminary findings*. JCA and Monash University, Sydney and Melbourne.

Figure 98. Time taken to complete online questionnaire*



* Truncated at two hours.

in collaboration with key Jewish communal organisations and stakeholders in South Africa at the latter end of 2018.

The questionnaire was hosted by Ipsos South Africa, part of a major international polling company. Ipsos collected the data on its system and subsequently compiled the raw dataset.

The questionnaire was piloted prior to launch and additional changes were made, including a decision to shorten the time taken to complete it by splitting the sample into two groups (based on odd and even ages) for certain questions.

The median time taken to complete the questionnaire was 50 minutes with a mode of 38 minutes (Figure 98). In this case, the mode is a better indicator of the average time taken, since many people chose to complete it in more than one sitting and did not necessarily exit the survey browser between sittings. Either way, this represents a significant time investment and is a good indicator of how seriously the community took JCSSA 2019.

Fieldwork

To ensure the system was working as designed, an initial soft launch took place on 9 May 2019, with a hard launch following on 16 May 2019. The survey was closed on 26 July 2019, having been in the field for 78 days, or just over 11 weeks. As is typically the case for online surveys, responses were obtained in waves, directly corresponding with email-shots. A detailed assessment of these waves is presented below (Figure 99).

Sampling frame

Ideally, a random sample is drawn from a list that includes every Jewish person in South Africa. Needless to say, such a list does not exist (nor could it), and therefore, alternative approaches had to be employed to build a database from which to draw a sample. Where the Jewish population is a high proportion of the local community and where budgets are consummately large, it is possible to incorporate random digit dialling but this is costly and has its own drawbacks. Therefore, a more strategic approach was taken to building the South African sample.

In the first instance, a convenience sample was developed using three lists obtained from the Chevrah Kadisha[48] ('the Chev') in Johannesburg, the United Jewish Campaign (UJC) in Cape Town and the KZN SAJBD Community Register (KwaZulu Natal South African Board of Jewish Deputies) in Durban. Together these lists contained 22,403 unique email addresses and formed the 'original' list.

However, communal registers and databases tend to contain details of the more Jewishly engaged sections of Jewish society, such as those who have recently made charitable donations or attended events and activities. That is not to say that the unengaged do not appear on such lists but they tend to be underrepresented. While it was always the intention to weight the final dataset to try and ameliorate such biases (see below), it was nevertheless important to ensure the survey reached as far as possible into the Jewish population. Therefore, a 'snowball' sample was incorporated: anyone who completed the survey could digitally invite other Jewish people they knew to take part via a private landing page. This referral approach is along the lines of respondent driven sampling, whereby the list provides the 'seeds' and the sample propagates organically from there.

It was important for the integrity of the data that people were prevented, however unlikely, from completing the questionnaire more than once. This was achieved by means of a unique link which was embedded in the original email invite. This link could only be used to complete the survey once, but it also, crucially, allowed the user to return to the survey should they have chosen not to complete it in one sitting. Given the length of the survey, this was an important consideration.

Referrals

For those not on the original list, a different approach was implemented. Web links to two landing pages were created by the survey team allowing people to submit their email address to Ipsos. One of these links was to a 'private landing page' for personal referrals from those who had already completed the survey (see above). The other was for public distribution by selected Jewish communal organisations. On receipt of either link, potential respondents were able to submit their email address to Ipsos (Exhibit 1). An automated process subsequently checked it to avoid duplication and the user was then sent an invitation containing a unique link allowing them to access the survey.

A total of 41% of respondents (N=1,708) said they were interested in referring others to the survey. We do not know how many of these ultimately did refer others, nor how many each chose to refer; however, we do know that 792 people submitted their email address to the private landing page, with 10% of all respondents (N=407) originating as referrals in the final count (Table 17 on page 98).

Finally, and towards the end of the fieldwork, a link to the public landing page was made available to certain Jewish organisations who distributed it to their various networks via newsletters, websites and social media.

Exhibit 1. Landing page submission box

Thank you for your interest in participating in the Jewish Community Survey of Soauth Africa (JCSSA 2019). To take part you must be Jewish (in any way), age 18 or above, and currently live in South Africa.

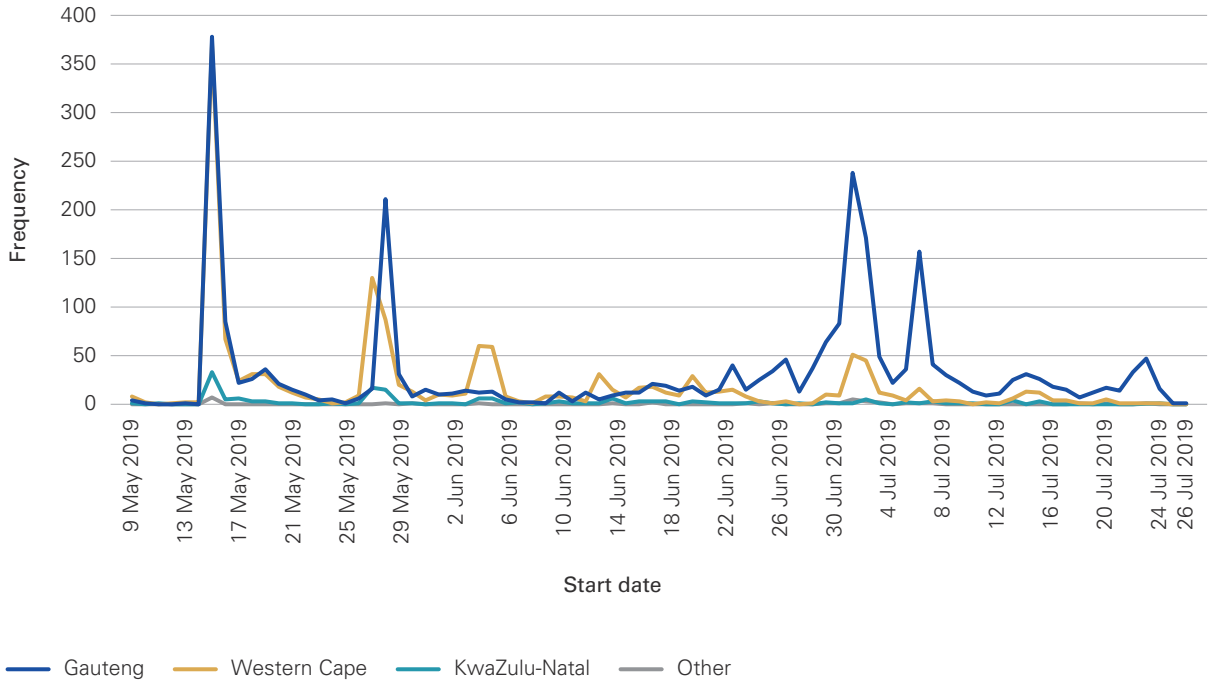
If this includes you, please enter your email address in the box below and click Submit. An invitation to complete the survey online will be sent directly to your inbox.

Enter email address:

SUBMIT

48 See https://jhbchev.co.za/about-us/

Figure 99. Distribution of dates respondents started questionnaire by location



This approach was not without risk, since it allowed anyone to opt into the survey. As a result, it was released late in the fieldwork phase once sufficient data had already been collected.[49] However, the key benefit of this approach was to provide an opportunity to anyone not on the original lists or who had not been invited through a referral, to take part. This was especially important for attracting younger people to the survey and redressing geographical imbalances in the sample achieved up to that point.
A total of 3,594 people submitted their email address to the public landing page and 39% of all respondents (N=1,626) originated this way (Table 17).

Since we do not know how many people who received a link to a referral page were on the original lists, it is not possible to calculate the precise size of the sampling frame but we estimate it to have been between 20,563[50] and 26,789[51]. The adult (age 20+) Jewish population of South Africa is estimated to be around 40,100 (~77% of the total 52,200) so the sampling frame is estimated to be between 51% and 67% of the total adult population, a huge sampling frame by any standards.

Incomplete questionnaires

A total of 1,765 email invitations bounced and there were 75 'screenouts' i.e. those who self-identified as ineligible (e.g. people who were living abroad, or were not Jewish or were aged under 18). Also, not everyone who started the survey completed it before the close of the fieldwork phase. 2,813 people started the survey but did not complete it and so were not included in the final dataset. However, over half of these (52%) stopped at the screener stage and a further 8% stopped before completing

49 The risk of ineligible people completing the survey was judged to be minimal, but it was possible that anyone obtaining this link could have completed the survey. Nevertheless, close examination of the data during the cleaning process, for example, comparing responses before and after the public link went live on June 11, did not indicate any surprising or suspicious systematic response trends.
50 22,403 less 1,765 and 75.
51 22,403 plus 3,594 and 792.

Table 17. Distribution of responses by source type

	Total	Age under 40
Emails sent from IPSOS (Durban list)	4%	5%
Emails sent from IPSOS (Cape Town list)	27%	10%
Emails sent from the Chevrah Kadisha (Johannesburg)	21%	14%
Referral via private landing page	10%	18%
Referral via public landing page	39%	53%
	100%	**100%**

the first section 'You and your family'. Despite multiple reminders being sent to these people, about 1,100 partially completed questionnaires had to be excluded from the final dataset.

Response by location and source

The complexity of the fieldwork campaign is reflected in Figure 99 showing when respondents completed the questionnaires based on location. Following a soft launch in early May 2019, the main launch produced the largest single response in all places, but after this, there was divergence between Cape Town and Johannesburg due to the differing sampling approaches taken. As a result, by the halfway point of the fieldwork (18 June), over three quarters (78%) of final responses had been received from Cape Town, 75% from Durban but only 41% had been received from Johannesburg. As this was being monitored in real time, the team was able to target the campaign accordingly in order to produce a geographically representative sample.

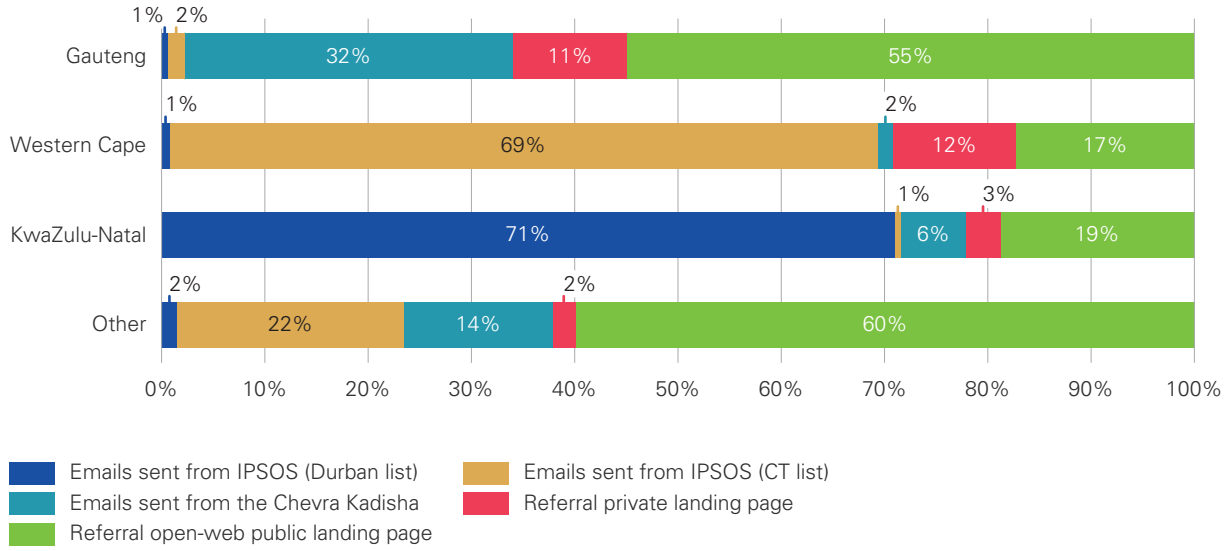
The breakdown of response source is shown in Table 17. It shows that just over half (52%) the sample was obtained from the original three seed lists (provided by the Chev, the UJC and the KZN SAJBD community register). A further 10% of responses were referrals to the private landing page (the snowball sub-sample). However, almost two out of five (39%) respondents came to the survey via the public landing page.

These findings also offer an important opportunity to assess the data based on the sampling approach. In the first instance, the majority of responses from Cape Town and Durban came via the seed lists (communal registers) from these communities, whereas only 32% of responses from Johannesburg were obtained this way.[52] Over half of the Johannesburg list originated from the public landing page. This was because a significant marketing push took place in Johannesburg in the second half of the fieldwork phase with all the major Jewish organisations distributing the link to their lists.

In addition, we observe that age is related to the different sampling approaches employed. Communal lists are often biased towards older members of the Jewish community; indeed, we can see that whilst 52% of the total sample came to the survey via the lists, this was the case for just 29% of those aged under 40. This younger group was far better accessed via the private, and especially public, referral pages (Table 17).

52 Whilst this may reflect the completeness of the Chev's list, it is also related to the fact that fewer reminders were sent out from this list than from the other two lists.

Figure 100. Response source by location



Marketing

An incentive was offered in the form of an optional prize draw to win one of three shopping vouchers valued at R2,000 each (~US$140). Using photos of everyday members of the Jewish community from different demographic and religious strands, adverts were placed in a variety of Jewish media outlets, posters and postcards were placed in Jewish buildings informing the community about the survey and its purpose, and banners were sent to Jewish organisations to place on their websites, newsletters and social media sites.

An incentive was offered in the form of an optional prize draw to win shopping vouchers valued at R6,000 (~US$400). This required personal details to be captured which were stored separately from the survey answers. This option was taken up by 60% of respondents.

Website and social media

A dedicated website was set up for the survey which had several functions. In the run-up to the launch of the fieldwork, it advertised the survey and allowed interested parties to register

Exhibit 2. Sample of a poster used to advertise JCSSA

their email address prior to launch. Once the fieldwork began, it was used to provide a help point with a 'frequently asked questions' page and contact information to reach our helpdesk. The website was also used to deliver the private landing page throughout the fieldwork period and the public landing page (with a link on the homepage) in the latter part of the fieldwork.

The team went to great lengths to ensure the survey had support from across the whole community and, as such, the website included an endorsements page with endorsements from: the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, the Chevrah Kadisha, the Chief Rabbi of South Africa, United Jewish Campaign, Durban United Hebrew Congregation, South African Board of Jewish Education, Herzlia Schools, South African Union of Progressive Judaism (SAUPJ), The Academy, CSO Johannesburg, South African Union of Jewish Students (SAUJS), Afrika Tikkun, and WIZO.

The team went to great lengths to ensure the survey had support from across the whole community

A JCSSA Facebook page was set up and a social media feed was integrated with the website (Exhibit 3). Following the launch of the public landing page, social media was also used to advertise and distribute the link through Jewish Facebook networks.

Exhibit 3. JCSSA website home screen

Appendix 3 – Weighting the sample

To ensure the data are as representative as possible, and to compensate for some of the inherent distortions that convenience sampling and online surveys are open to, it is common industry practice to weight survey data. The best national baseline data source for weighting is the census, but, as discussed previously, the most recent census in South Africa to include religion took place in 2001 and is too outdated to be of value for this exercise. Any baseline source needs to be national in scope and we were aware of only one such source having been carried out in recent years: Statistics South Africa's 2016 Community Survey (see Appendix 6). Therefore, we used this data source to weight the sample by geography, age and sex.

However, whilst the Community Survey does capture data on religion (so is able to identify Jews by geography, age and sex), it does not contain any baseline data on Jewish identity/engagement, and weights also needed to be created to account for such differences. The key issues were that, as with any single-issue survey (the single-issue being Jews), it is more likely to attract those who are more interested in the topic than those who are less interested, and the more interested tend to be more Jewishly engaged. It is also the case that the sampling methodology on which we initially relied used Jewish communal registers and lists and these are inherently prone, almost by definition, to overrepresent the more engaged population. Whilst the methodology did go to great lengths to reach the more peripheral and less engaged parts of the community, it is inevitable that the sample overrepresents the engaged population.

To address this issue, an entirely separate survey was carried out in parallel with JCSSA. Synagogue membership is the only reliable source of data that can be readily gathered which indicates Jewish affiliation (a proxy used for Jewish engagement). Therefore, the survey team carried out a synagogue membership survey in South Africa (see Table 7 on page 41), gathering data directly from synagogues about the number of Jewish households that hold membership, stratified by location and denomination. However, this is only half of the affiliation picture, since such a survey cannot gather data on non-membership. To do this, the total synagogue membership is subtracted from the estimated total Jewish population size. This gives a baseline indictor by location for affiliation by denomination and non-affiliation. This was compared with equivalent data collected in JCSSA and used to weight accordingly.

In summary, several weights were created covering geography, age, sex, and Jewish engagement (synagogue affiliation) and unless otherwise stated, these weights have been applied to the JCSSA survey data presented in this report. In this way, it was possible to ensure the sample was far more representative of the Jewish population of South Africa than would otherwise be the case.

Appendix 4 – Assessing the 'non-White' Jewish population

An important historical aspect of Jewish demography in South Africa is the consistent tendency for a relatively large number of 'non-White' Jews to report their religion as Judaism. For example, in the 2001 Census, 16% of all enumerated Jews gave their population group as Black African (Table 18). By comparison, 1% of Jews in the 2001 Census of England and Wales described their ethnic group as 'Asian' or 'Black'.

While at least one Black South African group (the Lemba of Limpopo[53]) claims Jewish heritage, demographic assessments of South Africa's

53 Buijs, Gina (1998). 'Black Jews in the Northern Province: a study of ethnic identity in South Africa,' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21:4, 661–682.

Jewish population have typically disregarded the majority of non-White Jewish counts in analyses of the total Jewish population.[54]

There are several reasons for deciding to set such counts aside for the purpose of this study. First, the JCSSA data were seeded based on extant communal registers from the known Jewish population, and between 98% and 99% of respondents from these lists reported being White. Second, an analysis of 2001 census data on non-White Jews shows that by almost any social, economic, demographic or geographic metric, non-White Jews, and especially Black African Jews (the majority of this sub-group), very closely resembled the non-Jewish majority population and are very dissimilar to the White Jewish population (Table 19). The far smaller 'Coloured' and 'Indian or Asian' Jewish groups (terms used in official South African government

Table 18. Jews by 'Population Group', 2001 and 2016, various sources

	1996 Census (67,600*)	2001 Census (75,555)	2016 Community Survey** (49,469^)
Black African	15%	16%	11%
Coloured	2%	2%	2%
Indian or Asian	1%	1%	6%
White	82%	82%	81%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

* Excluding 458 'unspecified' responses.
** See Appendix 6.
^ Weighted total.

Table 19. Summary of various 2001 Census statistics for Jews by Population Group and the national population

Variable	Variable category	Black African Total	Jewish			
			Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White
Age	Under 10	22%	20%	23%	8%	**10%**
	80–89	1%	1%	0%	0%	**6%**
Location	Gauteng	18%	19%	9%	43%	**62%**
	Western Cape	3%	2%	46%	0%	**30%**
	KwaZulu-Natal	21%	8%	0%	54%	**4%**
Language	English	1%	6%	19%	92%	**96%**
Highest qualification	Degree+	0.7%	3.5%	2.3%	4.9%	**24.7%**
	None	27.2%	24.9%	28.9%	9.8%	**7.1%**
Income	Nil income	73%	69%	70%	51%	**36%**
	R12,801–R25,600*	0%	1%	0%	0%	**10%**

Source: author's calculations using Statistics South Africa's 2001 Census 10% sample file obtained through DataFirst.
*On 9 October 2001 ZAR R10,000 = USD $1,090.

54 For example, and following David Sacks, every assessment of South Africa's Jewish population in the World Jewish Population report has focused on the 'White' Jewish population. See also Kosmin et. al. (1998) op. cit. where a similar policy was deployed.

data) were socio-demographically different again, falling somewhere in between the Black and White groups, although the numbers were very small. Third, strong socio-demographic deviation of a Jewish sub-group from the Jewish majority is not unprecedented. One example is Britain's haredi (strictly Orthodox) Jewish community, which census data reveal to be highly divergent from the non-haredi majority on multiple metrics. But unlike the non-White South African Jewish groups, Britain's haredim do not map geographically or socio-economically onto the general British population and, perhaps more importantly, they do possess very mature and complex Jewish communal infrastructures. As far as it is possible to tell, such infrastructure or indeed, any sign of communal coherence, is absent among the South African non-White group(s). Nevertheless, it would certainly be a worthy exercise to establish conclusively who these people are and what stands behind their decision to select 'Judaism' in the census and national surveys.

Appendix 5 – The unusual relationship between age and Jewish identity in South Africa

On multiple occasions during the analysis of the JCSSA data, an unusual relationship was revealed between age and, mainly but not exclusively, identity. It was surprising because ordinarily we might expect to see either no age relationship present or, if it is, a gradual, stepwise progression of change. For example, the younger a person is, the more likely they are to be intermarried. However, in example after example in the South African data, we found an inverted (arrow-shaped) age relationship – a sudden switch in the direction of the relationship around the cohort aged in their fifties. An example is shown in Figure 101. Here, we see the younger a person is, the more likely they are to have Jewish friends, but only up to the mid-fifties. Beyond that age, the relationship *inverts* so that the younger a person is, the *less* likely they are to have Jewish friends.

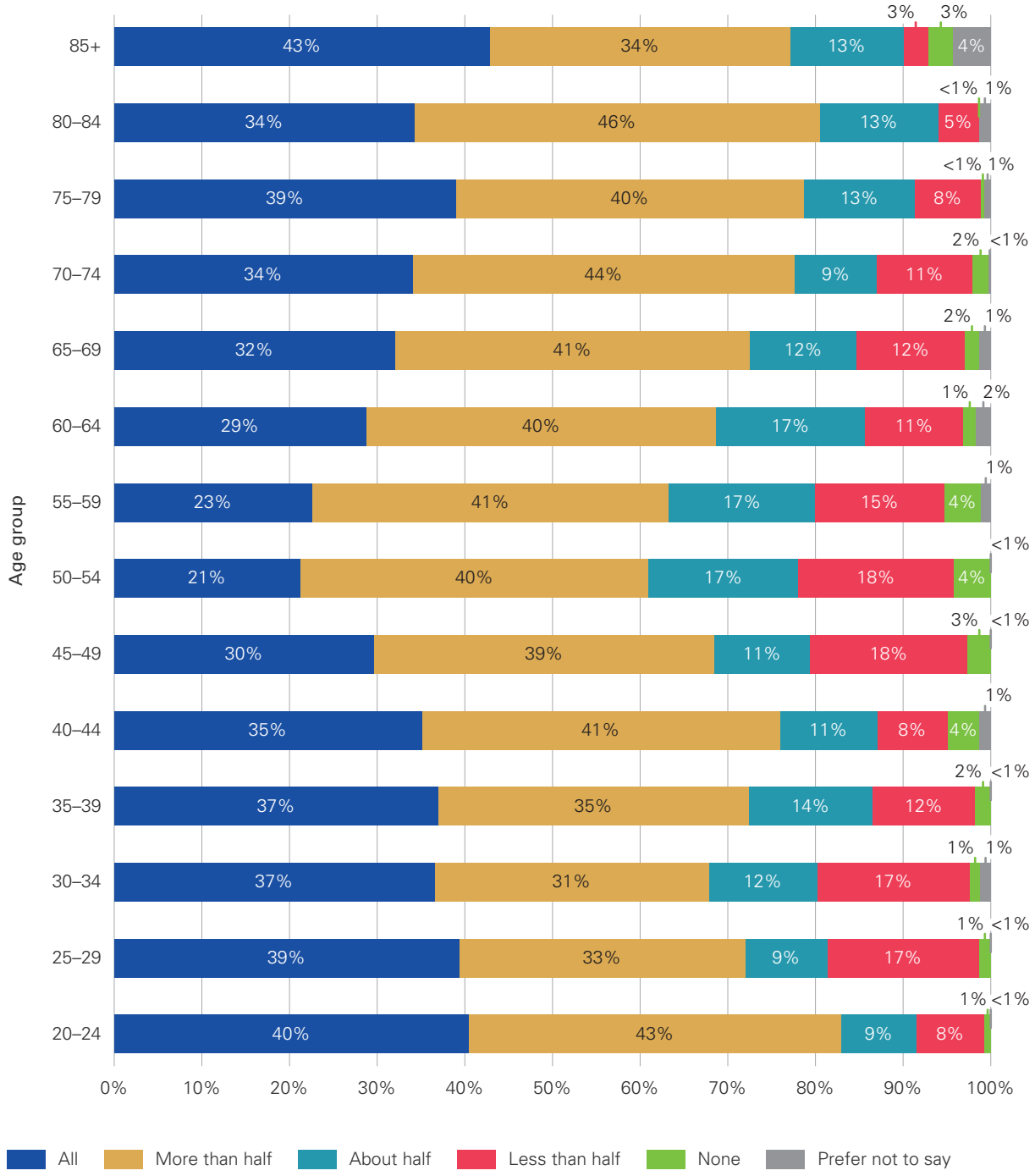
Oddly, this pattern was also observed, with varying levels of precision, elsewhere: current religious/Jewish identification (peak Progressive/non-Orthodox identity in the fifties cohort), self-assessed levels of religiosity (bottoming out in the sixties), satisfaction with life in South Africa as a whole (bottoming out in the fifties), intermarriage (peaking in the fifties), Israel visits (bottoming out in the fifties), proportion of donations given to Jewish charities (bottoming out in the fifties), and to a lesser, but still evident extent, feelings of acceptance by the Jewish community (acceptance bottoming out in the fifties).

To be clear about this puzzling relationship, it is not that people aged in their fifties stand out from the rest, but rather, that a generational step change appears to have taken place whereby gradually attenuating (or strengthening) relationships suddenly reverse track, invert, to become gradually strengthening (or attenuating) relationships. What is going on?

We do not know but we can speculate. Jewish day school education in South Africa became more common in the 1980s, but whether it became *increasingly* more common is not established. Also, South Africa was experiencing crisis in the 1980s (after a period of relative quiet in the 1970s up until 1976), which may have had some impact on how outward-looking the Jewish community was (with more social integration in the 1960s and 1970s, and less in the 1980s and 1990s.) Also, perhaps compulsory military conscription played a role: in the 1970s, and particularly the 1980s, the length of service increased and its nature changed.[55] But whatever the reason, the pattern is clear and invites further research.

55 With thanks to Adam Mendelsohn and Kerri Serman for these thoughts.

Figure 101. Proportion of close friends who are Jewish, by age group (N=4,193)



Appendix 6 – Statistics South Africa's Community Survey 2016

The Community Survey 2016 was a large intercensal survey undertaken by Statistics South Africa.[56] In the absence of census data (religion has not featured in the census since 2001), it has been used as the key source of geographic baseline data about South Africa's Jewish population. That is because it was the only dataset known to the survey team that fulfilled the essential criteria required of such a source: it has broad national coverage (N=3.3m), contains a religion question (and a population group question), is up-to-date, is of high quality and contains a statistically usable sample (N=903 White Jews). We wish to stress that despite its limitations (it is a sample, not a census), it has been of immense value as an independent baseline data source for the project, and without it, we would have had to tolerate far greater uncertainty about many of the statistics in this report.

56 See further: Community Survey 2016 Statistical release: http://cs2016.statssa.gov.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/NT-30-06-2016-RELEASE-for-CS-2016-_Statistical-releas_1-July-2016.pdf.

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