

**THE
NEW SOUTH WALES
JEWISH
COMMUNITY
A SURVEY**

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With two historical chapters by
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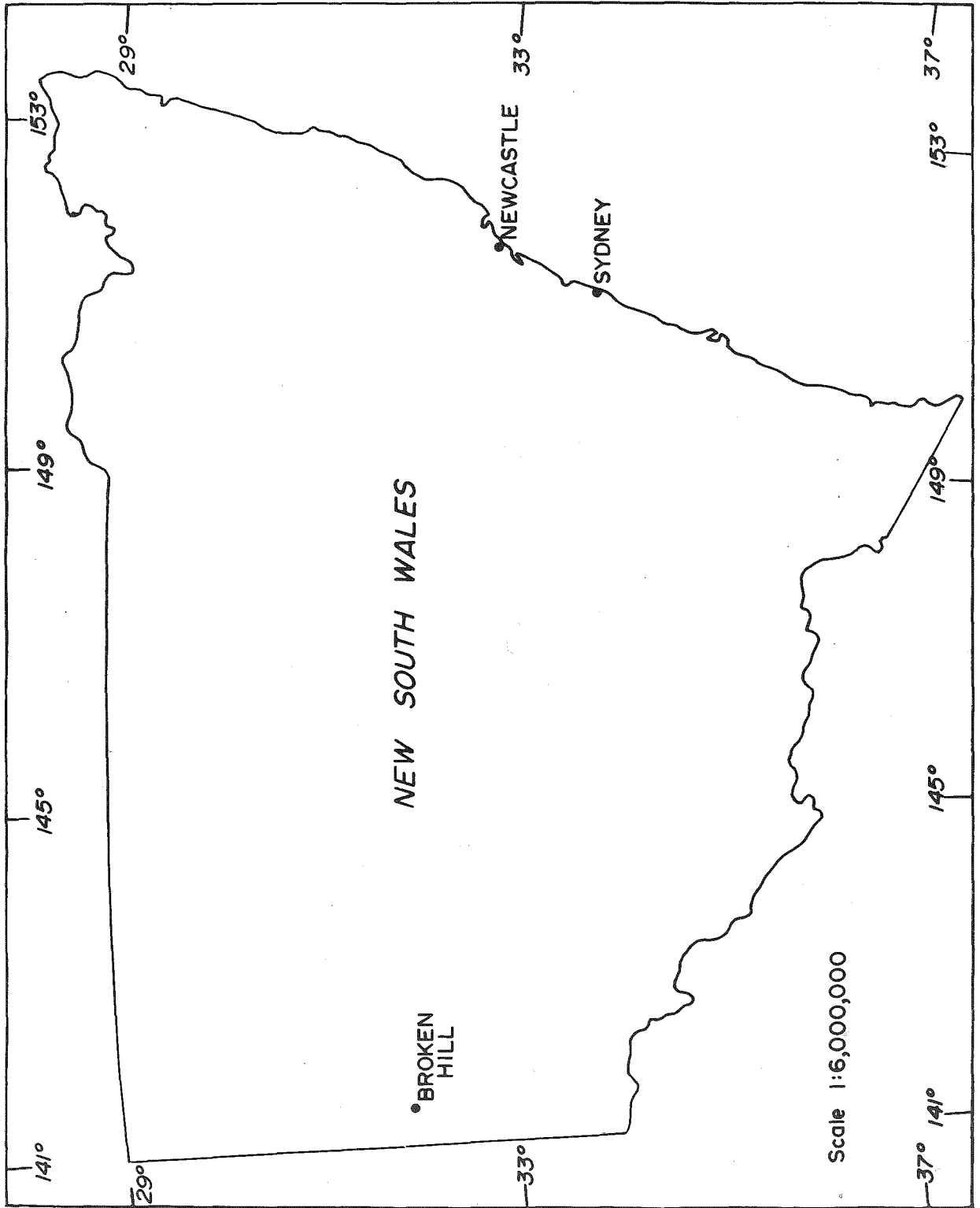
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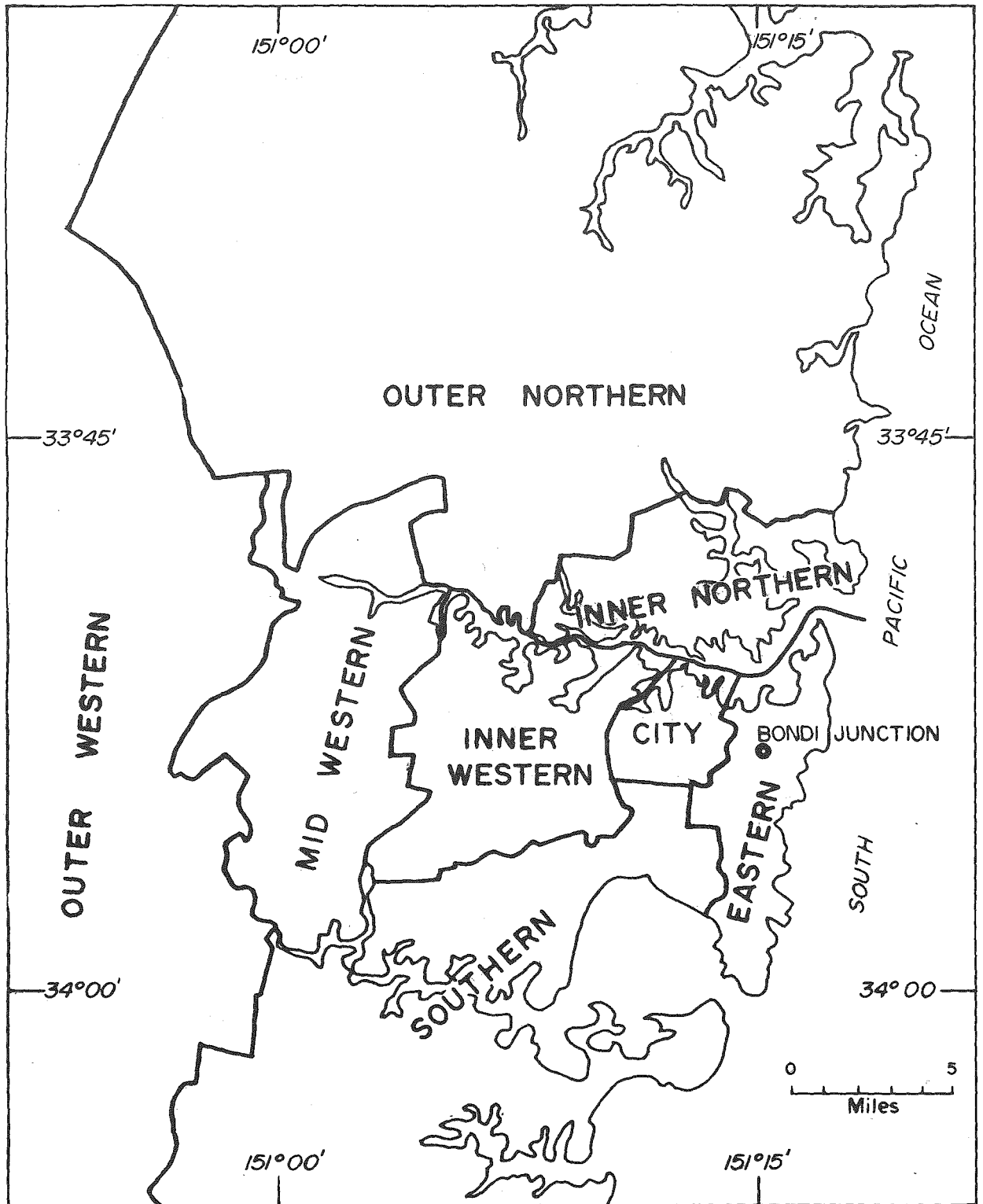
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INTRODUCTION

This monograph is the second edition of a study first published in 1972. Only a limited number of copies were printed, and stocks soon ran out. Since then, many requests have been received for a new edition, and the present volume is a revised and updated version of the earlier study. Most of the work was carried out by Mrs. Berenice Buckley, now with the Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales, who was one of the full-time research workers employed on the original project.

The preparation of the original study was made possible by the financial support of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture in New York, coupled with an equal amount subscribed by the N.S.W. Jewish Board of Deputies. The Board decided that its contribution should be used to establish a research fellowship at the University of N.S.W., designated the Horace Newman Memorial Fellowship, as a tribute to a former president of the Board and of the Zionist Federation of Australia and New Zealand who participated in many of the events described in our historical introduction. Mrs. Jane Sofer Schreiber was appointed to this fellowship, which she held during 1970 and 1971. Mrs. Schreiber worked in collaboration with Mrs. Buckley and myself during these two years, and on a part-time basis during 1972.

Special thanks are due to Mrs. Suzanne Rutland, an active student of Australian Jewish history, who wrote the first draft of the two introductory historical chapters and thus made a major contribution to the study. We are indebted to Dr G. F. J. Bergman for a number of detailed comments on the historical material.

Thanks are also due to Mrs. Susan Koenig, whose market research firm carried out the bulk of the interviewing required for the sample survey which provided much of our material, and was executed at the lowest possible cost. We also acknowledge the enthusiasm and work of the volunteer student interviewers who conducted the first phase of the survey. Two undergraduate students at the University of N.S.W., Ms Gabriella Cantori (in psychology) and Mr David Beirman (in sociology) kindly let us use material collected for their final honours theses.

The original study was based partly on the national census of 1966, and partly on a sample survey of approximately 1000 Jewish households in Sydney. To revise the first edition, we have used the 1971 census data and brought the historical material up to date, so that it reflects the situation of Jewry in N.S.W. at the end of 1977.

In writing our report, we have tried to balance history, analysis, and speculation. The future of all Jewish communities - including Israel - is speculative, and Jews are only too ready to speculate and to argue about it. Objectivity is difficult to cultivate and even harder to sustain in these circumstances. The evidence we have collected is not unambiguous, and we have tried as far as possible to point out the ambiguities. The general tone of our report may perhaps be described as one of qualified optimism about the future of the Jewish community, at least for the next generation, beyond which prediction is not only foolhardy but impossible.

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The report has both a practical and theoretical aspect. Much of the information we have collected gives a detailed picture of the social structure of the Jewish community, which we hope will be of use to our sponsors and to other Jewish groups. In addition, the study is a contribution to the growing body of scholarly work on the role of immigrant minorities in the development of Australian society. To give our work a theoretical focus, we have concentrated on the problem of defining Jewish identity, which was originally suggested to us by Dr S.N. Herman of the Hebrew University, but also emerged as an issue of great importance for many of our informants. Two chapters of the report are devoted to this question. We have compared our findings and our conclusions, wherever possible, with work done in other Jewish communities, and we hope that it may be of general interest to students of Jewish life.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND (1) : 1788 - 1933

The history of Sydney Jewry commenced with the colonization of Australia in 1788. Among the convicts of the first Fleet there were a few Jews, some of whom later contributed to the early developments within the colony. However, it was not until the early 1830's that the Jewish community began to achieve institutional cohesion with the formation of the first congregation. From this initial foundation, the community slowly began to develop the other organs of Jewish communal life, although this evolution was hindered by its small size, its isolation, and the dispersion of the Jewish population throughout the country area.

With the concentration of the Jewish population in and around the city of Sydney by the end of the nineteenth century, the community began to stabilize its religious, educational, and philanthropic institutions. Because the leadership of these institutions was concentrated in the hands of a few prominent Anglo-Jewish families, New South Wales Jewry was isolated from the mainstream of Jewish thought and concerned with civic recognition rather than with Jewish consciousness. This remained the most distinctive feature of Sydney Jewry until the impact of Nazism and the influx of Jewish refugees.

It has been estimated that a few hundred Jewish convicts arrived in New South Wales(1), but it was not until 1828 that the first formal house of prayer was established. It was only with the increase of free immigration and the arrival after 1828 of a hundred free Jewish settlers, amongst whom were prosperous merchants, that the Jewish community became more organized (2). After holding services in the home of P.J. Cohen in George Street (3), the Bridge Street Synagogue was opened in 1837. With the shift of population from Wynyard to the Town Hall area, a more permanent synagogue was consecrated in York Street in 1843.

During the gold rushes of the 1850's the Jewish community expanded, with most migrants coming from Germany, some from Britain, and a tiny minority from central and eastern Europe (4). Most of these migrants became merchants and pedlars on the goldfields rather than miners. Others became hawkers in country districts, so that by 1861 40% of Jews lived in the rural areas.

In 1859, congregational unity was shattered by the clash over a ritual decision of the acting minister, Reverend Morris P. Cohen. This decision concerned the marriage of a member of the old-established Jewish 'establishment', and reflected the more Orthodox views of the new gold-rush immigrants, who were by now in the majority. The disagreement resulted in the formation of a new breakaway congregation, the Macquarie Street Synagogue (5). After the arrival of the Reverend A.B.Davis as minister of the York Street Synagogue in 1862, the schism was healed and agreement was reached to build a larger synagogue for both existing congregations.

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In 1878, the Great Synagogue in Elizabeth Street was consecrated and it became the focal point for all communal activities - religious, educational, philanthropic and social - for the next half century. Modelled on the London Great Synagogue, it was considered the most magnificent synagogue in the Southern Hemisphere (6), as it could seat almost a thousand worshippers, thus allowing the whole Jewish population to worship together. Despite the growth of the community from 3,266 in 1881 to 7,660 in 1911, the Great Synagogue remained the only one in the Sydney area, and played a decisive role in the development of the community and the maintenance of group cohesion.

The ritual of the Great Synagogue was to a large extent based on the model of English orthodoxy, being somewhat 'anglicized' and stressing dignity and decorum. Although the congregation called itself orthodox, it strove to accommodate the differences in belief through a spirit of compromise. The Sabbath morning service was read unaltered, with all the traditional prayers, to a small gathering of the orthodox, while in the latter part of the service minor variations were introduced. These included the reading of the Haftorah in English, the exclusion of repetition of the Additional Prayers and the introduction of a mixed choir (7). This compromise was largely engineered by Reverend Davis. Since he did not possess a rabbinical diploma, all decisions of a rabbinical nature were referred to the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Adler, in London, or to the Rev. Dr. Abrahams of Melbourne.

In this period, there was a general laxity of religious observance. This was evidenced by constant complaints in the Great Synagogue, by annual reports of poor attendance on the Sabbath, and the neglect of Kashruth. The latter, which was under the supervision of the Great Synagogue Board, was to prove a perennial problem for Sydney Jewry because of the small percentage of Jews consuming kosher meat. In addition, many orthodox traditions (such as ritual purification in the Mikvah) were almost completely unknown.

After the retirement of Reverend Davis in 1903, it was hoped by the congregational leaders that this problem of religious laxity would be overcome by the appointment of a chief minister with rabbinical qualifications who would stimulate religious activity (8). Rabbi Francis Lyon Cohen arrived in Sydney in June, 1905. He was to have a dominant influence on all aspects of communal development from his arrival until his death in May 1934. He immediately began to participate actively in all communal institutions. The Sydney Beth Din was formed; steps were taken to improve the supply of kosher meat; post-Barmitzvah classes were introduced with confirmation for girls; and attempts were made to improve educational facilities.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, dissatisfaction with the dominant position of the Great Synagogue began to develop. In addition, with the movement of the Jewish population away from the inner city, the need for suburban synagogues was realized. This realization became even more urgent when, after the High Holidays in 1911, it was calculated that including the additional services at Newtown, the Baron Hirsch Rooms, and the Hebrew Relief Society, less than half of Sydney Jewry had attended the Atonement Services (9). The Great Synagogue Board thereupon agreed to assist in the establishment of suburban synagogues.

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This demand for additional synagogues did produce some results both within Sydney and in the country areas. In Broken Hill, the 'Beth Israel' Synagogue was consecrated in 1911, and Sydney's first branch synagogue was opened in Bankstown in 1913. In Newtown, where services had been conducted first in a private home in 1889 and then in a hall, steps were taken to build a synagogue with the purchase of land in 1912. Because of the interruption caused by the 1914-18 war, with its drain on communal leadership and finances, this synagogue was not constructed until 1918.

In November, 1912, a new movement was started to institute the Surry Hills congregation on old-fashioned, orthodox grounds according to the Polish ritual. This movement was supported by those who were dissatisfied with the ritual of the Great Synagogue (10), but it was not until July 1913 that a meeting was called by S. Pechter to inaugurate the Central Synagogue of Sydney (11). A building was purchased on the corner of Napier and Dowling Streets, Paddington, and converted into a synagogue. With the movement of the Jewish population to the eastern suburbs after the war, the Bondi-Waverley congregation was formed and in 1920 it amalgamated with the Central Synagogue. A new site was purchased on the corner of Grafton and Grosvenor Streets, Bondi Junction. The foundation stone was laid by the Chief Rabbi in May 1921, and the building was completed in 1923.

Despite the establishment of new synagogues at Bankstown, Newtown and Bondi Junction, the Great Synagogue remained the most influential congregation throughout the 1920's. This was evidenced in its supervision of kosher meat supplies and in the authoritative position of Rabbi Cohen in the Sydney Beth Din. The Great Synagogue was responsible for Jewish burials, although a Shiva Society had been formed in 1898, and the Chevra Kadisha founded in 1909 by Reverend Marcus Einfeld acquired their own premises in 1924. Most importantly, the Great Synagogue Board remained the spokesman for the Jewish community on all matters of general concern.

Jewish tradition treats religious education as second in importance only to the synagogue, since learning has always been regarded as a primary duty and a mark of distinction for every Jew (12). The study of the Bible and Talmud is regarded as a means of communication with God and, according to some teachers, is a higher form of communion than prayer (13). Although the Australian religious leaders stressed the importance of religious education as a means of ensuring the survival of the community, much of this reverence for learning was transferred to secular studies, so that by the 1920's complaints were made in the Hebrew Standard that there was too much emphasis on secular studies, at the expense of religious training.

The main organ for religious education in Sydney, until 1882, was the Sydney Certified Denominational School, established in 1866, which by 1880 had an enrolment of 140 pupils. The school was forced to close in 1882 after the Public Instruction Act of 1880 abolished government aid to denominational schools. Following this, strong opposition to the Day School movement developed for a number of reasons. It was considered that the cost of maintaining a day school was prohibitive for such a small community. It was also feared that the segregation of Jewish children from the general community would create an impression of disloyalty to Australia and so engender anti-Semitism.

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The Public Instruction Act set up the 'right of entry' system, which made it possible for ministers of religion to give one hour's religious instruction per day in the public schools. This was organized under the auspices of the Jewish Education Board, and supplemented by classes held at the Great Synagogue during the week and on Sunday mornings, as well as by the Sabbath School. Under the new system Jewish education was, however, only minimal and in most cases came to an end when the pupil turned thirteen. The Hebrew Schools failed to attract more than 42% of Jewish children. In addition, the Board's activities were severely limited by lack of finance, the need for more suitably qualified teachers, and parental apathy.

These problems were further aggravated by the move of the Jewish population to the suburbs. At first, Right of Entry classes were only held at Fort Street, Crown Street and William Street Public Schools. By 1909, new centres had been established at Bondi, Newtown, Paddington, Darlinghurst and Mosman. In order to ensure more efficient organization, the Sabbath School was incorporated with the Board of Jewish Education in 1908, but it continued to be plagued by an inability to cope with the growing number of Jewish centres. Even with the opening of Hebrew Schools at the newly established synagogues of Bankstown (1913), Newtown (1918), Eastern Suburbs (1923) and the Randwick-Coogee Education Board (1922) these problems were not solved and a large proportion of Jewish children continued to receive no Jewish education or very little.

A third focal point of Jewish practice, in addition to religion and education, is that of philanthropy. Charity has always been one of the cardinal virtues for Jews and, according to Judaism, is a notable and praiseworthy act obligatory to all (14). The tradition of giving charity became firmly entrenched in the 'shtetl' community in Europe, largely because of the poverty of those communities. This was one field of Jewish activities which the Sydney Jewish community did not neglect. Until the 1930's, the main charitable organization was the Sir Moses Montefiore Home, which was established in 1889 and incorporated the oldest charitable institution, the Hebrew Philanthropic and Orphan Society, formed in 1833. Other charitable organizations, such as the Jewish Aid Society, the Hebrew Ladies' Maternity Society, and the Hebrew Benevolent Society, had also been established in the nineteenth century. This multiplicity of charitable associations resulted in waste of time, money and effort because of the overlapping of responsibilities. It was, however, a common feature of Jewish life everywhere.

A Jewish community possesses almost as many institutions as it possesses members; and there are few issues of interest to Jews on which there are not at least two institutions reflecting each shade of opinion (15).

Although Rabbi Cohen strongly advocated amalgamation of these philanthropic organizations, and various attempts were made to combine some of the societies or at least to introduce greater co-operation, they failed owing to a fear on the part of the smaller societies that they would lose their individual identity. These institutions did serve as a focal point for maintaining the solidarity of communal organization. Their persistence also reflects the tendency of ritual to decline in importance in a pluralistic society, compared with social organizations and charitable bodies (16).

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In the nineteenth century, social and cultural activities centred on the Great Synagogue, the most important being the Hebrew Literary and Debating Club, founded in 1889, which encouraged interest in Judaism through regular discussions. In addition, a few social clubs such as the Almack Jewish Social Club (1896) and the New South Wales Jewish Association (1901) were formed. These were not able to take root, and it was not until the 1920's that the youth groups and social clubs began to play an important role in the community.

Another notable development was the growth of the Jewish press in Sydney in the 1890's. In 1842, George Moss, secretary of the Sydney Synagogue, attempted to establish a weekly paper called the Voice of Jacob, but it expired after only three issues. In 1894, the Australian Hebrew Times was first published, but it only enjoyed a short-lived existence and was succeeded by the Australasian Hebrew, 1895-7. The Hebrew Standard, after the publication of two issues in 1895, began to publish a regular weekly edition in June 1897 and this paper became the main organ of Jewish news for Sydney Jewry until the 1920's, when it was challenged for a short time by the Australian Jewish Chronicle (1921-1931). Under the ownership of the Harris family, the Standard was extremely conservative in its policies, reflecting the attitudes of the Great Synagogue Board. The editors of all these papers emphasized the value of a Jewish newspaper in strengthening group identity and spreading Jewish knowledge, especially to Jews in country areas.

All these developments were influenced by marked changes in the areas of settlement of New South Wales Jewry. Firstly, there was a decline of the Jewish population in the country areas from 40% in 1861, to 20% in 1901 and 11% in 1933 (17). A typical example of the deterioration of country communities was West Maitland, which was forced to close its synagogue in 1898, owing to the gradual shrinkage of the congregation. Other centres that declined included Goulburn and Tamworth. Only in two country towns, Newcastle and Broken Hill, was there a marked development of the Jewish community after 1890, and both these communities experienced a continuing struggle for their existence. There were a number of interacting factors which explain this marked decline. First, there was a decrease or slowing down of economic opportunities in some country towns. Second, the lack of a viable Jewish community and Jewish educational facilities in most areas led to assimilation. Third, many Jews moved to the larger cities, especially Sydney and Newcastle. It has been shown that small communities which reside closer to a large Jewish centre are more likely to be disaffected than those in more isolated areas (18). This was probably an important factor in the decline of Maitland, since many Jews living there were attracted to the developing nearby community in Newcastle in the 1890's.

In contrast to this marked decline in country areas, the Sydney Jewish community continued to expand, since its numbers were bolstered by Jewish migrants from Europe. Before 1880, most Jewish immigrants came from either the United Kingdom or Germany, but as a result of the persecution of the Jews in Russia, the proportion of Russian Jewish migrants increased from 7% before 1880 to 30% of non-British migrants by 1900. (19)

In the 1870's, 89% of the Jewish population were still concentrated in the Town Hall locality, the old Jewish quarter, with only a few of the well-to-do members of the Jewish community moving into the new residential areas of Woollahra and Waverley in the Eastern

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Suburbs (20). By the middle of the century, Jews had risen on the social scale from hawkers, grog sellers and unskilled workers to largely independent activities such as finance and property, sale and manufacture of textiles, and general commerce. The community began to move from the city centre. At the turn of the century, 77.6% of the Jewish population lived in the working class areas of Surry Hills, Darlinghurst, Paddington, Glebe and Newtown; 5.4% in the working and lower-middle class suburbs of the south-west; 11% in the residential suburbs of Woollahra, Waverley and Randwick; and 6% were scattered in other areas (21).

During the early twentieth century there was a further rise up the social scale into the merchant and professional groups. This resulted in the steady growth of Jewish population in the residential areas of the Eastern Suburbs from 11.1% in 1901, to 33.9% in 1921 and 53.7% in 1933 (22). It took only one generation to move the centre of gravity of the Jewish community to the Eastern Suburbs, and this shift is closely related to the prosperity attained by immigrant Jews within that period. In addition, while many of the new arrivals in the 1920's went to the older areas of settlement, especially Glebe, Darlinghurst and Newtown, some of the well-to-do migrants moved straight into the Eastern Suburbs (23). This pattern of development was in sharp contrast with Melbourne where most Jewish migrants in the 1920's settled in the inner suburbs north of the Yarra River, creating a sharper cleavage between the new and old migrants than in Sydney (24).

With the growth of Jewish institutions in the Eastern Suburbs, the community began to consolidate itself in that area and spread south and east from Bondi Junction and Woollahra to Bondi, Bronte, Randwick, Coogee, Rose Bay, Double Bay and also north to Elizabeth Bay and Potts Point. However, more significant than areas of settlement in influencing communal development was the domination of all congregational activities by the Anglo-Saxon establishment. The founders of the Jewish congregation in the 1830's had been active in the Jewish congregational life of London and they transplanted 'the educated, Anglo-Jewish middle class form of congregational life' (25) they knew to Sydney. Although the gold rush period brought a large number of migrants from Germany (26), and in the period after 1881 there was an increased migration from Eastern Europe (27) these groups were fairly easily absorbed into the existing community. By 1911 the Sydney community was predominantly a second generation community, with 65.4% having been born in Australasia. It was more British even than British Jewry, since the latter was greatly altered by the influx of migrants from Russia and Poland after 1880.

Conflicts arose between the established 'anglicized' community in Sydney and the 'foreign' Jewish migrants who came from Eastern Europe. It was only after 1880 that significant numbers of Jews began to migrate from Eastern Europe and between 1880 and 1930 they formed 52% of non-British Jewish migrants. By the late 1890's the discord between the older settlers and the newcomers became clear. This cleavage resulted from different religious and cultural backgrounds, the main conflict being between the ideal of the East European ghetto with its intense, vibrant Jewish communal life and that of the English gentleman, seeking respectability and denying that Jews were a separate race. The Australian Jew saw the immigrant as fanatical and over-emotional, while the immigrant criticized the lack of Jewish feeling of the Anglo-Jew (28). These enormous differences between Eastern and Western Jewry were apparent not only in Australia, but in other Western countries.

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In the late 1890's the 'foreign Jews' began to establish their own religious institutions and charities to aid the newcomers. In 1898 the Baron Hirsch Memorial Aid Society was established to lend poor Jews small sums without security. The new society also tried to satisfy the religious needs of the immigrants. It established a regular daily minyan for the first time in New South Wales, as well as conducting services in 'a truly orthodox' fashion (29). Services were also conducted at Newtown by Reverend I. Bramson who had qualified in Russia and delivered his sermons in Yiddish. However, attempts by the foreign congregation to build its own synagogue proved unsuccessful.

During the First World War immigration to Australia practically ceased (30) and since the European Jews' numerical strength was too small to have any significant impact on Sydney Jewry, they were gradually absorbed into the community and the institutions they had established faded out. After the war, however, there was again an influx of European migrants (31) because many Jews, especially from Poland, who were displaced by the war and decided to escape from the rising anti-Semitism in Europe in the 1920's, sought the promise of a better life in the new world. Numbers coming to Australia increased, especially after the U.S.A. introduced restrictive immigration quotas in 1922. Some organizations, such as the Montefiore Home and the Jewish Aid Society, tried to assist these migrants. In 1924, the Council of Jewish Women formed a special immigration committee to meet new migrants at the wharf and help them find accommodation. To overcome the problem of temporary accommodation, this committee opened a Jewish Men's Hostel with twenty beds in February, 1928. In Melbourne, even more was being done to help migrants with the formation of the Jewish Welcome Society and the Land Settlement Scheme. In 1928, a special meeting was held in Sydney to discuss the possibility of establishing a similar system in New South Wales, but without results.

Many of the newcomers settled in the downtown areas of Glebe, Darlinghurst and Newtown and reinforced the Yiddish culture and orthodox traditions which had begun to develop there. In 1926, Rabbi Cohen criticized the establishment of the Jewish National Club, an organization for newly-arrived Yiddish speakers, and expressed fears that such developments would lead to the formation of a ghetto in Sydney. Similar fears were echoed by Alfred Harris, editor of the Hebrew Standard, who commended the government's policy in the 1920's of restricting immigration. He stated :

The danger was imminent that the progress of a century might be suddenly undone and Australian Jews swamped by a sudden eruption unable to speak English and, in many ways, failing to understand the Australian outlook or prepared to undertake Australian nationality. Fortunately, this danger is now guarded against through restricting visas....(32)

These visas were introduced in 1924 when, as a result of unemployment amongst Southern Europeans, the government prohibited the entry of any alien without a guarantee of a sponsor or £40 of his own. In 1930, these restrictions were tightened and no migrant could enter unless he was sponsored by a close relative or had £500 capital (33).

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The community as a whole was more concerned with conforming to the non-Jewish way of life than with maintaining its cultural distinctiveness (34). Great pride was taken in the fact that Jewish communal leaders were also prominent in the political and commercial life of New South Wales. Between 1860 and 1920, a large number of Jews took part in State and local politics, out of all proportion to the size of the Jewish community. This active part in politics at all levels was a result of the desire to participate fully in the Australian community, so that they should 'not create the idea that Jews of Sydney consider themselves distinct from their confreres of other denominations' (35). During the same period, Jews played a leading part in banking, insurance, merchandising and stockbroking. An interesting index of their prominence in the business world was the election of John Goulston, for many years a leading figure in the Great Synagogue, as grand master of the Masonic order in New South Wales.

Largely as a result of the full religious, political and social equality enjoyed by Australian Jews, they were loyal citizens who desired to show their appreciation for this complete acceptance by the general community. They were, therefore, very active in the citizen military forces and continuously stressed their loyalty to the British Empire. Rabbi Cohen was a firm supporter of the Australian self-defence movement. During the 1914-18 war, he actively encouraged Jews to enlist in the Australian Imperial Forces. As a result of this loyalty to the British Empire, and the effectiveness of Rabbi Cohen's campaign, a high proportion of Jews volunteered for active service during the war. For Australian Jews as a whole, the war was made notable by the appointment of John Monash, the son of German Jewish immigrants, and nephew of the famous historian Heinrich Graetz, as G.O.C. the Australian army corps in France in 1918. The appointment was even more notable because Monash was a citizen soldier, by profession an engineer. After the war, the Maccabean Association of New South Wales for returned Jewish soldiers was formed in 1920 by Arthur W. Hyman. It later affiliated with the Returned Services League of Australia, of which Hyman was State president for several years.

The inauguration of the World Zionist movement in 1897 met with a belated response in Australia. Australian Jews were the only community of any significance not represented among the subscribers to the Jewish Colonial Trust, the first Zionist bank. Herzl appealed for support in a letter published in the columns of the Hebrew Standard in April 1901, but it was not until May 1902 that the New South Wales Zionist League was formed. Even then, this organization failed to attract a significant following, largely because the ministers of the Great Synagogue were strongly opposed to Zionism since they believed that Jews were held together by religious and ethical ties only, owing their national allegiance to their country of residence. Economic and social opportunities, the virtual absence of anti-Semitism, and the fear that support of Zionism would make Australian Jewry appear unpatriotic also contributed to the lack of support for the Zionist movement (36). During the period of British mandate, opposition to Zionism intensified because pro-British feeling was paramount. When Zionism conflicted with British policy, Britain was supported out of fear that otherwise the rights of Australian Jewry would be impaired. During the visit of the first Zionist emissary, Israel Cohen, in 1920, Rabbi Cohen of the Great Synagogue claimed that 'as far as Zionism was concerned, he was sitting on the fence, but he was open to conviction' (37). In time of crisis, Rabbi Cohen came out in full support of Britain, thus hindering the growth of Zionism in Sydney.

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The history of the Sydney Jewish community in its first 100 years is that of domination by an Anglo-Jewish clique who were mainly concerned with achieving political, economic, social and religious equality with their non-Jewish neighbours and were eager to be accepted as loyal Australian citizens. From these attitudes emanated the fear of a large scale influx of Yiddish speaking, foreign Jews, which might upset the status of Australian Jewry within the general community. Zionism was opposed for the same reasons. In order to achieve these goals of civic recognition and social acceptance an ideology of non-distinctiveness was fashioned. Many orthodox traditions were discarded and Jewish educational standards remained minimal, partly because parents were more concerned with the success of their children in secular schools than with supporting Jewish educational institutions. The fact was that Australian Jews, whether they were born in Australia or England, regarded themselves primarily as British subjects and loyal Australians.

Directly parallel with the increase of Jewish participation in public life, there was also an increase in assimilation, indicated by the rising rate of intermarriage (38). The community's leaders were deeply concerned by this increase and advanced a number of reasons to explain it. 'Parental laxity' in the observance of Jewish traditions, the lack of Jewish feeling, the inadequacy of the religious educational system and the materialistic orientation of the Jewish community were all listed as important reasons. Intermarriage also provoked much debate about proselytism because of differing views on the conversion of the non-Jewish partner of a mixed marriage. Some members of the community feared that easy conversion would constitute a grave menace to the Jewish community. At the annual meeting of the Great Synagogue in 1924 the number of proselytes was criticized by Z. Balkind (39). The rabbis and Board of Management of the Great Synagogue agreed that easy admission of converts would weaken the structure of the Jewish community but they believed that a proselyte could be accepted after long and intensive preparation and they emphasized the small number of proselytes admitted by the Board (40).

Various attempts were made by communal leaders to prevent intermarriage. The evils of mixed marriages were emphasized by both the rabbinate and the Jewish press. In particular, during the 1920's, further efforts were made to strengthen the communal fabric in order to lessen the threat of intermarriage. One of the most significant of these was the formation of the Council of Jewish Women in 1923, under the leadership of Dr Fanny Reading who had been encouraged by the visit of the Zionist emissary, Bella Pevsner, in 1923. The Council aimed at safeguarding and furthering the interests of Judaism; counteracting the prevailing apathy of Jewish women and girls; co-operating with local charities; assisting in the restoration of Palestine; and aiding Jewish migrants (41). Another important development was the erection of the Jewish War Memorial in Darlinghurst in November 1923. This communal hall acted as a central focus for all social, cultural and sporting activities of the community. Efforts were also made to strengthen community structure by encouraging greater co-operation between the various communal institutions. However, the attempts by Samuel Cohen to form a United Synagogue Movement failed, as did efforts to bring about greater co-operation in the fields of education and philanthropy.

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The 1920's also witnessed the beginnings of interstate co-operation. In September 1927, a combined Zionist meeting, representing all the States except Tasmania, was held in Melbourne under the stimulus of a visit from Dr Alexander Goldstein of the World Zionist Organization. At this meeting, the Australian Zionist Federation was formed with Sir John Monash as Honorary President and Mark Ettinger as full-time secretary. This federation gave impetus to the growth of Australian Zionism and in May, 1929, a second Zionist conference was held in Melbourne. In June 1929, a National Council of Jewish Women was also formed at a convention held in Sydney. This resulted in branches of the Council being established in every State, organized on similar lines and with similar objects to the already established Sydney branch. These developments assisted in strengthening the communal fabric because they allowed for an interchange of ideas and for greater co-operation, especially between the two major centres of Sydney and Melbourne.

Although these various endeavours did help to consolidate Sydney Jewry, the community still remained isolated, parochial and rigid in its approach to major developments that had occurred in Jewish life. Religious life was still very standardized, with any attempt to introduce Reform or Liberal Judaism being strongly opposed, while the more orthodox forms of Judaism and the Hasidic way of life of Eastern Europe were still virtually unknown to Sydney Jewry. Although the Zionist movement consolidated its organizational structure, there was still strong resistance to Jewish national aspirations and support for Zionism came mainly from relatively obscure members of the community. As yet, no large scale cultural movements such as the B'nai Brith had begun to form, while the Jewish Day School movement had received little encouragement and there was no central body to co-ordinate Jewish activities and represent the community. Without the resumption of large-scale immigration after 1933, the community would probably have disintegrated within another generation.

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22. ___ Ibid., Statistical Appendix VIII (a).

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23. ___ Ibid., p.403
24. ___ Medding, From Assimilation to Group Survival, p.31.
25. ___ Getzler, op.cit., p.18.
26. ___ In the period 1830-1880, 1307 German Jewish migrants came to Australia accounting for 71.1% of non-British migration. Price, op.cit., Statistical Appendix II.
27. ___ In the period 1881-1930, 2782 Jewish migrants came from Eastern Europe, this being 58.3% of non-British migration. Ibid.
28. ___ H.S., 20 January, 1911.
29. ___ Ibid., 7 October, 1898.
30. ___ In the period 1914-1920 only 52 migrants arrived from Europe. Price, op.cit., Statistical Appendix II.
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CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND (2) : 1933 - 1967

The advent of Hitler to power in Germany in 1933 was to have a profound impact on Australian Jewry for a number of reasons. It forced Australian Jews to realize that they could not overlook the ethnic character of Jewish identity because Nazi persecution was based on descent and not on religious beliefs. Even converted Jews were interned in the concentration camps. In addition, the organizational demands made on the community as a whole in order to assist in the rehabilitation and integration of the refugees into Australian society played a key role in welding Australian Jewry into a more cohesive force. Of the greatest importance, however, were the refugees themselves, who infused Australian Jewry with a new spirit. The German and Austrian refugees came with a clear picture of Hitler's ultimate solution of the Jewish problem and this created a sense of urgency which jolted the complacent attitudes of Sydney Jewry.

Hitler's anti-Semitic policies aroused strong condemnation both from the Sydney Jewish community and from the general press, such as the Sydney Morning Herald. In March, 1933, the Congregational Advisory Board which had just been created condemned the violent anti-Semitic campaign, this resolution being conveyed to the British Board of Deputies. In May 1933, a mass protest meeting was convened in the Sydney Town Hall by the Lord Mayor (1). A German Relief Fund was established and by July 1933 almost 2,000 had been raised.

In 1936, because of the intensified persecution of Jews through the Nuremberg laws, it was decided that a more concerted effort was needed to try and save German Jewry, especially the younger generation. A Council for German Jewry was formed in Britain under the chairmanship of Sir Herbert Samuel. As a result of agreement between the communities of Britain and America, it was decided to raise three million pounds in order to assist 100,000 young Germans to emigrate. In answer to an appeal from the Council, the German Jewish Relief Fund was established in Sydney with Samuel E. Cohen as first chairman, and it was decided that Australian Jewry should raise £50,000, with £20,000 coming from Sydney Jewry (2). An appeal meeting which was widely advertised in the Jewish press was held on 16 April 1936, with £10,000 being subscribed in one night (3).

As a result of Nazi persecution, the number of Jewish migrants began to increase after 1935 and it was realized that the only way to cope with the increased migration resulting from the Nazi tragedy was by joint communal co-operation. In September 1936 the Council for German Jewry in London requested that the money raised for the German Relief Fund be retained in Australia to cover the £50 landing money required by every non-British immigrant and also to provide backing for the guarantee, required by the Australian government, that refugees who were admitted would not become a charge on public funds. After meetings with the Assistant Minister for the Interior dealing with migration, a representative from the British Board of Deputies, E. Halsted, and representatives from Melbourne,

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it was decided to form the Australian Jewish Welfare Society. The Society was to co-ordinate all activities concerning applications for admission, reception and integration of refugees.

One reason for the formation of the Welfare Society was the request that the Commonwealth Government should not be bombarded by innumerable requests from different organizations. There was to be close collaboration between the Australian and British Jewish committees so that only desirable and readily absorbable migrants should come to Australia, in order to avoid the growth of anti-Semitism because of the arrival of 'undesirable' elements. As a result of fears of anti-Semitism, migrants were not supposed to be sent out in batches, and refugees on one ship were not to exceed six (4). The Welfare Society was to collaborate with the Jewish Employment Bureau, which had been established in 1926 to help find positions for the unemployed members of the community. A Women's Auxiliary was also to be formed to meet ships with immigrants and assist them on their arrival.

Following the Anschluss of Austria in mid-1938, the Australian Government began to grant up to one hundred permits a week to Jewish refugees both for humane reasons and because of the desire for suitable European immigrants. With this ever-increasing flow of Jewish migrants and the intensified persecution of Jews, the demands on the A.J.W.S. multiplied. By 1938, the society was receiving 8,000 applications a week. The A.J.W.S. moved its headquarters to the Maccabean Hall, and the staff was augmented by two full-time female assistants. Frank Silverman was appointed secretary, succeeded by W.L. Brand in 1941.

A number of auxiliary committees were also formed in 1938. These included the Migrant Consultative Council, which drew its membership from new arrivals; Mutual Farms Ltd., which assisted new migrants to settle in the country areas by purchasing land and establishing a training farm at Chelsea Park; and Mutual Enterprise Ltd., which helped migrants find suitable employment and consisted of professional men and businessmen (5).

Anti-Semitism in Poland, stimulated by German Nazism, led to an increase in Polish immigration, but the Welfare Society did not regard this as coming within the ambit of the German Jewish Relief Fund. Despite strong representations from A.S. Rose of Melbourne, the G.J.R.F. declined to take any action to persuade the Commonwealth government to increase visas for Polish immigrants (6). In August 1938, a separate Polish Relief Fund was set up, but within a month both it and the G.J.R.F. had been merged into the Welfare Society. It was then decided to assist Polish migrants on the same basis as German migrants.

Because of world dismay at the plight of German Jewry, President Roosevelt called a conference at Evian to discuss the German refugee problem, both Jewish and non-Jewish. At this conference, Australia agreed to admit 15,000 refugees by 1940, although this included both Jews and non-Jews, and the quota was never filled because of the outbreak of war.

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As a result of the decision at Evian, the Welfare Society launched a second appeal for £30,000 to assist refugees coming to Australia. A special conference was held in Melbourne in October 1938, with representatives from all states, chaired by Professor Norman Bentwich of the London and European Welfare Society. It was decided to retain Sydney as the head office, but offices were also to be set up in the other states.

Another solution to the refugee problem was suggested by Dr I.N. Steinberg, an emissary of the Freeland League. He proposed that colonies should be established in Australia for emigrants from Central and Eastern Europe. These colonies would be based on both agriculture and industry, but would be free from political ambitions. Steinberg believed a suitable area would be the Kimberley district in the north of Western Australia. Negotiations proceeded with the West Australian and Federal governments, but without results because of fears in Canberra that an 'enclave' would be created (7).

In all, during the period 1934-1940, 5,340 Jewish migrants (8) arrived in New South Wales. Tensions developed between the new arrivals and the established Australian Jewish community for a number of reasons. Migrants resented the patronizing attitude of the Australian Jewish Welfare Society towards them. The Australian Jews feared that the new migrants would displace Australians from their jobs, thus creating anti-Semitism. The migrants' failure to speak English was also criticized. Although the Hebrew Standard acted as the official organ of the Welfare Society and published a weekly page entitled 'The New Australian', the comments of its editor typified this patronizing approach and aroused the antagonism of the newcomers. Alfred Harris continually requested that people meeting migrant ships speak only English and he criticized the newcomers for 'congregating in and about King's Cross and Bondi; perhaps not realizing that in so doing they are looked upon as forming colonies which is positively undesirable'(9).

These and similar assertions provoked the newcomers who felt that they were not being treated justly by the Standard or by the other communal institutions. The established community was criticized for its exclusive attitudes, its discrimination against foreign Jews and its refusal to admit newcomers to their Boards and Councils. These grievances were enumerated in two strongly worded articles by one of the most articulate of refugee spokesmen, George M. Berger. In reply, Saul Symonds, one of the leading members of the 'establishment', retorted that Berger's articles merely expressed his 'personal antagonism' to the Welfare Society (10).

The impact of the refugees was especially seen in the widening and enrichment of the religious fabric of New South Wales Jewry. Until the 1930's, the only type of religious observance available was the Anglicized orthodoxy of the Great Synagogue, similar to Conservative Judaism in the U.S.A. Although the Central Synagogue set out to introduce the Polish ritual after the arrival of Russian and Polish Jews at the turn of the century, it soon assumed a pattern of religious observance similar to that of the Great Synagogue. It was only in 1933, after Rabbi Kirsner resigned as minister of the Eastern Suburbs Synagogue,

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that the Mizrahi Synagogue was formed. At the same time new congregations were being formed at Illawarra (1930) and Tamworth (1934), while the Newcastle congregation built its own synagogue in 1927. All these trends were greatly strengthened by the influx of refugees.

Another important development was the formation of a Liberal community. Until the 1930's, any attempt to establish such a community was suppressed by vigorous opposition from the 'establishment'. In the early 1930's, a Liberal congregation was formed in Melbourne under the leadership of Rabbi Dr H. Sanger, and in 1938 he came to Sydney to establish a similar congregation, Temple Emanuel. After a very slow beginning, the Temple engaged an American rabbi, Max Schenk, as its minister in September 1939. After this the congregation began to grow in strength.

The establishment of a Liberal congregation ended the isolation of Sydney Jewry from religious developments which had proceeded in Europe and America since the nineteenth century. It provided the more alienated members of the community with a compromise point. Liberal Judaism has differing attitudes on marriage and divorce laws from those of Orthodox Judaism. Most importantly, Liberal Judaism will accept conversion for the sole purpose of marrying a Jew to a non-Jew, a policy to which Orthodox Judaism is strongly opposed. This has contributed to the increased number of children from mixed marriages who have been brought up in the Jewish faith.

The establishment of Temple Emanuel was indicative of the growing American influence on the community, since many of the ideas were taken from American Liberal congregations. The German and Austrian refugees who settled in Sydney after 1936 also added impetus to the Liberal movement. Although the prominent founders such as Cecil Lubner, Gerald de Vahl Davis and Paul Cohen came from old-established Australian families, Temple Emanuel would not have developed so quickly without the support of the new immigrants.

The racist policies of Nazism, and the impact of the refugees, resulted in a gradual increase in support for Zionism in Australia. A national Zionist Federation had been created in 1927. In the 1930's, the formation of new youth groups, a women's Zionist organization, and a separate Jewish National Fund commission, further stimulated the growth of the Zionist movement, as did the visits of the emissary Dr Bension She'in in 1933 and 1938. The arrival of the new chief minister of the Great Synagogue, Rabbi E. M. Levy, in June 1935, contributed to the growing appeal of Zionism. Rabbi Levy was strongly identified with the Zionist movement, in contrast with his predecessor, Rabbi Cohen. At the same time, this growing support for Zionism was limited by the fact that many Australian Jews saw it as a disruptive influence. The anti-Zionist view of the community were reflected in the weekly Jewish newspaper the Hebrew Standard, especially during the editorship of Alfred Harris (1925-1944) who defended British actions and frequently criticized the 'fanaticism' of the Zionists (11).

The conflict over Zionism was highlighted by a number of crises. In 1929, there was a serious outbreak of Arab rioting in Palestine resulting in much bloodshed. After the Wailing Wall incident, a protest meeting was organized in Melbourne by the Zionist Federation.

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Rabbi Cohen, in a critical sermon, described the protest of the Melbourne Zionists as 'impetuous' (12). Although this sermon was criticized by two Zionist leaders, P.J. Marks and L.K. Sampson, most leading members of the community supported Rabbi Cohen's views. On September 7, 1929, a protest meeting was held at the Sydney Town Hall with Sir Daniel Levy, formerly Speaker of the State parliament, presiding. Although there was some support for this meeting from both Jewish and non-Jewish quarters it was criticized by the pro-British Jews, whose views were reflected in the Hebrew Standard. Bitter contention was again aroused by the British White Paper, 1930, restricting Jewish immigration into Palestine. Zionist supporters deplored this decision and a protest rally was organized by the Union of Sydney Zionists. These criticisms were again rebuffed by congregational leaders for fear that they would undermine the appearance of Jewish loyalty to Australia.

Further controversy was provoked by Rabbi Levy's public statements. On 21 and 28 October 1937, the Hebrew Standard reprinted an article by Dr Claude G. Montefiore in which Montefiore disparaged Zionism, calling it the child of anti-Semitism and stating that, for him, Judaism was only a religion. As President of the Zionist Federation, Rabbi Levy felt obliged to answer this article. In the course of his reply he stated that 'even the friendly Englishman considers it absurd for a Jew to pretend he is an Englishman' and stressed that 'we are all Jews no matter where we live' (13). His statement evoked strong reactions from Sir Isaac Isaacs, formerly Governor-General of Australia, and Sir Samuel Cohen, the leading Jewish businessman in Sydney. Sir Samuel Cohen declared that such assertions on nationality 'emanating from our ecclesiastical head and accredited representative in non-Jewish circles are, in my opinion, highly misleading as impugning the whole hearted loyalty of Jews as a hundred per cent loyal Australian citizens' (14). In answer to these criticisms, Rabbi Levy stressed that he was referring to Zionism in the spiritual and not the political sense.

When the question of renewing Rabbi Levy's contract was raised in 1938, the Board of the Great Synagogue decided against retaining his services. At first Rabbi Levy refused to agree to the Board's decision, claiming that he had relinquished a lucrative post in South Africa in the belief that his new appointment was permanent. After much negotiation, Rabbi Levy submitted his resignation and he and his family left in June 1938. Although the Board refused to state their reasons for this decision it was clear that it was due to Rabbi Levy's support of Zionism, in addition to his outspoken and sometimes undiplomatic statements (15).

The British White Paper of 1939, which further restricted Jewish emigration to Palestine, aroused vehement opposition within World Jewry. By this stage, the changing attitude of Sydney Jewry was evidenced in a resolution of the New South Wales congregational Advisory Board which expressed disappointment with the British decision and resolved to urge the British Government to reverse its decision. This expression of opposition to British policy showed a realization by the representative body of New South Wales Jewry of the perilous position of European Jewry and the fact that Britain had cut off the only refuge offered to them.

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The continued Nazi attack on Jewish centres in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland led to a reappraisal of the significance of a Jewish homeland in Palestine for the survival of Jewry. When Sir Isaac Isaacs began publishing his systematic attack on Zionism in the Hebrew Standard in 1941 he was already a voice in the wilderness and his articles were condemned by the Advisory Board. In many ways the debate engendered by Sir Isaac's articles and the rejoinder 'Stand Up and be Counted' published by Professor Julius Stone, only served to bring the meaning of Zionism to the forefront and thus strengthen the Zionist cause.

Jewish immigration came to a virtual end with the outbreak of war in 1939 (16). However, the war years produced a number of important changes in the Sydney Jewish community. In the first place, the character of the struggle against Nazism evoked a number of specific responses from the community (17). The Advisory Board decided in 1940 that Sydney Jewry should make a separate contribution to the war effort by building the Monash Recreation Hut in Hyde Park for all servicemen at the cost of £5,000. The National Council of Jewish Women made its own contribution by organizing the Martin Place Kiosk for servicemen in 1941. In 1942 the Advisory Board established the New South Wales Jewish War Services Committee to assist Jewish servicemen. In November of that year it also organized a mass meeting at the Sydney Town Hall, attended by two thousand people, to condemn the Nazi 'final solution' of the Jewish problem. Support was also extended to overseas Jewish organizations such as Lord Rothschild's appeal for war victims, although Sydney's response to this was disappointing; and to Youth Aliyah, a society to assist the immigration of Jewish children to Palestine. The New South Wales Emergency Committee for European Jewry, which aimed at saving as many Jews as possible from Europe, was established in 1943.

Religious activities also expanded during the war years. The growth of Jewish numbers in the suburbs north of Sydney Harbour was reflected in the establishment of the North Shore Hebrew Congregation in April 1940 (18). The first Jewish service was held at Parramatta in September 1941. The arrival of the Great Synagogue's new chief minister, Rabbi Dr Israel Porush in June 1940, sparked off a number of new developments. In June 1941, the first discussion evening of the Jewish Students' Association was held at Rabbi Porush's home. Following this, in October 1941, the Great Synagogue Youth Group was formed with the aims of fostering a closer relationship between Jewish youth, developing future leaders, and engendering a love for traditional Judaism. In education, the new Rabbi also played a major role in the amalgamation of various Education Boards in 1943, in order to introduce improvements through a co-operative endeavour.

One of the most important changes generated by the war was the creation of the N.S.W. Jewish Board of Deputies in 1944. Its establishment was influenced by the impact of Nazism, by the need for more effective leadership, and by a gradual rapprochement between the newcomers and the old-established leaders of the community. In 1933, a congregational Advisory Board had been formed in order to officially represent N.S.W. Jewry. This Board was constituted by representatives of the four main congregations - the Great Synagogue, the Central Synagogue, the Newtown and Newcastle Synagogues, and by members of sixteen affiliated Jewish organizations. As a result of the accelerated growth of the community during

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the mid and late 1930's, dissatisfaction with the Advisory Board developed because it was felt that such a body should be autonomous, not deriving its existence from the synagogues alone, and that it should be democratically chosen.

These criticisms were expressed in an open letter to the community published in the monthly review, the Australian Jewish Forum, in April 1942. The eighteen signatories of this letter called for a mass meeting at which the democratization, reorganization and regeneration of the Sydney Jewish Community would be discussed. Following these criticisms, the Advisory Board agreed to the need for a new constitution, and invited other organizations to offer suggestions and submit proposals. After much controversy, a meeting was held on 7 May 1942 between representatives of the Advisory Board and five delegates of the signatories. It was decided in March 1943 that 'the principle of a unified Jewish community and a single controlling, directing and representative body' be recognized as 'fundamental to the welfare of N.S.W. Jewry' and a provisional committee of the Board of Deputies was established (19). The Board was finally formed in June 1944 with Saul Symonds, President of the Great Synagogue at its head. It was to be the central authority and the official spokesman of New South Wales Jewry and its aims included the promotion of unity and co-operation within the community. Included in its activities were welfare and relief at home and abroad, support of Zionism, vigilance against the growth of anti-Semitism and the promotion of goodwill between Jews and non-Jews (20). When the constitution was originally framed, the principle of a general franchise was not accepted and members were elected to the Board by its constituent organizations on a proportionate scale according to membership. Later, this system was criticized as undemocratic, and Sydney Einfeld proposed a wider franchise for the general community. In 1949, the constitution was changed so that a proportion of deputies were elected on a general franchise and a proportion were chosen by the various organizations. Under the present constitution, 50% of members are elected on a general franchise and 50% by member organizations.

The creation of the Board of Deputies marked a significant break with the previous structure of the community. It provided an official spokesman for Jewish interests, and a forum for discussion which had not previously existed. Before its formation, there was much parochial bitterness and mistrust between the various synagogues and charities. Its establishment also bore witness to the fact that the synagogues were no longer the only focal point of Jewish activities (21). As cultural and secular organizations began to develop, they challenged the dominating position of the Great Synagogue in the structure of Sydney Jewry. In 1935 the Young Men's Hebrew Association, together with the N.C.J.W. and the Maccabean Institute, had already challenged the authority of the Advisory Board and claimed that the Sydney Jewish community should be represented by a united communal body, not just by the synagogues. The struggle for a central communal organization was partly a struggle for supremacy in which the dominant position of the Great Synagogue was challenged and eventually overcome. Although the first President of the Board of Deputies, Saul Symonds, came from the old patrician leaders of the Great Synagogue, his successors have come not from the synagogues but from secular organizations, especially the Zionist movement.

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One can also see the strong influence of the new migrants in the formation of the Board of Deputies. A number of the eighteen signatories to the original open letter were newcomers. Dr I.N. Steinberg, who came to Australia on behalf of the Freeland League and lived in Sydney during the war, was very influential in the fight for the creation of the Board of Deputies. The demand for a general franchise had its origins in the democratic forms of communal organizations in Eastern Europe. In the end, a compromise was reached between this demand and the traditional Anglo-Jewish pattern.

Shortly after the formation of the Board of Deputies in New South Wales, similar Boards were established in the other States. In August 1944, delegations from five States met in Melbourne and decided to form the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, 'to represent and speak for Australian Jewry, and to take action as it shall consider necessary on behalf of Australian Jewry in any matter which concerns Australian Jewry' (22). The headquarters of the council was to alternate between Sydney and Melbourne and all Jewish communities in Australia were to be represented. For the first time it was possible for one corporate body to represent the whole of Australian Jewry.

With the end of the war a new and larger influx of refugees to Australia began. Between 1947 and 1954 the Jewish population of N.S.W. increased from 13,220 to 19,637, largely through migration. The Australian Jewish Welfare Society played a central role in assisting the refugees to adjust to the new conditions in Australia, to learn English and find suitable employment. Newcomers were met at the ship and taken to the reception centres at the Maccabean Hall or Chelsea Park if they were going interstate. There was constant communication with the Immigration Department in Canberra, through the E.C.A.J., concerning quotas and with overseas Jewish officials of HIAS and the American Joint Distribution Committee. Until December 1946, refugees were admitted on humanitarian grounds. After that date, in conformity with the Australian government's immigration program, they were chosen on the basis of qualifications and in the interests of the Australian economy. Despite instructions that only 25% of any ship's complement could be taken up with Jewish refugees, this was sometimes overlooked. In 1947, the Johan de Witt arrived with 900 Jewish refugees on board (23). Australia continued to have the highest absorption rate of refugees from Europe, except for Israel. In order to assist the migrants to find accommodation and employment, the community found itself in need of outside financial assistance. Since the United States government refused to lift its quotas, the American Joint Distribution Committee decided in 1947 to make available a subsidy to help settle Jews in Australia. Thanks to this aid, hostels such as Chepe-Chase at Greenwich were established to accommodate migrants. In return for American financial assistance, the Board of Deputies agreed to the formation of a Community Chest along American lines for the co-ordination of all philanthropic collections. In its first appeal, held in 1949, the results were disappointing because a number of charities refused to participate, while those organizations which joined did not work wholeheartedly for the cause. Although the appeals continued until 1953, the Community Chest eventually ceased activities. Its failure was blamed on lack of unity and co-operation, poor organization, and leadership problems. It was not until 1969 that it was successfully re-established in the form of the Joint Communal Appeal.

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Following this, the Federal Republic of Germany agreed to make subsidies available and the first German Claims Conference to distribute these funds was held in 1954. This aid was to prove essential in the program for assisting migrants, since Australian Jewry could only provide 25% of the money required for establishing and maintaining hostels and for relief, resettlement and housing. Each year a specific amount was allotted to various organizations according to their role in migrant absorption. These sums were distributed by the ECAJ. Conflicts arose over the allocation of funds. In 1955, for example, the allocation of funds to the day school, Mount Scopus College, in Melbourne was criticized by members of the Sydney Jewish community.

Tension soon developed between the newcomers and the established citizens because of cultural differences, the fear that the newcomers would not fulfil the obligations of Australian nationality, and the sense of superiority and exclusiveness of the established community. In an editorial entitled 'Welcome and Warning' in the Hebrew Standard it was stated :

Unfortunately, there are mounting proofs that not all those who in recent years have come to Australia have not, and will not learn to accept these obligations. There are far too many cases of what Australians would regard as Hun arrogance; too many cases of slick industrial and business trickery and flaunting ostentatiousness (24).

A similar attitude was seen among the officials of the AJWS, who constantly feared that migrants would become a public nuisance and so instructed them to communicate only in English. Attitudes such as these naturally aroused hostility among the newcomers. The problems gradually dwindled as immigrants increasingly assumed position of communal leadership.

The arrival of migrants from the major Jewish centres of Europe continued the process which began in the 1930s, and transformed the community from 'a number of specially favoured activities for one or other of the individual or family interests into a virile body nourished from manifold streams of Jewish life from all corners of the world' (25). Increased migration stimulated the Jewish consciousness of Sydney Jewry. It resulted in changed attitudes to Zionism, religion and Jewish education as well as encouraging the growth of Jewish cultural organizations along the lines of European and American development.

The impact of the refugees was felt particularly in changing attitudes to Zionism. The fact that Jewish identity was not purely religious in character had been underlined by Nazism. Jewish leaders were constrained to recognize this, and found that they also had to explain it to the authorities, who treated all people of German origin as enemy aliens. In 1940, the Welfare Society had to appeal to the Commonwealth government to make separate arrangements for the internment of German Jews, on the grounds that Jews were not German by nationality (26). After the war, the refusal of the British Labour government of Clement Attlee to permit large-scale Jewish migration to Palestine produced a strong reaction in Australia. In May 1939, when the Chamberlain government produced its White Paper restricting Jewish entry to a total of 75,000 in five years, its

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policy was attacked by the Labour opposition as 'appeasement' of the Arabs. During the war, the Labour Party expressed its support for the Zionist cause, but after the end of the war Ernest Bevin, now Labour Foreign Secretary, announced that the White Paper would be implemented. This ignored the plight of the thousands of displaced persons who had no wish to return to their countries of origin and yet were shut out from most of the countries of the free world. Australian Jewry, in conjunction with Jewish communities throughout the world, reacted in dismay to this decision. Protest meetings were held in November 1945 and June 1946 and the Executive Council of Australian Jewry sent a petition to J.B. Chifley, Prime Minister of Australia, to be presented to the British Prime Minister.

Following Britain's decision to withdraw from Palestine in October 1947, the announcement of the decision of the United Nations, November 1947, supporting the formation of a Jewish State called Israel, was received with acclamation by the leaders of the community. Australian Jews were particularly elated at the role played by Dr Herbert Evatt, Minister for External Affairs, who was chairman of the U.N. committee on Palestine which made the crucial recommendations. During the fight for survival that followed the Arab attack on Israel in May 1948, strong support for Israel was expressed.

The creation of the State of Israel removed the sense of a conflict of loyalties. During the last years of the Mandate, Australian Jewry condemned the actions of the terrorist organizations, the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang. The weekly newspaper, Smith's Weekly, claimed that Youth Aliyah was associated with terrorist activities and was raising funds to fight the British in Palestine (27). Once the British withdrew, these problems of loyalty no longer existed for Australian Jewry, especially as the Australian Government has always firmly endorsed the existence of Israel, and was one of the first to extend de jure as well as de facto recognition in 1948.

Since 1948 the Zionist Organization has grown in strength until it has become the dominating force in communal life. On the Board of Deputies, the veteran Zionist leaders, H.B. Newman and Max Freilich, played a central role. The Jewish National Fund has the largest affiliation with Blue Boxes in 6,000 Jewish homes, while the United Israel Appeal raises the largest sums from communal appeals. In many ways, Zionism has come to replace religion as the central focus of Jewish communal life. In recent years the Zionist leaders have become concerned not only with collecting funds for Israel but also with inculcating a love for and knowledge of Israel, the Hebrew language, and Jewish traditions. They have also exerted a strong influence on the Jewish press, such as the Australian Jewish Times, which at certain periods has been actually owned by prominent Zionist leaders. Paradoxically, the Jewish Times is the direct heir of the Hebrew Standard, the unremittingly anti-Zionist journal of the 30s and 40s. One particularly notable area of Zionist activity has been the youth movement. Apart from a few short-lived attempts between 1917 and 1939, the first youth group of any real consequence was formed in Sydney, shortly after the outbreak of war, under the name of "Shomrim". It consisted almost entirely of young immigrants. It was followed in 1942 by "Habonim", which became part of a national organization and later affiliated with youth groups in Israel. Other groups, including "Bnei Akiva" and "Betar", were formed

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later. A number of members of Habonim, in particular, have emigrated to Israel, where they are to be found in the kibbutzim and elsewhere. In 1970, the various Zionist youth groups had a total membership of 700 - about 14% of the relevant age groups.

During the 1956 Suez crisis, a deputation from the E.C.A.J. met the Prime Minister, Mr R.G. Menzies, to press for Australian support for Israel. When fighting broke out, the E.C.A.J. expressed its solidarity with Israel and opened an emergency appeal for funds under the slogan 'Call of Israel'. Although the response to the appeal was good in Melbourne, where the community raised \$130,000 (the equivalent of \$4 per head), results in Sydney were disappointing by comparison. In a community only slightly smaller, the amount raised was only \$52,000. In 1967, by contrast, the communities of both cities responded vigorously and generously. Several factors were probably responsible for these contrasts. In Sydney, the predominance of the Anglo-Jewish 'establishment' was far greater and lingered much longer than in Melbourne, where the influence of refugees from Eastern Europe was also greater. Some of the rabbis in Sydney remained lukewarm towards Zionism, even in 1956. The daily press in Sydney was also less favourable to the Israeli side of the conflict than in Melbourne. By 1967, the situation had changed in most respects, quite apart from the fact that the survival of Israel was at stake in a way dramatically different from 1956.

Not only have attitudes to Zionism been altered by the impact of post-war migration, but the whole pattern of Jewish life has diversified. With the growth of the Jewish population in the Eastern Suburbs and the growing numbers of Jews living on the North Shore, new congregations were formed in the 1940's in various centres. The climax came in the 1950's with the formation of new congregations and the construction of synagogues at Parramatta (1956), South Head (1956), the large modern North Shore Synagogue (1957), Kingsford-Maroubra, Strathfield (1959), Bankstown (1959), Cremorne (1960) and the new Central Synagogue which could seat 1,400 people as well as having two communal halls and a complex of classrooms (1960). The Great Synagogue War Memorial was opened in 1956. All in all, there are now seventeen synagogues (and two temples) in Sydney, indicating the growth of a community which, until 1913, had centred on one synagogue.

Concurrent with this expansion of synagogues came a diversification of religious practice. Since the establishment of the Temple Emanuel in 1938 the Liberal movement has grown with the establishment of a second Temple at Chatswood in the northern suburbs. Not only has the Liberal movement grown in strength, but more orthodox communities such as the Yeshivah, founded in 1955 by Rabbi Herc, have contributed to the religious depth and diversity of the community. With the growth of the Liberal and more orthodox traditions, the Great Synagogue no longer set the tone in ritual and instead was forced to adapt its services to changed circumstances since 'the Anglo-Jewish middle course of diluted orthodoxy' has less appeal to the newcomers in the community (28).

With the mushrooming of synagogues greater co-ordination between the clergy was necessary. The first national conference of Jewish ministers was convened by Rabbi Porush in 1946, and since then other conferences have been held. At these conferences problems such as

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intermarriage, proselytism and education have been discussed. A further complication of the multiplication of congregations was the supervision of kashruth and shechitah, previously under the supervision of the Great Synagogue. By 1950, three Congregational Boards had their own shochetim and this resulted in chaos. This was only overcome by the formation of the Kashruth Commission in 1967. However, kosher meat is expensive and its supply is likely to remain a problem for this reason alone.

The other central area of change has been in Jewish education, the most important development being the revival of the day school movement. As explained in the previous chapter, Jewish denominational schooling collapsed in the 1880s after the colonial government withdrew its subsidies to all denominational schools and introduced universal, secular state education. Thereafter, sporadic attempts to establish a day school financed by the Jewish community itself failed because the communal leaders were afraid of arousing anti-Semitism. It was not until 1942 that a Jewish kindergarten was established at North Bondi, on the initiative of Rabbi B. Blumenthal, a newcomer to Sydney, with the financial backing of an Orthodox businessman, Abraham Rabinovitch, and with the blessing of the Board of Jewish Education. In 1949, the Board of Education itself bought a property in Bellevue Hill, with the aim of establishing a day school, and Rabinovitch acquired another site in North Bondi for the purpose of extending the existing kindergarten. Attempts were made to co-ordinate these projects, but without success, and it was not until 1953 that some measure of agreement was achieved and Moriah College was established as a unified day school with Hillel College as a kindergarten. For the next twelve years, Rabinovitch presided over the development of Moriah College, with the aid of a group of men of strong Orthodox outlook who were connected with the Mizrahi synagogue. Rabinovitch's enthusiasm and devotion are beyond doubt, but his dominance over the school and its educational policies retarded its development. His autocratic personality and ultra-Orthodox views meant that the school failed to attract pupils or to find a suitable principal. By 1958, it still had no more than 150 pupils. Great stress on religious education was combined with low academic standards. For instance, Rabinovitch allowed recently enrolled candidates with inadequate school backgrounds to sit for the Leaving Certificate (matriculation) examination as if they had pursued a full secondary program. As the results were usually unfortunate, the school acquired a bad reputation for scholastic achievement, which has taken a long time to live down.

In 1958, the Board of Deputies decided to look elsewhere and appointed representatives to a joint committee set up to establish another school. As a result, the King David School opened for classes at the primary level in 1960, the same year that Moriah opened its secondary wing. In 1965, Rabinovitch died and in 1967 it was agreed that the schools should be amalgamated. The name King David was retained for the primary school and Moriah for the secondary school.

The progress of the day school movement has been hampered by other factors apart from personal conflicts and shortage of funds. Many Jewish parents are apprehensive at the effects of segregating Jewish children in separate schools, and are deeply concerned about academic standards. Similar factors hindered the growth of Mt Scopus College in Melbourne, established in 1948. Mt Scopus had the advantage that it was

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promoted by Zionist rather than religious groups, but it did not begin to attract pupils for academic reasons until the late 1950s. Since then, the growth of Jewish day schools in Melbourne has been rapid. By 1970 an estimated 50% of Jewish school-age children in Melbourne attended day schools, compared with 17% in Sydney. Also, no more than 60% of the 5400 Jewish children of school age in N.S.W. attended 'right of entry' Scripture classes run by Jewish teachers, as provided for by the Education Act (29). About 1000 children attended Talmud Torah classes run on Sundays and on weekday afternoons. In 1970, the total day school enrolment was 936; of these, 369 were in kindergartens, representing 43% of the relevant age group. About one-half of the kindergarten children were continuing at primary school.

The three primary schools, Moriah, Masada, and Yeshiva had a total enrolment in 1970 of 412; the only secondary school, Moriah, had 155 pupils. Moriah works to a curriculum which reflects the 'Haskalah' or 'Enlightenment' approach to Jewish culture and religion, instead of its original classical Orthodox approach. Of the other two, both established in the 1960s, Masada is somewhat similar, but has emphasized 'progressive' educational methods and has made a point of involving parents in the running of the school; Yeshiva has a classical Orthodox curriculum adapted from American models. The total amount spent by the community on Jewish education in all forms was \$162,500 in 1968-69.

Efforts have also been made to strengthen Jewish consciousness through cultural organizations and service groups, many of them introduced by the new migrants. The most important of these was the fraternal organization, B'nai Brith, whose first lodge, Sydney Lodge, was established in 1944. This movement has grown in size and influence, and in 1962 the first Australia-New Zealand convention was held in Sydney with fifty delegates from twenty lodges attending. Yiddish culture has also been developed in Sydney through the Folk Centre, but stress on the importance of Yiddish has not been as strong in Sydney as in Melbourne where the supporters of Yiddish culture, particularly members of the Jewish Labour Bund, are much better organized (30). Youth groups have also expanded, with a proliferation of groups representing the various interests within the community - social, cultural, sporting, Zionist and religious. Philanthropic and welfare organizations have also expanded. Facilities have been increased at the Sir Moses Montefiore Home. The first Jewish Hospital, the Council of Jewish Women's Wolper Home, was established in the 1950's. In 1958, an operating theatre was added to the Wolper Convalescent Home and from this modest beginning it has developed into a full-scale hospital.

An interesting aspect of communal development since 1960 has been the re-emergence of Jews into politics. Jews were prominent in 19th-century colonial politics, and continued to play a part in the early decades of the 20th century. Saul Samuel, an early Cabinet minister in the N.S.W. colonial government, had a political career which spanned a generation. Julian Salomons was Attorney-General and later (briefly) Chief Justice of N.S.W. Daniel Levy was Speaker of the Legislative Assembly for a number of years in the 1920's and 1930's. Sir Isaac Isaacs, who was prominent in Victorian colonial politics, became Attorney-General in the Federal ministry, later a justice of the High Court, and finally Governor-General, the first native-born Australian to achieve that office.

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From about 1920 onwards, there were very few men of Jewish descent in politics, either State or Federal. Two exceptions were S.M. Falstein, who sat in the House of Representatives for a Sydney suburban constituency from 1940 to 1946, and Abram Landa, who was elected to the N.S.W. state parliament in 1930. Landa lost his seat in 1932, but held it again from 1941 to 1965, when he resigned after holding several portfolios and was appointed N.S.W. Agent-General in London. Archie Michaelis, scion of a leading business family in Melbourne, was a conservative member of the Victorian state parliament from 1932 to 1952, and Speaker from 1950 to 1952.

The reasons for the hiatus in Jewish political participation, extending over a generation, are not entirely clear. In particular, it is not clear why the anglicized Jews who had been active in politics before the first world war are so rarely found after it. The immigrant waves of the three succeeding decades are easier to understand; first-generation immigrants, with some notable exceptions like the 'forty-eighters' in 19th-century America, rarely become involved in politics of their adopted countries. Most of the Jews who have become politically active since the late 1950s are children of the immigrants of the 1920s and 1930s, although some have a longer history. Asher Joel, chosen to represent the Country Party in the State upper house in 1957, was born in Sydney in 1912; Sydney Einfeld, who became deputy leader of the state Opposition in 1969, was born in Sydney in 1909. Einfeld, a former president of the E.C.A.J. and the N.S.W. Board of Deputies, was a member of House of Representatives from 1961 to 1963, and was elected to the State parliament in 1965. In 1976, he became a minister in the state Labor government which took office in May of that year. Paul Landa, a relative of Abram Landa, also became a minister in the same government. After a long break, several Jews were elected to the Senate and the House of Representatives in the 1960s and 1970s. Dr M. H. Cass, of Melbourne, was a minister in the Whitlam Labor government of 1972-75; so, briefly, was J. M. Berinson, of Perth.

Jewish political allegiance has fluctuated considerably. Before 1920, most politically active Jews were identified with liberal factions in the various non-Labour parties. In the 1930s, the Australian Labor Party attracted considerable Jewish support, and its popularity among the Jewish community reached its zenith in the 1940s, as a result of the improved treatment of refugees by the Federal Labor governments of 1941-49 and the key role played by Dr Evatt, as Minister for External Affairs, in promoting the U.N. resolution for an independent state of Israel in 1947. In the 1950s, Jewish support for the A.L.P. fell back considerably, but in the 1960s it rose again and most of the active political figures of the past fifteen years have been associated with the A.L.P.

Anti-Semitism has become a problem of increasing concern for the community since the 1930's. The increase in anti-Semitism has been stimulated by non-Jewish migrants coming from areas such as the Ukraine where there is a long history of anti-Semitism. The community has, therefore, opposed migration which might be anti-Semitic by nature. In 1950, the news of plans for the migration of Germans to Australia aroused opposition. In September 1950, a united protest meeting was held at the Maccabean Hall under the auspices of the Board of Deputies and a resolution against 'the admission into this country of German migrants and Volksdeutsche, who are still indoctrinated with Nazi ideology' was passed. It was declared that such

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migration was a threat to the Australian democratic way of life (31). At a further protest meeting in March 1951, 6,000 people attended. The protest campaign was not successful, and German migration was not restricted. It may be worth noting that German immigrants have been conspicuously absent from Right-wing political groups.

The beginning of 1960 saw a rash of swastika daubings throughout the world, including Jewish institutions in Sydney and Canberra. A mass protest meeting at the Sydney Town Hall was attended by 3,000 people. The New South Wales Premier, R.J. Heffron, promised that the government would not tolerate such anti-Semitic outrages. As a result of these events, the Board of Deputies has tried to increase its funds in order to defend the position of Australian Jews and has been very vigilant in watching for any evidence of the growth of anti-Semitism. Most of these anti-Semitic activities come largely from fringe groups which have no mass basis of support. They include the National Socialist Party of Australia whose racism is influenced by colour prejudice among British migrants, and the Australian League of Rights, a Social Credit organization which was originally formed in the 1930s (32). The daily newspapers have, on the whole, been very critical of such anti-Semitic activities, while the Sydney press had long periods when it was very pro-Israel. The main exception to this was the newspaper Truth which, under the proprietorship of John Norton and his son Ezra Norton, was extremely hostile to Jewish migration into Australia and of Jewish activities in Palestine. John Norton was an instinctive demagogue, playing on the fears, prejudices and frustrations of all classes (33). The old-established nationalist weekly, the Bulletin, also had a long tradition of xenophobic anti-Semitism which ended with a change of ownership in 1961. In general, it could be said that Jews have continued to enjoy almost complete freedom from discrimination, and the anti-Semitism which exists is insignificant within the broad scope of the attitudes of the general community. Occasional incidents, like the black-balling of Jews nominated for membership of exclusive private clubs, indicate that "polite anti-Semitism" exists near the surface of Australian society. In 1971, three members of the Royal Sydney Golf Club resigned because of the club's policy discriminating against Jews and other racial and religious minorities (34).

In summary, the Australian Jewish communities have experienced an internal revolution in the post-war years. Although the two major Jewish communities in Sydney and Melbourne were both affected by these new developments, there was a definite difference in the vitality and direction of the changes discussed above. For example, support for Yiddish culture was important in Melbourne but relatively insignificant in Sydney. In general, Melbourne Jewry's group identification and Jewish consciousness has been much stronger than that of Sydney. This can largely be explained in terms of migration trends. Not only did more refugees settle in Melbourne, but more Jews from the vibrant Jewish centres of Eastern Europe were attracted to Melbourne. They brought with them the strong culture of the 'shtetl', and although many discarded the orthodox traditions they still retained a strong sense of Jewish identity. On the other hand, more Jews from Germany and Austria settled in Sydney and the German Jews had already been exposed to assimilatory pressures in Germany. However, both communities reacted with almost equal intensity to the Middle East war of 1967, at which point we have chosen to end this historical survey. The long-term consequences of the events of 1967 and 1973, and their implications for the further development of Jewish communal consciousness, are discussed in the later chapters of this survey.

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2. Minutes of the Executive Committee of the German Relief Fund, 18 March, 1936.
3. H.S., 23 April, 1936.
4. Minutes of the G.J.R.F., 26 November, 1936.
5. H.S., 24 November, 1938.
6. Minutes of the G.J.R.F., 14 January, 1937.
7. I.N. Steinberg, Australia - the Unpromised Land, London, Gollancz, 1948. The development of the Kimberley district was undertaken in the 1960s by the Federal and State governments.
8. The figure of 5340 is derived from the records of the A.J.W.S. On the other hand, the census of 1947 showed 13,220 persons identifying themselves as Jews, an increase of only 3000 over the 1933 census figure of 10,300. Given the circumstances, there is no way of deciding how many 'Jewish' refugees arrived in Australia during this period. Many of those whose Jewish identity was thrust upon them by Hitler clearly discarded it as soon as possible.
9. H.S., 24 November, 1939; and see Suzanne Rutland, Seventy-Five Years, Aust. Jewish Historical Society, Sydney, 1970, pp.59-60.
10. G.M. Berger, in the Australian Quarterly, vol.13, No.3, 1941, pp.39-48, and No.4, pp. 52-60; Saul Symonds, in ibid, vol.14, No.1, 1942, pp.67-72.
11. Rutland, op.cit., ch. 6.
12. H.S., 15 February, 1929.
13. Ibid., 11 November, 1937.
14. Ibid., 18 November, 1937.
15. In the Great Synagogue Minutes, 9 February, 1938, the Board of Management stated that Rabbi Levy was not to make references of a political nature in a sermon on Zionism.
16. An interesting exception was the group of refugees from Nazi Germany who were interned in Britain in June 1940, after the surrender of France, and then shipped to Australia on the liner Dunera. A number of these men were later drafted into the Australian army. This episode is described by S. Encel, 'These Men are Dangerous', Nation, 18 September, 1965.
17. A large number of Jews served in the armed forces. The total for Australia was 3870, i.e. about one-fifth of the Jewish male population. Of these, 2952 served in the army, 846 in the air force, and 72 in the navy. 134 were listed as killed or missing; 37 were decorated; and 43 were mentioned in dispatches.

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18. In 1933, 8.6% of Jews lived on the North Shore. By 1947, this had increased to 11.6%, and by 1966 to 21.3%.
19. H.S., 18 March, 1943.
20. Ibid., 22 June, 1944.
21. Medding, op.cit., p.29.
22. H.S., 10 August, 1944.
23. A.J.W.S. Minutes, 30 January 1947.
24. H.S., 30 August, 1945.
25. Australian Jewish Times, 15 July, 1955.
26. A.J.W.S. Minutes, 27 August, 1940.
27. Dr Fanny Reading, then vice-president of Youth Aliyah, sued Smith's Weekly for libel. The case was heard in April-May, 1947. The judge was sympathetic to Dr Reading, but ruled the suit to be invalid because the libel law did not provide for defamation against groups.
28. H.S., 6 March, 1953.
29. These and other figures are contained in the report of a commission of inquiry set up by the Board of Deputies in 1968. The report was published in September 1970.
30. Medding, op.cit., p.50.
31. H.S., 13 September, 1950.
32. The activities of these groups are described in K.D. Gott, Voices of Hate, Melbourne, 1965, and Isi Leibler, 'Australia's Radical Right', Quadrant, No. 2, 1966.
33. Cyril Pearl, Wild Men of Sydney, London, 1958. In 1904-5, Norton alleged that the Jews were responsible for the Russo-Japanese war, and that the Jewish owned press was responsible for exaggerating the extent of pogroms in Russia (pp.209-10). Truth remained consistently anti-Semitic until 1960, when Ezra Norton disposed of his family's newspaper interests.
34. For further discussion of anti-Semitism see Medding, op.cit. : S. Encel, Equality and Authority, Melbourne 1970, pp.132-3, 139-40; F.S. Stevens (ed.), Racism: The Australian Experience, Sydney, 1971, Vol.1. An interesting autobiographical account of "polite anti-Semitism" is given by Simon Warrender in Score of Years (Melbourne, 1973).

CHAPTER 3

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS, 1933-1971

The regulations governing the Australian census provide for a question on religion. Unlike the other questions, it is voluntary, but the response is regularly about 90%. In 1971, 9.3% did not reply. Assuming that the non-respondents are divided by religion in roughly the same proportions as the great majority who do answer, we may compute the number of Jews in Australia with considerable accuracy. On this basis, it appears that there were about 68,000 Jews in Australia in 1971 (census figure 62,208) of whom approximately 28,000 lived in N.S.W. (census figure 25,971). By comparison, the 1961 figures were 64,000 (census figure 59,343) for Australia and 26,000 (census 24,026) for N.S.W.; in 1966, 69,000 (census 63,271) for Australia and 28,000 (census 25,913) for N.S.W. The significance of these fluctuations is discussed elsewhere in this monograph.

Because of the census question, it is possible to extract a considerable amount of information both from published reports and from unpublished tabulations made available by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, and such material is scattered throughout this report.

At least six Jewish convicts are known to have arrived with the First Fleet in 1788. More Jewish convicts followed and these were later joined by free settlers, so that the size of the community increased steadily with the growth of the colony generally. By 1841, there were 856 Jews in the colony. The gold rushes of the 1850s led to an increased figure of 3,266 in 1881, which had grown to 10,151 in 1921. Although absolute numbers increased during this period, they declined as a proportion of the total population. In addition, Jewish/Gentile inter-marriage rose between 1891 and 1921 from 20 per cent to 30 per cent for males, and from 7 per cent to 16 per cent for females. As well as these losses from intermarriage, the birthrate was much lower for Jews than for the general population, and even though there was considerable immigration during the 1920s, by 1930 the great depression brought the inflow almost to a standstill (1).

Thus, in the census year of 1933, the prognosis for the future expansion of the N.S.W. Jewish Community could only be a pessimistic one. But since then, as described in the two previous chapters, the population has much more than doubled and its characteristics have been transformed by immigration. By the use of census information, we can supplement this chronicle with a historical-demographic analysis.

In brief, the Jewish population of N.S.W. and its proportion of the general population increased between 1933 and 1971 as follows :

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<u>Census Year</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>% of General Population</u>
1933	10,305	0.39
1947	13,194	0.44
1954	19,583	0.57
1961	24,026	0.61
1966	25,913	0.61
1971	25,971	0.56

There is little doubt that this increase is due almost entirely to migration. In 1911 (no census material is available for 1921 or 1933), the proportion of Jews born in Australasia was 65.4 per cent, had dropped to 38.3 per cent in 1961 and by 1971 had risen again to 40.4%. Between the two census years 1911 and 1971, those born in Western and Central Europe increased from 4.4 to 25.9; in Eastern Europe from 9.3 to 16.4, and in Asia (including Israel) from 0.8 to 6.8. (See Table I). Between 1954 and 1966, the proportion of the N.S.W. community born overseas remained steady at a little over 60%. With the sharp reduction in immigration since 1954, the proportion of Australian-born Jews has risen since 1966 and was 43.5% in 1971. Unless an increase in immigration occurs, this trend is likely to continue.

Compared with Jewish communities overseas, this makes Australian Jewry (including N.S.W.) a predominantly migrant community. In Canada in 1961, about 43 per cent of the Jewish community was born overseas (2). In the Greater Providence study in the U.S.A. (a community of nearly 20,000 Jews), in the mid-1960s only 17 per cent of the Jewish population were foreign born (3).

In addition to being a predominantly first generation community, N.S.W. Jewry is also a very urban one (although this appears to be a world-wide phenomenon). Even in 1933, 89.4 per cent lived in Sydney and its suburbs and by 1966 this percentage had increased to 96.8. There has been some change in areas of residence; whereas 20 per cent of all residents in 1933 lived in the City of Sydney, in 1966 only 4.7 per cent did so, and the combined inner and outer Northern suburbs have increased their percentage from 8.6 to 21.3. However, the majority of the community continues to live in the high status Eastern suburbs, where some 59.5 per cent of the community resided in 1966. (See Table II).

AGE AND EDUCATION

In a normal immigration situation, a receiving country attracts a preponderance of single people or younger married couples with or without children. But Jewish migration to Australia during the period under discussion was anything but normal. It was forced emigration, the remnants of the Holocaust, of people fleeing from persecution, and of refugees who had lost all or part of their families. This appears to be the main reason for the lopsided age profile of the N.S.W. community (See Table III). In 1971, nearly 38 per cent were over 50 years of age, as against 23 per cent for the Australian population as a whole. (By comparison, 23 per cent of the Jewish community in 1933 were over 50). In Goldstein's Greater Providence study, 29 per cent were aged more than 50; in Krausz's Edgware survey, 14.8 per cent were 55 or over. (4,5). In the Diaspora generally, the proportion of Jews under 14 years is about 19 per cent, compared with 17 per

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cent in Australia in 1971; over 65 years, the Diaspora figure is 13 per cent, compared with 14.1 per cent at the 1971 Australian census. In Australia generally, about 9 per cent of the population is aged 65 and over, which is roughly the same as in the other 'developed' countries.

The other side of this unbalanced age structure is the relatively small proportion of young people. In 1971, 24.3 per cent of the community were under 20 years old, the lowest figure since 1947. In the general Australian population, more than one-third were under 20 in 1971. This low figure for the Jewish community reflects the 'hollowness' of the age-group 25-39, whose low numbers in the post-war period resulted from the drop in birth rates, first during the depression of the 1930s, then during the 1939-45 war when so many lost their lives or did not have children because of the uncertainty of the future. This age-group increased in proportion (by about 3%) for the first time between 1966 and 1971.

At first sight, this age structure suggests that the Jewish population must decline steadily. However, a closer analysis does not confirm this gloomy view. The long-term effects of the post-war baby boom, plus immigration, have swollen the numbers in the 10-19 age groups which, since 1966, have been entering their child-bearing years. In 1971, the actual number in the peak child-bearing years 20-34 was 4923 (19% of the community) as against 3824 in 1966 (14.8% of the community) and only 2508 persons in 1933.

In 1966, for the first time, the census gave an analysis of educational standards by religion. (See Table IV). The stress traditionally placed on learning is illustrated by the fact that 33 per cent of all Jews had reached at least the Leaving Certificate standard (i.e. five years of secondary schooling) against 9.4 per cent of the Australian population. In 1966, 5.8 per cent of Jews were university graduates. In 1971, this had risen to 8.8 per cent, and a further 4.7 per cent had other tertiary qualifications. For the Australian population, 1.1 per cent were university graduates in 1966, and 2.1 per cent in 1971.

On the other hand, higher education is predominantly a male characteristic, and remains so, even though the proportion of Jewish females with higher education is much greater than in the population at large. In 1966, 9.1 per cent of Jewish males were university graduates, compared with 13.1 per cent in 1971; the female proportions were 2.6 per cent in 1966 and 4.8 per cent in 1971.

These figures are much lower than in American studies, even if the great differences in educational systems are allowed for. The Greater Providence study showed that 33.8 per cent males (17.6 per cent females) had four or more years of college education (6), and the 'Lakeville' studies found that 34 per cent males (24 per cent females) had enrolled in graduate or professional schools (7). As these studies showed a correlation between generational status and an increased level of education, it may be assumed that the educational level of N.S.W. Jewry will also rise as the Australian-born proportion rises. A comparison of the 1966 and 1971 census figures illustrates that this is indeed already occurring.

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OCCUPATION

The 1966 census provided, for the first time, a breakdown of occupations by religion, previous censuses giving only broad categories such as 'Employer' and 'Employee'.

It can be seen from Table VI(a) that the largest proportion of males are in the Administrative, Executive and Managerial category (32.4 per cent) followed by Craftsmen, Production - Process Workers and Labourers (18.8%), with Professional, Technical and related workers a close third (17.4%). As might be expected, the greatest proportion of women are in clerical positions (30.7%), followed by Sales workers (20%) and Administrative, Executive and Managerial workers (15.9%).

Within the Commonwealth Statistician's broad categories, certain specific occupations stand out. Among professional, technical and related workers, comprising 17.4 per cent of males, nearly one-quarter were doctors and dentists (339), followed by architects, engineers and surveyors (199). This category comprised 11.7 per cent of females, of whom nearly one-third were teachers (177). Lawyers accounted for only 7 per cent of male professionals, and one per cent of female professionals. In the manual worker category, craftsmen occupied their traditionally prominent role. The largest group were tailors, cutters and furriers, comprising more than 20 per cent of males in this category and 60 per cent of females. These were followed by toolmakers and machinists (16 per cent of males); electrical and metalworking craftsman (11 per cent of males); precision instrument makers and jewellers (9 per cent of males).

There is a large disparity in occupation group percentages between Jewish males and the general male work force. The Professional and Administrative groups combined account for 49.8 per cent of Jews (15.4 of others) and 14.8 per cent of the Sales category (5.8 of others). In all other groups Jewish male percentages are below those of the rest of the male work force. The difference is not nearly so marked with females, except for the Administrative category, with 15.9 per cent of Jewish females against 2.5 per cent of the rest of the female work force. At the 1971 census, the occupational categories expanded to make them more precise. A direct comparison with the 1966 figures is therefore not possible, although in general the picture appears to have changed little since 1966.

It would be misleading to try to compare these findings with those of overseas surveys, as the occupational divisions vary and not enough is known about the employment breakdown in each division; in broad terms, they are consistent with the general pattern.

FERTILITY

The fertility pattern of the N.S.W. Jewish community shows a strong relationship between age and low fertility. Excluding women under 40 who are still in the main child-bearing years, the effect of increasing age is shown by a progressive reduction in the number of children and a progressive increase in childlessness, with the exception of women aged 70 and over. Again, bearing in mind the high proportion of immigrants, and the fact that birthrates fell during the years of depression and war, these figures are not surprising.

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What is more interesting is that fertility rates have risen for women between 20 and 45 years, who were less affected by the war and are still in their child-bearing years; that the percentage of childless women has dropped; and that the numbers in the peak child-bearing years (ages 20-34) are greater than at any time in this century. (See Table V). Added to this, fertility rates are increasing. This was already evident in 1966, and showed a further rise in 1971. As between 1966 and 1971, there was a significant increase in the number of married Jewish women aged between 20 and 34 (from 1329 to 1629, a rise of 23 per cent). Average issue increased in five of the seven age groups between 15 and 49, remaining static in only two (20-24 and 25-29). Thus, for women aged 30-34 it rose from 2.00 to 2.13; for those aged 35-39, from 2.13 to 2.20; and for those aged 40-44, from 1.19 to 2.08. The figure of 2.2. for the 35-39 age group is the highest figure for any age group at the three censuses of 1961, 1966 and 1971. This particular increase suggests a pattern of divided childbearing, i.e. two children in the early years of marriage, and one or two at a later date. The number of children aged four years or less rose absolutely between 1966 and 1971 (by 4 per cent) and also relatively (from 5 per cent of the population to 5.2 per cent).

It is not unreasonable to suppose that these trends will continue, in sympathy with the general tendency of middle-class people to have larger families, and also because of the strengthened sense of Jewish identity and solidarity visible during the 1970s. Overseas studies confirm this general picture. Sidney Goldstein's study of Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1966-67 provides a convenient illustration. The metropolitan centre together with suburbs comprise some 250,000 persons of whom 11,000 were Jewish. It is relevant to add that only 14.4 per cent were foreign born, and that almost half the Jewish population is already third generation. The fertility pattern was the same as that for N.S.W., except that the rates generally were higher. Thus the fertility rates were 2.2 for 30-34 year olds, 2.8 for 35-39 year olds, and thereafter decreased to a minimum of between 1.7 and 1.9 for 55-64 age groups (8). From additional analysis of the material, Goldstein also states that 'a considerable number of those in the 25-34 year age range have already had two or three children, suggesting that their reproductive behaviour continues to operate beyond replacement level' (9).

The Springfield data were also examined for any relationship between fertility and level of education, and it was found that the highest completed or expected fertility is now to be found among those with a college degree. For example, in the 20-29 age group, expected fertility was 2.9 for those with four or more years college, against 2.2 for women who left after high school (10).

Goldstein summed up his findings with the comment: 'Judged by expected total fertility, completed Jewish fertility levels will average between 2.5 to 3.0 children for those still in their childbearing years. The overall trend towards somewhat larger families is further evidenced in the sharp declines in the proportion either having no children or only one child and the increase in the three and four child family' (11).

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These findings are born out by the results of the Lakeville study, an older community where only a tenth of the respondents were under 30 years. There, the mean number of children per family was found to be 2.2, but the authors consider that 'given the age distribution of our respondents and what we know about the proclivities of younger Jewish couples in the suburbs, this figure may be expected to climb somewhat (12).

In the Greater Providence study, 8 per cent of those reaching the end of their child-bearing years had a least four children, but an even higher percentage of those who were still in the child-bearing age between 30-39 had already reached this level. In addition, childlessness sharply decreased with the younger age groups (13).

INTERMARRIAGE

Since 1921, figures on intermarriage are available for the years 1933, 1961 (14), 1966 and 1971 (15).

<u>Year</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Jewish Females</u> <u>Married Out</u>	<u>%</u> <u>Jewish Males</u> <u>Married Out</u>
1921	16.0	30.0
1933	12.6	23.1
1961	8.0	14.0
1966	6.9	12.4
1971	8.5	13.4

Whereas many Jewish communities throughout the world show an increase in intermarriage, the N.S.W. figures show a steady decrease, at least until the end of the 1960s. Moreover, the post-war figures are inflated by the high levels existing before the 1939-45 war.

A breakdown of the intermarriage figures reveals small but interesting fluctuations in the pattern of marriage between different religious groups. In 1933, 60 per cent of Jewish intermarriage was with Anglicans; in 1966, this had dropped to 40 per cent. The main shift in denominations was towards the Catholics. (The categories 'Catholic' and 'Roman Catholic' have been amalgamated for the purpose of this analysis). In 1933, 12 per cent of Jewish women married to non-Jews were married to Catholics; for Jewish men, the proportion was 25 per cent. In 1966, these proportions had risen to 29 per cent for women and 33 per cent for men. The significance of these figures is not immediately obvious, although one possible explanation is an increase in social mobility for both Jews and Catholics, perhaps mediated through the growth of education and the social contacts which it promotes, as well as the questioning of accepted values and doctrines which it encourages.

The low post-war rate of intermarriage is at least partly attributable to the influx of migrants, but this is unlikely to be a total answer, especially if we compare the Australian figures with a community like that of Canada, where intermarriage rates have continued to rise in spite of a similar inflow of migrants.

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The figures quoted above are of only limited value as indicators of future trends without additional information on intermarriage by age groups or by generations, which is not available. To see what future trends might be expected in N.S.W., it is necessary to look to the results of research carried out in Canada and the U.S.A. The situation in Canada seems to have the most relevance to Australia.

Although the bicentenary of Jewish settlement in Canada was celebrated in 1959, the community is of more recent date. Of all Jewish immigrants to Canada since 1901, 42 per cent arrived after 1921 (when the U.S.A. imposed quota laws) and 66 per cent of these arrived after 1945. This makes the Canadian Jewish community a generally much younger and less acculturated one than that of the United States. The proportion of Canadian-born in 1961 was 56.3 per cent. Comparison of figures with those of N.S.W. is made more accurate in that the Canadian Bureau of Statistics publishes annual data on all marriages in Canada, cross-classified by religion of bride and groom. An analysis of this information was published by Louis Rosenberg in 1963 (16). The rates of intermarriage are as follows :

<u>Years</u>	<u>Both Sexes</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
1926-1930	2.5	3.7	1.3
1931-1935	2.6	3.2	2.1
1936-1940	3.2	4.3	2.0
1941-1945	5.0	6.6	3.4
1946-1950	4.8	6.6	2.9
1951-1955	6.2	8.5	3.8
1956-1960	7.6	10.0	4.8

These overall figures conceal large variations from Province to Province. The lowest intermarriage rate (5.6 in 1956-60) was in Quebec, which contains the largest Jewish community in Canada. Rosenberg attributes this low intermarriage rate to the fact that 98.1 per cent of Quebec's Jews live in metropolitan Montreal and are aligned with the Anglo-Canadian Protestant minority rather than the French-Canadian Catholic majority. This 'cleavage which exists in Quebec between French Catholics and English Protestants facilitates the expression of a separate Jewish ethnicity and culture' (17).

In contrast with Quebec, the highest rate of intermarriage is in the Prairie Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta (34.8 per cent men and 13.2 per cent women in 1956-60). The two largest communities contain no more than 31 per cent of the Jewish population of these Provinces and more than 40 per cent are scattered in towns and villages where less than 100 Jews reside. (Other Provinces fall between these extremes both in intermarriage rates and in the distribution of the population)(18).

In the U.S.A. the only national data available on intermarriage come from a survey undertaken in 1957 by the U.S. Bureau of the Census of 1,356,000 married couples where either one or both spouse were Jewish and which found that 7.2 per cent of the couples had a non-Jewish partner (19). Much more comprehensive data are to be found in the Greater

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Providence study where, in 1963, a survey was carried out on 25 per cent of households in a total Jewish population of just under 20,000, of whom only 17 per cent were foreign born. Of the total of 5,140 married couples represented in the survey 4.5 per cent were intermarriages (4.4 per cent males and only 0.1 per cent females) and the intermarriage rate among their children was 5.9 per cent (7.7 per cent male and 4.3 per cent female)(20).

In a later analysis of these data dealing in particular with generational differences, the following intermarriage patterns were found by generation (21) :

<u>Jewish Males</u>	<u>All Ages</u>	<u>20-39</u>	<u>40-59</u>	<u>60 and Over</u>
1st Generation	1.2	0.0	2.8	0.5
2nd Generation	5.6	3.2	6.7	3.2
Mixed Generation	5.8	4.3	7.6	-
3rd Generation	6.6	5.2	12.6	-

N.B. This deals only with male Jews married to wives who were not born Jewish. (Varying percentages in each group have converted). The figures for females would be much lower.

The relationship between generational status and intermarriage rates is obvious, but it is also clear that the rates have risen much more slowly in the 20-39 age group compared with their immediate seniors in the 40-59 age group.

In addition, Sidney Goldstein and Calvin Goldscheider show an equally positive correlation between age and conversion to Judaism. Among husbands over 60 years, there was no conversion of non-Jewish spouses; in the 40-59 age group, 4 out of every 10 converted and among those under 40 years of age, the number of conversions rose to 7 out of 10. In all, of the 232 intermarried couples, 42 per cent of non-Jewish partners had converted (22).

It is also pertinent to see what happens to the children. In Providence, in every instance in which the non-Jewish partner converted, the children were being raised as Jews; among the group in which the non-Jewish partner had not converted, of those children living at home 84 were being raised as Jews and 60 as non-Jews. Thus of a total of 280 children of mixed marriages, living at home, 220 or 78 per cent were being brought up as Jews (23).

Goldstein and Goldscheider sum up by saying 'our data suggest that the net effects of intermarriage on the overall size of the Jewish population may not be as serious as suggested by several other community studies; its qualitative effects may be more important' (24). This may, indeed, be the most important observation to be made about the study of intermarriage in general. As Marshall Sklare has recently written (25), there are few studies of the subject which have produced reliable information. The question is so emotive that those who quote figures are particularly liable to find evidence supporting their presuppositions - not an uncommon situation in social research, but even more likely than usual in this case. As a result, even official bodies have been reluctant to touch the subject; Sklare notes that the topic has only very recently been admitted to the American Jewish Year Book.

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An example of this emotive attitude is to be found in the work of Walter Lippmann, who has predicted a steady decline in the size of the Jewish population on the basis of intermarriage rates and family size (26). Lippman did not, however, carry out detailed analyses of age-specific fertility rates, which suggest quite a different picture.

The intermarriage rates quoted previously, especially when compared with the American and Canadian figures, suggest that a clustering of factors must be invoked to account for any actual situation. Some of these are bound to be 'qualitative' as suggested by Goldstein and Goldscheider; for example, it is possible that there is a qualitative difference of Jewish consciousness between generations which bears upon differential intermarriage rates, the high rate of conversion to Judaism, etc. In the N.S.W. study, we are attempting to balance an emphasis on the major 'quantitative' factor (immigration) by an examination of the 'qualitative' issue, i.e. the concept of Jewish identity or consciousness.

CONCLUSIONS

In examining the demographic profile of the N.S.W. Jewish community and comparing it with overseas communities, certain patterns emerge which may be indicators of future development. Any conclusions drawn from these patterns can only be tentative. No one community is ever quite the same as any other; no two countries have exactly the same environment in which these communities have their being, and the degree and extent of anti-Semitism must play a part in enforcing a greater or lesser degree of cohesion in any particular community. That said, it would still seem useful to express some tentative conclusions.

This chapter has talked in terms of a N.S.W. Jewish community, but in reality it is a community of the Sydney metropolitan area, where over 25,000 of the total census population of 25,971 lived in 1971. This urban concentration becomes more spectacular when it is recalled that 60 per cent of those 25,000 live in the relatively small area of the Eastern suburbs, with a further 20 per cent who have settled in the Northern suburbs.

As well as being an intensely urban community, the most outstanding feature and probably the one that has been most responsible for its present-day characteristics, is its predominantly migrant status. The forced migration of so many people whose lives had been disrupted by the 1939-45 war, following hard upon the impact of the depression on the small, well-integrated local community, has produced an unbalanced age profile, with hollowness in the middle years and a heavy weighting in the older age groups. These same factors are also the ones most likely to account for the low fertility and high percentage of women who are childless in the older age groups. They have possibly also had an effect on education and occupational status, though with census figures only available for 1966 and 1971 it is not possible to compare pre-war and post-war figures.

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The imposition of a large, new, first generation community on the smaller, older community has clearly been a major reason for the dramatic fall in intermarriage rates, although there seem to be other complex factors at work which are not discernible from an analysis of census figures. Large-scale Jewish immigration in the foreseeable future seems unlikely, although there is currently a small intake of immigrants from the USSR of whom more than 1000 have arrived in Australia since the movement of Jews to emigrate from the Soviet Union gained momentum in the late 1960s. We may therefore expect a gradual diminution in the migrant composition of the community, an increase in the proportion of second and third generation members, and a more balanced age profile.

Although fertility rates have been low, they are increasing, and childlessness is becoming less common. On the basis of the 1966 census figures, and the survey results reported in later chapters, we predicted an increase in births during the 1966-71 intercensal period, and this was borne out. The gloomy prognoses of Lippmann are based on a fall in the birthrate which became evident during the 1961-66 intercensal period. This was a period when the Australian birthrate as a whole fell steadily, from 22.9 live births per 1000 in 1961 to 19.3 in 1966, with a fall recorded in each year, and an overall drop in fertility from 3.56 to 2.89. Australian Jews, in other words, were behaving like other Australians. The downward trend in the Australian birthrate was arrested in 1968, although it appears to have dropped again since the early 70s.

Australian Jews have also followed the same general pattern as Jews elsewhere in the Diaspora, as shown by the work of Bachi (27). In all the 'developed' countries, according to Bachi, Jewish fertility is systematically lower than the rates for other population groups, and apart from a few exceptions like Canada, Diaspora Jewry is in a state of 'demographic regress'. From our researches, it appears that Australian Jewry may be one of the few exceptions, at least for the foreseeable future. There is reason to suppose that, whatever the situation in the 1960s, recent birthrates are above replacement level, and a reproduction rate of 2.5 is not unlikely. A small survey of parents of children at Moriah College in 1976 showed a fertility rate of 2.5 (28).

This, of course, takes no account of loss through intermarriage. The Canadian data emphasize that intermarriage is far greater in small, isolated communities, and the size and concentration of the N.S.W. community do not suggest a high intermarriage rate. The Providence study also shows that the tendency of later generations to intermarry more readily is offset by age, i.e. younger people are less likely to intermarry than older people in the same generation. This accords with our speculations that the N.S.W. intermarriage rates are inflated by high levels in earlier years; if intermarriage does increase, it will do so only slowly, and pressure against it is probably increasing because of the growth of ethnic consciousness (discussed in a later chapter). The Providence study also suggests that increased intermarriage is being offset by increased conversion to Judaism, a tendency which was reported by a number of respondents to the survey described in the following chapters. In addition, State government authorities concerned with the adoption of children reported to us that Jewish couples were, increasingly, arranging for the conversion to Judaism of their adopted children.

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9. ___ Ibid., p.220.
10. ___ Ibid., p.224.
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12. ___ Sklare and Greenblum, op.cit., p.23.
13. ___ Goldstein, op.cit., p.69.
14. ___ We are indebted to Walter Lippmann for details of the 1961 Intermarriage figures.
15. ___ Intermarriage rates were calculated by treating the number of Jewish males with non-Jewish wives as a percentage of all married Jewish males.
16. ___ Rosenberg, op.cit., Tables II, III, pp. 67-68.
17. ___ Ibid., pp. 64-65.
18. ___ Ibid., pp. 65-66. The exception was British Columbia, with an Intermarriage rate of 26.8 per cent in 1956-60. Rosenberg attributes this to geographical isolation.
19. ___ Erich Rosenthal, 'Some Recent Studies on the extent of Jewish Outmarriage in the U.S.A.', in Cahnman, op.cit., pp. 88-89.
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CHAPTER 4

THE DESIGN OF THE SURVEY

As 96.8% of the New South Wales Jewish population resided in the Sydney metropolitan area in 1966 the demographic survey was limited to this area. The most comprehensive list of Jewish households available has been collected by the United Israel Appeal. This list is a compilation of names from synagogue membership sheets, Jewish organizational and charitable membership lists, listings obtained from announcements made in the Jewish press, and listings made once people have contributed to a Jewish charity. Although it is somewhat biased towards the committed Jew, it is by far the most comprehensive and accurate list available. The total number of households on the United Israel Appeal list was 9000 in 1970. This represents more people than the Commonwealth Statistician's figure for Jews in the Sydney metropolitan area (25,072 at the 1966 census) assuming even the low average of three people per household. This is partly because the United Israel Appeal's register contains the names of non-Jews with pro-Israel sentiments; partly because the census question on religion is voluntary, and 10% of the population regularly does not answer it; and partly because some of the donors to the 1967 emergency appeal were Jews who had broken their connections with the Jewish community because of conversion, intermarriage, or more gradual forms of estrangement.

The dramatic impact of the Six-Day War of 1967 is well illustrated by the sudden expansion of the U.I.A. list. In 1966, there were 3000 contributing families on this list, which was only one-half of the number registered with the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth). The J.N.F. figure has remained at approximately 6000, including additions and deletions. The U.I.A. list leaped to nearly 9000 families at the time of the Six-Day War, but many of these contributors were of the once-for-all variety, and the U.I.A. now assesses its actual contributors (in 1971) at slightly more than 5000 families. By basing our sample of 1020 households on the total list, we estimate that we have obtained a representative cross-section amounting to 11 per cent of the Jewish population of Sydney.

SAMPLING

Sampling was carried out in the following manner. All names on the U.I.A. list were coded in one of the following ways :

- has never contributed to any appeal;
- contributed to the 1967 emergency appeal but not since;
- contributed to the emergency appeal and has made subsequent contributions;
- did not contribute to the 1967 emergency appeal but has contributed since.

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The percentage of households in each category was :

U.I.A. Category

Never contributed to any appeal	13%
Contributed to the 1967 emergency appeal but not since	20%
Contributed to the emergency appeal and has made subsequent contributions	59%
Did not contribute to the 1967 emergency appeal but has contributed since.	8%

Behind this classification was the hypothesis that the degree of Jewish identification and commitment would vary between the four groups. The survey data were cross-tabulated by this code to ascertain whether or not this was the case. A sample reflecting this pattern was obtained by consecutively numbering the households within each code category. Using a book of random numbers, twice as many households as were required to meet the quota were selected from each category. This decision was made after a pilot survey had found that only 50 per cent of addresses yielded completed interviews. Nearly all of the 2000 addresses on the list were finally required because a similar rate of completion was found in the actual survey. However, this rate was only marginally due to refusals, which amounted to less than 10 per cent of cases where contact was actually made with the household (1). Most of the addresses eliminated were due to change of residence, absence overseas or interstate, or death. Ill-health or old age were major factors among the refusals. Apart from these, the interviewers encountered people who refused to participate because of inter-marriage and were embarrassed to find that their names were available to us. In addition, the sample included a number of people who were active in Jewish community affairs and refused to participate because they did not believe that their anonymity would be preserved.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was intentionally fairly simple to administer, since it was intended to make it possible for the questionnaire to be self-administered if the respondent could not meet the interviewer. The questionnaire contained mainly objective, factual demographic material to avoid the problem of distortion of information so impersonally obtained. The research program intentionally left the more personal, emotionally charged elements of Jewish identity to be covered in group discussions and depth interviews. Certain questions on religious practice, ritual observances, intermarriage, and the definition of a 'Good Jew' which were used by Sklare in his study Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier (2) were, however, incorporated in the questionnaire. This was primarily to enable some cross-cultural comparisons between the Sydney Jewish community and an American Jewish community of longer standing. A copy of the final questionnaire can be found in the Appendix.

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FIELD WORK

It was originally planned, for economy, that the field work for this study would be carried out by Jewish students enrolled in Social Work and Psychology at the University of New South Wales, Kensington. These students expressed interest in interviewing, both from the point of gaining professional experience and because of interest in the subject of the survey as Jews. The students all had previous interviewing experience but were given thorough briefing in relation to the present survey. However, only 320 out of the survey quota of 1000 completed interviews were obtained in the interviewing period of May/June, 1970. It then became necessary to enlist the services of a professional team of interviewers. Mrs. Susan Koenig generously agreed to supervise completion of the field work by her staff at minimum commercial rates. These additional 700 completed interviews were obtained in October and November of 1970.

In both time segments of interviewing, the interviewers were instructed to interview either the male or female head of household as long as that person was Jewish. Any respondent, for the purposes of our field work, who considered himself to be Jewish was accepted as being Jewish. It was decided that all interviewers should be Jewish to increase the degree of rapport between the respondents and their interviewers, vital in a survey of this type. It is interesting to note respondent reactions when being asked to participate in the survey. Very few respondents either queried how we obtained their names or how we knew they were Jewish. They seemed to accept their Jewishness as a self-evident fact, a sixth sense that one Jewish person has for another. We did, however, have one respondent who was shocked that we had this information about him. In his words, 'only my very close friends know that I'm Jewish'. Our interviewers also encountered several non-Jews with pro-Israeli sentiments who would have been happy to participate in our survey and regretted that they did not meet our sample requirements.

Interviews met a degree of resistance from some respondents. A number of persons agreed to participate in the survey and made definite appointments either to leave a completed questionnaire in a designated spot to be picked up, or to be interviewed at another time. Interviewers made repeated calls to these homes and were told the questionnaire still was not filled out. A number of respondents could not believe that they would remain anonymous. They felt that just by giving their past demographic history they would be readily identifiable. The concept of quantitative impersonal data fed into a computer had little meaning to them. Another research concept many respondents did not fully understand was the random selection of the sample. This was reflected in their queries as to the validity of our sample when they knew of persons who were not interviewed.

The intermarriage conflict questions asked in our survey aroused the most intense emotional reaction of any of the information obtained in the questionnaire. Many people simply refused to consider the choices posed to them. These and other reactions can be seen in some of the comments made on the back of the questionnaires :

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'It is stated that this questionnaire is strictly confidential and the results will be totally anonymous. On the contrary, by giving all the information that is required, members of the Jewish Community can be very easily identified. This I would not object to normally, but when you ask for names (i.e. children's names)(3) these together with our nationality and profession do in fact clearly identify us'.

'.....I refused to answer any question about friends.....I never counted them.....'.

'I would not choose the husband for our child. I certainly do not care if he is a Jew or a non-Jew....'.

'I think the last three questions (about intermarriages are stupid, and that it's wrong to ask people to make such choices - in fact I nearly didn't do the whole thing because they annoyed me so'.

'Questions seem to cover all aspects and show how much we have left our religion - it makes me cry'.

'I feel we were not a happy choice for you, being absolutely non-religious and believing that all people are equal'.

'If you have any more questionnaires for us, don't call us, we'll call you'.

'I think most of the questions extremely good but trying to assess the future is practically impossible'.

'It is a worthwhile survey conducted in a very fair way'.

'I think what you are doing is very essential and gratifying that people take so much interest'.

Other reactions hinged on particular questions. Some respondents thought the questionnaire was too short and did not probe attitudes sufficiently. Others found it intrusive in a variety of ways, e.g. several respondents made personal representations complaining about questions concerning their political allegiance. Another criticism was that there should be more questions about the Jewish press, or alternatively that we should have surveyed all readers of the Jewish press.

The interview procedure itself was clearly indicative of the complexities of the Jewish situation. A number of individual respondents were at pains to make it clear that our approach had discomfited them. One man telephoned to say that he was reluctant to answer the questionnaire, but had agreed to do so under pressure from his son, who was a student at the University of New South Wales. Another was disturbed about disclosing private information to a student interviewer. Another was uneasy that a document containing such personal questions had been left in

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his absence and might have fallen into the 'wrong' hands. The most remarkable reaction came from a Jewish professional man who wrote, on his own notepaper, that he was at a loss to understand how we had information about him which was unknown to all but his most intimate associates, especially as he had never belonged to any Jewish organization or congregation or donated to any Jewish cause. He was particularly insistent that we should explain how we came to have his (unlisted) private telephone number. In reply, we explained the sources of our information and the sampling procedure, and assured him that he must at some time have given his address and phone number to an appeal collector, probably at the time of the 1967 emergency appeal. The information was apparently satisfactory to our correspondent, who wrote and thanked us for our reply. It would be interesting to know how many other Jews who responded to an appeal for funds at the time of the 1967 emergency had 'forgotten' their actions. Even a small percentage of the 1800 householders who contributed in 1967 but not since then would represent a significant number of people.

A further example of the complexity of the Jewish situation arises in the case of the medical practitioner who insisted that he was not Jewish, but then proceeded to discuss the subject in a mixture of English and Yiddish. He declared that he was pro-Semitic, that he attended synagogue, and that he had been a personal friend of the late Dr Fanny Reading, founder of the National Council of Jewish Women. Another doctor telephoned to say that he would not fill in the questions relating to the education of his children because he was sure the information would not remain confidential. As he did not wish to return an incomplete questionnaire, he would prefer not to participate at all, and asked that we 'call our interviewers off'.

The closing remark may be left to the respondent who declared that the whole survey was a waste of time because Jews could not be trusted to answer the questions truthfully. 'You don't', he asserted, 'know the Jewish community the way I do'.

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REFERENCES

1. ___ This figure is consistent with experience in commercial market surveys.
2. ___ M. Sklare and J. Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, New York, 1967, pp. 50, 90, 225, 306-307, 315, 323.
3. ___ Children's names were obtained purely to be a check when coding information about them to make sure the same person was not counted more than once.

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CHAPTER 5

SURVEY RESULTS - I

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF N.S.W. JEWRY

The survey questionnaire was completed by 1020 householders of whom 458 were male and 562 were female. These numbers were further increased as more than half the questions posed required answers from both respondents and their spouses. In addition, some demographic information was sought on the children of the respondents. Thus, the total number of persons involved in the survey was 3,615.

TABLE 5.1

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

	<u>Respondents</u>		<u>Respondents plus spouses</u>		<u>Children</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
<u>Male</u>	458	4.9	867	47.7	909	50.6
<u>Female</u>	<u>562</u>	<u>55.1</u>	<u>952</u>	<u>52.3</u>	<u>887</u>	<u>49.4</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>1020</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>1819</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>1796</u>	<u>100.0</u>

In the categories of both 'respondents plus spouses' and 'children' the percentages accord well with the 1966 census figures, where the N.S.W. Jewish population comprised 48.7 per cent males and 51.3 per cent females. However, as pointed out in chapter 4, our sample is probably more representative of the Jewish community than the census, whose data are based on the optional question concerning religion. It is apparent from interviews that refugees from anti-Semitism are reluctant to declare their religion to a government census collector; also, some of our respondents were willing to identify themselves as Jews to the interviewers, but were surprised that we knew their origins, which they had presumably not confided to the census.

The respondents' age groups (asked for in five-year periods) were compressed into ten-year cohorts to accord with historical periods. In 1970, 20-29 year olds were war-time or post-war babies; 30-39 were 1930's (including depression) births; 40-49 were born during the 1920s; 50-59 were born in the World War I decade; and the 60s and over were all born in 1910 or earlier. A breakdown of respondents into these age cohorts follows.

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TABLE 5.2

AGES OF RESPONDENTS

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>	
		<u>Survey sample</u>	<u>1966 Census</u>
20-29	44	4.3	14.5
30-39	123	12.1	13.8
40-49	257	25.2	22.1
50-59	281	27.6	23.5
60 and over	<u>313</u>	<u>30.7</u>	<u>26.1</u>
	1018*	99.9	100.00

* Two respondents did not give their age.

It is difficult to compare our age profile with that of the 1966 census, as the lapse of four years between census taking and the distribution of our questionnaire has resulted in an unknown degree of upward movement between age groups. In general terms, our survey sample is biased towards persons aged 40 and over. This is the natural consequence of choosing a sample based on householders.

MARITAL STATUS

The emphasis on householders also accounts for the small number of single people in the survey.

TABLE 5.3

MARITAL STATUS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Single	32	3.0
Married	794	78.1
Widowed	163	15.9
Divorced	24	2.5
Separated	<u>5</u>	<u>0.5</u>
	<u>1018*</u>	<u>100.0</u>

* Two did not reply.

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The census data, as published, give information only on marital status as such. The survey enabled us to provide a more detailed breakdown which relates marital status to age and sex (Table I). As men marry later, on the average, than women, we would expect to find more single males than females in the youngest age group. What is surprising is that this imbalance persists in every age group. As the census shows an excess of females over males in every age group except 50-59, this means that the percentage of single men among males as a whole is significantly greater than the percentage of women who stay single. Percentages of divorced or separated persons are also generally higher for women than for men.

The most striking information concerns widowhood. Although the relatively large number of elderly widows in the Jewish community is well known, what is less obvious is that this disproportion is already marked among middle-aged people. Of females in the 40-49 age group, 7.8 per cent were widows; in the 50-59 age group, this leaps to 21.3 per cent; and leaps again to 52.9 per cent among women over 60. By contrast, the proportion of widowers among men only becomes significant over the age of 60, and even then it was no more than 20.3 per cent of our sample. The significance of these figures becomes apparent when we relate them to 1966 census data on the N.S.W. Jewish community. If we omit women under 20, it may be computed that 71.8 per cent of adult women were over 40, and 27.9 per cent over 60. According to the census, there were 1847 widows and 334 widowers in 1966, and similar figures may be computed from our sample. Hence, we can estimate that in 1966 there were 1439 Jewish widows aged 60 or over.

ETHNIC ORIGINS

As pointed out in Chapter 3, with the reduction of Jewish immigration to Australia in the 1960s, the N.S.W. community can be expected to increase steadily its proportion of those born in Australia. However, to date the majority of the children born to post-war migrants are still less than 20 years old and as a result our respondents are under-represented in this category. If allowance is made for the under-representation of Australian-born in the sample (hence inflating the percentages in other categories), then the results of our survey are generally consistent with the findings of the 1966 census, allowing for some change over time (see Table II).

Of particular interest is the proportion of Polish and Hungarian Jews in the sample. Whereas the census collects information relating solely to the ethnic origins of the existing population, the survey questionnaire also inquired about the national origins of parents and grandparents of the respondents. Local mythology, supported to some extent by census data, asserts that the N.S.W. Jewish community has been recruited predominantly from Central Europe (especially Germany and Austria), whereas the Jewish community in Victoria reflects a predominant origin in Eastern Europe (especially Poland and Lithuania). As Price has observed, German migration to Victoria was more marked than to N.S.W. until 1933. The influx of German and Austrian refugees since then has masked the continuing large contribution of Eastern Europe to the Sydney Jewish community. Not only are the percentages of respondents and their spouses born in Poland and Hungary much greater than for those born in any other overseas country, but these percentages increase in the parents' and grandparents' generations, which means among other things that the number of Australian-born Jews whose

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parents came from Poland (and to a lesser extent from Hungary) is higher than the census figures would lead us to expect. If Jews of German origin are more prominent in Sydney than in Melbourne, the reasons are social rather than demographic.

NATURALIZATION

We asked those respondents and their spouses who were born overseas whether they had been naturalized, and if so, in which year. Excluding British subjects, who did not need to be naturalized, 609 men and 625 women replied, of whom only 16 (2.6) and 18 (2.9) respectively had not been naturalized. This is an outstandingly high rate of naturalization and doubtless reflects the high degree of statelessness and/or repugnance towards returning to their country of origin of the immediate pre-war and post-war immigrants.

Of those men and women who had become naturalized, the following breakdown shows, by decades, when naturalization occurred (1) :

TABLE 5.4

NATURALIZATION

<u>Decade</u>	<u>Husband</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Wife</u> <u>%</u>
1930s or earlier	4.8	3.8
1940s	24.3	25.1
1950s	45.9	43.2
1960s	<u>25.0</u>	<u>27.9</u>
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The strong implications here that the majority of our sample arrived after World War II is further supported by the following table on length of time in Australia.

TABLE 5.5

NATURALIZATION BY LENGTH OF STAY

<u>Length of time in Australia</u>	<u>Husband</u> (n = 722) <u>%</u>	<u>Wife</u> (n = 764) <u>%</u>
5 years or less	2.5)	2.6)
6 - 15 years	22.3) 72.3	23.3) 73.2
16 - 25 years	47.5)	47.3
26 - 35 years	20.2	19.6
More than 35 years	<u>7.5</u>	<u>7.2</u>
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

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It is also of interest to note that immigration continues - albeit at a greatly decreased rate - and that 2.5 per cent of our sample had been in Australia for five years or less.

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION

Those participating in our sample were asked to state their first suburb of residence in Australia (if born overseas), where they lived five years ago and where they are at present living. Our aim was to trace patterns of residential movement. As can be seen in Table III, there are no real fluctuations. Those areas which were already well established as Jewish communities continued to attract more residents and those which had been losing their attraction as residential areas continued to lose residents. These figures very accurately reflect a continuation of the pattern established by a study of the census figures between 1933 and 1966 (see Chapter 3). Our more recent 1970 analysis shows that the largest percentage increase is taking place in the eastern suburbs and the outer North Shore. Unfortunately, we cannot give a detailed age breakdown of the various areas of Jewish residence. Although our sample of 11 per cent is a large one for most purposes, it does not permit statistically significant cross-tabulations of residential areas.

We also asked our respondents where they expected to be living in five years' time. Unfortunately the results were not very informative. Only 83 people specified an area where they expected to be living - twelve said overseas; eleven inner North; seven outer North; and fifty said eastern suburbs (however, the majority of these fifty were only moving from one part of the eastern suburbs to another).

EDUCATION

The results of the question asked relating to the standards of secular education reached by our sample, are as follows :

TABLE 5.6

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY SEX

	<u>Husband</u> (n = 855)	<u>Wife</u> (n = 920)
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
University	27.9	7.9
Other tertiary	12.3	12.7
Leaving Certificate level	15.3	19.9
Intermediate certificate	9.0	14.3
Attended Secondary	29.4	36.5
Attended Primary	3.9	4.5
Never attended school	0.6	1.5
Schooling not stated	<u>1.6</u>	<u>2.6</u>
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.9</u>

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The most remarkable thing about the above table is the large discrepancy between the figure of 27.9 per cent of males claiming to have a university education and the census figure of 9.1 per cent. The figures for women, on the other hand, are much closer together, and 7.9 per cent may be more accurate than the census figure of 2.6 per cent. This is an area where responses are loaded with emotional and ideological factors. The census figure may be deflated because many immigrants interpreted the questions to refer only to educational qualifications gained in Australia. The concept of a 'degree' varies greatly between European countries and the English-speaking world. Immigration officials dealing with migrants have frequently commented on the tendency to overstate educational qualifications. Given the high value placed on education within the Jewish community, it is also likely that respondents were actuated by a desire to raise their status in the eyes of the interviewers.

Taking all these factors into account, it is likely that a realistic figure for university graduates among Jewish males would be in the vicinity of 15 per cent at the time of the survey, especially if higher education is linked with the occupational breakdown given in Table 6.7 below.

OCCUPATION

In the question on occupation, we used the occupation of the first two family members, i.e. a working man and wife took first priority; if the wife did not work, then a working son or a working daughter was substituted. In the case of a single person, or a widow or widower etc. without working children, the household was represented by only one family member.

TABLE 5.7
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

<u>Occupation*</u>	<u>Husband</u> (n=858) <u>%</u>	<u>Wife</u> (n=403) <u>%</u>	<u>Son</u> (n=87) <u>%</u>	<u>Daughter</u> (n=35) <u>%</u>
Professional, Technical	20.2	14.7	32.2	31.4
Administrative, Executive, Managerial	35.5	18.2	26.4	20.0
Clerical	4.3	22.6	13.8	34.5
Sales Workers	18.6	21.1	14.9	11.4
Transport and Communications	0.8	0.2	3.4	-
Craftsmen, Production Workers	10.1	10.2	6.9	-
Service, Sport, Recreation, Armed Services	2.0	3.0	2.3	2.9
Occupation not stated	0.6	0.4	-	-
Retired	<u>7.8</u>	<u>9.5</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
	<u>99.9</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>

* Categories were those used in the 1966 census.

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Compared with the 1966 census there is an increase in the percentage of husbands and wives engaged in Professional, Administrative and Sales occupations and a drop in all other categories. However, the pattern accords well with the census and it may be that more people have improved their employment position since the census. Difficulties of interpretation are also relevant, in which case the survey is probably more accurate.

Whilst the sample of sons and daughters is small, it is of interest to note that the Professional and Clerical categories show the greatest differences from those of their parents - in each instance the percentage has increased. It seems reasonable to assume that the Professional category has increased because more of the younger generation are getting a tertiary education; and that the Clerical category is larger because the younger age groups are only at the beginning of their employment career. For those respondents and their spouses born overseas, a comparison was also made between their overseas employment and their present employment.

TABLE 5.8

OCCUPATIONS IN AUSTRALIA AND OVERSEAS

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>In Country of Origin</u>		<u>In N.S.W.</u>	
	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
	(n=508) %	(n=230) %	(n=508) %	(n=230) %
Professional, Technical	23.8	22.4	13.4	15.1
Administrative, Executive, Managerial	22.2	7.5	32.5	18.3
Clerical	5.9	35.5	6.6	18.8
Sales Workers	21.8	12.7	19.4	22.0
Transport and Communications	0.8	-	0.8	1.1
Craftsmen, Production Workers	21.3	17.1	13.6	9.1
Service, Sport, Recreation, Armed Services	3.9	-	2.8	2.7
Occupation not stated	0.2	4.4	0.6	0.5
Retired	-	0.4	10.2	12.4
	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0

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For men, as might be expected, there has been a notable change of employment status, with the professional group experiencing the greatest disadvantage. (As with education, descriptions of previous occupational status are open to some doubt). Everyday observation provides numerous examples of former professionals who have gone into business, thus swelling the ranks of the 'administrative, executive, and managerial' group. It is particularly interesting to note how many women have moved into this category. Although the distribution of pre-retirement occupations among the relatively large group of retired people is unknown, it is unlikely to change the general picture significantly.

FERTILITY

Lacking substantial immigration, the numerical stability of the community depends largely on fertility. We predicted on the basis of the 1966 census figures and the results of overseas studies (see Chapter 3) that the N.S.W. Jewish community would show increased fertility in the younger child-bearing age groups.

Our survey results confirmed this prediction (see Table IV). The 25-29 year old respondents already show fertility equal to or greater than any age group over fifty years, and the 30-34 year olds - still in their main child-bearing years - have a fertility rate of 2.64, which can be expected to increase further. As long as this pattern continues, in combination with a decline in childlessness in the younger age groups, the N.S.W. Jewish community should more than replace itself in the future.

This conclusion may be checked by examining actual numbers of children. There were 134 children in the 0-4 age group in our survey, representing 3.8 per cent of the sample population of 3615, compared with 5 per cent at the 1966 census and 5.2 per cent in 1971. However, whereas 14.5 per cent of the N.S.W. Jewish population at the 1966 census were aged 20-29, only 4.3 per cent of our respondents were in this age group. By compensating for this sampling deficiency in an important child-bearing age group, we can estimate the probable number of children who would be found if our sample were representative of the age structure of the community. At a conservative estimate, this would give a figure of 6 per cent of the sample population, i.e. significantly higher than the figure suggested by the census results.

This conclusion is consistent with the fertility trends shown in Table IV, and supports the argument in chapter 3 that gloomy prognoses about the demographic extinction of the Jewish community are not borne out by the evidence. Our survey suggests that the census figures, although they show the same general tendency, understate the increase in fertility in the age groups below 40. There are probably two reasons for this difference. In the first place, a lapse of four years with a trend towards rising fertility, would naturally produce an increase in the number of children. Secondly, our sampling procedure has uncovered a slightly different Jewish community than the one which appears in the census returns, among whom the trends already evident in successive censuses are even more marked.

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CHILDREN OF RESPONDENTS

Our respondents had a total of 1796 children : 909 males and 887 females. We were particularly interested in looking at future educational trends and asked respondents whether they are sending or will send their children to a Jewish Day School and/or to a private secondary school. We also asked whether they had children who had attended or were still attending university - we did not ask them to anticipate university attendance for their children, because of the external factors that would affect such a decision.

All living children of our respondents are included in the demographic data, regardless of age. This was done to give an accurate profile of the changing proportions of children born in Australasia. Our main interest, however, was in children under 17, who could have passed through the Jewish educational system in recent years, or be about to do so. Our survey sample approximates the age distribution given by the report of the Board of Deputies' commission on education in 1970, quoting the 1966 census results.

TABLE 5.9

SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN

<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>1970 Survey</u>		<u>1966 Census</u>	
	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>%</u>
3 - 5	86	12.4	858	15.9
6 - 12	329	47.5	2482	46.1
13 - 17	<u>278</u>	<u>40.1</u>	<u>2049</u>	<u>38.0</u>
	<u>693</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>5389</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The age breakdown in this table distinguishes the kindergarten age group, and divides the rest around the age of Bar-Mitzvah. For reasons already explained, the kindergarten age group is under-represented in our sample, and if a correction were applied it would, as before, show a larger percentage at this level than the census indicates.

The next table shows the educational patterns, actual or intended, of the children of respondents.

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TABLE 5.10

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

Age of Children	Number of Children	<u>%</u> Born in Australia	<u>%</u> Attends or will attend Jewish Day School	<u>%</u> Attends or will attend Private Secondary School	<u>%</u> Attends or has attended University
<u>SONS</u>					
Under 6 years	86	98.8	56.7	51.2	-
6 - 12 years	166	90.4	37.4	41.6	-
13 - 17 years	137	78.8	16.8	29.9	-
18 - 22 years	170	60.0	21.2	17.1	56.5
23 - 26 years	117	47.0	12.8	18.8	55.6
27 and over	<u>233</u>	<u>39.9</u>	<u>24.9</u>	<u>28.3</u>	<u>38.6</u>
<u>Total</u>	909				
<u>DAUGHTERS</u>					
Under 6 years	81	98.8	35.8	33.3	-
6 - 12 years	163	88.9	29.3	33.7	-
13 - 17 years	141	82.3	18.4	30.5	-
18 - 22 years	148	63.5	13.5	20.9	47.3
23 - 26 years	117	40.2	19.7	14.5	42.7
27 and over	<u>237</u>	<u>36.3</u>	<u>19.8</u>	<u>19.0</u>	<u>25.7</u>
<u>Total</u>	887				

It is interesting to note the progressive increase in the percentage of children who are Australian born, culminating in 98.8 per cent of the youngest group. This pattern was to be expected, particularly in view of the reduction in immigration.

There has been an obvious and substantial increase in the number of our respondents who are sending or intend to send their children both to Jewish Day Schools and to private secondary Schools. Allowances must be made for the element of 'intention', i.e. although parents may intend to send their children to Jewish Day School, other factors may subsequently arise to prevent this intention being put into practice. According to the 1970 education report, 936 children were actually attending Jewish Day Schools at all levels, i.e. 17 per cent of all children aged from 3 to 17 years. This points to a considerable factor of overstatement in the

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answers of our respondents. However, the situation is more complex than this simple comparison of percentages would suggest. According to the education report, 43 per cent of children in the kindergarten age group are attending Jewish kindergartens, which is consistent with the survey data. Discrepancies are much more marked at the higher age levels. In 1970, enrolments at the primary school level amounted to 19.7 per cent of the 6-11 age group, and secondary enrolments to 6.4 per cent of 12-17 age group (2). Even allowing for a high degree of intention which does not lead to action, and allowing also for an element of overstatement in the interview situation, it seems safe to conclude the Jewish Day School enrolments at primary and secondary levels could increase substantially if facilities were available. This is borne out by a later survey conducted by the Board of Deputies in 1977, described in chapter 8.

Additional substance is given to this view when intentions are broken down by age.

TABLE 5.11

EDUCATIONAL INTENTIONS BY AGE OF PARENTS (1)

Respondents' Age	Percentage of Children who do or will attend Jewish Day School	
	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>
20 - 29	71.9	50.0
30 - 39	35.7	29.4
40 - 49	20.4	19.5
50 - 59	20.2	17.2
60 and over	24.4	18.9

With the exception of respondents over 60 years, the intention of sending children to a Jewish Day School increases consistently with the youthfulness of the parents. It is also interesting to notice that the question is treated as more important for sons than daughters by every age group. Although the discrepancy is consistent with Jewish tradition, it is paradoxical in view of the usual attitudes towards the dangers of intermarriage.

The same pattern emerges when an analysis of age of respondents is related to whether or not they are sending or intend to send their children to a private secondary school.

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TABLE 5.12

EDUCATIONAL INTENTIONS BY AGE OF PARENTS (2)

<u>Respondents' Age</u>	<u>Percentage of Children who do or will attend a private secondary school</u>	
	<u>Sons</u>	<u>Daughters</u>
20 - 29	43.8	18.2
30 - 39	38.5	41.2
40 - 49	28.5	22.1
50 - 59	28.3	26.0
60 and over	26.7	15.7

Once again it is obviously not considered as important for daughters as for sons to have a private school education. However, even allowing for some loss of 'intention', there is evidently a trend towards sending children to private rather than to State schools.

The percentage of sons and daughters over 18 who go to university and have attended university is quite startling. As the questionnaire only asked for an answer to this question if the children were actually attending university (and not if they intended to go to university) the figures should be realistic. On the other hand, not all persons going to university will actually complete their courses. According to a detailed study of students at all Australian universities for the period 1961-67, 32 per cent of full-time entrants, and 38 per cent of part-time entrants did not graduate (3). This corresponds with the figures given in Table 5.10, i.e. a figure of 56.5 per cent in the 18-22 age group (men) would shrink to a figure of 37 per cent ultimately graduating; the figure actually given in Table 5.10 for those aged 27 and over is 38.6 per cent. Among women, the proportion is likely to rise above the survey figure of 25.7 per cent among those aged 27 and over, mainly because of the sharper increase in the numbers attending university, but partly because women in general appear to have higher graduation rates than men in general (4). This represents a dramatic rise from the 1966 census figure of 5.8 per cent, which was influenced by the much lower incidence of university education among people over 40 and by the much smaller proportion of women attending university. Jews have responded to general trends in the community, where the number of people attending university has risen from 2 per cent of the 17-22 age group in 1939 to more than 7 per cent at the end of the 1960s, and the numbers of women completing secondary school and continuing at the tertiary level have risen more than proportionately, although they are still well behind the men. As usual, the Jewish responses is more rapid and more dramatic. Tertiary education rates are not yet as high as in the United States, but the movement between generations has been faster. In future, social patterns within the Jewish community of N.S.W. will be increasingly influenced by the attitudes of university-educated people.

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REFERENCES

1. ___ Immigrants were eligible for naturalization after a minimum of five years' residence at the time of the survey. The residential qualifying period has now been reduced to three years. Those naturalized in the 1940s were likely to have arrived in Australia in the immediate pre-war years.
2. ___ Report of Board of Deputies on Jewish Education, Sydney, 1970, pp. 11 - 13, 27.
3. ___ The 1961 Study. Department of Education and Science, Canberra, 1971, p.9.
4. ___ Ibid., p.16.

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CHAPTER 6

SURVEY RESULTS: II

ATTITUDES, OBSERVANCES AND IDENTIFICATION

In addition to demographic information, we were concerned with attitudes, voting patterns, organizational and friendship networks, and in the case of Jewry, the degree and extent of sacramentalism in the lives of its members. Our survey contained a number of questions intended to explore these areas.

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP AND FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS

Those taking part in our survey were asked to list separately the Jewish and the non-Jewish organizations of which they were members. We coded the first four organizations in each group (Jewish and non-Jewish), although not many participants belonged to more than four and a considerable number were not members of any organization. Altogether, 402 men and 533 women belonged to one or more Jewish organization, and 390 men and 275 women belonged to one or more non-Jewish organization.

TABLE 6.1

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

<u>Memberships</u>	<u>Jewish</u>		<u>Non-Jewish</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
One Organization	402	533	390	275
Two Organizations	177	225	214	106
Three Organizations	93	96	123	42
Four Organizations	50	41	61	12
Total memberships involved	722	895	788	435

Membership of Jewish organizations is greater for both sexes than membership of non-Jewish bodies, but men have a greater total membership of non-Jewish organizations.

It was impractical to list all of the many and varied associations separately, so for convenience they have been grouped into nine categories which should be self-explanatory. The number of memberships in any one of the nine categories were percentaged as a total of all memberships - e.g. the number of memberships in the male Jewish Brotherhood category were calculated as a proportion of the 722 total male memberships of all Jewish organizations.

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TABLE 6.2

CATEGORIES OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

<u>Type of Association</u>	<u>Jewish</u>		<u>Non-Jewish</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Political/Community	25.9	27.7	6.2	6.7
Brotherhood	19.5	9.8	7.7	0.5
Social	1.5	2.1	34.3	25.1
Welfare	23.0	48.9	1.9	7.6
Sporting	8.9	0.6	20.7	17.2
Educational	8.9	3.8	2.2	2.8
Business and Professional	3.2	0.1	18.5	8.9
Youth serving	5.3	4.6	6.6	25.7
Cultural	3.8	2.3	1.9	5.7
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

For Jewish organizations, the categories with the largest membership are Political/Community and Welfare for both men and women. The patterns of membership for non-Jewish associations are quite different. In order of importance they are Social, Sporting, Business and Professional (for men), and Youth serving, Social, and Sporting (for women). The high percentage of membership in the Social category reflects the popularity of licensed clubs such as ex-servicemen's clubs and Leagues' clubs in New South Wales (1), the numbers in the 'Youth serving' category reflect participation by mothers of school age children who were active in bodies such as the Parents and Citizens' Association.

We also looked at the friendship patterns of our respondents and their spouses, seeking information on non-Jewish friends they had made through business or social contacts, and the extent to which they had intimate friends who were non-Jewish.

TABLE 6.3

FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS

<u>Non-Jewish Friends</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>Most</u>	<u>About Half</u>	<u>Few</u>	<u>None</u>	
Via business contacts (n=956)	3.5	18.9	20.5	36.1	21.0	100
Via social contacts (n=1007)	0.7	5.3	22.0	50.8	21.2	100
Husbands' intimate friends (n=859)	1.0	4.3	13.7	35.3	45.6	100
Wives' intimate friends (n=943)	1.1	4.0	14.4	34.5	46.0	100

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It is obvious that those in our sample were much more prepared to make friends through business contacts (and hence, possibly on a more superficial level) than in other areas. With the exception of friends made through business contacts, there is a consistently low percentage of those whose friends are all or mostly non-Jewish (between 5 and 6 per cent) and a correspondingly high proportion (between 72 and 81 per cent) who have few or no friends who are not Jewish. This, in spite of the fact that a substantial proportion of those involved in the survey were members of non-Jewish social and sports clubs.

It may be that the predominantly migrant status of the community militates against friendships being easily made - particularly intimate friendships - and we therefore examined the intimate friendship patterns of our respondents related to their age groups.

TABLE 6.4

INTIMATE NON-JEWISH FRIENDS BY AGE GROUP

<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>Most</u>	<u>About Half</u>	<u>Few</u>	<u>None</u>	
20 - 29 (n = 42)	0.0	7.1	16.7	71.4	4.8	100
30 - 39 (n = 123)	2.4	7.3	22.0	58.5	9.8	100
40 - 49 (n = 253)	0.4	5.1	23.9	51.8	18.8	100
50 - 59 (n = 278)	0.4	6.1	24.1	48.2	21.2	100
60 and over (n = 307)	0.6	3.6	19.5	46.3	30.0	100

This table reveals predictable differences between the younger and older age groups, and also a modification of the extremes of relationships with non-Jews in the younger cohorts. Thus a higher percentage of respondents under 40 years than those over 40 years have 'all' or 'most' of their intimate friendships with non-Jews (though the percentages are still small - 7 - 9% as against 4 - 6%). In contrast with this, few of those under 40 have no intimate non-Jewish friends at all, but a very much higher percentage than the over 40s have a few friends who come into this category. Thus, although the total percentages in the 'few' and 'none' groups have changed little (68-76% in the under 40s and 69 - 76% in the over 40s) there has been a considerable swing from the 'none' to the 'few' category.

An examination of intimate friendship patterns by residential area, and by secular education of respondents and their spouse (see Table V), highlights two additional tendencies. Although the numbers involved in some areas are small, there is a correlation between the density of Jewish residential concentration and the proportion of non-Jewish friends. Thus, of those who live in the eastern suburbs (where 60% of the total N.S.W. Jewish population resides), almost 90% have few or no intimate friends among non-Jews, compared with only 2% whose intimate friends are all, or mostly, non-Jewish. However, in the outer northern suburbs (where 9% of the population reside), these proportions are 60% and 12.6% respectively.

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Although there is some association between education and friendship patterns, it is not a straightforward one. It would be reasonable to expect that those with the highest level of education (i.e. university graduates) would have the most non-Jewish friends. In fact, those with an Intermediate Certificate standard had the highest proportion of intimate friends who were non-Jewish (9.2% of the men and 10.0% of the women). They were followed by those with 'other tertiary' (i.e. non-university) qualifications. The influence of education in this sphere is probably offset by occupational factors, e.g. the nature of social interaction in the business world (where many of those with secondary education would be working). At the other end of the spectrum, education appears to have little relevance, i.e. it does not discriminate between those who had few or no intimate non-Jewish friends. Migrant status and religious orthodoxy are probably more important at this level than education.

Summarizing, there is a consistent pattern of preference for other Jews as intimate friends. Between 70 and 80 per cent of our respondents, at all ages, either had no intimate non-Jewish friends or only a few. There is more variation, associated with age, education, and residence, among those who said that all or most of their friends were non-Jewish.

VOTING PATTERNS

Our respondents and their spouses were asked to name the political parties for which they voted in the last State (March 1968) and the last Federal (November 1969) elections. We considered this to be an optional question and if respondents did not want to reply we did not press them to do so. Approximately 73 per cent of men and 74% of women did answer the question.

TABLE 6.5

POLITICAL ALLEGIANCE

<u>Political Parties</u>	<u>Male</u>		<u>Female</u>	
	<u>State</u> (n=628)	<u>Federal</u> (n=631)	<u>State</u> (n=704)	<u>Federal</u> (n=705)
Liberal	53.2	53.2	57.1	57.4
Australian Labor Party	40.0	40.4	37.4	37.7
Democratic Labor Party	0.6	1.0	0.3	0.4
Australia Party	-	0.8	0.4	0.8
Other	2.7	2.1	2.1	1.8
Could not vote	<u>3.5</u>	<u>2.4</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>1.8</u>
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>99.9</u>

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We also asked those participating if they had ever voted for another political party (other than those already recorded) and if so, which party. Of the 135 men who said they had at some time voted for another political party, 34.8% had voted Liberal and 56.3% had voted Labor; of the 131 women who had voted differently, 33.6% had voted Liberal and 54.2% had voted Labor. The numbers voting for any of the smaller parties were so divided as to be insignificant.

It could be argued that the voting preferences of those who refused to answer this question might have changed the voting pattern. However, additional analysis of voting behaviour by educational standard and by area of residence would seem to disprove this. (See Tables VI, VII, and VIIa). With only a couple of exceptions (2), there is a consistent pattern of preference for the Liberal Party among both males and females, irrespective of standard of education or area of residence.

Generally speaking, therefore, the majority preference among Jewish voters is for the Liberal Party. This is not surprising, since Jews are largely middle-class or upper-middle class in their social position. Australian political surveys regularly show that approximately two-thirds of voters in these groups support the Liberal Party. In other words, the Jewish preference for the Liberal Party is rather less marked than among the population as a whole, and also represents a trend away from an earlier situation where the proportion of Liberal and Labor voters was almost equal. Medding has compared the Australian results with the phenomenon of 'ethnic voting preference' (EVP) which has been extensively explored in the United States, and concludes that EVP is still relevant to the political profile of the Australian Jewish community (3).

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION, AFFILIATION AND PRACTICES

'Jewish tradition teaches that Jews are a group only by virtue of their having embraced the Torah, and thus religion is conceived of as the keystone of group identity' (4). Whether or not there is agreement about the assumptions inherent in this statement, no study of a Jewish community could be made without consideration of the religious fabric of its being.

The most overt act of religious affiliation is synagogue attendance and we found that two-thirds of our respondents were members of a synagogue. We analysed synagogue membership by age groups to see whether any variation emerged, particularly as younger couples, less financially secure, might feel unable to afford the fees involved. In fact, the youngest age group had the higher percentage synagogue membership.

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TABLE 6.6

SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP (1)

<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>Membership of a Synagogue</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
20 - 29 (n = 44)	79.5	20.5	100
30 - 39 (n = 123)	67.5	32.5	100
40 - 49 (n = 256)	67.5	32.5	100
50 - 59 (n = 280)	69.6	30.4	100
60 and over (n = 313)	59.6	40.4	100

Of those respondents who belonged to a synagogue, we asked to which they belonged and then grouped the answers into four categories : Conservative Orthodox (5), Traditional Orthodox, Liberal and Sephardic. Membership was also analysed by age group.

TABLE 6.7

SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP (2)

<u>Synagogue Membership</u>	<u>Conservative Orthodox</u>	<u>Traditional Orthodox</u>	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>Sephardic</u>	
Percentage of respondents in each category (n=673)	54.1	25.1	17.7	3.1	100
<u>Membership by age groups</u>					
20 - 29 (n = 35)	68.6	17.1	14.3	0.0	100
30 - 39 (n = 84)	54.8	23.8	17.8	3.6	100
40 - 49 (n = 172)	45.9	26.2	20.9	7.0	100
50 - 59 (n = 195)	53.5	28.7	15.4	2.6	100
60 and over (n = 186)	59.1	22.6	17.7	0.5	100

The Traditional Orthodox, Sephardic and to a less extent Liberal congregations appear to be losing support from the under 40 year olds. Their losses are apparently the gain of Conservative Orthodox congregations.

Perhaps a more realistic indication of religious affiliation than membership is frequency of attendance, and the survey showed that only a relatively small proportion of respondents and their spouses (26% males and 18% females) attended synagogue once a month or more frequently.

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TABLE 6.8

SYNAGOGUE ATTENDANCE

<u>Frequency of Synagogue Attendance</u>	<u>Males</u> (n=855)	<u>Females</u> (n=923)
Once a week or more often	12.3	5.0
At least once a month	13.9	12.4
High holydays	52.7	61.0
Special occasions only (e.g. weddings)	15.4	16.4
Never	<u>5.7</u>	<u>5.2</u>
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

On the other hand 73.8% (men) and 82.6% (women) attend synagogue only on High Holydays or less: over 21% of both men and women attended only for special occasions or not at all.

Sklare and Greenblum in their study of the 'Lakeville' Jewish community compiled a list of eleven practices selected 'from the vast number of regulations constituting the "prepared table" of Jewish sacramentalism' (6). Their respondents were asked which of the observances were practised more or less regularly in their own homes and which of the observances were practised in their parent's home at about the same age. We followed the same formula (7) in our own survey (except for one practice) both because we considered the selection of observances a very useful one and because we thought a comparison between the two communities would be valuable.

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TABLE 6.9

JEWISH RITUAL OBSERVANCE (1)

Practices	Lakeville		N.S.W.	
	Respondents	Parents	Respondents	Parents
	%	%	%	%
Hanukkah				
Light candles	68	60	52	76
Passover				
Seder	60	67	82	90
No bread eaten	22	54	66	84
Yom Kippur				
Fasting	34	60	80	92
Sabbath				
Special dinner Friday night	30	52	55	77
Light candles Friday night	32	47	63	82
Kiddush	16	29	48	72
No smoking	1	19	26	56
Dietary Laws				
No bacon or ham	9	45	54	76
Kosher meat bought regularly	5	46	23	61
Kasher the meat	4	39	(not asked)	
Separate utensils for meat and dairy	(not asked)		22	57

The obvious point that emerges is that the N.S.W. community - both respondents and parents - are much more observant in relation to the practices stipulated than the community in Lakeville. In fact, except for lighting candles on Hanukkah, our respondents are a great deal more observant than the parents of those taking part in the Lakeville study.

An analysis of practices by age groups gives added point to this matter.

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TABLE 6.10

JEWISH RITUAL OBSERVANCE (2)

Practices	Age Group	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and over
Hanukkah						
Light candles		71.4	65.6	58.6	47.3	43.8
Passover						
Seder		90.5	85.2	87.1	81.1	75.3
No bread eaten		76.2	71.9	69.1	64.1	62.5
Yom Kippur						
Fasting		92.9	76.9	82.4	82.2	76.1
Sabbath						
Special dinner Friday night		71.4	55.4	60.2	50.3	50.8
Light candles Friday night		81.0	68.0	65.6	61.2	58.8
Kiddush		73.8	58.7	51.0	43.4	40.9
No smoking		4.8	23.5	23.0	23.4	33.3
Dietary Laws						
No bacon or ham		64.3	55.7	48.8	53.4	57.5
Kosher meat bought		16.7	26.4	18.4	26.3	23.4
Separate utensils for meat and dairy		19.0	24.8	16.4	23.5	23.4

This analysis by age puts the matter in an entirely different perspective. The only observance where the generation under 30 are significantly less conscientious than their elders is that of avoiding smoking on the Sabbath. They are less inclined to buy kosher meat, but this is only a minority practice in every generation. In general, the youngest age group are the most observant.

An additional analysis of practices by the secular education of male and female participants (see Tables VIII and VIIIa) shows a definite and consistent pattern for the university-educated to be considerably less observant than other groups. The effect of education is much less marked at other levels, and more marked among males than females.

To summarize these various aspects of religious affiliation and identification that emerge from our survey, it would appear that those under 40 years of age are in general rather more identified than the older age groups. Although two-thirds of the respondents were synagogue members, the percentage in the youngest age group was higher than in any other, and they tend to prefer Conservative Orthodox synagogues. The youngest group is also the most practising and although our respondents generally are less observant than their parents, they and their parents are significantly more observant than the corresponding generations in the Lakeville study.

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However, there is a pronounced reduction in observance among those who have a university education. As such a high proportion of the children 18 years or over of our respondents are now attending or have attended university, it remains to be seen whether the emergence of a heightened sense of Jewish identity amongst the young will outweigh this tendency for the more educated to be less observant.

Having asked our respondents and their spouses for information in regard to their religious attitudes, affiliations and practices, we then asked them to rate themselves in relation to any religious category and their replies are listed in the next table.

TABLE 6.11
RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

<u>Religious Rating</u>	<u>Husband</u> (n = 863)	<u>Wife</u> (n = 944)
Orthodox	28.0	27.5
Liberal	51.7	53.0
Conservative/Moderate	8.1	7.7
Humanist	1.2	1.2
Atheist	3.8	2.8
Agnostic/non-practising	3.6	3.2
Zionist	0.5	0.4
Other*	2.9	2.3
Christian	0.2	1.9

*(This included such designations as Internationalist, Member of the Human Race etc.)

As this categorization varies so considerably from the analysis of synagogue membership, it seems likely that some respondents answered the question in a more general sense, e.g. that the person was 'liberal' in general attitudes. The response is therefore likely to be more reliable and of more use in the information it gives about the smaller groupings, and it is of some interest to note that Humanists, Atheists, Agnostics, Zionists and others appear to account for approximately ten per cent of the sample.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ISRAEL

As an indication of how strongly members of the community felt towards Israel, we asked those participating to select one of the causes listed to which they would give priority. It is somewhat surprising that there was little difference between the proportions that would give priority to Israeli causes or to Israeli and local Jewish causes equally.

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TABLE 6.12

PREFERENCE FOR JEWISH CAUSES (1)

<u>Causes</u>	<u>Percentage</u> (n = 1014)
Israeli	44.0
Local Jewish causes	11.4
Both equally	43.3
Neither	1.3

When these preferences were analysed by age groups, Israeli causes were rated a little higher than 'both equally' in all age groups except the youngest and the eldest, where the positions were reversed.

TABLE 6.13

PREFERENCE FOR JEWISH CAUSES (2)

<u>Age Groups</u>	<u>Israeli</u>	<u>Local Jewish</u>	<u>Both Equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>
20-29 (n = 44)	34.1	22.7	43.2	-
30-39 (n =123)	43.9	17.1	36.6	2.4
40-49 (n =257)	46.7	10.2	42.7	0.4
50-59 (n =281)	44.1	11.0	43.1	1.8
60 and over (n=313)	42.7	9.1	46.9	1.3

ATTRIBUTES OF A GOOD JEW

As a useful comparison with another Jewish community, we again used a list of attributes and actions compiled by Sklare and Greenblum in their Lakeville study (8). Respondents were asked to consider a list of 22 items and to decide which were essential, desirable, had no bearing or should not be done by a person who, in their opinion, was a good Jew. The results of this comparison are in Table IX. As the analysis is a complex one, only a few comments will be made here. Generally speaking, the Jews of Sydney appear to feel much more strongly about a number of these issues than their counterparts in Lakeville. Marrying within the Jewish faith was regarded as essential by 62.9 per cent of the Sydney sample, compared with 23 per cent of the Lakeville sample. An even more striking case was that of the two questions relating to Israel and Zionism, where support was considered essential in Sydney but not in Lakeville; conversely, 32 per cent of the Lakeville sample thought support for Israel made no difference, compared with only 5.3 per cent of the Sydney sample. In Sydney, 18.9 per cent considered it essential to have mostly Jewish friends, compared with 1 per cent in Lakeville. Only on issues of a general humanitarian character did the respondents in Lakeville score somewhat higher than the Sydney sample.

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INTERMARRIAGE

'The American Jewish community is a kind of fabulous invalid whose death had long ago been predicted by the doctors in attendance but whose ongoing salubrity confounds their predictions It is intermarriage which weights more heavily than all the positive trends combined and which calls into question the "creative survival" ... of the American Jewish community' (9).

As the question of intermarriage has always appeared to be of great concern, we sought through our questionnaire to ascertain just how strongly people felt about intermarriage. Firstly, we asked our respondents whether there was a chance their child would marry a non-Jew, to which 45.1 per cent said yes; 41.2 per cent said no; and the rest either said they did not know or else refused to answer.

We next asked about their feelings on intermarriage and it can be seen from the next table that around 70 per cent of both husbands and wives would be either unhappy or extremely unhappy if their child married out.

TABLE 6.14

INTERMARRIAGE - ATTITUDES

<u>Reaction to Intermarriage</u>	<u>Husband</u> (n=798)	<u>Wife</u> (n=844)
Extremely happy	0.8	0.9
Happy	2.9	2.8
Neither happy nor unhappy	24.7	26.8
Unhappy	27.7	28.0
Extremely unhappy	<u>43.9</u>	<u>41.5</u>
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

When these reactions are cross-tabulated by age groups (see Table XI) it can be seen that in the under 40 year olds there has been a small degree of relaxation of extreme attitudes. Less are either extremely happy or extremely unhappy and rather more are in the middle categories, particularly the Unhappy and Neither Happy nor Unhappy groups.

We then asked our respondents three stress questions : whether they would prefer their child to marry a non-Jew they were in love with or a Jew they weren't in love with; a non-Jew who was a professional or a Jewish tradesman; and a non-religious non-Jew or an Orthodox Jew. It is of some significance that a considerable proportion - around 20% - either refused to answer the question or stated they did not know. The results of those who did reply and their age breakdowns are given in Tables XI and XII.

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The influence of romantic love as a criterion for marriage is shown in the clear preference for a non-Jewish spouse with whom the Jewish partner was in love, which became the minority view only among respondents over 50. Where occupation was the point at issue, there was a clear preference for a Jew of lower occupational status at all age levels, with little variation by age group. Attitudes to religion, on the other hand, are much more confused. Although an Orthodox Jew was generally preferred to a non-religious non-Jew, the margins were much smaller than in the other two cases. Strikingly, there were few people in any age group, on any one of the three issues, who were prepared to contend that the choice was dependent on the person concerned; the highest score in any cell of the table was 5.5 per cent.

It would therefore appear that although there has been some easing of the strength of feeling against intermarriage, it has only been slight, even in the younger age groups.

In view of the fact that census information on intermarriage had shown a continuous decrease between 1933 and 1966 (see Chapter 3), we sought in our survey information that would indicate whether there was a continuation of this downward trend. We therefore asked our respondents whether anyone in the household was not Jewish and if so, who was the non-Jewish member. We also asked whether this person had converted. Of 1007 respondents who replied, 91 households (or 9%) contained one or more persons not Jewish by birth; the number of persons and the specific members of the household who were not Jewish is shown in the next table.

TABLE 6.15

INTERMARRIAGE - NUMBERS

<u>Member of Household</u>	<u>Number of persons</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Husband	27	28.1
Wife	57	59.4
Children	7	7.3
Son-in-law/Daughter-in-law	4	4.2
Other	<u>1</u>	<u>1.0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Of these 96 people, 32 had converted. The religious denominations of those who had not converted are shown in the next table.

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TABLE 6.16

RELIGION OF INTERMARRIED FAMILIES

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Number and Family member</u>				<u>Percentage</u>
	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Others</u>	
Protestant (n = 22)	9	13	-	-	36.7
Catholic (n = 14)	4	9	1	-	23.3
No religion (n = 17)	5	7	4	1	28.3
Other (n = 7)*	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>11.7</u>
	20	34	5	1	100.0
	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>

*Follows Judaism though not converted.

As the Greater Providence study showed a correlation between age groups and the proportion of conversions (10), we analysed the non-Jewish family members by age group and by the proportion in that age group who had converted. (See Table XIII). The numbers involved are small and so the results can only be treated tentatively, but it is of interest to see the same pattern emerging as that in Greater Providence, i.e. the younger the age group the higher the percentage of conversions in intermarriages.

Important as it is to bear in mind that the numbers involved are small, we thought it would be useful to compare the percentages of those who converted with those who did not convert, in relation to practices, their synagogue membership and whether they are giving their children a religious education.

We found that 66% of men and 79% of women who have converted are synagogue members and even 26% men and 30% women who have not converted are members. The figures are even higher for those who will give their children a Jewish religious education, comprising 60% of converted husbands and 89% of converted wives with 47% unconverted husbands and 40% unconverted wives.

In regard to practices there is the same general pattern (see Table XIV) and those who have converted keep up the main practices (in particular, the women) at a reasonably high level. Even amongst those who have not converted, approximately a third have a Seder and an even higher proportion fast on Yom Kippur.

If these tentative findings are valid, it would appear that conversions are in general taken seriously, and those who convert are not much less observant or practising than those born Jewish. In other words, the survey results support the conclusion reached in Chapter 3 that intermarriage, per se, does not mean the inevitable loss of Jewish affiliation, even where the non-Jewish partner does not convert, and that there is a trend towards strengthening this affiliation by conversion among the younger couples.

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REFERENCES

1. ___ See A. Kondos, One Among Many, Melbourne, 1971 ch.17.
2. ___ One of the exceptions comprises those who had no more than a primary education, but the numbers involved are small and of doubtful significance.
3. ___ Majority Labor preferences were reported in a survey of the Melbourne Jewish community by P.Y. Medding, From Assimilation to Group Survival, Melbourne, 1968. Later data are reported in P.Y. Medding (ed.), Jews in Australian Society, Melbourne 1973.
4. ___ Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, New York, 1967, p.45.
5. ___ This distinction was made to differentiate say, The Great Synagogue (Conservative Orthodox) from Adath Israel (Traditional Orthodox).
6. ___ M. Sklare and J. Greenblum, op.cit., pp. 50-52.
7. ___ Ibid., p.50.
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CHAPTER 7

JEWISH IDENTITY

Jewish identity and consciousness elude precise definition. There are Jews who profess that their links with the group are solely a form of religious expression (i.e. an Australian of the Jewish persuasion). There are also Jewish atheists who still regard themselves as Jews. The concept of latent Jewish identity as exhibited at the time of the Israeli Six Day War in 1967 was of particular interest in this survey. Many individuals who had forgotten their links with the Jewish community found themselves closely identified with Israel's survival. Sklare and Greenblum note that '.... the modern Jew selects from the vast storehouse of the past what is not only objectively possible for him to practise but, subjectively possible for him to "identify" with. Of course, his personalism is not really individualistic: it is influenced by his spouse, his children, his parents, his friends, his neighbours, his community, his class position, his times' (1). With this in mind, depth interviews were carried out among selected members of the Sydney Jewish community to observe the patterns taken by Jewish identity and Jewish consciousness under different social conditions.

One of our respondents was a psychiatrist who believes that all Jews grow up with a Jewish neurosis. This comes about through the pressures of growing up in two cultures, the Australian and the Jewish, with divergent expectations. The result is an insoluble conflict. People have the need to feel that their self-image is positive. The Jew soon realizes that, in the outside world, being a Jew is not always positively received. He then develops hostile feelings towards his in-group for putting him in this predicament. The more alike the two cultures, the greater the conflict. The same respondent identified a similar syndrome among other patients who belonged to minority groups. The manifestations of the neurosis are : defensiveness about the minority group culture; exaggerated displays of what is considered the normal behaviour of the dominant cultural group; excessive regard for material possessions; dependency; guilt feelings about being part of the minority group, leading to a love-hate feeling towards the group. The psychologically puzzling factor about this neurotic pattern in Jews is that it persists over several generations, while among non-Jewish minorities it gradually disappears.

A member of the Sydney rabbinate provided additional insight into the many dimensions of Jewish identity. As far as he was concerned, the question of 'who is a Jew' could not be answered with a psychological definition - it was a matter of following religious law. Thus, in his view, a person is Jewish if his mother is Jewish or if he has formally converted to Judaism in the eyes of the Beth Din. This does not prevent individuals who have strong Jewish sentiments from living a Jewish life, socializing with Jews, and contributing their services to the community. It does, however, prohibit them from meeting the legal qualifications to partake in any of the formal rites of passage (i.e. circumcision, Barmitzvah, marriage, and burial) within the synagogue.

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This rabbi conceded that the existence of Israel will, in time, create other criteria as a definition of a Jew. The religious and official Israeli definitions coincide at the present time, but may not always do so. The rabbinate cannot control Israel and Israel cannot control religious law. Only time will determine which authority will prevail. The acceptance of everyone who has emotional feelings about Judaism into the fold may endanger the Jewish people in the long run. The individual must live a Jewish life and know for what Judaism stands. It is likely that vague Jewish 'feelings' relate to feelings for the State of Israel. However, if the individual wants to translate those 'feelings' into something more positive there is a prescribed process for becoming a member of the religious group. To do otherwise than follow this prescribed route may lead to a watering down, a reducing of the substance of Judaism. In an extreme emergency such as the Six Day War, individuals with a remote connection to Judaism might be temporarily shocked into awareness of their Jewish associations. He contended, however, that there had been few lasting renewed associations with Judaism, as a result.

It was the view of this rabbi that individuals who are born Jewish have different experiences from other people because of their minority status. Conversion is difficult unless approached with a genuinely religious motivation, because the convert has to identify with the psychology of the group as well as its religious doctrines. The process of conversion is softened in Israel because the convert will live among Jews. This, however, is not the case outside Israel. The commandments and limitations of Judaism place more of a burden on the individual because he is still surrounded by the group he has left, which is free of these restrictions.

Several academics agreed to be interviewed regarding their feelings about Jewish identity and Jewish consciousness. One of these men felt that while he lived in Israel, his Jewish identity was largely related to his feelings of Israeli nationalism. He found, however, that in living outside Israel, he could only maintain his Jewish identity via religious affiliation. This involves living a traditional orthodox Jewish way of life, without which the individual or the community, if it exists outside of Israel, eventually assimilates into the larger whole. For periods of time communities may become more lax in their religious practice. As long as they maintain their original link with orthodox Judaism, however, they are able to reassert stricter standards of observance. It is, in this man's opinion, the mission of the Jewish people to maintain a high standard of religious activity by adhering to the traditional orthodox definition of Jewishness. Without this definition, various classes of Jews could emerge inside and outside Israel. The religious definition keeps the Diaspora Jewish population and that of Israel fluid and accessible to each other. This accessibility is especially important in that there is, at present, a source of marriage partners in each community. With different standards of Jewishness, marriage between the two groups would have to be prohibited by the rabbinate, who would first have to be satisfied that each person met the orthodox standards of Jewishness (i.e. Jewish parents or at least a Jewish mother) before they could perform the marriage ceremony.

The phenomenon of latent Jewish identity, as displayed by non-affiliated Jews at the time of the Six Day War, is seen as an expression of the individual under stress. Parents pass on bits of the Jewish way of living and thinking, often quite unconsciously. They create

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an environment influenced by their Jewish heritage without necessarily realizing it. With a traumatic occurrence such as Israel's fight for survival in 1967, these associations come to the surface of consciousness. Their effect is largely due to the emphasis placed by Judaism on the minute details of every day living, which provides a variety of potential stimuli to Jewish consciousness.

Another academic saw Judaism and Jewishness as a way of life which allows the individual the choice of identification via many alternative routes. It could be said that a person was Jewish if he felt tied by any of these linkages. The Jews are perceived as having a commitment to certain kinds of inquiry, to the promotion of a code of behaviour and a system of basic ethics, and most of all to the potentiality of the human intellect (2). All of this gives Judaism an adaptability to adjust itself to new problems, and hence to survive. He instanced the famous Shalit case as an example of two people who feel that a commitment to Israel, and a desire to associate publicly with a certain order of human ethics, could be a valid expression of Jewish identity. Binyamin Shalit, a sabra, born of Jewish parents, and a career officer in the Israel navy, married a Scottish woman of Christian descent. Both considered themselves atheists, but intended to register their children as Jewish in the census because they regarded Judaism as large enough and varied enough to accommodate their own version of it. The Israel Supreme Court, by a majority decision, upheld their appeal against the refusal of the government department concerned to accept their view of the matter; the result was a political furore which led to a change in the law aimed at preventing anyone else from following the example of the Shalits (3).

Obviously, according to our respondent, the Shalits did not feel it necessarily important for non-Jews to go through formal conversion to become Jewish. They would, however, probably deem it necessary for the individual to live in Israel if he wanted to follow Judaism in a non-religious manner. He felt that it is most important for Jewish parents to bring children into the world in circumstances which make it possible to convey a sense of a historical commitment to the Jewish people. In Israel, the issue of formal conversion would not assume great importance. Conversion would, however, be a relevant concern in a country where the Jewish group was not the dominant culture. What matters most in the raising of 'Jewish' children is providing the atmosphere which makes it possible for the child to acquire a uniquely Jewish perspective.

Israel was now the focal point for Jews living in the Diaspora. The negative cohesive force of anti-Semitism and persecution only holds Jews who would be dissociated from the group if not for their fears. Without anti-Semitism, there will always remain a core of self-identifying Jews. The many roots of Judaism referred to earlier in this interview are manifested in two main areas: via affiliations with the synagogue as a central force in the community, or via identification with Israel and Zionism. The existence or non-existence of specific communities of the Diaspora is not a major issue. What is most important is the survival of Jewishness as a way of life and a historical perspective in whatever form best adapts to existing circumstances. There is no guarantee that this Jewishness, this Jewish consciousness, will survive. Jewish identity should continue to survive, however, as long as it assists the individual's adjustment to life's problems. In today's mass urban society, Jewish

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identification, like any identification which is more individual than the impersonal network of the large society, can provide a point of stability. It gives the child, upon entering the world, a link with a cultural past and an opportunity to contribute to its future. It is likely to continue to be passed on to children by their parents because it has proven its adaptability in the past. Jewish history is unique in its protracted historical stream, in what can be obtained from its contact with a wide variety of environments, and in the lessons it has to offer about life and interpersonal relationships.

The third academic respondent felt that the Sydney Jewish community was complacent and uninterested in exploring the meaning of Jewish identity. Young people were alienating themselves and being alienated by the hypocrisy of the Sydney Jewish community. The only hope the community had of making Jewish identification a positive one was by challenging people to investigate Judaism and Jewish religious values more thoroughly before rejecting them as irrelevant. There are many aspects of communal behaviour which could be eliminated without diminishing a person's Jewishness. Thus, the need for balls and expensive functions to stimulate people to donate money to Jewish charities is being questioned by many young people. Outward shows of identification with the Jewish group are not as important as a personal commitment to the Jewish way of life. The Jewish identity he would like people to explore would stimulate the subconscious religiosity which lies dormant in every Jew. Only through exploration can the individual find this religious fulfilment which it is his potential to achieve.

There was not, he concluded, any need for social barriers between Jews and non-Jews. A person with a strong and distinctive self-image as a Jew does not need to live in a social ghetto. This self-image can be developed by taking part in overt actions which cement the identity of the Jewish group. Public demonstrations over Jewish issues like the plight of Soviet Jewry parallel current tendencies to 'commitment' in the community at large. Ultimately, the goal of all Jews in the Diaspora should be to settle in Israel. As large-scale migration is unrealistic, the practical alternative should be to strengthen commitment to Israel in principle and thus to raise the intensity of Jewish community life.

Another individual interview of considerable interest was with a member of Israel's diplomatic staff in Australia. Israel, he argued, was an integral part of the Jewish people. All Jews have a relationship with Israel because of common cultural, historical, and emotional links. They share a common past, a common present, and a common destiny. The common destiny of all Jews is the preservation of the Jewish entity and the Jewish identity, which includes both culture and religion as parts of the heritage which makes up Judaism. Israel and the Diaspora share as their common aspiration the preservation of the Jewish people. A vital and relevant Jewish educational program is one of the main channels of expression of this Jewish identity and heritage for those Jews living outside of Israel.

Concern about Jewish 'double loyalty' is a product of Jewish anti-Zionism. It is a problem articulated by people in the Diaspora who are insecure about their position in their homeland, afraid that non-Jews may suspect their allegiance. This group has spread this notion all over the world, assisted by Arab propaganda, in order to alienate the Jewish community so that they will not identify themselves with Israel. If they were

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more comfortable about their Jewish identity they would realize that one of the main characteristics of a democracy is that it can accommodate a multiplicity of loyalties. Australia has been enriched by the arrival of migrants with divergent ethnic loyalties. There was, he argued, no life and death choice between Israel and Australia. The question was hypothetical and any attempt to speculate as to how one would react in this situation had little value. Consideration should be given, however, to a possible situation where the Australian Government pursued a policy against Israeli interests or where Israel pursued a policy hostile to the interests of Australia. In the former situation, the individual has the democratic right to disagree and protest against the actions of his government. The latter situation seems unlikely to arise. A similar situation did arise, however, in South Africa, where the Jewish community was embarrassed by Israel's stand against apartheid. Israel claimed, however, that this stand was in fact the only stand a Jew as a human being could take and that South African Jews, by taking a pro-apartheid position, were not behaving like Jews in any real sense.

JEWISH EDUCATION AND JEWISH IDENTITY

There is a widespread fear, especially among those Jews who have migrated from countries where Jewish life was more insular, that life in Australia does not provide a strong reference point for Jewish identification. One attempt at counteracting this perceived trend is the current emphasis in the community on the Jewish Day School movement. Several discussion groups were held with women who send their children to Jewish Day Schools.

The point of concern for most of these women is not the religiosity of their children, but rather that they develop a strong Jewish identity. The following comments illustrate this attitude.

'.....I thought that this was the right atmosphere for a Jewish child to grow up in and especially as I didn't want to have to bother about Sunday Schools and find whether he was getting a proper Jewish education. Seeing that I came from a very Jewish home, I just thought I would like to encourage him in this sort of atmosphere just mixing with Jewish children and being taught Hebrew and not so much a religious education but a Jewish education...'

'.....it was not so much the religious aspect that attracted us ... but the fact that we wanted our children to be committed to Judaism in a more general form than just a religious form ... we felt that perhaps in our children's generation the factors which made us so committed would not operate automatically. We felt that the establishment of the State of Israel at the time when we were teenagers, the holocaust....and the first generation feeling of Jewish migrants in Australia would pass and if we want to preserve this we have to give our children a background that would strengthen whatever Jewishness was in us now rather than water it down further!'

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'.....I have lived the past ten years in Britain where the communities are larger and where they are mixing with Jewish people in everyday life anyway ... but here in each State school there are only very few (Jews) and I thought to let them mix and to get to know Judaism, they will only get this through going to a Jewish school'.

'When I was in South Africa I used to feel that I was more religious. I think it was because I was surrounded by more people who were reasonably Orthodox or Kosher, whereas here one has to apply oneself ... I think if I came to honest terms with myself, I would be less religious here, but for my children's sake I feel that they won't pick up what I picked up in my surroundings.....'.

'.....I want them to be conscious of being Jewish ... but not too religious'.

'We feel part of this ethnic group but how do we get this through to our children, their feelings for this ethnic group, without showing them the religious aspect of it (thus going to a Jewish Day School). There's nothing in Australia that makes you feel Jewish'.

A number of these young Jewish mothers noted that, since marriage, they are more inclined to mix in a Jewish crowd of people.

'I think when you are married you tend to get into a more Jewish group yourself because you want to uphold your traditions.....'.

'I can see it with quite a few of our friends who ... are only nominally Jews but their friends are still Jews ... I suppose it is something deeply inherent in all of us and they (these friends) are now expressing anxieties because their children have got no Jewish friends because at the school to which they go there are no Jewish children.....'.

'I think the average Jewish person is perhaps always a little bit nervous when he is in a group of people who are non-Jews because I think he is always frightened of anti-Semitism'.

'.....Parents are so afraid that kids will intermarry that in the end automatically they are closed into a Jewish circle of friends ... It's not an official ghetto (which means) that we are forced only to mix with Jews, and it's not because they are educated in a Jewish or non-Jewish school, but because you want to go on in the future and keep your Jewishness, they are thrown again into a Jewish group'.

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'I feel that as adults my husband and I are much more comfortable with Jewish people....'.

'.....You go out with a non-Jewish person and you feel, at least I feel, there's a barrier between you...'.

'I think it's a sort of trust, like a group of people who share the same things ... any person who is a Jew and knows the other person is a Jew has a certain trust to him....'.

'A lot can go unsaid with Jewish friends ... with people like ourselves there's something quite illogical about the whole thing'.

'.....I feel very consciously that what happened to the six million Jews in Europe was happening to my people. Even what happened before, the persecution right through the ages - I feel they were my people. I feel the people in Israel, I belong to them and they belong to me. And the people around me - the non-Jewish people - can't possibly feel this. This is a barrier. I feel I belong, I feel comfortable in the company of other Jews. There is something deep inside me that they accept whether they like me as a person or not'.

Another dominant attitude expressed by these women was the fear of assimilation of their children into the larger Australian community. The fear was not of mixing socially with non-Jews, as this was thought to be important. Rather, everyone seemed to feel they wouldn't completely relax until they saw their children married within the Jewish community. Intermarriage has become the focal point of their concern and when assimilation is mentioned it is understood to be synonymous with intermarriage.

'I'd be very upset if (my children) dated non-Jews and I'd be very upset if they married non-Jews. Friends, alright, but when it comes to marriage I feel strongly'.

'.....I happen to be married to someone (a Jew) you could almost call an atheist. I'm not really religious at all ... yet he would also feel very upset if his children didn't marry a Jew. But not perhaps because of any religious feeling at all, but more because of the way of life - family life and marriage and bringing up children....'.

'.....it is not just the boy or the girl that your child marries but when you marry you marry a family... After all your life is only one in a continuing chain and you want your grandchildren not to deny you'.

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'I suppose, thinking about it quickly, (assimilation means) eventually marrying a non-Jew - that is the end point of assimilation as far as I'm concerned'.

'.....I know that it would cause me and my husband a lot of unhappiness if our children married out and we'd be conscious of their husband or their wife not being Jewish ... we would consciously have to work at him being one of us ... there would constantly have to be explanations, and we would be conscious of someone being an outsider'.

No conflict was perceived between being Jewish and being Australian. If a generalization could be made on the basis of the small number of respondents interviewed in depth, residents of the Eastern suburbs seem to be more content to live within their Jewish community. Residents of the northern suburbs* seemed much more intent upon active social involvement with their non-Jewish neighbours. The following attitudes were all expressed by women who live in the northern suburbs.

'.....the boys have joined other organizations and they have completely non-Jewish friends outside school...'

'.....I dislike segregation intensely and I have always maintained (before having a child of school age) I would never send my child to a Jewish school ... I always felt this might ill equip them when they go out later into the world...'

'I think in a way it is good to mix (with non-Jews). I think one of the reasons for the tragedy in Poland and in Europe in general is that Jews lived in ghettos and had nothing in common with their neighbours ... this was the reason why the Poles were so ready to kill the Jews, just as quickly as the Germans, and I do not feel that it should be allowed to happen again, this isolation'.

'.....I feel that basically I am Australian and my religion is Jewish...'

'.....we are Australians, but Jewish by religion, by faith, unless you choose to go and live in Israel. I don't see us as a nation....'

'.....it wasn't until I went back (to Europe) that I felt myself to be Australian ... I think our children will definitely be Australian (she is first generation)'

* Residents of the western and southern suburbs were not represented in these groups.

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'I do not believe in this conflict between being Jewish and being Australian ... I think the reason why most Jews support Israel and feel something for Israel is ... we do have a feeling from way back of insecurity ... every Jew has his hand on his suitcase and Australia is not immune from anti-Semitism, and I don't think it would happen but it could....'.

JEWISHNESS AND HUMANISM

It was the aim of this survey to reflect the entire spectrum of Jewish feeling. Most surveys of Jewish communities have not attempted to obtain data from the less committed sections of their membership. With this in mind, depth interviews were conducted with Jewish members of the Humanist Society of New South Wales. These individuals feel no religious commitment to Judaism and yet identify themselves as Jewish.

'I feel totally Jewish - important part of my self-identification, if you like'.

'I think it is the outside world which makes you a Jew'.

'.....to me being a Jew is a sort of a classification - external'.

'.....one feels one's Jewishness through one's parents, through the extent to which they exhibited their Jewishness in one way or another, and possibly this is conditioned also by the emotional closeness one felt to one or the other or both parents...'.

'I grew up in a very intense minority religious (i.e. Jewish) group ... the anxieties that I had in being Jewish linked up closely with my other personal anxieties ... and formed a confused interconnected mass which greatly reinforced the intensity of my Jewish consciousness...'.

There is still a feeling of greater rapport with Jews than with non-Jews among some of these respondents.

'.....I notice that just any form of contact with Jews is simply easier - generally speaking, I feel freer with Jews than non-Jews ... I can say things to a Jew that I've met for the first time that I couldn't say to a non-Jew'.

'.....in their working lives they mix with non-Jews quite well, but it's in their social life they tend to congregate'.

'(there is) ... a different emphasis ... the typical easy going Australian (Christian) not caring about money, and the Jew ... he's after money and pushing and pushing ... he's always trying to get more. And this comes out very much in trying to get along socially with non-Jews'.

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Several individuals, however, denied any special rapport with members of the Jewish community.

'When I came to choosing a mate, I thought Jewishness should have nothing to do with it'.

'One can be classified as a Jew ... to me, the classification doesn't have much meaning for myself'.

'.....I can say for the first twenty years of my life I could quite unambiguously say that I was much more at ease with Jews. I would now say, after thinking about it, that there isn't any difference in general'.

Opinions are divided as to whether Israel has any special significance to these individuals. Several respondents definitely felt a special connection with Israel, while others did not see why Israel's plight should have any more significance to them than any other example of human suffering in the world community.

'I have a strong feeling because I see that something has been created out of nothing - and I wouldn't like to see it destroyed'.

'I am one Jew who regards Israel as an insurance policy. I have no intention of going and settling there, mainly because I don't think my wife and children would be happy there. But if anti-Semitism could force me out of Australia, I would never go to any other place....'.

'.....I have this strong Jewish feeling, so I have some sympathy with Israel ... even I couldn't escape this feeling that, when the Jews were successful in the (1967) war, I felt that the Jews had at least done something I don't have to be ashamed of....'.

'.....Israel is just another country in the world and another situation ... I try to look at it as a world crisis country to be evaluated in rational terms....'.

The Humanist group of Jews are not very dissimilar from the religiously oriented Jews in our survey with regard to the opinions they expressed about their Jewish consciousness. They are different, however, in their general lack of concern about intermarriage and the possibility of assimilation of the Jewish community into the general Australian community. This is not surprising as we found that many of the Jewish humanists were themselves the products of mixed marriages or had non-Jewish spouses. (4)

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JEWISH STUDENTS AND THE IDENTITY PROBLEM

An interesting manifestation of concern about Jewish identity was the sudden emergence of a 'Jewish identity movement' among students at the three university campuses in Sydney. The movement began quite spontaneously at a social gathering in the latter half of 1971. The students became involved in a discussion about the hypocrisy of many Jewish students, their parents, and the community at large. The 'movement' staged various happenings to draw attention to the problem, such as holding a sit-in at a ball organized by the Joint Communal Appeal, and a protest demonstration against the dispersal of a library belonging to the Great Synagogue (the students hid the books). J.I.M. also produced a short-lived news sheet called Kangajoo, which asked questions such as these :

'What the hell does it mean to be Jewish anyway? So your parents are Jewish - but do they know what it means to be Jewish? Not to date a Shiksa? ... Surely there's more to it than that. But is there something in Judaism that can be relevant to our contemporary Australian scene? ... does he/she have something in him that makes him experience things Jewishly? ... It should be blatantly obvious by now, that the older generation, as a whole, have failed to establish a positive Jewish identity in Australia. For sure they will all unite and hold hands to fight the faintest hint of anti-Semitism ... they will fight for the rights of Soviet Jewry, and stand by Israel in a time of need. But these are all external pressures bearing down to keep the group together, and has given the group reasons for not disbanding. This is not an identity ...'.

J.I.M. was a short-lived phenomenon, but it had lasting effects. According to one of its leading figures, Mr Irving Wallach, it helped to transform Jewish student activity from purely social functions into a vigorous political role (5). J.I.M. was responsible for the establishment of a student centre in a building owned by the State Zionist Council, and some of its members became prominent youth leaders. At the end of 1973, a group of nine members of J.I.M. spent the university vacation working in a kibbutz. When they returned to Australia, they found themselves involved in the first stage of a long-drawn-out struggle within the Australian Union of Students, whose annual congress had just passed the first of a series of anti-Israel resolutions.

In retrospect, the emergence of J.I.M. may be seen as a delayed reaction to the 1967 war and its galvanic effect on the Jewish community in Australia, while the influence which it generated owed much to the Yom Kippur war and the subsequent struggles within the student community. Mr Wallach himself became national secretary of the Australian Union of Jewish Students and was later appointed general secretary of the World Union of Jewish Students.

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CONCLUSION

Our survey indicates a high level of concern with the maintenance of Jewish identity and Jewish consciousness among our respondents. Depth interviews and discussion groups enabled us to supplement the information obtained, more cursorily, from the questionnaire survey. Both sources tell a similar story. Jewish identity and Jewish consciousness are subjects of concern and interest to the entire Jewish community - regardless of their degree of religious commitment to Judaism. Our respondents were all very much involved and immersed in their own sense of Jewishness - sometimes in spite of themselves. The interviews also indicated that, far from disappearing, interest in Jewish culture seems to be increasing among the young married members of the community. It appears that the character of Jewish identity is changing rather than disappearing. The members of the community who adhere to the Orthodox Jewish culture of Eastern Europe could argue that this Jewishness is 'watered down'. The tables given in the previous chapter underline the relativity of such a comment, since the level of observance of Jewish rituals and traditions is much higher than in American communities. Naturally, this level reflects the situation in a community which is largely immigrant in origin, and it may be expected that there will be further dilution of the traditional pattern as the community comes to be dominated by the Australian-born. But it is also clear that the influence of Israel on Jewish consciousness is great, that it received a lasting increment because of the 1967 and 1973 wars, and that the gradual adaptation of Jewish identity to the Australian environment is taking place under this influence.

The continuing high level of interest in the nature of Jewish identity is attested by the results of a study carried out by Mr Ze'ev Dar, a graduate student in sociology at the University of New South Wales. Mr Dar recorded a number of group discussions with other students, which produced a threefold typology similar to that of Simon Herman in his well-known study of Jewish consciousness among young Israelis. (6) In his analysis, Mr Dar notes the intensity of the discussion and the obvious willingness of his subjects to go on talking about the topic indefinitely. (7) This study also demonstrates the continuing process of adaptation characteristic of Judaism throughout its history, which is the key to its ability to survive and to be relevant in such widely differing circumstances.

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CHAPTER 8

IDENTITY AND ETHNICITY IN THE SEVENTIES

Our survey, carried out at the end of the decade of the sixties, revealed a high level of Jewish identity and Jewish consciousness within the N.S.W. Jewish community -often involuntarily, and irrespective of the degree of religious commitment to Judaism. There was an intensification of this sense of identity at the time of the Six Day War and most commentators in Australia and overseas believed that this was likely to continue to affect the self-perception of Diaspora Jews for a long time to come - not only in relation to the place of Israel in their lives, but as they saw themselves as Jews. (1)

Since the trauma of the Six-Day War, a further series of events in Jewish affairs has been played out upon the world stage. The first of these involved increasingly bitter Left-wing criticism of Israel as an imperialist power, particularly in the United States. To a lesser extent, this was also true of certain groups in Australia, where support for the Palestinian cause became identified with support for the independence struggles of emerging national groups within the impoverished Third World. As pointed out by Leon Mann 'Jews observed with growing disquiet the rapidly swelling infatuation of the radical Socialist left for the P.L.O., the barrage of vicious anti-Israel propaganda in student newspapers and Trade Union journals [and] the cynical campaign on Australian university campuses to pass a set of anti-Israel resolutions...'. (2)

While the emergence of these views promotes insecurity among Jews, especially concerning their position within the wider Australian society, three other events are probably more relevant to any discussion of Jewish identity in N.S.W. in the seventies. The first of these was the Yom Kippur War which took place in October, 1973, the second, the United Nations General Assembly Resolution of November 1975, equating Zionism with racism, and the third, the rise of the concept of ethnicity.

THE YOM KIPPUR WAR

Unlike the Six-Day War, which had been anticipated, and ended swiftly with an Israeli victory appearing assured almost from the outset, the Yom Kippur War was totally unexpected, of longer duration and for some time looked as if it might result in defeat for Israel. In particular, the shock of the sudden attack on the most solemn day of the Jewish calendar and the frightening possibility of an Israeli defeat, might have been expected to rally the community to new heights of awareness and involvement.

An examination of editions of the Australian Jewish Times, in relation to the two war periods, although a very imprecise tool for assessing reaction, points to very little variation in community response. If anything, there is a slightly greater feeling of urgency and intensity during the Six Day War. For a period of four weeks on both occasions, the newspaper devoted at least two pages and frequently much more to war news and information on community reaction and activity. (3)

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During the Six Day War, questions about the effect of the War on Jewish identity were raised by the columnist Mark Braham who said '....whatever the outcome of the past awesome week or so, nothing will be quite the same for the Jew of the Diaspora again - neither his attitude to Judaism nor towards Israel'(4), and the editorial of 22 June urged the community to maintain the new sense of a unified identity which had come about in response to the War. In an open letter to readers during the Yom Kippur War, the President of the Executive Council of the Australian Jewry made an appeal to a corporate sense of Jewish identity: 'There are moments in history when it is too late for words, moments when the time for persuasions and explanations are no longer necessary. Moments when the only thing to do is to ACT....quickly, decisively, effectively with all the strength and resolution that swells from our pride, our beliefs, our kinship, our heritage'(5).

In Sydney, the response to appeals for financial support for Israel in 1973, resulted in a 63% increase in pledges and a 149% increase in the total amount of money contributed above the level of the annual United Israel Appeal which had been conducted in May, just a few months earlier (6). In Melbourne, donations reached 'an unprecedented figure' of \$600 per household for the entire community, with members of the Liberal congregations (who may be expected to represent the most assimilated segment of the organized community) donating \$1000 per household (7). Even so, it is of interest to note that the N.S.W. Chairman of the Israel Emergency Appeal reported that 'The response was not quite as spontaneous as it was in 1967' (8), and he later compared the spontaneity of the response following the Entebbe raid as unequalled except in 1967 (9).

That there were differences in the reactions to the two wars is borne out by a study which compared the responses of a sample of households in Melbourne interviewed after the Yom Kippur War with a sample interviewed after the Six Day War. While in both samples nearly all respondents were found to have some personal involvement, the percentage of those moderately to intensely involved in 1973 was 85% compared with 97% in 1967 (10). The practical manifestations of involvement also confirmed this response (11).

	<u>1973</u>	<u>1967</u>
Respondents who attended a meeting or rally	38%	48%
Respondents who attended special religious services	12%	11%
Respondents who volunteered to help cause	15%	17%

General reactions to the war in 1973 were accompanied by more depression, anger, bitterness and vague feelings of insecurity not evident in 1967, although a greater percentage of respondents in 1973 had very strongly positive feelings about being Jewish.

In summary the authors of this survey state : 'If the Yom Kippur War made only a marginal difference to the Melbourne community's strongly positive attitudes towards its Jewish identity or to individual involvement with Israel, it is probably because the Six-Day War had already achieved almost the maximum amount of identification' (12).

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At best it would appear that the Yom Kippur War effectively reinforced the reawakened sense of identity and strengthened the concern about Israel's future that had been brought about by the events of 1967.

UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS

In November 1975 the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution equating Zionism with racism. This caused further shock waves within the community. The Executive Council of Australian Jewry called on Jews 'to write in defence of Zionism as the liberation movement of the Jewish peoples' and the Australian Jewish Times of 27th November editorialized that 'The United Nations General Assembly made a Zionist out of every Jew'. In a sermon, Rabbi Apple of the Great Synagogue said that the resolution legitimized anti-Semitism as never before, transforming it into an officially sanctioned international policy. In a later discussion he pointed out that for the first time Jews had been forced to realise that anti-Zionism affected them and that the existence of Israel does not solve all Jewish problems (13).

As an indication of the strength of community reaction to this resolution, the Australian Jewish Times continued to carry material on the U.N. resolution for six weeks. This included an advertisement for a mass rally for Zionist solidarity headed, 'We are Australians, We are Jews, We are Zionists, and request that members of the Australian Jewish Community refrain from visiting any country which supported the U.N. resolution'. There was an intensified campaign by the Zionist Federation to alert both Jews and the general Australian public to the dangers of the anti-Zionist resolution, as well as general articles and editorial comments. Vera Doff, of the State Zionist Council, reported considerably increased application for membership by both individuals and groups (synagogues and community organizations) at this time - an effect not achieved at the time of either the 1967 or 1973 wars.

An increased sense of identification with Israel was apparently again evident as a response to the Entebbe incident of 1976, when an Israeli commando unit rescued victims of a plane hijack. Mr Joe Silberstein, U.I.A. Director reported :

'In a community-wide wave of response which has had no parallel except in the Six Day War, money has been pouring in to the United Israel Appeal office in Darlinghurst ever since news of the rescue of the hijack victims broke last week. This amazing manifestation of identification has resulted in the coining of a new phrase "L'chaim money".' (14)

ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY

The debate about identity owes much of its present intensity to the current vogue of the concept of 'ethnicity'. At the beginning of the present century, Israel Zangwill gave us the powerful metaphor of the melting pot which predicted that immigrant sub-groups in the United States would be absorbed into a wider national synthesis. The current debate was effectively touched off in 1963, when Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan pointed out that the melting pot had not worked. 'The fact is that in every generation, throughout the history of the American Republic, the merging of the varying streams of population differentiated from one another by origin, religion, outlook has seemed to lie just ahead - a generation, perhaps in the future'. (15)

Although the differentiated streams of population had not melted, Glazer and Moynihan concluded that the specifically national aspects of each group's identity were declining and being replaced by race and religion as definers of this separateness. In this they were wrong, as they later admitted in 1970: it was not religion but ethnicity, which, together with race, became the focal points of group identity. (16)

One of the main reasons for the growth of ethnicity in the United States was the emergence of black consciousness. Blacks in America initially sought integration with the white society, especially through the movement for school integration. However, their strategy changed as their leaders saw the need to rediscover their sense of identity and raise their self-esteem. Thus the slogan 'Black is Beautiful' was taken up and reinforced by demands for courses in black culture at universities, and other outward manifestations of awakening ethnic consciousness. This in turn - though perhaps not the sole reason (17) - led to a resurgence in ethnic consciousness in other minority groups, which has had an effect that extends beyond the purely local American scene.

The new ethnicity is not limited to such aspects as skin colour, place of birth, religion or by generational status. The concept of ethnicity is an elusive one to pin down with precision. It contains within it many overlapping components, all of which might be applicable to one particular ethnic group, but only some of its constituent parts will apply to other groups. Simon Herman has defined ethnic identity to be (a) the pattern of attributes of the ethnic group as seen by its members, i.e. what 'being Jewish' means and, (b) the reflection in the individual of these attributes, i.e. how the individual sees himself by virtue of his membership of the ethnic group (18). An American writer, Michael Novak, describes an ethnic group as one with a 'historical memory, real or imaginary'. He notes that membership of an ethnic group is partly involuntary, partly by choice. 'Given a grandparent or two, one chooses to shape one's consciousness by one history' rather than another. Ethnic memory is not a set of events remembered, but rather a set of instincts, feelings, intimacies, expectations, patterns of emotions and behaviour'. In effect, Novak is arguing for the legitimacy of social groups based neither on occupation, class or interest, which are the typical categories of contemporary urban-industrial (or, as Novak and other supporters of ethnicity would prefer, WASP) society. The physical, linguistic, religious, historical and political elements of ethnic self-consciousness are examined in detail by another American writer on the subject, Harold Isaacs. (19)

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The definition of ethnicity as depending on a common culture can be broken up into at least five components.

(a) Descent

Ethnic status is inherited (which implies that the inheritance may be rejected). This is consistent with Halachic tradition, as embodied in Israel's Law of Return.

(b) Religion

Many ethnic groups have a distinctive religion, involving faith, a distinctive institutional structure, or both. Outside the Jews, the clearest nexus between religion and other aspects of ethnic identity is to be found in Australia among Greeks and Turks, though for different reasons.

(c) A 'mother country'

Nationality and ethnicity are closely related. Nationality clearly depends on national origin; in an ethnic minority, some process of migration is usually involved. The Jewish case is obviously different from that of Greek-Americans or Greek-Australians. Nevertheless, Jewish identity is inseparable from the centrality of Israel in the Jewish consciousness, and all the more so since 1948.

(d) Culture

The concept of cultural distinctiveness figures in most discussions of ethnicity. Jewish writers have regularly emphasized the special nature of Jewish contributions to Western civilization. This emphasis can range all the way from the Jewish preoccupation with intellectual creativeness to mere gastronomy. (Max Nordau once rejected the claim of assimilated German Jews to be regarded as 'auch Juden' by describing them as 'bauch Juden!'). Cultural difference may be expressed in terms of divergence from the values, institutions and habits of the majority or of other minority groups, but it also involves a stress on positive characteristics, including the preservation of language, literature, and traditions.

(e) Disadvantage

Minority status frequently brings with it a consciousness of disadvantage and discrimination. Being different from the majority is a recurrently uncomfortable situation, which may take extreme form, as the Jewish people know to their cost.

The incidence and significance of each of these characteristics varies from one ethnic group to the other. Descent has a different meaning for blacks or Asians in a white community than it has for European ethnic groups who are differentiated by language and culture alone. Culture has a different meaning for Jews, who articulate some of the most characteristic values of European liberalism, than it has for American negroes, whose cultural distinctiveness is that of an oppressed underclass cut off from higher education and bourgeois refinement. Apart from variation on each of the individual items, their relative significance differs considerably from group to group. The fact that ethnicity is such a complex package means, of course, that as a concept it is difficult to handle. It also means, however, that it is simple-minded to reject it as a category because it implies an equation between, say, Jews and Greeks. Such an

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equation is valid only at a certain level of generality, which takes into account all the factors discussed and does not depend on giving exaggerated significance to one or two of them.

Generally speaking, denials of Jewish ethnicity are founded on this kind of exaggeration, almost always focused on the question of religion. The argument about religion takes several forms. The Orthodox view asserts, in effect, that religion is the distinguishing factor, and although representatives of the Orthodox viewpoint will sometimes concede that the other factors have substance, they can only be subsidiary to religion. The Orthodox can claim divine sanction, since the liturgy constantly affirms that God has chosen the Jewish people. This gives their viewpoint particular strength and authority. The Liberal (or Reform) argument asserts, on the other hand, that religion is the only thing that distinguishes the Jews, and leads logically to the idea of German (or Australian) citizens of the Jewish/Hebrew/Mosaic persuasion.

The weakness of the religious viewpoint is that an exclusive stress on religion ignores the role of the other elements in making religious exceptionalism possible. Jews can exist as a separate religious community only when religion is sustained by other factors; the relation is not one of subordination but of interdependence. Jewish religion recognizes this by stressing the need to return to Zion. An American writer argues that 'the Jews constitute an indivisible people. It is their common history and experiences which define them as a people, not any common religious belief. What makes one a Jew is identification with the Jewish people, which is not quite the same thing as identification with the Jewish religion'. And he goes on to assert that the focus of Jewish identity in the U.S.A. is changing to an affiliation with Israel rather than religion, as instanced by the promotion of Israeli bonds in the synagogues on Yom Kippur (20). A similar viewpoint has been asserted by Medding, who maintains that religion has been overlaid (though not completely replaced) by ethnic aspects of Jewishness, best described as a sense of peoplehood or even national identity. (21)

An empirical confirmation of the importance of common identity is to be found in a psychological experiment to compare role behaviour in personal encounters between Jews and Christians. When a Jew was confronted with another Jew, the response was usually an awareness of common membership of an in-group, and therefore feelings of common ethnic affiliation. In Christian encounters the important factor was individual identity. Thus Christians stressed individualism, and Jews the importance of communal ties. (22)

So far, we have emphasized 'cultural' definitions of ethnicity, following the line taken by Novak. However, it is important to point out that ethnicity may also be regarded as a reaction to the development of contemporary urban-industrial society. This viewpoint is taken in a recent paper by three American sociologists (23). After reviewing the extensive literature on the subject, they conclude that ethnicity does not represent a 'survival' phenomenon by which groups cling to their past history, but an 'emergent' pattern produced by the structural conditions of modern society. It is strengthened by common occupational positions, residential stability and concentration, and dependence on common institutions and services, which are more important than a shared cultural

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inheritance. Ethnicity, they maintain, has relatively little to do with the past but much more to do with the exigencies of survival and the structure of opportunity.

Such an analysis is obviously much more relevant to the situation of American blacks than to that of Jews, in America or elsewhere. Nevertheless, the authors have a point, particularly when they argue that the cultural heritage of ethnic groups is not a given entity, but something which is constantly being redefined by social changes. An important current example is provided by the rise of feminism, which finds itself obliged to challenge certain aspects of Halachic doctrine which underline masculine predominance. The significance of the latter conflict has been powerfully articulated by the Israeli feminist politician Shulamit Aloni, who alleges that the attitude of the Orthodox rabbinate in Israel serves the interests of the National Religious Party rather than those of Judaism or the Jewish people.

One of the focal points in the argument concerning ethnicity is the possibility of a conflict between ethnic loyalty and national loyalty. In the early years of Zionism, the movement was attacked for promoting 'dual loyalty'. This attack was led by organizations of assimilated Jews like the Reform rabbinate in both Europe and America, and the Anglo-Jewish Association in Britain, whose position was essentially that of citizens of the Mosaic persuasion. In Australia, the attack came later, under the leadership of Sir Isaac Isaacs. This accusation has lost virtually all its sting, as the existence of Israel has become an international fact of life. The centrality of Israel forms the positive basis for much of Jewish communal life in the Diaspora. It also wears a negative aspect in that rejection of Jewishness has become closely bound up with anti-Zionism, both on the political Left and on the Right. In this sphere, extremes meet. Left-wing Jewish students in Australia and elsewhere have identified themselves with the P.L.O. In 1976, a representative of the ultra-conservative American Council for Judaism took part in a pan-Arab conference in Benghazi which reaffirmed the resolution of the U.N. Assembly identifying Zionism and racism.

In practice, all groups and individuals manage to integrate a number of overlapping loyalties and sub-identities without irreconcilable conflicts. Simon Herman points out that ethnic identity is only one of many sub-identities; even in Israel, Jewish identity and Israeli identity do not always coincide neatly, although his survey of Israeli youth found that those who were more 'Jewish' in their outlook were also likely to be more 'Israeli' (24). It is only in the improbable event of a war between Israel and Australia that a problem of dual loyalty could be of significance. Besides, patriotism is much less cut-and-dried than it used to be, as the impact of the Vietnam war on Australian society made clear. Any sense of conflict over loyalties appears to be more the result of Jewish insecurity than of pressures from outside.

Those who support Jewish ethnicity see it as a positive force, permitting Jews to enjoy the advantages of a culturally pluralistic society where the right of groups to maintain their distinctiveness - the unique aspects of their peoplehood - is positively encouraged, while at the same time they remain loyal and full participants in the wider society. Its opponents see an ethnic label as encouraging discrimination and making migrants of all Jews. The latter was put most forthrightly by

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Rabbi R. Brasch of Temple Emanuel, in remarks made in the course of his New Year sermon in 1976. He stated that people trying to identify Jews as a separate ethnic community are promoting the aims of Hitler and for the Jewish community to claim ethnicity was not only a falsification of facts, but a direct political danger and makes Jews a foreign body in Australia (25).

Rabbi Brasch's position involves a familiar over-simplification which treats 'ethnicity' as the equivalent of 'race'. This over-simplification is used on both sides of the argument by anti-Semites who subscribe to some form of racist theory, and by Jews who are anxious to minimize the differences between Jews and other people. The implication, that to describe Jews as an ethnic group is to accept a racist definition of Jewish identity, does little credit to those who advance such a proposition. It is one thing to deny that Jews are a race - whatever that may be - and quite another to deny that they are an ethnic group.

These questions are of practical as well as theoretical significance, including relations with other ethnic groups, the conduct of ethnic radio programs, the nature of relations between Israel and the Diaspora, and the content of Jewish education. They are related to developments in the wider Australian community which denote fundamental shifts of attitude to immigrant groups with strong cultural traditions which are not of Anglo-Saxon origin. As recently as 1971, an official pamphlet issued by the Minister for Immigration declared that the aim of immigration policy was to establish a 'socially homogeneous and cohesive population' which would be free from 'self-perpetuating enclaves and undigested minorities'. The election of the Whitlam Labor government in 1972 saw a sharp change in direction towards the acceptance of a multi-cultural society, and this was maintained under the Fraser Liberal government after 1975. In March, 1976, Mr Fraser took pains to assure a meeting of the Greek community in Melbourne that his party rejected any notion of Anglo-Saxon superiority, and he reaffirmed this in a special Australia Day message in 1977.

These changes in the community at large have posed some difficult choices for Jewish communal bodies. In Victoria, the Jewish community has supported the establishment of an Ethnic Communities Council, and Mr Walter Lippmann, formerly president of the Victorian Jewish Board of Deputies, became its foundation chairman. In N.S.W., however, there has been reluctance to embrace the concept of ethnicity, and the Board of Deputies has declined to join the Ethnic Communities Council of N.S.W. In a speech following his re-election as president of the N.S.W. Board of Deputies, Mr Sid Muller stated that the problem of ethnic involvement was one of the major tasks confronting the Board. (25)

COMMUNITY IDENTIFICATION

Have the events of the seventies resulted in a greater degree of community identification and group cohesion? This is difficult to assess. In the past few years there have been significant changes in community organisations, particularly in relation to personnel, and the effect of these changes cannot be easily isolated from any increased identification as a result of external factors.

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The Australian Jewish Times reports that adult education and study groups are proliferating throughout Sydney's Jewish community, with synagogues and Temples in the forefront of a campaign to raise the level of Jewish consciousness and knowledge (27). Rabbi Raymond Apple confirmed in an interview that now almost every synagogue has such activity, whereas previously courses were run only sporadically. Attendances fluctuated, but support for the various courses was generally good (28). However, Rabbi Apple pointed out that in recent years almost half the synagogues in Sydney had appointed new Rabbis, many Australian born and younger men than their predecessors, and that this had led to 'a more imaginative approach to synagogue programming'. Also, in his experience, young family rabbis attracted to the synagogues more young family couples - although he thought there had been a small general religious revival. Whatever the factors involved, membership of the Great Synagogue had increased by 10 - 15% and attendance at Sunday Hebrew classes by 50%.

There has certainly been a significant increase in enrolments at Jewish Day Schools, particularly at Moriah War Memorial College. In 1968, after the amalgamation with the King David School, enrolment was 349; by 1977, this had increased to 801. At Masada College, where enrolments hovered around the 100 mark for some years, a rapid rise took place after 1975 and numbers had reached 254 in 1977. In general, total enrolments at Jewish day schools and pre-schools increased from 936 in 1970 to 1392 in 1977. The increase in demand has led to physical expansion and improvement of a number of the schools concerned, and to a notable improvement in academic standards, as manifested particularly by the graduating classes at Moriah College. Attendance at Sunday school classes has also increased sharply, from about 1000 in 1970 to 2578 in 1977. In percentage terms, 31 per cent of Jewish children of school or kindergarten age were attending day schools or pre-schools, compared with 17 per cent in 1970. The largest increase was at the secondary school level (from 6 per cent to 15 per cent of the theoretical population) (28).

These figures are particularly interesting in view of Goldlust's finding that attendance at Jewish day schools shows a significant positive correlation with subsequent involvement in Jewish communal affairs (29).

The number of youth groups operating in N.S.W. has also increased. In 1970, according to a study by Beirman, there were 44 separate youth groups; this had increased to 53 by 1974. Beirman estimated that, allowing for overlaps in membership, the proportion of Jewish youth between 13 and 25 involved in these organizations was about 30 per cent in 1974 (30).

Beirman also points to a variety of youth leadership courses run by the Australian Union of Jewish Students, N.S.W. Jewish Board of Deputies and the Board of Jewish Education, plus Zionist movement leadership courses in Israel. As well as equipping these young people to be youth leaders, the courses aim to train the leaders to channel the enrolment of youth towards a 'Jewish' end. This meant the prevention of assimilation and the avoidance of intermarriage. The communal organisations too saw the needs of the community in terms of providing resources that would prevent assimilation.

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This rather negative attitude of community concern which focuses on intermarriage rather than on retaining the involvement of youth by affirming the positive aspects of Judaism, was taken up by almost all the young intellectuals in the final section of Jews in Australian Society (31). Many of them saw the current concerns of the Jewish community as irrelevant. They point to a stifling intimacy, parochialism, conformity, brashness and an ostentatious materialism, whereas they want the community to live up to its own highest aspirations and ideals and to respond more to the welfare of society generally.

However, it is interesting to note that even the most disaffiliated of the young intellectuals have a sense of Jewish identity. None denies his or her Jewishness or the value to them of their Jewish inheritance.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to bring together those factors, both internal and external, which may have changed or influenced Jewish identity this decade. The two most important external influences were undoubtedly the Yom Kippur War and the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly in November 1975. The war raised yet again fears for the security of Israel and therefore for the security of all Jews, and the resolution equating racism with Zionism strengthened even further Jewish commitment to and involvement with Israel. These issues have contributed to what Mann has termed a 'heightened sense of insecurity' for all Jews in the Diaspora. However, he sees this insecurity as also having a positive value and that 'binding Australian Jews together and to Israel in a sense of common fate and purpose, has provided the community with an energizing focus and direction at a most opportune time.' (32)

The main internal focus, at least for N.S.W. Jewry, is likely to revolve around the question of ethnicity. It is understandable that ethnicity is a troubling concept for many Jews, implying as it does an emphasis on differences and distinctiveness. Minority status has historically often been a disadvantaged status and one which has been thrust upon the minority group. However, it is the rejection of this situation which is central to the current ethnic revival. The development of a society where cultural pluralism is not merely tolerated but encouraged must be seen as being advantageous to the continuation and strengthening of the Jewish ethnic group.

Together with these major issues, there is increased communal affiliation and a questing and questioning and seeking after knowledge. The strong upsurge of Jewish identity we found in the sixties can only have been reinforced by subsequent events.

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QUEST. NO. _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CODE NO. _____

COMMUNITY SURVEY

Good morning/afternoon. I'm _____ from the University of New South Wales School of Sociology. We're conducting a survey on the Sydney Jewish Community. We would be extremely grateful if you would fill in the answers to the following questions :

1. YOUR AGE :

- | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----------------|
| Under 20 () | 35-39 () | 55-59 () |
| 20-24 () | 40-44 () | 60-64 () |
| 25-29 () | 45-49 () | 65 and over () |
| 30-34 () | 50-54 () | |

2. SEX : Male () Female ()

3. MARITAL STATUS:

Single () Married () Widowed () Divorced () Separated ()

4. Country of birth of both you and your spouse (IF AUSTRALIA, PLEASE SPECIFY STATE) :

Husband _____ Wife _____

5. IF BORN OUTSIDE AUSTRALIA: Have you been naturalized?

	<u>Naturalized</u>	<u>Year of Naturalization</u>
Husband	_____	_____
Wife	_____	_____

6. If you and/or your spouse were born outside Australia, how long have you lived in Australia? What was the first suburb you lived in (excluding hostels, living with relatives, etc.)?

	<u>Length of Time in Australia</u>	<u>First Suburb</u>
Husband	_____	_____
Wife	_____	_____

7. (a) In what suburb are you currently living? _____

(b) Do you expect to be living in this suburb five years from now?

Yes ()

No ()

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(c) If NO: In what suburb do you expect to live five years from now?

(d) In what suburb were you living five years ago? _____

8. Country of Parents' Birth:

WIFE'S PARENTS

HUSBAND'S PARENTS

Mother _____

Father _____

9. Country of Grandparents' Birth :

WIFE'S FAMILY

HUSBAND'S FAMILY

Maternal Grandmother _____

Maternal Grandfather _____

Paternal Grandmother _____

Paternal Grandfather _____

10. Do you have any children?

YES ()

NO ()

11. If YES: Please fill out the following, identifying each child by name.

A. SON(S):

NAME	AGE	BORN IN AUSTRALIA	ATTEND JEWISH DAY SCHL (YES/NO)	NAME OF HIGH SCHL ATTENDED/ WILL ATTEND	UNIV. CURRENT OR GRAD. (YES/NO)	MARITAL STATUS	IF MARRIED IS SPOUSE JEWISH?
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

B. DAUGHTER(S):

NAME	AGE	BORN IN AUSTRALIA	ATTEND JEWISH DAY SCHL (YES/NO)	NAME OF HIGH SCHL ATTENDED/ WILL ATTEND	UNIV. CURRENT OR GRAD. (YES/NO)	MARITAL STATUS	IF MARRIED IS SPOUSE JEWISH?
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

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12. Is everyone in this household Jewish by birth?

YES () NO ()

(a) If NO: who in the household is not Jewish by birth? _____

(b) Has this person or persons converted to Judaism?

YES () NO ()

(c) If NO: what religion, if any, is this person or persons?

13. Please list family members who are currently working and their occupations.

Family Member

Occupation

14. IF BORN OUTSIDE AUSTRALIA: Principal occupation in country of origin:

Family Member

Occupation

15. Please indicate the highest level of secular education or qualification attained by each spouse (i.e. nursing diploma, trade certificate, medical degree, etc.).

Level of Education

Husband _____

Wife _____

16. Please indicate the number of years of completed Jewish religious education for each spouse.

Years of Religious Education

Husband _____

Wife _____

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17. Are your children being given or have they received a Jewish religious education?

YES () NO ()

If YES: How many years of education? Did your children have or will they have a Bar/Bat Mitzvah? (Please fill out the following, identifying each child by name).

SON(S):

<u>NAME</u>	<u>NO. OF YEARS</u>	<u>BAR MITZVAH</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

DAUGHTER(S):

<u>NAME</u>	<u>NO. OF YEARS</u>	<u>BAT MITZVAH</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

18. Are you a member of a Synagogue? YES () NO ()

If YES:

Which Synagogue? _____

For how long have you been a member? _____

19. Frequency of Synagogue or Temple attendance (regardless of whether or not you are a member of a Synagogue/Temple).

	ONCE A WEEK OR MORE OFTEN	AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH	HIGH HOLIDAYS	SPECIAL OCCASIONS ONLY (I.E. WEDDINGS, ETC.)	NEVER
Husband	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Wife	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

20. To what, if any, Jewish organizations does each spouse belong?

Husband _____

Wife _____

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21. To what, if any, other than Jewish organizations does each spouse belong (i.e. bowling club, P. and C., etc.)?

Husband _____

Wife _____

22. Of the people with whom you and your spouse have become friendly through business contacts, how many are Non-Jewish?

ALL MOST ABOUT HALF FEW NONE

23. Of the people with whom you and your spouse have become friendly through social contacts, how many are Non-Jewish?

ALL MOST ABOUT HALF FEW NONE

24. Of the intimate friends of you and your spouse, how many are Non-Jewish?

Husband

ALL MOST ABOUT HALF FEW NONE

Wife

ALL MOST ABOUT HALF FEW NONE

25. (a) For which political party did you and your spouse vote in the last elections?

State (March, 1968)

Federal (November, 1969)

Husband _____

Wife _____

(b) Have either you and/or your spouse ever voted for any other political party? If yes, for which political party did you vote?

Husband _____

Wife _____

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26. (a) Which of the following observances are practised more or less regularly in your home?
 (b) Which were practised in your parent's home when they were about your present age?

	<u>Your Home</u>		<u>Parent's Home</u>	
Pork products and shell fish ever served?	Yes ()	No ()	Yes ()	No ()
Kosher meat bought regularly?	Yes ()	No ()	Yes ()	No ()
Separate utensils for meat and dairy foods?	Yes ()	No ()	Yes ()	No ()
Special dinner on Friday night?	Yes ()	No ()	Yes ()	No ()
Candles lit on Friday night?	Yes ()	No ()	Yes ()	No ()
Smoking allowed in house on Sabbath?	Yes ()	No ()	Yes ()	No ()
Seder on Passover?	Yes ()	No ()	Yes ()	No ()
Bread eaten in home on Passover?	Yes ()	No ()	Yes ()	No ()
Either or both spouses fast on Yom Kippur?	Yes ()	No ()	Yes ()	No ()
Candles lit on Hanukkah?	Yes ()	No ()	Yes ()	No ()

27. In your opinion, to be a good Jew, which of the following is essential to do? Is desirable but not essential? Has no bearing? Must not be done?

	<u>Essential</u>	<u>Desirable</u>	<u>No Bearing</u>	<u>Must Not Be Done</u>
Accept being a Jew and try not to hide it	()	()	()	()
Contribute to Jewish charities	()	()	()	()
Support Israel	()	()	()	()
Belong to Jewish organizations	()	()	()	()
Belong to a synagogue or temple	()	()	()	()
Attend weekly services	()	()	()	()
Observe dietary laws	()	()	()	()
Support all humanitarian causes	()	()	()	()
Be well versed in Jewish history and culture	()	()	()	()
Know the fundamentals of Judaism	()	()	()	()
Have mostly Jewish friends	()	()	()	()
Promote the use of Yiddish	()	()	()	()
Give Jewish candidates for political office preference	()	()	()	()
Support Zionism	()	()	()	()
Lead an ethical and moral life	()	()	()	()

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	<u>Essential</u>	<u>Desirable</u>	<u>No Bearing</u>	<u>Must Not Be Done</u>
Attend Services on High Holidays	()	()	()	()
Gain respect of Non-Jewish neighbours	()	()	()	()
Promote improvement in the community	()	()	()	()
Help the underprivileged improve their lot	()	()	()	()
Be a fully integrated Australian	()	()	()	()
Marry within the Jewish faith	()	()	()	()

28. How would you rate yourself and your spouse?

	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
Orthodox	()	()
Liberal	()	()
Other (specify) _____	_____	_____

29. In supporting the following causes, to which would you give priority?
(CHECK ONE)

- Israeli causes ()
- Local Jewish causes ()
- Both equally ()
- Neither ()

30. Do you think there is a chance your child may marry a non-Jew?

Yes () No ()

31. How would you feel if your child were to marry a non-Jew? How would your spouse feel?

	<u>Extremely Happy</u>	<u>Happy</u>	<u>Neither Happy Nor Unhappy</u>	<u>Unhappy</u>	<u>Extremely Unhappy</u>
Husband	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Wife	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

32. Imagine that you were choosing a husband or wife for your child - would you prefer :

- (a) a non-Jew he/she is in love with, or ()
a Jew he/she isn't in love with ()
- (b) a non-Jew in a professional occupation, or ()
a Jew in a skilled trade ()
- (c) a non-Jew without any interest in organized religion, or ()
an Orthodox Jew who insists on all religious rituals ()

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33. Are there any comments you would like to make after having taken part in this questionnaire?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION

APPENDIX

B. APPENDIX

TABLE NUMBER

I	Birthplace of New South Wales Jewry.
II	Sydney and Suburbs - Jewish population.
III	Age distribution of the New South Wales Jewish Community.
III(a)	Age distribution of the New South Wales Jewish Community (1971 Census).
IV	Educational Standards in 1971.
V	Fertility Rates - New South Wales Jewish Community (1966 Census).
VI	Occupational Groups in N.S.W. (1966 Census).
VI(a)	Occupational Groups in N.S.W. (1971 Census).
VII	Age related to marital status and sex (Survey).
VIII	Ethnic origins of survey sample.
IX	Residential movement of survey sample.
X	Fertility Table (Survey).
XI	Residential area related to percentages of intimate friends who are not Jewish.
XI(a)	Secular education related to percentages of intimate friends who are not Jewish.
XII	Husband's and Wife's voting pattern related to educational standard.
XIII	Comparison between N.S.W. and 'Lakeville' on self-image of 'a good Jew'.
XIV	Husband's voting pattern by current suburb of residence.
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XV	Religious practices and educational level - Husband.
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XVI	Attitudes towards intermarriage related to age of respondent.
XVII	Marriage priorities of respondents - Intermarriage conflict.
XVIII	Intermarriage conflict related to age of respondent.
XIX	Age of respondent related to persons in household not born Jewish and whether converted.
XX	Religious practices observed related to conversion of non-Jewish partner.

TABLE I
BIRTHPLACE OF NEW SOUTH WALES JEWRY

BIRTHPLACE	CENSUS DATE (a)				
	1911	1954	1961	1966	1971
	%	%	%	%	%
Australasia	65.4	39.5	38.3	39.5	40.4
United Kingdom	15.5	12.4	10.7	10.7	10.1
Western and Central Europe*	4.4	25.0	25.9	24.5	22.8
Southern Europe*	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4
Eastern Europe	9.3	16.4	15.5	14.7	11.4
Other Europe	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.4	3.6
Asia (including Israel)	0.8	4.3	5.5	6.1	6.8
Africa	0.9	1.1	2.5	3.0	3.1
America	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.8	1.3
Others	2.1	+	+	+	0.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percentage born outside Australasia	34.6	60.5	61.7	60.5	59.6

(a) Cross-tabulation of place of birth by religion not available between 1911 and 1954.

* West and Central Europe includes Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, and the Netherlands; Eastern Europe includes Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia and Romania.

+ Less than 0.1 per cent.

TABLE II
SYDNEY AND SUBURBS — JEWISH POPULATION

(i) NUMBERS

The areas shown are a simplified version of categories used by the census and also by Price, *op.cit.*, whose figures show that the existing pattern became established in the 1920s.

AREA	1933	1947	1954	1961	1966
City of Sydney	1,902	1,684	1,653	1,465	1,170
East	5,011	7,315	10,951	13,676	14,923
South	281	336	793	1,165	1,289
West	1,337	1,446	2,275	2,477	2,346
Outer North	194	533	1,112	1,691	2,237
Inner North	600	888	1,821	2,632	3,107
Total	9,325	12,232	18,605	23,106	25,072

(ii) PROPORTIONS

AREA	1933	1947	1954	1961	1966
City of Sydney	20.4	13.8	8.9	6.3	4.7
East	53.7	59.8	58.8	59.2	59.5
South	3.0	3.0	4.2	5.0	5.1
West	14.3	11.8	12.3	10.7	9.4
Outer North	2.1	4.3	6.0	7.3	8.9
Inner North	6.5	7.3	9.8	11.4	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEW SOUTH WALES JEWISH COMMUNITY.

TABLE III

Age last birthday	1933 Census				1947 Census				1961 Census				1966 Census				1971 Census			
	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%	Male	Female	Total	%
0-4	260	260	520)		427	443	870)		709	760	1469)		625	670	1295)		701	642	1343)	
5-9	340	312	652)		320	299	619)		941	831	1772)		820	817	1637)		672	705	1377)	
10-14	403	372	775)	27.0	277	286	563)	21.0	1055	1006	2061)	28.5	1031	914	1945)	27.7	838	850	1688)	24.3
15-19	415	429	844)		354	355	709)		764	773	1537)		1176	1137	2313)		989	917	1906)	
20-24	404	401	805)		422	412	834)		482	521	1003)		797	802	1599)		1099	1105	2204)	
25-29	405	407	812)		479	468	947)		488	498	986)		532	584	1116)		800	810	1610)	19.0
30-34	452	439	891)		493	536	1029)		646	746	1392)		543	566	1109)		523	586	1109)	
35-39	385	417	802)		597	598	1195)		941	1046	1987)		676	793	1469)		573	634	1207)	
40-44	445	397	842)		617	547	1164)		919	936	1855)		984	1154	2138)		745	825	1570)	
45-49	482	430	912)		594	636	1230)		1096	1031	2127)		957	1043	2000)		1022	1165	2187)	
50-54	384	304	688)		558	476	1034)		1143	1006	2149)		1135	1086	2221)		958	1015	1973)	
55-59	278	245	523)		481	383	864)		880	793	1673)		1191	997	2188)		1079	1032	2111)	
60-64	241	183	424)	23.3	410	373	783)	29.4	661	754	1415)	32.6	800	819	1619)	35.8	1032	981	2013)	37.6
65-69	188	166	354)		274	277	551)		465	544	1009)		584	724	1308)		666	718	1384)	
70 & over	211	189	400)		299	364	663)		641	950	1591)		776	1180	1956)		891	1398	2289)	
Not stated	26	35	61)		74	65	139)		-	-	-)		-	-	-)		-	-	-)	
Total	5319	4986	10,305		6676	6518	13,194		11,831	12,195	24,026		12,627	13,286	25,913		12,588	13,383	25,971	

1966 Percentage of the General Population (excluding Jews) under 20 years was 37.0: percentage over 50 years was 23.0.

1971 Percentage of the General Population (excluding Jews) under 20 years was 36.1: percentage over 50 years was 22.8.

TABLE III(a)

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEW SOUTH WALES JEWISH COMMUNITY

1971 Census

Age last birthday	Male	Female	Total	1971 %	1966 %
0-4	701	642	1343	5.2)	5.0)
5-9	672	705	1377	5.3)	6.3)
10-14	838	850	1688	6.5) 24.3	7.5) 27.7
15-19	989	917	1906	7.3)	8.9)
20-24	1099	1105	2204	8.5)	6.2)
25-29	800	810	1610	6.2) 19.0	4.3) 14.8
30-34	523	586	1109	4.3)	4.3)
35-39	573	634	1207	4.6)	5.6)
40-44	745	825	1570	6.1)	8.3)
45-49	1022	1165	2187	8.4)	7.7)
50-54	958	1015	1973	7.6)	8.6)
55-59	1079	1032	2111	8.1)	8.4)
60-64	1032	981	2013	7.8)	6.3)
65-69	666	718	1384	5.3) 37.6	5.0) 35.8
70 and over	891	1398	2289	8.8)	7.6)
Total	12,588	13,383	25,971	100.0	100.0

1966 Percentage of the General Population (excluding Jews) under 20 years was 37.0: percentage over 50 years was 23.0.

1971 Percentage of the General Population (excluding Jews) under 20 years was 36.1: percentage over 50 years was 22.8.

TABLE IV

EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS IN 1971

STANDARD OF EDUCATION	Jews			Total 1966 Census	Others			Total 1966 Census
	Males	Females	Total 1971		Males	Females	Total 1971	
University Degree	13.1	4.8	8.8	5.8	3.0	1.1	2.1	1.1
Other Tertiary	5.4	4.0	4.7	3.1	3.0	2.7	2.8	1.7
Attended Level 10(A)	36.6	34.4	35.3		15.1	11.7	13.4	
Other	44.9	56.9	51.2		78.9	84.5	81.7	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	

TABLE V

FERTILITY RATES - N.S.W. JEWISH COMMUNITY
(1966 Census)

AGE OF WIFE	NUMBER OF CHILDREN										N.S.*	TOTAL WIVES		AVERAGE ISSUE WIVES		
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+	1966		1971	1966	1971		
15 - 19	22	4									3	5	29	18	.15	.38
20 - 24	192	91	42	4							17	39	346	497	.57	.41
25 - 29	86	146	175	47	6						21	28	481	638	1.44	1.31
30 - 34	38	81	244	94	24	4	1				16	24	502	494	2.00	2.13
35 - 39	36	110	334	148	46	7	1	1			35	19	718	554	2.13	2.20
40 - 44	92	216	431	168	49	11	3	1			65	34	1036	746	1.91	2.08
45 - 49	122	203	333	104	33	15	4	1			58	64	873	1014	1.74	1.83
50 - 54	159	212	301	107	27	8	3	-	2		55	65	874	795	1.62	1.74
55 - 59	177	210	181	57	15	6	2	1	1		57	101	707	758	1.33	1.55
60 - 64	138	109	108	42	12	8	2	-	1		46	93	466	600	1.33	1.29
65 - 69	71	75	76	29	9	4	-	-	1		29	61	294	334	1.45	1.26
70 +	42	47	62	29	14	6	1	2	1		31	61	235	301	1.82	1.59
Total	1175	1504	2287	829	235	69	17	6	6		433	594	6561	6749	1.64	1.63

* Number of issue not stated or not stated if with issue.

TABLE VI
 OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN N.S.W.
 (1966 CENSUS)

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP.	% JEWS		% OTHERS	
	M	F	M	F
	Professional, Technical & Related Workers.	17.4	11.7	7.6
Administrative, Executive & Managerial Workers.	32.4	15.9	7.8	2.5
Clerical Workers.	8.7	30.7	8.4	31.4
Sales Workers.	14.3	20.0	5.8	11.9
Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters, Timber Getters etc.	.4	.1	9.5	3.9
Miners, Quarrymen & Related Workers.	*	*	1.1	*
Workers in Transport & Communication Occupations.	3.7	.7	7.8	2.5
Craftsmen, Production — Process Workers & Labourers.	18.8	11.8	44.6	16.6
Service, Sport & Recreation Workers.	2.8	6.6	4.5	14.9
Members of Armed Services.	.2	*	1.8	.2
Occupation Inadequately Described or not stated.	1.1	2.4	1.1	3.3

* Less than 0.1%. Because of some small numbers not percentaged, totals do not quite reach 100%.

TABLE VI(a)
 OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN N.S.W.
 (1971 CENSUS)

OCCUPATION	Jews		Others	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
	%	%	%	%
Upper Professional	13.0	3.3	3.3	.9
Graziers, wheat and sheep farmers	.1	*	1.7	.7
Lower professional	5.9	12.3	5.5	12.5
Managerial	33.4	12.7	8.8	2.5
Self employed shop proprietors	2.4	1.7	.7	.6
Other farmers	.2	.1	2.8	1.1
Clerical and related workers	14.1	37.0	11.6	36.3
Armed service and police force	.4	*	2.6	.2
Craftsmen and foremen	9.9	3.1	20.7	2.1
Shop assistants	4.5	14.5	2.5	9.9
Operatives and process workers	3.3	4.0	10.5	9.8
Drivers	3.1	.3	6.2	.6
Personal—Domestic—other service	3.4	5.9	4.8	15.1
Miners	*	—	1.1	*
Farm and rural workers	*	*	2.6	1.0
Labourers	2.9	.8	10.3	2.3
Inadequately described	3.4	4.2	4.3	4.4

* Number too small to record as percentage

TABLE VII

AGE RELATED TO MARITAL STATUS AND SEX

MALES

Age Group	Total No. in Age Group	Single %	Married %	Widowed %	Divorced %	Separated %
20 – 29	13	30.8	61.5	7.7	-	-
30 – 39	38	2.6	94.7	-	2.6	-
40 – 49	104	3.8	94.2	-	1.9	-
50 – 59	145	2.8	92.4	4.1	0.7	-
60 & over	158	6.3	71.5	20.3	1.3	0.6
Total	458					

FEMALES

20 – 29	31	6.5	90.3	-	3.2	-
30 – 39	85	-	95.3	1.2	1.2	2.3
40 – 49	153	0.7	88.2	7.8	3.3	-
50 – 59	136	2.2	69.9	21.3	5.9	0.7
60 & over	155	1.9	41.9	52.9	1.9	0.6
Age not known	2					0.6*
Total	562					

* Did not answer question on marital status.

Source: Responses to survey.

ETHNIC ORIGINS

TABLE VIII

Place of Birth	HUSBAND (n=867)		HUSBAND Husband's Parents Husband's Grandparents						WIFE Wife (n=952) Wife's Parents Wife's Grandparents							
	Number	Percentage	Mother	Father	Maternal Grand- mother	Maternal Grand- father	Paternal Grand- mother	Paternal Grand- father	Number	Percentage	Mother	Father	Maternal Grand- mother	Maternal Grand- father	Paternal Grand- mother	Paternal Grand- father
			(n=867)	(n=867)	(n=867)	(n=867)	(n=867)	(n=867)			(n=952)	(n=952)	(n=952)	(n=952)	(n=952)	(n=952)
			%	%	%	%	%	%			%	%	%	%	%	%
Australasia	(156)	18.0	9.6	7.0	3.9	2.2	2.9	2.7	(201)	21.1	9.7	7.7	4.5	3.0	4.0	3.8
United Kingdom	(80)	9.2	7.6	6.5	6.6	6.0	4.7	4.3	(92)	9.7	10.0	9.2	6.4	6.5	5.1	3.8
America	(5)	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.3	(4)	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3
Eastern Europe																
Russia	(27)	3.1	8.7	10.2	12.1	12.9	12.5	12.7	(29)	3.0	9.8	11.0	13.9	14.5	13.9	13.9
Poland	(155)	17.9	24.2	26.8	25.0	26.0	26.6	26.6	(128)	13.5	20.1	22.5	21.6	23.0	23.3	23.8
Rumania	(29)	3.3	2.5	2.5	2.1	2.1	2.4	2.5	(25)	2.6	2.6	2.8	1.8	1.7	2.2	2.5
Other	(19)	2.2	2.9	3.3	2.9	3.0	3.8	4.2	(16)	1.7	2.0	2.4	2.8	2.7	2.3	3.1
Total	(230)	26.5	38.3	42.8	42.1	44.0	44.7	46.0	(198)	20.8	34.5	38.7	40.1	41.9	41.7	43.3
Western & Central Europe																
Czechoslovakia	(57)	6.6	6.5	6.7	16.3	6.0	5.9	5.9	(63)	6.6	6.5	6.8	6.1	6.6	5.8	5.7
Hungary	(113)	13.0	15.1	14.4	14.4	14.9	14.3	14.0	(133)	14.0	15.2	14.9	14.7	14.8	15.1	14.9
Germany	(84)	9.7	9.1	8.6	8.2	8.6	8.1	7.9	(91)	9.6	8.7	8.2	7.9	7.5	8.0	8.2
Austria	(69)	7.9	5.5	5.6	5.0	5.0	4.5	4.5	(69)	7.2	6.3	6.1	6.0	4.9	4.9	5.1
Other W. Europe	(12)	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.9	1.8	2.3	(29)	3.0	3.1	2.6	3.9	3.9	3.0	3.2
Total	(355)	38.6	37.7	37.7	35.6	36.4	34.6	34.6	(385)	40.4	39.8	38.6	38.6	37.7	36.8	37.1
Asia (incl. Israel)	(33)	3.8	3.8	3.9	2.8	2.3	2.9	2.8	(47)	4.9	3.8	3.8	2.4	2.4	3.0	2.8
Africa	(28)	3.2	1.7	1.2	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.6	(25)	2.6	1.7	1.3	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6
No answer or don't know			0.8	0.9	7.8	8.1	9.0	8.7			0.1	0.1	7.0	7.4	8.3	8.3

Source: Response to survey

TABLE IX
RESIDENTIAL MOVEMENT

Residential Areas	First place of residence in Australia		Where respondents lived 5 years age	Where respondents currently live
	Husband % (n=712)	Wife % (n=759)	(n=1020) %	(n=1020) %
EAST	57.9	57.3	59.3	62.7
SOUTH	2.0	1.8	3.5	3.1
INNER & MID-WEST	8.3	8.9	8.1	7.6
OUTER WEST	1.3	1.2	1.9	1.1
INNER NORTH	12.2	12.9	15.3	15.3
OUTER NORTH	2.7	2.9	7.8	9.1
SYDNEY	6.0	7.4	1.4	1.1
COUNTRY N.S.W.	2.2	1.6	-) *	-)
OTHER STATES	7.4	5.9	2.7)	-)
	100.0	99.9		

* This figure also includes people who come from overseas.

Source: Responses to survey.

TABLE X

FERTILITY TABLE

AGE OF WIFE	Number of Children							Total No. children	Total No. children	Average issue wives	Childless	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6					7
20 - 24	3	1	1	1					6	6	1.0	.50
25 - 29	2	5	13	3					40	23	1.73	.08
30 - 34	-	2	18	10	5	2			98	37	2.64	.00
35 - 39	-	7	22	12	3	2	2		121	48	2.52	.00
40 - 44	4	8	31	23	3	1			156	70	2.22	.05
45 - 49	5	18	40	11	5	3			166	82	2.02	.06
50 - 54	10	31	21	11	2	1			119	76	1.56	.13
55 - 59	11	14	26	3	1	2			89	57	1.56	.19
60 - 64	14	24	19	3				1	78	61	1.27	.22
65 and over	9	30	30	18	3				156	90	1.73	.10
Age unknown			1						2	1		
									1031	551		

Source: Responses to survey.

TABLE XI

**RESIDENTIAL AREA RELATED TO PERCENTAGE OF INTIMATE FRIENDS
WHO ARE NOT JEWISH**

Residential Area		HUSBAND					WIFE					
		ALL	MOST	ABOUT HALF	FEW	NONE	ALL	MOST	ABOUT HALF	FEW	NONE	
East	(n=537)	0.4	1.9	9.5	33.9	54.4	(n=593)	0.2	2.4	9.9	32.4	55.1
South	(n= 27)	7.4	7.4	11.1	44.4	29.6	(n= 29)	6.9	6.9	13.8	37.9	34.5
Inner & Mid West	(n= 68)	2.9	4.4	19.1	39.7	33.8	(n= 72)	5.6	-	19.4	45.8	29.2
Outer West	(n= 11)	9.1	9.1	27.3	18.2	36.4	(n= 11)	9.1	9.1	36.4	18.2	27.3
Inner North	(n=122)	1.6	8.2	23.8	36.1	30.3	(n=142)	0.7	7.0	21.1	38.7	32.4
Outer North	(n= 87)	-	12.6	21.8	37.9	27.6	(n= 87)	-	12.6	27.6	33.3	26.4
Sydney	(n= 7)	-	-	-	42.9	57.1	(n= 9)	11.1	-	11.1	33.3	44.4

TABLE XI (a)

**SECULAR EDUCATION RELATED TO PERCENTAGES OF INTIMATE FRIENDS
WHO ARE NOT JEWISH**

Secular Education		HUSBAND					WIFE					
		ALL	MOST	ABOUT HALF	FEW	NONE	ALL	MOST	ABOUT HALF	FEW	NONE	
University	(n=236)	-	5.5	17.8	44.9	31.8	(n= 70)	-	4.3	20.0	54.3	21.4
Other Tertiary	(n=104)	1.9	5.8	11.5	34.6	46.2	(n=116)	1.7	6.0	14.7	41.4	36.2
Leaving Certificate	(n=128)	1.6	3.1	15.6	36.7	43.0	(n=179)	0.6	4.5	14.0	33.5	47.5
Intermediate Certificate	(n= 76)	2.6	6.6	13.2	27.6	50.0	(n=130)	3.8	6.2	14.6	33.8	41.5
Attended Secondary	(n=246)	0.8	2.4	11.4	32.1	53.3	(n=333)	0.6	2.4	11.7	30.3	55.0
Attended Primary	(n= 30)	-	3.3	6.7	13.3	76.7	(n= 41)	-	2.4	17.0	24.4	56.1
Never attended School	(n= 18)						(n= 37)					
Schooling not stated												

Source: Response to survey.

TABLE XII

HUSBAND'S VOTING PATTERN RELATED TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD**

	STATE ELECTION								FEDERAL ELECTION									
	University (n=179)	Other Tertiary (n= 77)	Leaving Cert.level (n=101)	Intermediate Cert.level (n= 50)	Attended Secondary (n=168)	Attended Primary (n= 25)	Others*	Total Voting (n=628)	Total in Percentage	University (n=179)	Other Tertiary (n= 78)	Leaving Cert.level (n=101)	Intermediate Cert.level (n= 50)	Attended Secondary (n=169)	Attended Primary (n= 25)	Others* (n= 29)	Total Voting (n=631)	Total in Percentage
Political Party	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Liberal Party	54.2	51.9	60.4	52.0	50.6	24.0	67.9	(334)	53.2	53.6	51.3	63.4	52.0	49.1	24.0	72.4	(336)	53.2
A.L.P.	38.0	36.3	34.7	40.0	44.0	68.0	28.6	(250)	39.8	40.2	37.2	30.7	44.0	45.6	68.0	24.1	(255)	40.4
D.L.P.	-	2.6	1.0	-	0.6	-	-	(4)	0.6	-	2.6	1.0	-	1.8	-	-	(6)	1.0
Australia Party	0.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	(1)	0.2	1.7	-	1.0	-	0.6	-	-	(5)	0.8
Other	3.4	5.2	-	8.0	0.6	4.0	3.5	(17)	2.7	3.4	5.1	-	4.0	-	4.0	3.4	(14)	2.2
Not eligible to vote	3.9	3.9	3.9	-	4.2	4.0	-	(22)	3.5	1.1	3.8	3.9	-	2.9	4.0	-	(15)	2.4

WIFE'S VOTING PATTERN RELATED TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARD**

	STATE ELECTION								FEDERAL ELECTION									
	(n= 60) %	(n= 86) %	(n=133) %	(n= 97) %	(n=242) %	(n= 35) %	(n= 51) %	(n=704) %	(n= 61) %	(n= 90) %	(n=134) %	(n= 95) %	(n=241) %	(n= 34) %	(n= 50) %	(n=705) %		
Liberal Party	48.3	48.8	66.2	58.8	61.6	31.4	51.0	(402)	57.1	44.3	50.0	67.9	56.8	61.8	35.3	54.0	(405)	57.4
A.L.P.	48.3	44.2	27.8	37.1	33.1	60.0	43.1	(263)	37.4	50.8	42.2	26.9	41.1	34.0	61.8	38.0	(266)	37.7
D.L.P.	-	1.2	-	-	0.4	-	-	(2)	0.3	-	1.1	-	-	0.4	-	2.0	(3)	0.4
Australia Party	-	3.5	-	-	-	-	-	(3)	0.4	3.3	2.2	0.7	-	-	-	-	(5)	0.7
Other	1.7	2.3	2.3	3.1	0.8	5.7	3.9	(15)	2.1	1.6	4.4	2.2	1.1	0.4	2.9	4.0	(13)	1.8
Not eligible to vote	1.7	-	3.7	1.0	4.1	2.9	2.0	(19)	2.7	-	-	2.2	1.1	3.3	-	2.0	(13)	1.8

** This analysis is based only on those people who answered the question on voting. Disregarding the 'others' category (see below) in some categories the numbers are too small for accurate results but are included to give a complete picture.

* 'Others' include Schooling Not Stated or inadequately described or those who never attended school. Because the category is mixed and numbers are small it is suggested that very little importance attaches to the results.

Source: Responses to survey.

TABLE XIII
COMPARISON BETWEEN N.S.W. AND 'LAKEVILLE' ON SELF IMAGE OF 'A GOOD JEW'

ATTRIBUTES OF A GOOD JEW	N.S.W. COMMUNITY				LAKEVILLE - U.S.A.					N.A. D.K.
	Essential	Desirable	No Bearing	Must Not Be Done	Essential	Desirable	Makes No Difference	Essential Not To Do		
Accept being a Jew and not try to hide it	79.2	17.0	3.2	0.6	85	13	2	-	-	-
Contribute to Jewish charities	60.4	32.2	7.3	0.1	39	49	12	-	-	-
Support Israel	72.7	22.0	5.3	-	21	47	32	-	-	-
Belong to Jewish organisations	26.9	42.2	30.2	0.7	17	49	34	-	-	-
Belong to synagogue or temple	45.8	30.0	23.3	0.7	31	44	25	-	-	-
Attend weekly services	11.8	37.5	48.3	2.4	4	46	49	1	-	-
Observe dietary laws	18.2	25.8	52.4	3.6	1	11	85	3	-	-
Support all humanitarian causes	52.5	38.0	9.4	0.1	67	29	4	-	-	-
Be well versed in Jewish history and culture	33.2	58.7	7.9	0.2	17	73	10	-	-	-
Know the fundamentals of Judaism	53.5	42.5	3.9	0.1	48	48	4	-	-	-
Have mostly Jewish friends	18.9	25.8	52.6	2.7	1	10	81	8	-	-
Promote the use of Yiddish	10.3	14.2	64.2	11.3	1	6	69	24	-	-
Give Jewish candidates for political office preference	10.7	18.1	52.2	19.0	1	6	39	54	-	-
Support Zionism	49.8	28.7	19.6	1.9	7	23	59	9	-	2
Lead an ethical and moral life	83.5	13.8	2.4	0.3	93	6	1	-	-	-
Attend High Holiday services	49.3	32.8	17.0	0.9	24	46	30	-	-	-
Gain respect of non-Jewish neighbours	60.3	25.4	14.0	0.3	59	32	9	-	-	-
Promote improvement in the community	50.3	40.2	9.4	0.1	67	29	4	-	-	-
Help the underprivileged improve their lot	56.2	36.6	7.1	0.1	58	37	5	-	-	-
Be a fully integrated Australian	42.1	30.1	26.1	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marry within the Jewish faith	62.9	26.0	10.6	0.5	23	51	26	-	-	-
Work for equality for negroes	-	-	-	-	44	39	16	1	-	-
Be a liberal on political & economic issues	-	-	-	-	31	32	35	2	-	-

TABLE XIV

HUSBAND'S VOTING PATTERN BY CURRENT SUBURB OF RESIDENCE

	East (n=371) %	South (n= 19) %	Inner & Mid-West (n= 56) %	Outer West (n= 9) %	Inner North (n= 96) %	Outer North (n= 71) %	Sydney (n= 6) %
STATE ELECTION							
Political Party							
Liberal	52.0	52.6	46.4	66.7	57.3	56.3	66.7
A.L.P.	41.2	47.4	44.6	33.3	33.3	36.6	33.3
D.L.P.	0.3	-	-	-	1.0	2.8	-
Australia Party	-	-	-	-	1.0	-	-
Other	3.0	-	3.6	-	3.1	1.4	-
Not Eligible to Vote	3.5	-	5.4	-	4.2	2.8	-
FEDERAL ELECTION							
	(n=372) %	(n= 21) %	(n= 55) %	(n= 9) %	(n= 96) %	(n= 72) %	(n= 6) %
Liberal	54.3	47.6	43.6	66.7	56.3	50.0	66.7
A.L.P.	40.6	52.4	45.5	33.3	34.4	41.7	33.3
D.L.P.	0.3	-	-	-	3.1	2.8	-
Australia Party	0.3	-	1.8	-	2.1	1.4	-
Other	2.2	-	5.5	-	1.0	2.8	-
Not Eligible to Vote	2.4	-	2.6	-	3.1	1.4	-

Source: Responses to survey.

TABLE XIV a.

WIFE'S VOTING PATTERN RELATED TO CURRENT SUBURB

	East (n=419) %	South (n= 20) %	Inner & Mid-West (n= 61) %	Outer West (n= 9) %	Inner North (n=116) %	Outer North (n= 72) %	Sydney (n= 7) %
STATE ELECTION							
Political Party							
Liberal	54.9	50.0	57.4	88.9	60.3	62.5	57.1
A.L.P.	40.1	50.0	34.4	11.1	31.0	33.3	42.9
D.L.P.	0.2	-	-	-	-	1.4	-
Australia Party	-	-	1.6	-	1.7	-	-
Other	2.4	-	3.5	-	2.6	-	-
Not Eligible to Vote	2.4	-	3.3	-	4.3	2.8	-
FEDERAL ELECTION							
	(n=419) %	(n= 22) %	(n= 60) %	(n= 9) %	(n=115) %	(n= 73) %	(n= 7) %
Liberal	57.0	50.0	55.0	77.8	58.3	60.3	57.1
A.L.P.	38.9	50.0	40.0	22.2	32.2	35.6	42.9
D.L.P.	0.2	-	-	-	0.9	1.4	-
Australia Party	-	-	-	-	3.5	1.4	-
Other	2.1	-	3.3	-	1.7	-	-
Not Eligible to Vote	1.7	-	1.7	-	3.5	1.4	-

Source: Respo

Source:

Source: Responses to survey.

TABLE XV
RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

PRACTICES — Husband	University	Other Tertiary	Leaving Certificate	Intermediate Certificate	Attended Secondary	Attended Primary	Never Attended or Not Stated
Hanukkah							
Light Candles	43.3	61.5	55.0	57.1	54.1	69.7	68.4
Passover							
Sedar	73.5	87.5	80.2	83.1	87.0	90.9	94.7
No Bread Eaten	55.9	73.1	53.4	71.4	70.7	87.9	73.7
Yom Kippur							
Fasting	70.7	83.7	77.9	83.1	83.8	93.9	78.9
Sabbath							
Special Dinner Friday night	43.9	67.3	50.4	62.3	59.5	81.8	57.9
Light Candles	49.2	59.6	63.4	66.2	68.0	78.8	63.2
Kiddush	42.8	59.6	47.3	53.2	47.5	75.0	47.4
No Smoking	19.6	22.4	19.8	22.4	24.5	54.5	26.3
Dietary Laws							
No Bacon or Ham	41.6	64.4	48.1	59.7	54.1	69.7	84.2
Kosher Meat Bought regularly	18.1	21.2	17.6	15.6	26.7	48.5	26.3
Kosher The Meat Separate Utensils for meat and Dairy	(Not asked)						
	16.5	22.1	15.3	15.6	24.3	36.4	31.6

TABLE XV a.

PRACTICES — Wives	University	Other Tertiary	Leaving Certificate	Intermediate Certificate	Attended Secondary	Attended Primary	Never Attended or Not Stated
Hanukkah							
Light Candles	41.1	55.2	53.8	58.0	51.5	58.5	60.5
Passover							
Seder	79.5	79.3	81.9	85.6	80.1	82.9	81.6
No Bread Eaten	52.1	61.2	62.1	72.7	68.4	80.5	71.1
Yom Kippur							
Fasting	74.0	76.7	80.2	86.4	82.0	82.9	73.7
Sabbath							
Special Dinner Friday night	41.7	53.9	54.9	64.4	53.9	68.3	60.5
Light Candles	49.3	63.8	61.0	74.2	65.4	65.9	65.8
Kiddush	41.7	50.4	53.0	56.1	43.0	51.2	44.7
No Smoking	22.1	20.4	21.7	22.7	28.3	42.5	26.3
Dietary Laws							
No Bacon or Ham	40.3	52.6	48.9	64.4	52.3	65.9	68.4
Kosher Meat Bought Regularly	16.4	15.7	22.0	22.7	25.9	41.5	26.3
Kosher the Meat Separate Utensils for meat and Dairy	(Not asked)						
	13.7	18.3	22.0	21.2	23.8	26.8	26.3

Source: Responses to survey.

TABLE XVI

ATTITUDES TOWARDS INTERMARRIAGE RELATED TO AGE OF RESPONDENT

	20-29 (n= 39) %	30-39 (n=121) %	40-49 (n=245) %	50-59 (n=257) %	60 and over (n=258) %
Chance of intermarriage occurring					
Yes	53.8	61.2	49.0	44.4	33.3
No	30.8	28.9	40.8	43.9	46.5
Don't know	7.7	6.6	3.7	5.4	8.5
Refused	7.7	3.3	6.5	6.2	11.6
Husband's attitude towards intermarriage					
	(n= 39) %	(n=116) %	(n=225) %	(n=214) %	(n=167) %
Extremely happy	-	-	1.3	0.5	1.2
Happy	5.1	3.4	3.1	2.8	2.4
Neither happy/unhappy	28.2	30.2	26.2	24.3	24.0
Unhappy	30.8	28.4	24.0	34.1	29.3
Extremely unhappy	35.9	37.9	45.3	38.3	43.1
Wife's attitude towards intermarriage					
	(n= 37) %	(n=118) %	(n=231) %	(n=244) %	(n=213) %
Extremely happy	-	1.7	1.3	0.8	0.5
Happy	2.7	2.5	3.5	2.5	2.8
Neither happy/unhappy	29.7	33.1	26.8	25.8	23.9
Unhappy	35.1	33.9	25.1	28.7	25.8
Extremely Unhappy	32.4	28.8	43.3	42.2	46.9

Source: Responses to survey.

TABLE XVII

MARRIAGE PRIORITIES OF RESPONDENTS -- INTERMARRIAGE CONFLICT

A. CONFLICT OF ROMANTIC LOVE		B. CONFLICT OF OCCUPATION		C. CONFLICT OF SECULARISM	
Number of respondents who answered	911		910		911
	%		%		%
Prefer a non-Jew with whom child is in love	51.0	Prefer non-Jew who is in a profession	6.5	Prefer a non-Jew uninterested in organized religion	28.0
Prefer a Jew with whom child is not in love	25.8	Prefer a Jew who is in a skilled trade	66.9	Prefer strictly orthodox Jew	45.0
Depend on person	1.2	Depend on person	4.2	Depend on person	1.8
Don't know	3.1	Don't know	4.7	Don't know	4.2
Refused	15.8	Refused	16.3	Refused	16.9
Neither	3.1	Neither	1.4	Neither	3.2

Source: Responses to survey.

TABLE XVIII

ATTITUDES TOWARDS INTERMARRIAGE continued
CONFLICT RELATED TO AGE OF RESPONDENT

	20-29 (n= 40) %	30-39 (n=121) %	40-49 (n=243) %	50-59 (n=254) %	60 and over (n=252) %
LOVE CONFLICT					
Non-Jew	72.5	66.9	54.3	48.8	39.3
Jew	12.5	15.7	23.5	29.1	31.3
Depend on Person	-	1.7	0.4	0.4	2.8
Don't Know	-	4.1	1.6	2.0	5.6
Refused	12.5	7.4	17.3	16.1	18.6
Neither	2.5	4.1	2.9	3.5	2.4
OCCUPATION CONFLICT					
Non-Jew	2.5	9.9	6.2	7.1	5.2
Jew	67.5	71.9	70.4	63.6	64.3
Depend on Person	2.5	4.1	3.3	5.5	4.0
Don't Know	5.0	2.5	3.7	3.6	7.9
Refused	22.5	9.9	15.6	17.8	17.5
Neither	-	1.7	0.8	2.4	1.2
ORTHODOXY CONFLICT					
Non-Jew	32.5	32.2	27.6	31.1	26.2
Jew	47.5	52.1	43.2	44.1	43.6
Depend on Person	2.5	3.3	1.2	2.0	1.2
Don't Know	2.5	2.5	5.3	2.4	6.0
Refused	15.0	9.1	18.0	16.9	19.0
Neither	-	0.8	3.7	3.5	4.0

Source: Responses to survey.

AGE OF RESPONDENT RELATED TO PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD
NOT BORN JEWISH AND WHETHER CONVERTED

TABLE XIX

Respondents' Age Groups	Total No. Respondents	Non-Jewish Family Member				Total No. not Jewish By Birth	Percentage not Jewish by Birth	Number Converted	Percentage Converted as % of Not Jewish By Birth
		Husband	Wife	Children	Son-in-law Daughter-in-law				
20 - 29	44	-	1	-	1*	2	4.5	2	100.0
30 - 39	123	4	12	2	-	18	13.8	10	55.6
40 - 49	257	9	15	1	-	25	9.7	8	32.0
50 - 59	281	10	14	3	2	29	10.3	8	27.6
60 and over	313	4	14	1	2	21	7.0	3	14.3
No age given	2	-	1	-	-	1		1	100.0
TOTAL	1020	27	57	7	5	96	9.4	32	33.3

* This one person is neither of the categories listed, but classed as 'Other'.

Source: Responses to survey.

TABLE XX

PRACTICES OBSERVED RELATED TO CONVERSION OF NON-JEWISH PARTNER

	Husband		Wife		Other	
	Converted	Not converted	Converted	Not converted	Converted	Not converted
Hanukkah						
Light Candles	16.7	10.5	47.4	18.9	66.7	33.3
Passover						
Seder	66.7	31.6	78.9	32.4	66.7	50.0
No bread eaten	66.7	26.3	63.2	18.9	83.3	33.3
Yom Kippur						
Fasting	83.3	63.2	78.9	40.5	83.3	33.3
Sabbath						
Special dinner Friday night	33.3	15.8	68.4	16.2	66.7	33.3
Light candles	50.0	15.8	68.4	5.4	66.7	33.3
Kiddish	16.7	10.5	61.1	10.4	66.7	33.3
No smoking	33.3	10.5	15.8	16.7	-	16.7
Dietary Laws						
No bacon or ham	50.0	36.8	42.1	18.9	50.0	33.3
Kosher meat bought regularly	16.7	10.5	21.1	5.4	33.3	33.3
Kosher the meat (Not asked)						
Separate utensils meat and dairy	-	5.3	15.8	-	16.7	16.7

Source: Responses to survey.