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V O L U M E I

INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN A GLASGOW SUBURB

Tova Benski

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.,
Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts,
University of Glasgow

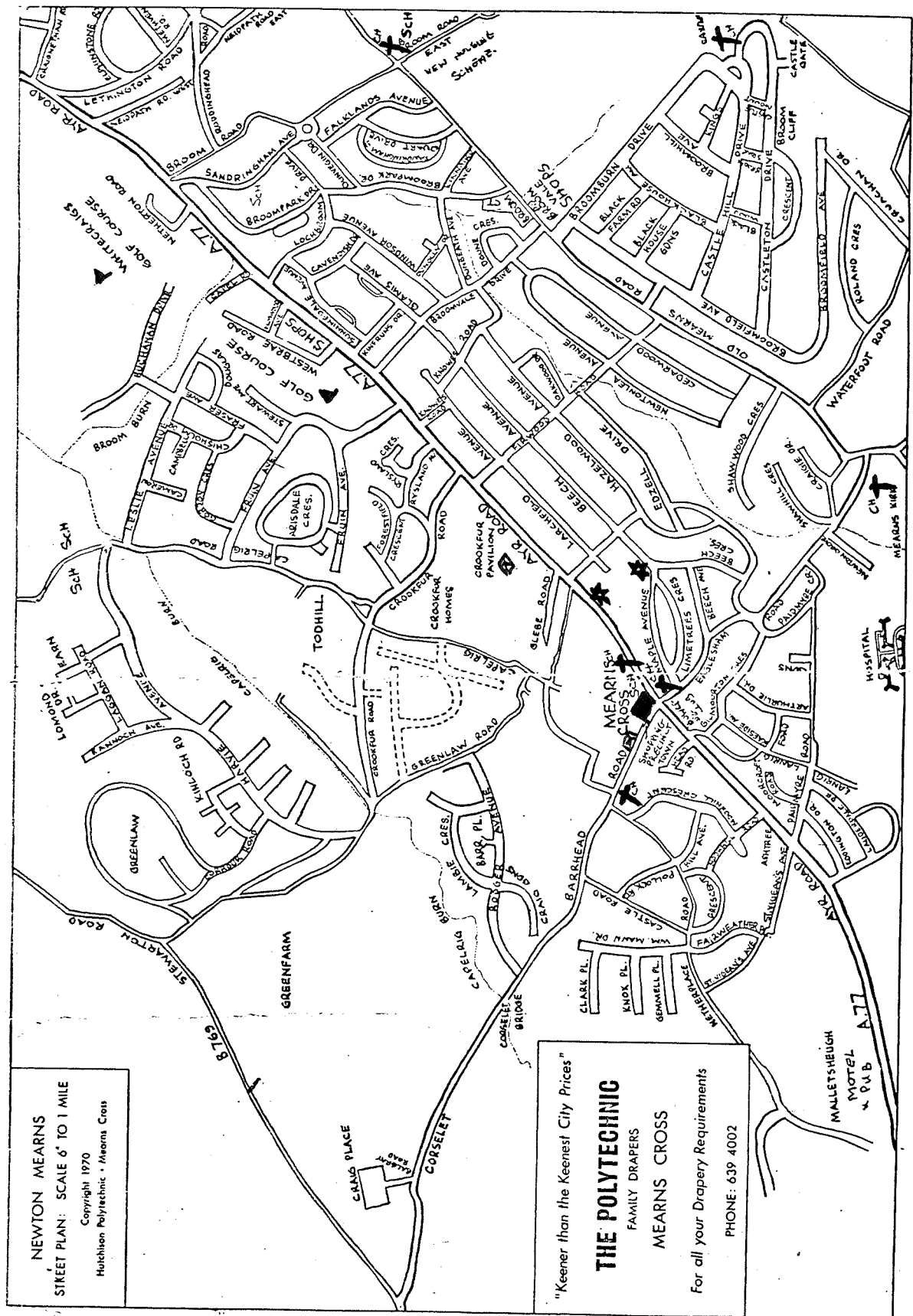
May 1976

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- + CH - Church
- ✳ - Synagogue
- SCH - School
- ▲ - Golf Course
- ☒ - Hall
- - Means Cross Shopping Precinct



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Tova Benski

SUMMARY

The study presented in this dissertation focused on the patterns of intergroup contacts and relations that exist between Jews and non-Jews, residents of the middle class suburb of Newton Mearns.

The investigation focused on four main spheres of social behaviour: 1. Leisure time activity; 2. Formal associations; 3. The economic environment; 4. Neighbourly relations. Particular reference was made to the contribution of each of these spheres towards the formation of intergroup friendships, which constituted the fifth sphere of social behaviour.

The method employed was a survey, supplemented by observation and extended interviews. Two samples, a Jewish and a non-Jewish, stratified by sex, were drawn. The Jewish sample was drawn from a list compiled through information obtained from various Jewish organisations, and the non-Jewish sample was drawn from the Assessor's Valuation Roll. Two separate schedules were drawn and the field work was carried out by two teams of interviewers (a Jewish and a non-Jewish team), in the period between July 1973 and April 1974. Altogether 280 interviews with Jewish and 221 with non-Jewish heads of household were completed.

The findings showed that, of the four spheres examined, leisure time activity seemed to be the most segregated sphere of social behaviour. Formal associations were somewhat less segregated but, in a large number of cases, affiliation with a mixed association did not involve meaningful interactions between Jews and non-Jews. The neighbourhood and work were the two spheres which brought most

Jews and non-Jews into contact. These were also the spheres in which ethnic considerations were the least prevalent.

Very few of these contacts were transformed into close friendships: of the four spheres, the work and neighbourhood were the most conducive to the formation of intergroup friendships.

A number of factors were related to formation of these friendships. The most important ones were: (1) the type of situation in which the contact has occurred and the extent to which behaviour was prescribed by relatively fixed and accepted rules of conduct; (2) the centrifugal and centripetal forces both operating within the Jewish community; most important were the centripetal forces and their concomitants of social insulation, the feeling of unease in the company of non-Jews and the suspicion that most non-Jews are anti-Semitic; and (3) the widespread indifference, of the passive 'live and let live' type, towards any further contact with Jews, amongst the non-Jewish respondents.

Even when close intergroup friendships were formed, they did not compare very favourably with ingroup friendships in terms of intensity, content and personal involvement. For the most part, these friendships were incapable of overcoming the suspicions, anxieties and sensitivities of the Jewish respondents.

By and large, relations between Jews and non-Jews were surrounded by an air of uncertainty. Most of these relationships were friendly, but did not go beyond a casual acquaintance, with very little emotional substance or personal involvement.

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PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

A. The Direction Established

The present study is an empirical investigation, at the micro-sociological level, of the relations between Jews and non-Jews in Newton Mearns. It differs from other micro-level studies in the field of ethnic relations insofar as the main interest does not lie in documenting the existence of prejudice (Blalock Jr. 1967, pp.2-10; Schermerhorn 1970, p.6). Rather it aims at studying patterns of intergroup contact and interaction amongst both Jews and non-Jews.

The need for such an investigation has been recently pointed out by various sociologists involved in the study of Jewish communities in Britain (Freedman 1955, p.226; Davis in Gould & Esh 1964, p.xi; Gould in Gould & Esh 1964, p.197; Krausz 1965, pp.207-208). It has been pointed out that there is a basic gap in our knowledge and understanding of Jewish life in modern Britain, and that the various investigations in the field have been of extremely 'inward looking', 'parochial' nature, "that is to say, they examine the subject either without adequate reference to the total environment, or to the varying Jewish experience outside the immediate local framework" (Davis in Gould & Esh 1964, p. xi). As a result it has been suggested that further studies of Jewish life "must be complemented by detailed studies of the non-Jewish group, and the two aspects must become integrated" (Krausz, 1965, pp.207-208). In spite of these strong indications, not much was done to correct the bias. Research into the various Jewish communities in Britain has continued along this 'inward looking' line (Carrier 1969; Harris 1969; Gottlieb 1970; Cromer 1973) and fell within the

four main forms of Jewish sociology outlined by Gould. These were: (a) minority studies; (b) statistical and demographic studies; (c) studies of the structure of Jewish life and (d) studies of the social psychology of the Jew (Gould 1961, pp.55). The field, however, has not been completely overlooked in Britain. Some aspects of the relations between Jews and non-Jews, namely those relating to affiliation with non-sectarian associations, intermarriage and sociability/friendship patterns, have been studied. However, they were seen through these so-called 'inward looking' spectacles, as part of the larger problem of Jewish identification and integration into the wider social structure (Krausz 1963, pp.125-134; Krausz 1965, pp.17, 157-176; Harris 1969, pp.112, 130-132; Cromer 1973, pp.75-81).⁽¹⁾ As such, accounts produced by these studies can hardly be seen as adequate accounts of intergroup relations, nor was it attempted to see them as such.

While the construction of the present study came as a direct response to the inadequacies revealed by Jewish sociology, on further examination of the field of ethnic relations in Britain not much reference was found to the relations that exist between members of the 'core society' (Gordon 1964, p.72)⁽²⁾ and those of the Jewish minority group. Any reference in that direction took the form of studying anti-Semitic prejudices and the personality structure of the Anti-Semite (Eysenck 1953, Ch.14; Robb 1954).⁽³⁾ The recently increased interest in ethnic and

1. See further Bernard Lazerwitz's account of the measures developed to study Jewish identification (Lazerwitz 1973, p.204).

2. Milton Gordon uses this term to refer to the majority group in America being composed of 'white, Protestant middle class'.

3. For one of the most influential studies in this field in America see Adorno et al 1950 and Christie & Jahoda (eds.) 1954 for a critique.

race relations in Britain has left the Jewish community untouched. Most of these studies centred around the direct source of this interest, namely the coloured immigrant. The study of intergroup relations was thus confined to specific incidents or areas of discrimination and conflict (Daniel 1968; Rex & Moore 1971), and the contribution to the ongoing debate as to the relative usefulness of the immigration versus the race relations perspective (Banton 1967, pp.368ff; Allen 1971, pp.163ff; Richmond & Assistants 1973).

It is obvious that studies of prejudice alone cannot encompass the type of problem this study is concerned with. Eysenck himself is well aware of the need for other than psychological studies to account for intergroup relations (Eysenck 1953, p.261). The inadequacies of explaining behaviour in terms of attitudes alone are by now well documented in the social psychological literature. There is a recognition that attitudes are only one of the variables in intergroup situations and that, in order to understand the latter, an examination of these situations themselves is needed (Brookover 1952, pp.196-202).⁽¹⁾ Thus, the present study was further shaped by this need to go beyond parochial observations as regards the Jewish and non-Jewish groups, towards an examination of the situations in which members of these two 'groups' are involved together.

Finally, the investigation was further directed by some gaps in the sociological understanding arising from the local scene. According to the Jewish Yearbook, there are some 13,400⁽²⁾ Jews in Glasgow, some

1. For further discussion see Lindzey & Aronson 1965, Vol.5, Ch.37, pp.42-44.

2. This number remained unchanged for at least the past 15 years. For the period of this present study see: The Jewish Year Book, p.121; 1973, p.119; 1974, p.120.

60% of them, by a rough estimate,⁽¹⁾ residing in the predominantly middle class suburbs of Giffnock, Whitecraigs and Newton Mearns. As far as the Jewish community is concerned, there has been one preliminary study of Jewish youth in Newton Mearns and Whitecraigs (Millar 1971),⁽²⁾ but no studies of adult members of the community. Similarly, the Scottish middle class is, perhaps, the most neglected section in British society.⁽³⁾

Thus, in effect the present study treads virtually unexplored fields of study both in terms of Jewish sociology, sociology of inter-ethnic relations⁽⁴⁾ and the sociological understanding of the middle class way of life in Scotland. As a result, it is exploratory in nature

1. Estimated by Dr E. Golombok, the editor of the "Jewish Echo", the local Jewish newspaper, on the basis of the area-distribution of the paper in Glasgow. An identical estimate was made by Mr Paul Vincent, Senior Lecturer in Sociology, University of Strathclyde, observer of the Jewish community in Glasgow.

2. This study was conducted for the purpose of obtaining the B.A. degree in sociology. The chief interest was in examining assimilation tendencies of middle class Jewish youth (age groups 14-22), with particular reference to comparisons between members of the Orthodox and Reformed movements. (Millar 1971, pp.44-45.) It should be noted here that the Reform movement is somewhat more 'liberal' than the Orthodox one in interpreting the religious codes. For further details see Krausz 1963/64, pp.82-

3. It should be stated here that the study of the English middle classes suffered from a similar neglect, though to a somewhat lesser extent. It has been recently noted by Colin Bell that the middle classes form the stratum that the sociologist mostly mixes with but rarely writes about. The position that the middle classes occupy in British sociology has been described by him as 'peculiar' to the effect that they are usually relegated to a footnote but are included in a paradigm for the sake of theoretical symmetry (Bell 1968, p.1). As if to demonstrate the point made above, Goldthorpe & Lockwood have complained of the lack of detailed studies of the life styles of the British middle class. This was stated in a footnote (Goldthorpe, Lockwood et al 1965, p.91).

4. Only two sets of studies centred (amongst other topics) on the relations between Jews and non-Jews in America - The Cornell University Studies (Williams Jr. 1964; Dean 1955 and Dean in M. Sklare 1958) and the Lakeville Studies (Ringer 1967).

and represents an attempt at deriving both basic data and hypotheses for further research.

Before proceeding with a more detailed discussion of the study, the choice of the suburb and the method of investigation, a short note as to the use of the terms 'ethnic' and 'non-Jewish ' group is needed. The term 'ethnic group' is generally understood to designate "a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past and a cultural focus" (Schermerhorn 1970, p.12). Some important elements added to this definition from the field of anthropology serve to specify the term further to relate to a group which "is largely biologically self-perpetuating...makes up a field of communication and interaction" and "has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order" (Barth (ed.) 1969, p.9). Thus defined, it is clear that the Jewish minority constitutes an ethnic group. They have a shared historical past, a cultural-religious basis,⁽¹⁾ strict rules of endogamy, a closely knit network of interaction, and finally also self identification and definition by others. On the other hand, treating non-Jews as a 'group' is purely a matter of convenience. It is not used to imply any generic characteristic relating to membership of this 'group'. Furthermore, while some of the characteristics involved in the definition of an ethnic group might be vaguely applied to non-Jews by virtue of common nationality, these certainly do not involve self identification as 'non-Jews'. In other words, in

1. Jewry is sometimes referred to as "a civilisation". See in Freedman 1955, p.4.

speaking of a "non-Jewish group", no reference is made to a group in the social psychological sense of the word (Sprott 1958, pp.9-22). The definition comes from within the Jewish group, for whom 'non-Jews' form the external world as exemplified by the Hebrew term 'GOYIM',⁽¹⁾ widely used to refer to all those who are not Jewish. It is in this loose frame that the term 'non-Jews' is used here, for want of a better concept.

B. The Study-Scope

As stated earlier, the chief aim of the study lies in a wish to understand the complex nature of intergroup relations as experienced by members of both the Jewish and non-Jewish group. These relations, however, do not occur in a social vacuum. Contacts and interaction across ethnic lines usually occur in situations and settings which vary in the degree to which they are structured, or within which interaction is predetermined by role and status obligations and requirements. Accepting the fact that the number of such situations can be infinite, some limits had to be established. This was done on the basis of the two sets of studies (Cornell and Lakeville) mentioned earlier⁽²⁾ and of an exploratory study that I conducted in Newton Mearns in 1972. Four main spheres of social behaviour were selected for a close examination, with particular reference to their potential contribution towards the formation of intergroup friendships. The latter constituted the fifth sphere of social behaviour. Thus the study centred around the following fields of interaction:

1. Literally means 'nation'.

2. See footnote, ⁴, p.4.

1. Leisure time activity
2. Formal associations
3. The work environment
4. Neighbourly relations
- and 5. Friendship relations.

Within each of these spheres, the types of situation that bring Jews and non-Jews into contact have been examined and the nature of the interaction that followed has been assessed. Additional reference has been made to attitudes which the respondents held in relation to intergroup relations in general and in specific spheres, as well as attitudes directed towards the group as a whole. Further attention has also been directed towards some aspects of Jewish identification and basic social and demographic factors in an attempt to achieve a general picture of the background for these relations. The underlying assumption was that when individuals enter a situation and interact with each other, this is not done on a 'tabula rasa' basis. Each individual brings into the situation his own personal history of past contacts, attitudes, feelings, expectations and values. In Schutz's terms, these are all elements of a social world 'taken for granted' (Schutz 1964, pp.230-232). As such, they form an integral part of the problem under investigation and are relevant to the understanding of intergroup relations.

It is hoped that this study will be a contribution to the existing body of sociological knowledge, to the extent that it permits an integration of both the Jewish and non-Jewish accounts of the current nature of the relations that exist between them. Any further contributions towards a non-parochial understanding of Jewish life in Britain and towards an increase in our empirical knowledge of the

middle class way of life would be a by-product of the study.

C. The Choice of the Suburb

Newton Mearns was chosen as the area in which the investigation would be anchored for a number of reasons mostly related to the position of the Jewish community in Glasgow.

A realistic assessment of the character of intergroup relations could only be achieved within a setting which reflected the sociological position of the Jews in Glasgow. Since the Jewish community as noted earlier was mainly concentrated in the middle class suburbs south to the River Clyde, Newton Mearns was thought of as representative of a large section of the community. Furthermore, with most of its Jewish population being second and third generation highly acculturated Jews, it reflects fairly accurately the position of the Glasgow Jewish community.⁽¹⁾ This latter point was also very important since it allows analysis within a frame of reference other than 'immigrant-host' or 'first generation foreign speaking minority' and the wider society. Any such frame would not reflect accurately the type of intergroup relations in which Jews and non-Jews are involved in Glasgow.⁽²⁾

Further consideration was given to the fact that Newton Mearns is the only suburb in Glasgow (and in Scotland) to accommodate two synagogues which represent different streams in Judaism (Reform and Orthodox). At the same time, it also includes four parishes of the Church of Scotland (Church of Scotland Yearbook 1971, pp.169, 171; 1972, pp.169, 171; 1973, pp.169-171) and a small Catholic community (The Catholic Directory for Scotland 1971, p.243; 1973, p.257), thus

1, 2. See Appendix.

representing the two mainstreams of both Christian and Jewish religious life in Scotland.

In addition to the above considerations, the compactness of the area and the relative ease of accessibility by bus were clear advantages as far as fieldwork was concerned. The choice of the area was based, therefore, on both practical and theoretical considerations.

D. Methodology

The nature and scope of the study have suggested the survey method, supplemented by participant observation, as the most suitable for my purposes. The possibility of using the latter technique, however, was strongly limited by various factors. Firstly, it was only possible for studying relations developed locally. As regards the contacts and interactions which were maintained outside Newton Means, it was practically impossible to use the observation technique. The utilization of this technique locally was further limited by other factors. Financially it was not possible to establish residence in the area due to the high rent charged. Consequently, it was decided to establish some local links and use them for observation. This proved to be very easy as far as members of the Jewish community in the area were concerned, due to my Israeli nationality. The first preliminary interviews resulted in other social invitations and the number of links established was large enough to allow observations of some meaning. The number of links was further increased through various other channels. Since 1972 I have been teaching Hebrew in Langside College and Links House (the central office for the various Zionist organisations) and was in close contact with the various Israeli delegates to Jewish organisations in Glasgow (Habonim, Bnei-Akiva - two youth organisations and the Jewish Agency and

Maccabi). I also frequented meetings and functions organised by various Jewish organisations and synagogues, the Association of Jews and Christians and the Sharing of Faiths Committee. All of these provided further useful links and discussions which, in turn, have provided further insights into the position of the Jews in Glasgow in general and in Newton Mearns in particular.

Penetrating non-Jewish circles in Newton Mearns proved much more difficult. The first interviews in the area did not result in further invitations and the lack of locally based organisations have severely limited the possibility of applying the observation technique to non-Jews in the area. As a result, the discussion concerning non-Jews is based on the survey results, whereas that concerning the Jews in the area gains further insights from impressions derived through direct observation.

(1) The Samples

The formulation of the sampling frame for the survey and the decision as to the unit to be sampled were strongly affected by the well-documented problems of sampling a Jewish population through a definition other than self-identification in answering a direct question (Neustatter in Freedman 1955, pp.59-63). The problem was even more complicated in the present case. Previous research has revealed that the religion of the interviewer might affect responses to attitude questions (Selltitz, Yahoda, Deutsch and Cook 1965, p.548; Krausz 1967, pp.71-75; Allen and Williams Jr. 1968, pp.410-422). Furthermore, due to the different types of information that were needed from Jewish and non-Jewish respondents (mainly relating to Jewish identity and inter-group attitudes), interview schedules were not completely identical. These considerations made a strong case for establishing the religious identification of the respondents prior to the interviewing stage in

order to avoid a state of total chaos.

Arising out of the above consideration was the problem of establishing two sampling frames which would be sufficiently similar to enable comparisons between the Jewish and non-Jewish accounts. To meet this end, attention was first turned to compiling a source list which would be sufficiently complete to form the sampling frame for the Jewish respondents. Membership and mailing lists of nine synagogues and of twenty Jewish organisations were inspected. In addition to these, in order to cope with the problem of "non-affiliated" Jews, a list of some 100 typically Jewish surnames was compiled. Since names provided by the various lists related mainly to heads of families, it was decided to use households⁽¹⁾ as the main sampling unit.

The list of Jewish families compiled through information gathered from the various Jewish organisations was checked against the Valuation Roll for the Parish of Mearns 1972-73 (issued by the County Council office in Paisley), as was the list of typically Jewish surnames. In that way, some 596 households, of the 3,618 households listed under "Newton Mearns", were identified as Jewish. These then formed the source list for the Jewish sample.

For a sample of the non-Jewish population, the total list under "Newton Mearns" in the Valuation Roll was first taken. A small subgroup of Jewish household heads appeared in this second sample. These were used as a statistical check to the assumption that the number of unidentified Jews in the area was marginal. It was assumed that most of the Jews entering the general sample would have already been

1. 'Household' was defined in the same way as used by Krausz following the census lines: "One person living alone or a member of persons living together, partaking of meals prepared together and benefitting from a common household" (Krausz 1965, p.212).

identified by the Jewish source list. Thus, this second sample could be used to test the validity of the Jewish source list as a sampling frame. After eliminating Jewish households thus identified from this sample, the remainder was used to provide the non-Jewish sample to be compared with the Jewish one.

The sampling frame described above forms a modified version of the stratified random sampling technique (Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook 1965, pp.526-533; Parten 1950, pp.212-225) to the effect that only one of the source lists related to universe sampled, that is, the source list for the non-Jewish sample included Jews and, as such, included more than the "universe" sampled from this list. The method used was simple random sampling within each source list (Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook 1965, pp.521-526). Controls were introduced for sex, alternating between the husband and wife in successive households amongst those who were married and living with their spouse.

For the Jewish sample a total of 452 households was drawn at random. Of these, 2 were later found to be non-Jewish,⁽¹⁾ and of the remaining 450, 61 turned out to be "non-contacts", deceased or too ill to be interviewed (30), moving out of the area (20) and being never in (11). In effect then, some 389 Jewish household heads were contacted and interviews were completed with 280 of these, 140 men and 140 women. These represent a response rate of 72.0% of all those contacted and identified as Jewish⁽²⁾ and a refusal rate of 28.0%.

1. These were not, as could have been expected, households identified through the list of typically Jewish names. In fact these were two names drawn from the lists of contributors to Jewish organisations.

2. These 280 respondents were identified as Jewish through a question in the Interview Schedule. The rest were identified as such by virtue of either a "Mezuzah" on the door or self identification.

For the general sample, some 487 households were drawn at random from the Valuation Roll; 53 of these were identified by the Jewish source list as Jewish households. Of the remaining 434 households, 100 turned out to be "non-contact"; 70 on account of moving out of the area;⁽¹⁾ 20 on account of being "never in" and 10 deceased or hospitalized at the time. Thus, in effect, contact was made with only 330 household heads, a further 5 of which were found to be Jewish. The small number of Jewish households which were not identified as such prior to the contact shows that the Jewish source list accounted for over 90% of the Jewish households in the area and that any sample drawn from that list according to the proper principles of random selection would be fairly representative of the Jewish population in the area. In the final count, then, 325 non-Jewish household heads were contacted and interviews were completed with some 221 respondents, 120 men and 101 women. This represents a response rate of 68.0%.

(2) The Interview Schedules and Pilot Studies

The construction of the two interview schedules was based partly on existing samples of such schedules (Krausz 1965, Willmott and Young 1967 and Goldthorpe and Lockwood 1969), and on parts of the schedule used by B.Ringer (1967), made available to me by the "Jewish American Committee" Library in Jerusalem in the summer of 1972. Most importantly, however, the construction of the interview schedule was based on an exploratory study I conducted in Newton Mearns and on two pilot studies carried out in preparation of the survey in the neighbouring suburbs of Giffnock and Whitecraigs. The exploratory study consisted of in-depth interviews and discussions with leading

1. See discussion in Appendix.

members in the Jewish community, 4 ministers of the church, the youth and community worker in the area, a representative of McTaggart and Mickel (the main builders of the area) and officials of the County and District Council at Eastwood Toll and in Paisley. (Altogether 14 such interviews were recorded, 6 with Jews and 8 with non-Jews.)

The first pilot study was carried out during the early spring of 1973, by which time a rough copy of the interview schedule had been completed. Some 15 Jewish and 10 non-Jewish household heads from the neighbouring suburb of Giffnock were interviewed. Subsequently, the schedules were drastically altered, both in the type of questions asked, their wording and order and in the design of the schedules for ease of completion.

The second pilot study was carried out by the interviewers as part of their training. Some 37 interviews were thus completed in Whitecraigs - 18 with non-Jewish and 19 with Jewish household heads. Only slight changes of procedure were introduced as a result of this pilot study. The final interview schedules used for the present study are presented in the appendix volume.

(3) The Interviewers and Field Work

Great care was given to the selection of interviewers both in terms of experience and approach to the project. By the end of June 1973, 18 interviewers had been selected. These formed two teams: a team of 9 Jewish and 9 non-Jewish interviewers. All, except 3 of the Jewish interviewers, held at least one degree in the social sciences and, in addition, 12 of them had prior interviewing experience. All of them received two training sessions conducted along the lines suggested by Parten, Schofield and others (Parten 1950, pp.332-369; Schofield 1969, pp.59-65; Goode & Hatt 1952, pp.184-207),

and modified to accommodate my personal experience of 4 years as an interviewer for the Institute of Applied Social Research in Jerusalem. Each interviewer was then sent to Whitecraigs and conducted at least two interviews as part of his or her training. These were checked at the office and faults revealed were discussed individually with each interviewer.

The fieldwork proper started in the middle of July 1973, aiming at 300 completed interviews with Jewish heads of households and the same number with the non-Jewish ones. By the end of April 1974, after nine months of field work, it was decided to stop the interviewing process in spite of the fact that the original objective was not achieved.

It should be noted that within this period there was a major war in the Middle East which might have affected the Zionist feelings of the Jewish respondents on the one hand and, on the other hand, heighten awareness of Jews in the area amongst the non-Jewish respondents. For these reasons, interviewing was stopped for a period of six weeks from the day the war broke out (3rd October 1973). On the whole, most of the interviews with Jewish heads of household were completed prior to the war (73.9% or 207 of N=280). Most of the interviews conducted with non-Jewish respondents, on the other hand, were completed after that period of six weeks' break (64.3% or 142 of N=221). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the effect of the October war on the responses to the various questions was negligible. If at all, it would show up in greater saliency of the Jewish residents in the area amongst the non-Jewish respondents. (I personally checked each interview schedule that was completed and failed to notice any considerable change in the type of answers produced by the respondents who were

interviewed before and after the 1973 war.)

On the whole, respondents were friendly and generally a good rapport was established between the interviewers and respondents. According to the interviewers, they were offered refreshments in almost every household, and by the end of the field work period some of them swore they developed an allergy to tea and biscuits.

The information from the completed interview schedules was edited and transformed to coding sheets which were then punched on to IBM 80 column cards. This procedure produced 15 such cards for each Jewish and 11 for each non-Jewish respondent.. The information thus summarised was then transferred on to a magnetic tape. The computations used were those described by the SPSS Manual (NIE, BENT and HULL 1970). χ^2 was the test used for calculations of levels of statistical significance (SIEGEL 1956, pp.104-111; NIE, Bent and Hull 1970, p.275). When a different procedure was used, this is indicated at the relevant places.

E. Limitations

Before turning to the discussion of the findings, two main types of limitation arising from the use of interview schedules and the survey method in general need to be discussed.

As regards using interview schedules as the basic technique for eliciting information from the respondents, the first problem relates to the flexibility of the interview schedule. One of the main drawbacks of an interview schedule is "that it may force a statement of opinion on an issue about which the respondent does not have any opinion" (Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook 1965, p.260). This is particularly the case when the alternatives for answers given to the

interviewees are either rigidly categorized or are fixed a-priori. Hence a deliberate attempt was made to include as many "open ended" probes or follow-up questions as possible. In this way a more accurate judgement of the attitudinal position taken by the respondents was possible.

Secondly, the fact that the "wording of questions is the same for all respondents may conceal the fact that different respondents make different interpretations, some of which may be quite different from those intended by the interviewer" (Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook 1965, p.261). A number of "ambiguous" questions were eliminated as a result of the pilot studies discussed earlier. Furthermore, in this respect, again, the "open ended" questions were of great help in an attempt to assess the various ways in which the questions and some of the concepts used were interpreted. Although these cannot resolve the problem completely, they have contributed towards a satisfactory analysis of the issues under investigation.

A third issue, which has been dealt with extensively by Goldthorpe and Lockwood (1969, pp.49-51), relates directly to the accuracy and credibility of the respondents' report; there is the possibility of bias occurring in the data as a result of the respondents' attempt to present themselves in a favourable light to the interviewer. The same authors have also contended that "respondents are rarely able to maintain a 'front' throughout an entire interview" (1969, p.50). This is particularly the case with long interviews (the Jewish interviews lasted some 70-80 minutes and the non-Jewish ones some 60 minutes on an average). Thus, while these limitations and possible sources of bias in the interview material must be borne in mind, these are common to most sociological research which relies heavily on interview material.

Having taken these precautions to deal with various limitations, I do not believe that there are serious grounds here for doubting the validity of the findings in any general sense.

Finally, there is the important question of the appropriateness of the research design for the study of patterns of intergroup relations. As the major aim was to study patterns rather than processes of intergroup relations, the survey method seems to be quite appropriate for this purpose. Great care and considerable attention was paid to this aspect in drawing up the interview schedules and designing the sampling frame. I am quite satisfied that there was no other more economical way of collecting data on patterns of intergroup relations experienced outside the suburban setting, and I feel able to claim that the research design was adequate for studying the problems under investigation.

Bearing in mind the limitations discussed, we can now proceed to a description and discussion of the interview material. This constitutes the main content of the chapters of this dissertation.

PART TWO: SOME BACKGROUND FACTORS

CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

A. Introduction

Earlier studies have established some important links between structural factors such as age, sex, education and occupation, and other factors related to intergroup relations. For example, Dean and Williams found that contacts between Jews and non-Jews varied "tremendously with age, sex, socio-economic status and other such factors" (Dean 1955, p.316; also Williams 1964, pp.144-150). Benjamin Ringer found differences in the type of intergroup relations in which men and women of different age groups were involved (Ringer 1967) and Krausz found an interesting relationship between age and religious identification amongst the Jewish respondents in Edgware. The latter was also found to be related to attitudes towards inter-marriage and mixing with non-Jews (Krausz 1965, pp.168-175).

When the aims of the present study are considered, it is very clear that in order to achieve some degree of sophistication in the analysis of intergroup relations, a careful consideration of these background factors is necessary. In the case of the Jewish respondents, additional factors such as generation and descent, often associated with the acculturation of immigrants (Herberg 1955, pp.16-23; Kramer and Leventman 1961, Chapter 1; Goldstein & Goldscheider 1968), are important to the understanding of the type of relationships which develop between Jews and non-Jews.

B. Age and Sex Distribution of the Respondents

The sampling frame adopted for the purposes of the present study

resulted in 280 completed interviews with Jewish and 221 with non-Jewish heads of household. Alternating between male and female (where this was possible), interviews were completed with equal numbers of Jewish men and women (140 each). Amongst the non-Jewish respondents the position is slightly different, with 120 completed interviews with men and 101 with women. These, however, should not be seen as representative of the relative proportions of male to female amongst the household heads in Newton Mearns, since no attempt at such a representation was introduced into the sampling procedure.

Turning to an examination of the age distribution, Table 1 reflects the extent of self-selection in moving into Newton Mearns. Very few of the respondents were found in the youngest age groups. With house prices in 1973 being between £17,000 and £25,000, depending on size,⁽¹⁾ this is not surprising. The relatively higher proportion of non-Jewish respondents in the younger age group is explained by some of the ministers in the area in occupational terms. They noted that a large proportion of the non-Jewish residents were "striving young executives" working for the big national firms who are being transferred every five to six years, and for whom mortgages are readily available.

Most of the respondents can be found within age groups 30-59, although the non-Jewish respondents were slightly younger than the Jewish respondents.

The women form a somewhat more heterogeneous group than the men, with a somewhat larger proportion of younger and older women, amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents.

1. Figures obtained from estate agent's window display.

TABLE 1: AGE BY SEX - JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS

JEWISH RESPONDENTS

Age Groups	All Respondents		Male		Female	
20-29	24	8.6	10	7.1	14	10.0
30-39	72	25.8	41	29.3	31	22.1
40-49	65	23.2	36	25.7	29	20.7
50-59	67	23.9	31	22.1	36	25.7
60-69	39	13.9	15	10.7	24	17.2
70+	13	4.6	7	5.0	6	4.3
TOTALS	280	100.0	140	99.9	140	100.0

NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS

Age Groups	All Respondents		Male		Female	
20-29	23	10.4	6	5.0	17	16.8
30-39	66	29.9	44	36.7	22	21.8
40-49	54	24.4	31	25.8	23	22.8
50-59	38	17.2	22	18.3	16	15.8
60-69	24	10.9	12	10.0	12	11.9
70+	16	7.2	5	4.2	11	10.9
TOTALS	221	100.0	120	100.0	101	100.0

C. Marital Status and Family Size

It has been noted by Clark that suburban houses typically attract families with young children (1968, pp.191-194). Indeed, most of the respondents (87.9% - 246 of N=280 amongst the Jewish

and 86.5%, 192 of N=221 amongst the non-Jewish respondents) were married and lived with their spouse. Only 1.1% of the Jewish (3 of N=280) and 2.6% of the non-Jewish respondents (6 of N=221) were never married. As shown in Table 1 in the Appendix, amongst the Jewish respondents these were all men, whereas amongst the non-Jewish respondents only 2 were men and 4 were women. A further 2.9% of the Jewish (6 of N=280) and 0.5% of the non-Jewish respondents (2 of N=221) were either divorced or separated.

The remaining 8.9% of the Jewish (25 of N=280) and 9.5% of the non-Jewish respondents (21 of N=221) were widowed. These, as shown in Table 1 in the Appendix, were mostly women aged 60 or over. This is the only age group in which the proportion of non-Jewish widowed women surpassed that of the married ones.

The average number of children in the family was 2.09 amongst the Jewish and 1.88 amongst the non-Jewish respondents. Both these figures fall short of the 2.2 quoted by Kelsall (1967, p.20) and Johns (1972, p.4) as the number that is needed to replace the parents. However, although these figures suggest that the Jewish families are somewhat larger than the non-Jewish ones, both of these figures do not represent completed families. Taking 40 as the average age at which a family is completed,⁽¹⁾ a somewhat larger proportion of completed families was found amongst the Jewish respondents, as compared with the non-Jewish ones, which again reflects the somewhat younger age composition of the latter. The figures were 65.0% amongst the Jewish (181 of N=277)⁽²⁾ and 59.5%

1. Figures presented by SEEAR (1971, p.12) suggest that in fact there is a considerable decrease in the number of women giving birth after the age of 30 and certainly after the age of 35. The age of 40 was suggested by Myrdal and Klein (1968, p.59) and seems safer as we have no data relating to age at marriage.

2. Percentages calculated only for respondents who were not single.

amongst the non-Jewish respondents (128 of N=215).⁽¹⁾

The average size of the completed family was found to be 2.07 amongst the Jewish and 1.86 amongst the non-Jewish ones. This shows that Jewish families tend to be somewhat larger than non-Jewish families, with the most prevalent type of family amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents being that with 2 children, but with a larger proportion of one child or childless families amongst the non-Jewish, compared with the Jewish respondents.

Thus, the evidence presented here does not support Neustatter's tentative proposition that the average Jewish family is smaller than the non-Jewish one (1955, p.35). Both the Jewish and non-Jewish families tend to be small and conform to the pattern amongst middle class families (Bracey 1964, p.8; Halsey 1972, p.29; Johns 1972, pp.13-14).

D. Household Size

Households are distinguished from families in that they may include unrelated persons or may not consist of the parents and all their children. Indeed, although the average household size for both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents was very similar, they differ to the extent that they include others who are not part of the family. The average size of household amongst the Jewish respondents was 3.4 and the parallel figure amongst the non-Jewish ones was 3.2. Both these are very near to the average size of private households in the three electoral districts of Newton Mearns

1. Percentages calculated only for respondents who were not single.

which was 3.1 in 1971 (1971 Census for Scotland, County of Renfrew, Table 3, page 3). The similarities also extend to the average number of children actually living in the household. This was 1.37 amongst the Jewish and 1.34 amongst the non-Jewish respondents.

The main differences between the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents relate to the finding that there is a higher tendency amongst the former to have 'others', who are not part of the elementary family, living in the household. Some 8.5% of the Jewish respondents (24 of N=280) had a relation living in the household and some further 11.8% (33 of N=280) had resident domestic staff. The comparable figures amongst the non-Jewish respondents are 3.6% (8 of N=22) and 1.4% (3 of N=221) respectively.

Resident staff are generally restricted to the middle and upper classes (Lewis & Maude 1949, pp.247-258). However, they do not always constitute a status symbol as such. Furthermore, while it is possible that not many families in the area could afford to have resident staff, many of those who could were quite satisfied with the services of "the daily". The latter was found to be very prevalent amongst housewives in Newton Mearns.⁽¹⁾ However, no question about this was included in the interview schedule and, as a result, I cannot elaborate on this point any further. I would only like to note here that over half of the Jewish respondents who had resident staff in the household saw them as a necessity. Some 3 of the respondents were economically active lone parents, a further 3 had large families with 4 children in the household. Another respondent

1. "The daily" forms a very salient topic of conversation amongst the Jewish women in the area. Many women complained of the lack of proper agencies for domestic service and there was a great deal of borrowing a friend's "daily" for a couple of hours.

had 3 children and an old parent in the house and a further 10 households consisted of economically active male and female heads of household.

E. Generation and Descent

Most obviously one of the main differences between the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents is found under this heading, as Table 2 shows.

TABLE 2: GENERATION IN THE U.K. ⁽¹⁾

Generation	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
First generation	29	10.4	6	2.7
Second generation	<u>139</u>	<u>49.6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2.3</u>
(a) second generation mixed	(60)	(21.4)	(3)	(1.4)
(b) fully second generation	(79)	(28.2)	(2)	(0.9)
Third generation	90	32.1	2	0.9
Fourth generation or more	16	5.7	-	-
Not immigrants	6	2.1	268	94.1
TOTALS	280	99.9	221	100.0

1. Generations were defined in a similar way to Goldstein & Goldscheider 1968, p.42. "First generation" refers to respondents who were foreign born; "second generation" refers to U.K. born persons with foreign born parents; "second generation mixed" refers to U.K. born respondents with one foreign born and one U.K. born parent; "third generation" refers to U.K. born persons with U.K. born parents; "fourth generation and over" refers to all U.K. born respondents with one or both sets of grand-parents born in U.K.

Most of the non-Jewish respondents were found to be non-immigrants as defined by their grandparents' background. Amongst the Jewish respondents the only 6 who were not immigrants in this sense were converts to Judaism. The vast majority of the respondents were born in the U.K. This demonstrates that the foreign element in Newton Mearns is marginal.

It is quite possible that the first generation is under-represented in Newton Mearns, due to socio-economic self-selection. In this respect, the figure of 10.4% foreign born gains in weight and reflects the quick pace of social advancement achieved by these respondents, particularly if the state in which they were found upon arriving in Glasgow is considered.⁽¹⁾ However, the generational composition amongst the Jewish respondents reflects fairly accurately the general composition of Glasgow Jewry.⁽²⁾

The fact that most of the respondents were second and third generation Jews is very important to the study of intergroup relations. The acculturation of immigrants is usually presumed to take place in these generations and this is closely linked with intergroup relations, according to various writers in the field (Herberg 1955, pp.16-23; Kramer and Leventman 1961). Furthermore, it is the second generation Jew who is most often doomed to the fate of marginality and of mediating between two cultural worlds, their parents' and their new environment (Stonequist 1961, pp.96-120; Kramer & Leventman 1961, Chapter 1), thus carrying the label of a "cultural hybrid" and "chronic maladjustment" (Stonequist 1961, pp.80, 138).

An examination of generation by descent amongst the Jewish respondents shows that most of the respondents came from Eastern

1, 2. See Appendix.

Europe. Table 3 shows most of these to be second and third generations in this country. This pattern is reversed for respondents of German and Austro-Hungarian descent. Almost half of these respondents are of the immigrant generation themselves.

TABLE 3: GENERATION BY DESCENT - JEWISH RESPONDENTS (EXCLUDING THE "OTHER" AND U.K.)

Generation	Descent: Poland & Russia		German & Austro-Hungarian	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
First generation	13	15.5	13	44.8
Second generation	129	54.9	6	20.7
Third generation	82	34.9	6	20.7
Fourth and over	11	4.7	4	13.8
TOTAL	235	100.0	29	100.0

When the non-Jewish respondents of foreign descent are considered, it is very difficult to discuss anything in terms of patterns. Of the 13 who came from immigrant families, 3 came from Ireland, 3 from Italy, 2 from Germany, 1 from Holland, 1 from Norway, 2 from Belgium and 1 from Canada. All except for one came from West Europe and, in terms of "culture", all came from the Western cultural sphere.

F. Length of Residence

The parish of Mearns has experienced population growth since 1911 (McCallum 1962, p.387). Most of the respondents, however, moved into the area some fifteen to twenty years ago, as Table 4 shows. This coincided with the new post-war developments in the area during

the 1950's.⁽¹⁾

The figures also show that the situation in Newton Mearns is very different from that found in Winston (Elias and Scotston 1965), Banbury (Stacey 1969) and in the only study of Jewish-Gentile relations in the United States where this is reported (Ringer 1967). We are not confronted here with the classical case of a community

TABLE 4: LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN NEWTON MEARNs, JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS

No. of years of residence	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
1-5	74	26.4	92	41.6
6-10	100	35.7	49	22.2
11-15	53	18.9	33	14.9
16-20	19	6.8	22	10.0
21-25	18	6.4	5	2.3
26 and over	16	5.7	20	9.0
TOTAL	280	100.0	221	100.0
Mean	11.1		11.6	

with a relatively old settlement at its core, invaded by 'newcomers'. Both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents are relatively new to the suburb. Furthermore, the relatively short-term residence and the fact that various people entered the suburb at different times probably contributes to the lack of community atmosphere found in the area.

The last five years show that fewer of the new arrivals were Jewish. This is mostly due to the somewhat lower proportion of the

1. See Appendix D.

respondents entering the area some three to five years ago,⁽¹⁾ and does not at all indicate that there has been a decline in the desirability of Newton Mearns as a place of residence and its attraction to members of the Jewish community. Indeed, participant observations in the area confirm that new Jewish families are still moving into the area. Furthermore, the Orthodox synagogue is a relatively new addition (it was built in 1956) and might attract new members. Also, new houses are being built with further plans for expansion,⁽²⁾ all of which might bring in many new residents, both Jewish and non-Jewish.

G. Patterns of Residential Mobility

In the study of human ecology, many sociologists have stressed the link between socio-economic status and residential mobility (Duncan & Duncan 1955, pp.493-503; Lieberman 1963; Uyeki 1964).

Table 5 presents the residential position of the respondents at three periods in their lives - their birth, childhood and the period just prior to moving into Newton Mearns.

Two main points of interest emerge. Firstly, the Jewish respondents have changed residence somewhat more often than their non-Jewish neighbours. Some 17.1% (48 of N=280) of the Jewish respondents changed residence during their childhood compared with 10.9% of the non-Jewish respondents (24 of N=221). A further 30% of the Jewish respondents (84 of N=280) moved from the neighbourhood

1. Some 11.0% of the Jewish respondents (31 of N=280) and some 11.8% of the non-Jewish respondents entered the area between 1 to 2 years prior to the interview. Before that, 15.3% of the Jewish (43 of N=280) and 29.8% of the non-Jewish respondents (66 of N=221) entered the area between 3 to 5 years prior to the interview.

2. See Appendix.

TABLE 5: RESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS, JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS (1)

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
	Birth Place	Community in which Respondent grew up	Previous place of Residence	Birth Place	Community in which Respondent grew up	Previous place of Residence	Birth Place	Community in which Respondent grew up
	No. Pct.	No. Pct.	No. Pct.	No. Pct.	No. Pct.	No. Pct.	No. Pct.	No. Pct.
Glasgow - north and west end	20	7.3	13	4.6	12	4.3	8	3.6
Gorbals, Govanhill and Crosshill	58	20.7	48	17.1	3	1.1	5	2.3
*Central South	74	26.2	103	36.8	113	40.3	30	14.0
Giffnock, Whitecraigs and Newton Mearns	20	7.2	38	13.6	112	40.1	20	8.8
+Other, Glasgow South	10	3.6	6	2.1	4	1.4	53	23.9
Scotland	25	8.9	23	8.2	18	6.4	73	32.9
England and G.B.	45	15.7	26	9.3	12	4.3	26	11.8
Europe and abroad	29	10.4	23	8.2	6	2.1	6	2.7
TOTALS	280	100.0	280	100.0	280	100.0	221	100.0

*Areas such as: Pollokshields, Queens Park, Langside, etc. Generally the horizontal belt around Queens Park.

+Areas where not many Jews are known to stay, like South-West - around Paisley Road, Mossbank, etc.

in which they spent their childhood prior to moving into Newton Mearns, compared with only 11.3% (25 of N=221) of the non-Jewish respondents. This is the clearest indication of the changes in status that have occurred during a relatively short period of time amongst the Jewish respondents.

Secondly, a large proportion of the respondents moved into Newton Mearns from neighbourhoods "somewhat lower in standard" (as one of McTaggart and Mickel's planning engineers stated), but from within the boundaries of the county of Renfrew.⁽¹⁾ This was more so amongst the Jewish than amongst the non-Jewish respondents.

On a closer examination, the pattern of residential mobility amongst the Jewish respondents reflects most accurately the social and geographical history of the Jewish community in Glasgow, as described by Chaim Bermant. "The main area of settlement, ... , was across the Clyde to the South in Hutchesontown and the Gorbals, and from there the main line of advance was southwards, straight from Victoria Road to Crosshill, spreading round both sides of Queens Park to Langside and Shawlands, and from there in a joint thrust to Giffnock which, by the outbreak of the Second World War, was the local Jerusalem. When the war ended, the march southwards was resumed on to Whitecraigs and Newton Mearns." (Bermant 1969, p.55.)

In accordance with the above described pattern, very few of the Jewish respondents came to Newton Mearns directly from the low status 'Ghetto' of the Gorbals. Almost half of the respondents were born in the Gorbals and in the Central South area, the latter being the first stepping stones of the exodus from the 'ghetto' and, at the

1. See Map 1 in Appendix B.

time (twenties and thirties), was a stronghold of the middle classes (Cowan 1974; Bermant 1968, p.11). Giffnock, a suburb of higher status than the Central South neighbourhoods, figures high only as a place of residence immediately prior to moving into Newton Mearns.

Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, the pattern found is different. Although some of the respondents were born and spent their childhood in neighbourhoods which had a sizeable proportion of Jews in the 1930's and 1940's,⁽¹⁾ most of them originated in neighbourhoods that were remote from any known areas of Jewish settlement. Almost half of them were born outside of Glasgow. Not much change is observed as far as the communities in which the non-Jewish respondents spent their childhood are examined. The move, when it occurred, was more directly to Newton Mearns, Whitecraigs and Giffnock. In a similar way, Giffnock and Newton Mearns absorbed most of the movement that occurred prior to the time of the interview.

Generally speaking, the pattern of residential mobility amongst the Jewish respondents shows the gradual (although quick) advancement in terms of wealth and status. The pattern amongst the non-Jewish respondents, however, is of a more direct move. This latter pattern is more characteristic of the geographical mobility of people in the professional occupations (Watson 1964, pp.147-148) and managers (Pahl and Pahl 1971, pp.53-59) which is usually associated with an occupational transfer. Watson refers to these people as 'spiralists' who combine social and spatial mobility (Watson 1964, p.147).

The consequences of these two patterns of residential mobility

1. See Appendix B

in terms of sociability are different, although both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents represent highly upwardly mobile populations. The fact that many of the Jewish respondents came from the same neighbourhoods and, most of all, the fact that almost 90% of them form a part of the local Jewish community, contributes to an ingroup pattern of sociability within the area. On the other hand, the diversity in the previous places of residence amongst the non-Jewish respondents makes it almost a certainty that very few of them would have met each other prior to moving into the area. For them the move would tend to be "a point of crisis", particularly amongst the women who "will be thinking of a move primarily in terms of friendship and kinship links" (Pahl and Pahl 1971, p.54).

The above considerations made it clear that, although both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents were relatively newcomers to the suburb, the pattern of residential mobility is of great importance to the understanding of the network of social relations in which the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents are involved. In other words, in terms of social relations it is the Jewish respondents who would be the 'locals' (to use Stacey's terminology 1969), whereas the non-Jewish ones would form the 'immigrants' with all the concomitant attitudes of such a position in the urban structure. Thus the ones who are faced with the problem of "making friends" (Willmott & Young 1960, pp.90-93) are the non-Jewish "newcomers" rather than the Jewish ones.

H. Education

According to Becker, the school has a very important function "in the operation of the system of status and social class" (1961, p.103). In this respect, both the Jewish and non-Jewish

respondents belong to the more "advantaged" stratum of society. When allowances were made for changes made in the minimum leaving age in Scotland and England, ⁽¹⁾ Table 6 shows that most of the respondents stayed in school beyond the official leaving age.

TABLE 6: SCHOOLING BY SEX

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS						NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS					
	All		Male		Female		All		Male		Female	
Left school at the official leaving age	69	24.6	27	19.3	42	30.0	43	19.5	26	21.7	17	16.8
Stayed at school after the official leaving age	211	75.4	113	80.7	98	70.0	178	80.5	94	78.3	84	83.2
TOTALS	280	100.0	140	100.0	140	100.0	221	100.0	120	100.0	101	100.0
Significance	p < 0.05						p < 0.4					

When this is related to sex, a significantly larger proportion of the Jewish women, as compared with the Jewish men, left school at the minimum leaving age whereas, amongst the non-Jewish respondents, no such great difference between men and women was found. If at all, the differences show a somewhat larger proportion of the women staying in school after the official leaving age. Results, however, were not significant statistically.

1. The leaving age prior to 1947 was 14, and in that year it was raised to 15 in both England and Scotland. See Scotland 1965, Vol. 2, p.173 and Halsey 1972, p.155.

TABLE 7: COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION BY SEX

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS						NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS					
	All		Male		Female		All		Male		Female	
Had some college/university education	87	31.1	47	33.6	40	28.6	98	44.3	60	50.0	38	37.6
No college/university education	193	68.9	93	66.4	100	71.4	123	55.7	60	50.0	63	62.4
TOTALS	280	100.0	140	100.0	140	100.0	221	100.0	120	100.0	101	100.0
	p < 0.3						p < 0.07					

When the figures for college/university education are considered, the trends are somewhat different. A larger proportion of the non-Jewish respondents, compared with the Jewish ones, had some college or university education. However, amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, a larger proportion of the men compared with the women, had such education. This trend is significant statistically amongst the non-Jewish respondents and is obvious amongst the Jewish respondents in spite of the lack of statistical significance.

On a closer examination, it is mostly the younger respondents, both men and women, who had some college or university education, as Table 5 in the Appendix shows. Although this relationship is only significant statistically amongst the Jewish women and the non-Jewish men, the above trend is very apparent amongst the Jewish men and non-Jewish women.

Looking at the subjects for which a college certificate or a university degree was obtained, great differences were found between the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents and between men and women.

TABLE 8: SUBJECTS IN WHICH THE DEGREE WAS OBTAINED BY SEX

Subjects:	JEWISH RESPONDENTS						NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS					
	All Respondents		Male		Female		All Respondents		Male		Female	
Accountancy	4	5.3	4	9.3	-	-	9	9.4	8	13.3	1	2.8
Law	9	11.9	7	16.3	2	6.1	4	4.2	4	6.7	-	-
Commerce	4	5.3	1	2.3	3	9.1	8	8.3	4	6.7	4	11.1
Engineering & Natural Sciences	7	9.2	6	14.0	1	3.0	29	30.2	27	45.1	2	5.5
Medical	18	23.4	16	37.2	2	6.1	13	13.5	8	13.3	5	13.8
Nursing	1	1.4	-	-	1	3.0	7	7.3	-	-	7	19.5
Teaching	3	4.0	-	-	3	9.1	9	9.4	1	1.7	8	22.2
Arts and Social Sciences	9	11.9	4	9.3	5	15.2	8	8.3	1	1.7	7	19.5
Secretarial	12	15.6	-	-	12	36.4	1	1.0	-	-	1	2.8
Other and unspecified	9	11.9	5	11.6	4	12.1	8	8.3	7	11.6	1	2.8
TOTALS	76	99.9	43	100.0	33	100.1	96	99.9	60	100.1	36	100.0

The Jewish men show a higher concentration in subjects leading towards the "higher" or more "traditional" professions such as medicine, or law, whereas the non-Jewish men tended to enter courses leading towards the "newer" professions such as engineering and the natural sciences (Sussex and Watson 1962; Klein 1965, p.307).

The women usually entered courses leading to typically feminine occupations such as clerical, teaching and nursing (Myrdal and Klein 1968, pp.58ff). However, the Jewish women hold a secretarial certificate to a larger extent than the non-Jewish ones whereas,

amongst the latter, teaching and nursing certificates are more prevalent.

These differences both in relation to university/college education and to subjects studied are better understood in the occupational context, which is the topic we turn to next.

I. Economic Activity

Economic activity amongst men in societies where their traditional role is that of the "bread winners" in the family is directly related to age. This is more so amongst those who are employed by others, as opposed to those who are self employed. Whereas the former leave the economic sphere at the age of retirement, the latter have no obligation to do so. Consequently, although a similar proportion of both the Jewish and non-Jewish male respondents were at the age of retirement, due to the higher rate of self employment amongst the former,⁽¹⁾ a larger proportion of the Jewish men were economically active (95.0% or 133 of N=140), as compared with the non-Jewish male respondents (88.3% or 106 of N=120).

The employment of women poses a different problem. Age is important not only as regards retirement but also as an indicator of life phase (Myrdal & Klein 1968, pp.31ff). Marital status and the presence of small children in the house are also important factors in the employment of middle class women, for whom the economic drive does not always exist (Myrdal & Klein 1968, p.85).

Turning to an examination of economic activity amongst the female respondents, a remarkable difference between the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents was found. Some 42.1% of the Jewish women (59 of N=140)

1. See discussion, page 48

were economically active at the time of the survey, compared with only 27.7% (28 of N=101) of the non-Jewish ones. However, some 57.6% of the Jewish women who were economically active (34 of N=49) were in part-time employment. The comparable figure for the non-Jewish women was 50.0% (14 of N=28). In addition to these, a further 5 of the Jewish (3.6% of N=14) and 6 of the non-Jewish women (5.9 of N=101) were retired. Three of these amongst the Jewish female respondents were in part-time employment, thus bringing up the total to 62, or 44.3% economically active Jewish women.

No one single factor can account for this great difference found between the Jewish and non-Jewish women. Rather it is in the combination of a number of factors that an adequate explanation can be found. Firstly, as the Pahls noted, having a job or a career for themselves is relatively unimportant for managers' wives (1971, pp.126-139). Even amongst the Jewish women a large proportion of those who were economically active had part-time jobs and helped their husbands in their businesses,⁽¹⁾ an employment which does not entail a separate career. This proves to be one of the main differences between the Jewish and non-Jewish women and is related to the historical background of the Jewish community in Glasgow.⁽²⁾

Other differences merely seem to point back to the historical background of the community. For example, age is usually considered to be an important indicator in the life of women. Married women under the age of 40 are in what was referred to as the "second phase of adulthood" (Myrdal & Klein 1968, pp.27-41). This is usually a "familial phase", whereby women are still at the childbearing age and have young children in the house. As such, this is typically a phase

1,2. See discussion, pages 48 & 55-56.

whereby most married women are not economically active.

Looking at the figures for economic activity according to age (Table 9), it is clear that the non-Jewish women are much more restricted by the "familial phase" in their life than the Jewish women. The younger women amongst the non-Jewish respondents are the least economically active. Amongst the Jewish women the differences between the younger and those who are over 40 years of age is not so remarkable. Furthermore, whereas the presence of young children in the house is important to understanding the participation of women under the age of 40 in the labour force, it is somewhat less so amongst the Jewish women. Looking at the figures for the presence of children in the household (Tables 2 and 3 in the Appendix) we see that, at this younger age group (20-39), some 40 of the Jewish and 36 of the non-Jewish women had at least one child in the house. However, of these some 42.5% of the Jewish women (17 of N=40) compared with 19.4% of the non-Jewish ones (7 of N=36) were economically active. All the 7 non-Jewish and 15 of the economically active Jewish women in this age group were in part-time employment.

Women aged 40-59 are in the third phase of their life (Myrdal and Klein 1968, p.59ff), which signifies the end of the active motherhood period. Their children are grown up and do not need the mother's full attention. Consequently, a larger proportion of the women in this age group are in employment, mostly full time. This general trend is again more marked amongst the non-Jewish women than amongst the Jewish women.

Another difference between the Jewish and non-Jewish women relates to the extent of economic activity amongst the higher educated women. Table 10 shows very clearly the extent to which higher education is related to economic activity amongst the Jewish women.

TABLE 9: ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AMONGST THE WOMEN, BY AGE

JEWISH WOMEN						
Economic Activity	20-39		40-59		60+	
Full time	5	11.1	17	26.2	3	10.0
Part time	16	35.6	16	24.6	5	16.7
Retired	-	-	-	-	2	6.7
Housewife	24	53.3	32	49.2	20	66.7
TOTALS	45	100.0	65	100.0	30	100.1

NON-JEWISH WOMEN						
Economic Activity	20-39		40-59		60+	
Full time	3	7.7	9	23.1	2	8.7
Part time	7	18.0	7	17.9	1	4.3
Retired	-	-	-	-	6	26.1
Housewife	29	74.3	23	59.0	14	60.9
TOTALS	39	100.0	39	100.0	23	100.0

Most of those who went to college were in employment, whereas this was not the case amongst the non-Jewish women although here, also, a larger proportion of the higher educated women as compared with women without any college/university education were economically active. Furthermore, Table 6 in the Appendix shows that, when Jewish women have a university education, they are more likely to go out to work, even when there are young children in the house, than women without a university education. This was not the case amongst the non-Jewish women under the age of 40. Most of them, regardless of education, were not economically active.

When these latter trends are seen in conjunction with the type of qualification obtained by the Jewish women (mainly clerical and secretarial, see Table 7, page 35) and the high rate of self employment amongst them,⁽¹⁾ all this forms part of a pattern whereby women are not only expected to help in their husbands' or in the family business, they also prepare themselves for this purpose through the type of qualification or course that they choose. We shall return to this point when a broader picture of the occupational distribution amongst the respondents is obtained.

TABLE 10: ECONOMIC ACTIVITY BY COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AMONGST

	THE WOMEN							
	JEWISH FEMALE RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH FEMALE RESPONDENTS			
	Some College Education	No College Education			Some College Education	No College Education		
Economically Active	25 62.5	39 39.0			16 42.1	19 30.2		
Housewives	15 37.5	61 61.0			22 57.9	44 69.8		
TOTALS	40 100.0	100 100.0			38 100.0	63 100.0		
	p < 0.02				p < 0.3			

1. See discussion, page 48.

j Socio-Economic Groups and Industrial Distribution

The discussion in this section is based on the 17-fold classification of socio-economic groupings used by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (Classification of Occupations 1970, pp.x-xii).

Table 11 presenting the socio-economic distribution amongst the respondents, both men and women, shows very clearly the special attraction Newton Mearns has for men in the managerial and professional occupations. This is further supported by a comparison with the socio-economic groups amongst the married male heads of households in Scotland.⁽¹⁾ The 1966 Sample Census showed some 38.2% of these to be in the socio-economic group of foremen, skilled manual and own account. Only 10.7% of the Jewish male respondents and 8.3% of the non-Jewish ones were in that category. Furthermore, only 10.0% of the married males in Scotland were in the employers and managers category and 3.8% in the professional occupations, compared with 65.7% and 20.0% amongst the Jewish and 48.3% and 37.5% amongst the non-Jewish male respondents respectively.

Although both the Jewish and non-Jewish men can be found mostly in these two socio-economic groups, over 60% of the Jewish male respondents are in the managerial group, compared with less than 50% amongst the non-Jewish men. Furthermore, a larger proportion of the non-Jewish men, as compared with the Jewish ones, are in the professional occupations socio-economic group.

1. See Sample Census 1966, Scotland, Household Composition Tables, Table 25, p.82. There are some problems in comparing the Census data with data obtained from our samples, since the Census table includes only married males, whereas our sample includes 9 Jewish and 6 non-Jewish males without a spouse. However, these form a very small proportion of the males, and their effect would probably be negligible.

TABLE 11: OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY SEX (ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE AND RETIRED)

The Occupation	All Respondents		All Respondents		All Respondents	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. Employers and Managers	112 54.9	92 65.7	20 31.3	61 39.6	58 48.3	3 8.8
2. Professional occupations	36 17.6	28 20.0	8 12.5	57 37.0	45 37.5	12 35.3
3. Non-Manual Workers	29 14.2	5 3.6	24 37.5	22 14.3	6 5.0	16 47.1
4. Personal service Workers	11 0.5	-	1 1.6	1 0.6	-	1 2.9
5. Foremen, Skilled Manual and Own Account	26 12.7	15 10.7	11 17.2	11 7.1	10 8.3	1 2.9
6. Other and Unspecified	-	-	-	2 1.3	1 0.8	1 2.9
TOTALS	204 99.9	140 100.0	64 100.1	154 99.9	120 99.9	34 99.9

The women, particularly the non-Jewish ones, can be found more frequently in the non-manual category as secretaries, teachers and nurses. The Jewish women, however, are mostly found in the clerical occupations, whereas the non-Jewish women are found in the latter two occupations. Further to that, almost a third of the Jewish women are found in the employers and managers group, whereas over a third of the non-Jewish ones are in the professional occupations group.

The differences between the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents extend to the industry in which the respondents are involved. Table 12 shows a very large proportion of the Jewish men in the distributive trade, professional and scientific services and in the manufacture of clothing. A point of interest relates to the high involvement in the distribution of clothing amongst these men (17 of the 41 men involved in the distributive trade). Amongst the non-Jewish men there is a higher concentration in the professional and scientific services and, to a somewhat lesser extent, in the distributive trade (6 of the 17 in this trade were involved in the distribution of clothing). There is a total absence of Jewish men in shipbuilding, construction, transport and public and administrative services.

The industrial distribution of the women is closely related to that of their male counterparts. Thus it is seen that a very large proportion of the Jewish women (larger than that of the men) are found in the distributive trade, mainly in the distribution of clothing (17 of the 27 in this industry), and in the professional and scientific services. This last industry accounts for 50.0% of the non-Jewish women in the labour force. Another marked difference between the Jewish and non-Jewish women is that, apart from the large concentration of non-Jewish women in the professional and

TABLE 12: INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION BY SEX (ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE AND RETIRED RESPONDENTS)

JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS								
The Industry:	All Respondents		Female	All Respondents		Male	Female					
	Male	Female		Male	Female							
Food and Drink	-	-	-	-	8	5.2	7	5.8	1	2.9		
Chemical, Engineering & Metal Manufacture	7	3.4	7	5.0	-	-	11	7.2	10	8.3	1	2.9
Shipbuilding and Vehicles	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	5.8	7	5.8	2	5.9
Textile, Clothing and Footwear	28	13.7	20	14.3	8	12.5	2	1.3	2	1.7	-	-
Timber and Furniture	20	9.8	16	11.4	4	6.3	2	1.3	2	1.7	-	-
Other Manufacturing Industries	9	4.4	5	3.6	4	6.3	8	5.2	7	5.8	1	2.9
Construction	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	4.5	6	5.0	1	2.9
Transport and Communication	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2.6	4	3.3	-	-
Distributive Trade	68	33.3	41	29.3	27	42.2	20	13.0	17	14.2	3	8.8
Insurance & Banking	7	3.4	6	4.3	1	1.5	9	5.8	8	6.7	1	2.9
Professional and Scientific	47	23.0	32	22.8	15	23.4	56	36.4	39	32.5	17	50.0
Miscellaneous Services	14	6.9	10	7.1	4	6.3	11	7.2	9	7.5	2	5.9
Public & Administrative Services	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.3	1	0.8	1	2.9
Inadequate Description	4	2.0	3	2.1	1	1.5	5	3.2	1	0.8	4	11.9
TOTALS	204	99.9	140	99.9	64	100.0	154	100.0	120	99.9	34	99.9

scientific services, they tend to be more or less evenly distributed amongst the other industries, whereas the Jewish women seem to concentrate in three main industries: the professional and scientific services, the distributive industry and the clothing industry, which is in line with both their husbands and the industrial distribution of Anglo-Jewry (Aris 1970, p.21).

Of all the factors that can be brought forward to account for these differences, two are of primary importance. These are self-selection in moving into the area and the historical background of the Glasgow community, of which the Jewish respondents form an integral part.

As noted earlier, a large proportion of the non-Jewish respondents would fit Watson's description of the 'spiralists' as "the progressive ascent of the specialists of different skills through a series of higher positions in one or more hierarchical structures, and the concomitant residential mobility..." (Watson 1964, p.147). However, as Watson notes, some professions are more likely to produce spiralism than others. "Those professions entirely dependent on salaries are likeliest to produce spiralists, while those who still take fees as part or the whole of their reward are not" (Watson 1964, pp.147-148). Engineering was put forward as the profession most likely to produce such an effect, as opposed to medicine and law which are the "older", more traditional professions. Thus, with a considerable proportion of the non-Jewish respondents in the professional occupations being in the various engineering professions,⁽¹⁾ it is more than likely that the higher proportion of non-Jewish respondents in this socio-economic group is a result of spiralism and self-selection.

1. See Table 8.

It was suggested by C.Bermant that a similar process is operating within the Jewish community in Glasgow and, as a result, many young professionals are leaving Scotland altogether. He stated that "Today, young Jews are taking degrees in subjects as improbable as refrigeration, naval architecture, aerodynamics and even economics, but openings in Scotland itself are comparatively few and most qualified men tend to move south for a living" (Bermant 1968, p.13). It is possible that this can, in part, account for the lower proportion of engineers amongst the Jewish respondents, particularly since none of the Jewish or non-Jewish engineers had such a qualification as mentioned by Bermant.

However, C.Bermant also agrees that, by and large, the Glasgow Jewish community is "still overwhelmingly a business community" (Bermant 1968, p.12), and this can explain the predominance of managers and employers amongst the Jewish respondents.

Historically, the distributive trades in Glasgow during the last decade of the 19th century developed very quickly and showed a movement towards "bigger and better business" (Oakley 1967, p.177). At that time Glasgow was described as the city with the "most diversified industries in the Empire" (Oakley 1967, p.73) and was full of workers. Opportunities for new adventures in the retail business were open and the Jewish immigrants with a firm background in business and trade were well qualified to take advantage of these opportunities. With the help of interest-free loans obtained from the various loan societies within the community, these immigrants established themselves in businesses which, in time, were passed on to their sons and formed the avenue for their economic success.⁽¹⁾

1. For further discussion see Appendix B.

The above account shows how closely the Jewish respondents reflect the historical background of the community. It also explains the lower proportion of respondents who were in the professional occupations. Since the Jewish community in Glasgow is a relative "newcomer" to the professional occupations, this proportion should be considered as very high. The historical background also highlights another difference found between the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents in relation to self-employment. Some 113 of the Jewish male respondents were found to be self-employed. These represent 80.7% of the Jewish men to be compared with 28.3% amongst the non-Jewish men (34 of N=120). Furthermore, some 40 of the economically active Jewish female respondents, or 62.5% were self-employed, compared with 8.6% of the non-Jewish women (3 of N=35). Table 13 shows most of these to be self-employed business men in the managerial category.

Amongst the Jewish women there is a larger proportion of self-employment amongst the third occupational group. This is largely due to clerical and sales services for a business owned by the husband or a family business.

Most of these businesses involved the labour of other members of the family; it is, however, difficult to establish to what extent they were owned by the family. However, some 20 of the Jewish women who stated that they were self-employed worked with their husbands; 8 stated they worked in a family business and 12 stated they owned their own business. In addition to these, 24 of the self-employed male respondents stated that their wives worked with them in the business. Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, one of the women stated she owned her business, whereas the other two worked in a joint family business. Only 4 of the self-employed non-Jewish men stated that their wives worked with them in the business.

TABLE 13: SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS BY SELF-EMPLOYMENT AND SEX

Socio-Economic Groups	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
	Male: self-employed	Male: employed	Female: self-employed	Female: employed	Male: self-employed	Male: employed	Female: self-employed	Female: employed
Employers & Managers	80 70.8	12 46.2	17 42.5	3 12.5	19 55.9	39 45.3	2 66.7	1 3.2
Professional Occupations	17 15.0	11 42.3	4 10.0	4 16.7	11 32.4	34 39.5	1 33.3	11 35.5
The Rest	16 14.2	3 11.5	19 47.5	17 70.8	4 11.7	13 15.1	- -	19 61.3
TOTALS	113 100.0	26 100.0	40 100.0	24 100.0	34 100.0	86 100.0	3 100.0	31 100.0

Most of the self-employed respondents had employees and, in this respect, no great differences were found between the Jewish and non-Jewish or male and female respondents. Some 85.0% of the self-employed Jewish men (96 of N=113) and some 82.4% of the non-Jewish men (28 of N=34) had employees. Amongst the women, some 82.5% of the Jewish (33 of N=40) and 2 of the 3 non-Jewish women who were self-employed had employees. Thus, although a larger proportion of the Jewish respondents were in business of their own, in terms of status not great differences were found between the Jewish and non-Jewish self-employed respondents.

K. Social Class

Newton Mearns is essentially a place of residence rather than a place of work. The type of houses in the area and their prices make it essentially a middle class suburb. The respondents reflect this both in terms of education and occupation. A simple categorization by occupations, using the Registrar General's classification, reveals this very clearly. If we classify households by the socio-economic group of the males (both respondents and husbands of female respondents who were not single), and of the economically active female respondents who were not married, the vast majority of these will be classified in social classes I and II⁽¹⁾. Less than 20% of both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents were found in social class III. All these, however, are classified by Kahan (1966) and by the Research Services (Marsh 1965) as typically forming the middle class range of occupations.

Josephine Klein suggested that 'House ownership and the residential area are, in affluent conditions, obvious criteria for class

1. Some 184 of the Jewish households were headed by a male in the managerial group and a further 46 were in the professional occupations group. Thus some 84.6% (230 of N=272) in social classes I and II and only 15.4% (42 of N=272) in social class III. Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, 106 in the managerial and 74 in the professional occupations socio-economic group make for 82.2% in social classes I and II (180 of N=219) and 17.8% in social class III (39 of N=219).

identification" (Klein 1965, p.424). Amongst our respondents, since most of the houses in the area were of the owner-occupier type, only 4 of the Jewish and 3 of the non-Jewish respondents did not own their house. Of the 4 Jewish respondents, 2 were widowed women and the houses were listed as the property of their late husbands, and the other two houses were listed as the property of the firm owned by the respondents. Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, one house was owned by the employers and the other two were rented. Thus, by and large, the respondents satisfy Klein's criteria for inclusion in the middle class ranks.

Houses, however, vary in size and in condition. This is mostly reflected in the rateable value of the property (Rex & Moore 1967, p.52). If we look at the distribution of the rateable value of the households by the socio-economic groupings (Table 14), two main features become fairly obvious. (a) It is very clear that a distinction between the managerial and professional occupations socio-economic groups is impractical in terms of social class. Respondents of these socio-economic groups are very similar in the type of housing they enter, both amongst the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents. The main differences are to be found between these two socio-economic groups and the rest of the respondents in that the latter tend to own somewhat smaller houses. (b) On the whole, the Jewish respondents own somewhat larger houses than the non-Jewish ones. Within each socio-economic group, almost twice as many Jewish respondents own houses with a rateable value of £201 or over, as compared with the non-Jewish ones. These differences are not as drastic when the third occupational group is considered, although over a third of the Jewish respondents, compared with less than a sixth of the non-Jewish

TABLE 14: RATEABLE VALUE OF HOUSES BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS

JEWISH HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD									
Rateable Value	All heads ⁽¹⁾ of household		Employers & Managers		Professional Occupations		The Rest		
Under £200	109	40.1	67	36.5	16	36.4	26	63.4	
£201-£300	112	41.2	82	45.8	18	40.9	12	29.3	
Over £300	51	18.7	35	16.7	12	22.7	4	7.3	
TOTALS	272	100.0	184	100.0	46	100.0	42	100.0	
Mean rateable value	222.0		233.9		238.8		185.7		
p < 0.05 ⁽²⁾									
NON-JEWISH HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD									
Rateable Value	All heads ⁽³⁾ of household		Employers & Managers		Professional Occupations		The Rest		
Under £200	145	66.2	65	61.9	46	62.2	34	87.2	
£201-£300	62	28.3	34	32.4	23	31.0	5	12.8	
Over £300	12	5.5	7	6.7	5	6.8	-	-	
TOTALS	219	100.0	106	100.0	74	100.0	39	100.0	
Mean rateable value	180.6		192.6		184.7		144.4		
p < 0.05 ⁽⁴⁾									

1,3 included here are male respondents, husbands of female respondents and divorced and single women who were economically active. The missing observations relate to widowed, divorced and separated women who were not economically active and who did not provide information about their late husband's employment.

2,4: when levels of significance were calculated for the differences between the managerial and professional socio-economic groups these were not significant at $p < 0.7$ for the Jewish and $p < 0.9$ for the non-Jewish respondents. Levels of significance for the differences between these two groups as one unit and the rest were very high with $p < 0.01$ for both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents.

ones, owned larger houses with a rateable value of £201 or more.

Thus, on the whole, we can conclude that, in terms of housing and occupational distribution, the main differences are to be found between respondents of the first two occupational groups and those of the third occupational group. Further to that, the differences found between the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents are large enough to imply different standards in choosing a house, particularly since these differences persisted within each occupational group.

L. Summary

In many respects the findings discussed in this chapter reflect a process of self selection in moving into the area. In terms of housing, Newton Mearns, composed of mainly detached and semi-detached houses, typically attracts people who can afford to pay the price and to lead the type of life expected of a highly middle class population.

Not surprisingly, most of the respondents were in the middle age groups. The suburban nature of the area is further demonstrated by the very small proportion of respondents who were single. Suburban houses, as noted earlier, are designed to accommodate families and, in that respect, our respondents comply with this trend.

Most of the respondents entered the suburb during the fifties but the patterns of residential mobility found amongst the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents reflect the differences in the background of these respondents. The Jews being part of what originally was an immigrant community (in the historical sense), reflect the gradual socio-economic advancement of the Jews in Glasgow and their economic success. Being mostly second and third generation in this country,

they fit Kramer and Leventman's description of the high occupational mobility and involvement in commerce, mainly as self-employed business men and professionals (1961, p.10). The tensions of these second generation Jews are said to be those of success, whereas the tensions of the third generation are those of status (Kramer and Leventman 1961, p.20). These generations also witness the emergence of the "ethnic community" (Herberg 1955, p.16) and an increased access to non-Jewish values and social contact which becomes more widespread amongst the third generation (Kramer & Leventman 1961, pp.13-20). These background considerations contribute towards a better understanding of the position of the Jewish respondents in their relationships both within and across ethnic lines.

Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, various indications were found which show the 'spiralist' nature of a large proportion of these respondents. The pattern of direct move into the area, the somewhat younger age structure and the socio-economic groupings, particularly the high concentration in the professions, point to this direction. It is hard to say what the implications of such a status would be for intergroup relations. It is, however, indicative of the type of social relationships in which these respondents will be involved. The physical distance from kin and old friends would make for a greater reliance on neighbours,⁽¹⁾ and for new friendships emerging within the local context,⁽²⁾ some of which might prove to be of the intergroup type.

The differences in status between the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents can also be seen as a result of these differences in background. In that respect, the Jewish respondents are not only

1. See Mogeys, quoted in V.Klein 1965, p.131.

2. Such a finding was reported by Picket and Baulton in Maghall, although very few of their respondents were spiralists. 1974, p.107.

different from the non-Jewish ones, but are also somewhat different from Anglo-Jewry. Whereas they closely approximate the industrial distribution found amongst parents of the Carmel College children, the only exclusively Jewish public school in England (Aris 1970, pp.20-21), and that found amongst Edgware Jewry (Krausz 1965, p.72), in that they are mostly in the distributive trades and various professions, the proportion of self-employment amongst the Newton Mearns respondents was much higher than that reported by either of these two. Aris reported of some 69.0% (1970, p.22) and Krausz of some 66.7% (1965, p.77) self-employed Jewish men, compared with 80.7% male respondents in Newton Mearns. The explanations for this high rate of self-employment were also different. Krausz suggested that in certain districts in large cities and, "on the whole in the smaller communities the percentage of self-employment among Jews is very high" (1965, pp. 77-78). This is obviously the case in Newton Mearns. However, it has also been suggested "that the Jew will strive to achieve this position in view of his actual experience or fear of discrimination in the economic field when seeking employment or promotion" (Krausz 1965, p.77). Aris, on the other hand, suggested that this high rate of self-employment is due to the fact that Jews are "individualists who prefer to work for themselves rather than for other people" (Aris 1970, p.22). This is not an issue on which I have relevant evidence. However, it is clear that there are many factors involved, and that the historical background of the community is not one to be overlooked in this context.

In a similar way, the exceedingly business orientated background of the Glasgow Jewish community can, in part, account for the higher rate of economic activity amongst the Jewish women as compared with

both the non-Jewish respondents and Anglo-Jewry. H. Neustatter found 11.4% of Anglo-Jewry women in employment (Neustatter 1955, p.125) and Krausz found some 22.3% of the Jewish women in Edgware to be in employment. The figure for the Newton Mearns Jewish female respondents was 44.3%. Both Krausz and Neustatter explain these low rates of economic activity amongst the women as a compliance with the traditional Jewish view that a woman's place is in the home (Neustatter 1955, p.126; Krausz 1965, p.70). I do not contend that this view is not held in Newton Mearns. However, coming from a business background, women are probably expected to assist in the family or in their husbands' business, and, as such, this might be the sort of employment which is exempted from the traditional view. This can also explain the higher proportion of Jewish women of the younger age group in employment, as well as the higher proportion of women with a clerical qualification, which facilitates their entry into the family business.

In conclusion, the various issues discussed in this chapter show very clearly the middle class nature of the area. In this respect, characteristics displayed by the respondents match the external middle class appearance of the suburb.

CHAPTER 3: RELIGION AND JEWISH IDENTITY

A. Religion

There are many levels at which contemporary religious behaviour can be discussed. These range from church/synagogue membership and attendance to self-identification and belief (Martin 1967, p.34). The discussion in this section touches on the first three of these and, as such, it also touches on some of the problems raised by the study of religion.

The term 'secularization' and the argument that society is becoming increasingly secular has been put forward by various sociologists,⁽¹⁾ and has been criticized on various grounds. Most often the criticism has been voiced that the problem of secularization "reduces itself to one of definition" (Hill 1973, pp.249-250) since any discussion of the process is preconditioned by the basic premise of how 'religion' is defined. Objections have been raised to the treatment of 'institutional religion' as synonymous with 'religion' rather than being one type within a general category of religion (Luckman 1967, pp.23ff; Krausz 1971, pp.203-212).⁽²⁾

In a similar way, Herberg's "Three generations thesis" (Herberg 1960), put forward in an attempt to account for post-war increase in church/synagogue affiliation in America has been queried both theoretically and empirically. Gould (1961) and Sharot (1973) question the validity of equating a 'return to religion' with a rise

1. For two opposing views, see Martin 1967 and Wilson 1969. For a view suggesting a change to a privatized religion, see Luckman 1967 and Berger 1969.

2. See also Shiner 1967, pp.207-220 who discusses six different meanings of secularization, three of which related to the declining importance of institutional religion.

in institutionalized religion (i.e. church/synagogue affiliation figures). Both point out that, as far as Judaism is concerned, synagogue affiliation is but one facet of religious behaviour, and that an increase in such affiliation does not necessarily involve a revival of religious observance, which is central to Judaism (Gould 1961, p.10; Sharot 1973, pp.152-162).

As for the claim that this return to religion implies a form of identification reflecting "the growing other directedness of our middle class culture" and its particular impact in the suburbs as a response to the fundamental need of "belonging" (Herberg 1960, p.59), Gordon found no such signs in suburbia. In fact, he concluded that the suburban Jew possesses a "crisis religion" (Gordon 1959, p.152).

In Britain, D.C.Thorns, in studying suburbia, found it impossible to reach any firm conclusions as to the place of religion in suburbia. However, he did find some indication of greater religious activity in middle class, as compared with working class suburbs (Thorns 1972, p.131). This finding is also supported by the Woodford (Willmott & Young 1960, p.83) and Banbury (Stacey 1960, Ch.4 & Stacey et al 1975, Ch.3) studies, in which middle class respondents seemed to have been more active in the religious institutions. Krausz, on the other hand, found no signs of religious revival in Leeds or in Edgware (1963, p.135 and 1965, p.49), and Sydney Harris and G.Cromer found a severe weakening of Jewish religious adherence amongst Bristol and Wembley Jews (Harris 1969, p.175; Cromer 1973, p.54).

(1) Denominational Identification, Membership and Involvement with the Religious Institutions

Bearing in mind the limited usefulness of membership figures,

respondents were first asked to identify themselves in terms of religious denominations. As Table 1 shows, only 6 of the non-Jewish and none of the Jewish respondents professed to no religion.

TABLE 1: RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS AND CHURCH/SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP
AMONGST THE RESPONDENTS

A. NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS

The Denominations	Membership				Pct. of those within each denomination
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct. of all affiliated	
Church of Scotland (Presbyterian)	181	81.9	127	35.2	70.2
Roman Catholics	13	5.9	10	6.7	76.9
Other (non-Roman Catholic) denominations	21	9.5	12	8.1	57.1
No religion	6	2.7	-	-	-
TOTALS	221	100.0	149	100.0	-

B. JEWISH RESPONDENTS

	No.	Pct.
Affiliated with an Orthodox Synagogue	248	88.5
Affiliated with the Reformed Synagogue	18	6.5
Not affiliated	14	5.0
TOTALS	280	100.0

Most of the non-Jewish respondents identified themselves with the largest ecclesiastical body in Scotland (Highet 1960, p.19).

As far as membership figures are concerned, some 67.4% of the non-Jewish respondents belonged to a congregation (149 of N=221).

Although this figure is somewhat higher than the 55.0% quoted by Highet for the Glasgow adult population (1960, p.58),⁽¹⁾ it is much lower than the figure of 95.0% amongst the Jewish respondents (266 of N=280). This shows very clearly that affiliation carries much more weight amongst the Jewish than amongst the non-Jewish respondents.

The pattern of 'denominational' church/synagogue affiliation closely reflects the structure of organised religion in Newton Mearns. This accommodates four parishes of the Church of Scotland, a Catholic Church, and two synagogues, one Orthodox and the other Reformed (the "New Synagogue").

Self identification and affiliation alone are not sufficient measures for either secularization or heightened religious awareness. Attendance of services and involvement with Church/Synagogue affairs are two further measures of religious behaviour. However, there are some difficulties of comparability here. Traditionally, a devoted Jew is expected to attend synagogue daily. In Christianity, attendance of Sunday Mass has greater saliency in the Catholic scheme of values than regular weekly attendance in Protestantism. However, if such complications of meaning and saliency are kept in mind, the evidence produced in Tables 2 and 3 is of great interest as far as religious behaviour is concerned.

Tables 2 and 3 show the Jewish respondents who were affiliated with the Reformed Synagogue to be better attenders as well as more involved in the affairs of their synagogue, as compared with the

1. For a discussion of the difficulties in comparing membership figures of the various denominations, see Spencer 1962, also Highet 1960, pp.54-55.

TABLE 2: SYNAGOGUE/CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY SYNAGOGUE⁽¹⁾/CHURCH GROUPS -
MEMBERS ONLY

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
	Orthodox		Reform		Non-Catholics		Catholics	
1 x a week or more	28	11.3	7	38.9	30	21.7	7	70.0
1-3 x a month	51	20.6	4	22.2	54	39.1	3	30.0
5-6 x a year	50	20.2	3	16.7	21	15.2	-	-
High Festivals only	78	31.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Less often	32	12.9	3	16.7	18	13.0	-	-
Never	9	3.6	1	5.6	15	10.9	-	-
TOTAL	248	100.1	18	100.1	138	99.9	10	100.0

TABLE 3: INVOLVEMENT IN SYNAGOGUE/CHURCH AFFAIRS BY BRANCH OF
SYNAGOGUE/CHURCH, MEMBERS ONLY

JEWISH RESPONDENTS						
	All members		Orthodox Affiliated		Reform Affiliated	
Active	59	22.2	53	21.4	6	33.3
Not active	207	77.8	195	78.6	12	66.6
TOTAL	266	100.0	248	100.0	18	99.9

NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS						
	All members		Non-Catholics		Catholics	
Active	17	11.4	17	12.2	-	-
Not active	132	88.6	122	87.8	10	100.0
TOTAL	149	100.0	139	100.0	10	100.0

1. It should be noted that, of the 14 Jewish respondents who were not affiliated with a synagogue, 8 attended synagogue once or twice a year on one of the High Festivals.

Orthodox affiliated Jews. It is possible that the more regular attendance amongst the members of the Reformed Synagogue is due to the higher proportion of converts to Judaism,⁽¹⁾ amongst the members, and attendance of religious classes and services form a part of such a conversion. However, the higher rate of involvement in synagogue affairs confirms Dr Golombok's comment as to the nature of the Reformed congregation when he stated: "In only one Synagogue in the city can one say that the congregation feels deeply involved in a living movement. The New Synagogue promotes a version of Judaism with whose philosophy we profoundly disagree. Yet they have an awareness of the interplay of Jewish practice and belief with the world of today that the more traditional congregations could well emulate." (The Jewish Echo, 22.3.74.) The Orthodox affiliated respondents, to a large extent, fit Sklare's description of the Jew who is "heterodox in personal behaviour but who, when occasionally joining in public worship, prefers to do so in accordance with traditional patterns" (Sklare 1955, p.46).⁽²⁾

Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, attendance at church is much more regular than amongst the Orthodox affiliated Jews, and the greater saliency of Mass attendance in Catholicism is reflected in the attendance figures. A very small proportion of the respondents were involved in the affairs of their church, but this figure is not strictly comparable with that for the Jewish respondents for the reasons stated earlier. When the figures of affiliation and attendance of services amongst the Jewish respondents are

1. See discussion on pp.80-82.

2. About 'personal behaviour' see the proceeding discussion under the heading 'Religious Factors in Identification' in this chapter.

compared with other Jewish communities in Britain, it is clear that the link with the Synagogue as an institution is stronger in Newton Mearns than in Edgware and Wembley. Krausz found some 81.5% of the Edgware household heads and Cromer found 80.0% of the parents in the Wembley sample to be affiliated with a synagogue (Krausz 1965, p.113; Cromer 1973,p.54). As for attendance figures, it is confirmed that the Orthodox affiliated respondents attend synagogue somewhat less regularly than Jews affiliated with a more liberal synagogue. Harris found 15.0% of the Orthodox affiliated, compared with 25.0% of the liberal affiliated Jews attending synagogue at least once fortnightly (1969, p.66).

Involvement with synagogue affairs is very closely related to attendance at services. Table 4 shows that the majority of regular attenders were involved in synagogue affairs, and the proportion of active respondents decreases with a decrease in attendance. Amongst

TABLE 4: ATTENDANCE OF SERVICES AND INVOLVEMENT IN SYNAGOGUE/CHURCH AFFAIRS

JEWISH RESPONDENTS									
	Attending								
	1 x a week		1-3 x a month		Less often		Never		
Active	24	68.6	18	32.7	17	10.2	-	-	
Not active	11	21.4	37	67.3	149	89.8	10	100.0	
TOTALS	35	100.0	55	100.0	166	100.0	10	100.0	
NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS									
Active	9	24.3	7	12.3	1	2.6	-	-	
Not active	26	70.3	50	87.7	38	97.4	15	100.0	
TOTALS	37	100.0	57	100.0	39	100.0	15	100.0	

the non-Jewish respondents, this is not the case. Most of the regular attenders were lay members, although the highest proportion of active respondents is found amongst the regular attenders.

As far as secularization in institutional religion is concerned, the figures presented for self-identification and synagogue/church membership do not support the thesis that the church or synagogue's attraction is diminishing. Attendance figures also suggest that a large proportion of the respondents have not severed the link with the religious bodies in Newton Mearns.

Herberg's thesis also does not find great support amongst the Jewish respondents. Tables 5 and 6 show no significant relationship

TABLE 5: SYNAGOGUE ATTENDANCE BY GENERATION - JEWISH RESPONDENTS ONLY

	First Generation		Second Generation		Third and Over	
1 x a week and more	4	13.8	16	11.5	15	13.4
1-3 x a month	4	13.8	33	23.7	18	16.0
5-6 x a year	8	27.6	23	16.5	22	19.6
High Festivals only	5	17.2	41	29.5	35	31.3
Less often	6	20.7	20	14.4	14	12.5
Never	2	6.9	6	4.3	8	7.2
TOTAL	29	100.0	139	199.9	112	100.0

Level of significance $p < 0.7$

TABLE 6: INVOLVEMENT WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFAIRS BY GENERATION - JEWISH
RESPONDENTS ONLY (MEMBERS OF SYNAGOGUE)

	First		Second & Mixed		Third and Over	
Active	3	10.7	34	25.8	22	20.8
Not Active	25	89.3	98	74.2	84	79.2
TOTAL	28	100.0	132	100.0	106	100.0

Level of significance $p < 0.19$

between attendance of services, involvement with synagogue affairs and generation. There is no sign of the centrality of religion for respondents of the first generation (Herberg 1960, p.18); of the second generation rejection of religion (1960, p.16); or of the third generation return to religion (1960, p.31). In fact, the higher attendance and involvement in synagogue affairs amongst respondents of the second generation stands in direct contradiction to Herberg's description of the second generation being "consciously, even bitterly, religiousless" (1960, p.19). It is possible that Herberg's approach is useful in a developmental analysis of the transition from "Ghetto" to "Gilded Ghetto" (Kramer & Kramerman 1961); it certainly does not reflect the contemporary pattern amongst the Newton Mearns respondents.

(2) Structural Factors and Religious Behaviour

Tables 7-14 in the Appendix display the relationships between religious behaviour and factors such as sex, age, education and occupation. The only statistically significant relationship found was between sex and synagogue attendance amongst the Jewish respondents. This is most probably due to the fact that, in order to conduct a public service, the presence of ten confirmed males (of the age of 13 or over) is necessary. Further, Jewish men are traditionally required to attend services more than women. Thus the Jewish men attend synagogue more often than the women. On High Festivals, however, there is a higher female attendance.

In spite of the lack of statistical significance, a few trends can be distinguished. Amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, younger people and the better educated attend services somewhat less often than the older and the less educated respondents,

although a high proportion of the better educated non-Jewish respondents attended church fairly regularly. This is very much in accord with Argyle's findings that younger people, those under the age of 30 in particular, attend church less than older people (Argyle 1958, pp.65-70). Furthermore, amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, those of the middle age group (40-59) were more involved in the affairs of the church/synagogue than both the younger and older respondents.

So far we have seen that affiliation with a synagogue was much more widespread amongst the Jewish respondents than amongst the non-Jewish ones, although a large proportion of the latter were affiliated with a church. It was also clear that the proportion of regular attenders was particularly low amongst the Orthodox affiliated respondents, but that very few of the respondents have completely severed their attachment to the synagogue. However, despite being poor attenders, a fifth of the Orthodox and a third of the Reform affiliated respondents were active in synagogue life via holding posts, being active on committees and performing some voluntary service for the congregation. Both these types of religious behaviour were not found to be strongly associated with any of the structural factors, although there was a tendency for the younger and better educated respondents to be somewhat less regular attenders.

We shall now turn to examine in somewhat more detail the problem of Jewish identity, which is said to be closely related to whether or not good intergroup relations develop (Lewin 1948, pp.169-200).

B. Jewish Identity

Sydney Harris contends that, in principle, the Jew cannot be

distinguished from the non-Jew in any legal or political sense, yet he contends that many Jews and non-Jews "believe and act as if the Jew can be identified and distinguished from other groups in a similar way to which an Englishman can be distinguished from a German or a Russian". Furthermore, he claims that this is taken to an even deeper level as many Jews and non-Jews "Think and act as if there were an essential quality of Jewishness" (Harris 1969, p.1), and thus "Jewish identity" becomes a metaphorical category, "an unchanging essence" (Harris 1969, p.1).

It is very difficult to grasp the full extent of what is meant by "Jewish identity", or to measure it fully, and the various attempts at measuring it only prove this point. It is, however, certain that there is some quality which holds the group together and accounts for its existence and cohesiveness. It is also certain that this quality is not an "unchanging essence", as the various studies show.⁽¹⁾

Bernard Lazerwitz, summarising former research on this topic, has counted some nine specific measures developed by students of Jewish identity.⁽²⁾ These were widely used to varying degrees by writers both in the United States and in Britain.⁽³⁾ All these

1. See Krausz 1965, pp.135ff; Krausz 1965, pp.196-208, who contended that the focal point of Jewish identity has shifted from the religious to the ethnic-communal focus; Cromer 1973, pp.58-60 who found a similar trend away from religious identification; Sklare and Greenblum 1967, who found sectarianism rather than religion to be the focal point of identification in Lakeville, and there are many others.

2. The 9 measures are: "1.Religious behaviour; 2.Jewish education; 3.Activities and contributions to Jewish organisations; 4.Type of Jewish ideology; 5.Attitudes towards Israel; 6.Concentration of courtship and friendship among Jews; 7.The Jewish rearing of one's children; 8.Jewish home background when a child; and 9.Encounters with anti-Semitism and anxieties over social interaction with Gentiles". (Lazerwitz 1973, p.204.)

3. See Rothman 1965; Krausz 1965; Sklare & Greenblum 1967; Harris 1969; Cromer 1973 and there are many others.

various measures, centre around two main poles - the religious behaviour pole and the ethnic-communal pole, including intergroup attitudes. These two also formed the basis for the very elaborate multivariate model of Jewish identification developed by Lazerwitz.

I shall briefly discuss the findings with relation to these two poles of identification, and attempt to achieve some idea as to the strength of Jewish identity and the nature of such identification amongst the Jewish respondents.

(1) The Religious/Traditional Factor in Identification

Historically, the distinctive religion of the Jews was claimed to be largely responsible for the perpetuation and survival of the Jewish group. This is mainly due to the all-embracing nature of Jewish religious life. The traditional Jew was guided by the code of behaviour prescribed in the pentateuch and later interpreted by the Rabbis. Laws were laid down to regulate almost every aspect of the individual's life from washing and food habits to sexual behaviour (Gantzfield 1927).

Today, however, there is growing evidence that most of the Jewish people tend to exercise a kind of selectivity in ritual observance (Harris 1969; Cromer 1973). They do not accept the full traditional pattern of ritual prescribed by the Jewish religion, rather "they select those observances which they feel are objectively possible to practice and subjectively possible to identify with" (Cromer 1973, p.55). That this is the case amongst the Newton Mearns respondents becomes very clear from results presented in Table 7. As shown, the most widely observed traditions are the festivals of Passover and Chanuka, and the lighting of candles on the Friday night. It is worth noting that these festivals usually entail a wider family gathering and are often regarded as a family

TABLE 7: OBSERVANCE OF JEWISH TRADITION ITEMS - 1970

Favourable Answer	The Question	No.	Pct.
'YES'	1. "Do you have the Sabbath candles lit in your home on Friday night?"	234	83.6
'YES'	2. "Do you fast on YOM-KIPPUR?"	224	80.0
'YES'	3. "Do you eat only Kosher food at home?"	220	78.6
'NO'	4. "Do you eat bacon outside your home?"	163	58.2
'YES'	5. "Do you keep separate milk and meat dishes?"	186	66.4
'NO'	6. "Do you eat non-Kosher food outside your home?"	33	11.8
'NO'	7. "Do you/your husband work on the Sabbath?"	81	28.9
'NO'	8. "Do you travel on the Sabbath?"	11	3.9
'YES'	9. "Do you light candles on the Chanuka?"	234	84.6
'YES'	10. "Do you observe the Passover Festival?"	257	91.8
TOTAL		N = 280	

occasion or an excuse for family gatherings rather than of theological significance. Another point is that both the Passover Seder and the Lighting of Candles on Chanuka have traditionally been among the most child-centred festivals in the Jewish calendar. They form an appealing occasion for parents to transmit Jewish identity to their children in a "positive" way, through various games which have been particularly built into the rituals and celebrations. It is also important to note that the dates of

the Chanuka and Passover festivals are very close to Christmas and Easter and, as such, the high observance of these festivals can be seen as an attempt to counter-balance the effects of these latter on their children.

Over two thirds of the respondents keep a Kosher home, but observance of the dietary laws outside the home is very low. Only 11.8% of the respondents stated that they do not eat non-Kosher food outside the home. This, coupled with over 40.0% of the respondents who eat bacon outside the home shows that, as far as the dietary laws are concerned, only a very small proportion of the respondents can be said to be strictly Orthodox.

Another widely observed practice was that of fasting on the "Yom-Kippur". However, the Sabbath observance is restricted to the symbolic lighting of candles. Very few do not travel or work on the Sabbath.

In addition to the traditions displayed in the table, a further two practices were found to be widely observed. Some 96.3% (135 of N=140) of the male respondents were Bar-Mitzvah,⁽¹⁾ and some 95.4% of the respondents for whom information was available (250 of N=262) had a "Mezuzah" on their door.

Similar to the situation described above, in Edgware it was also found that some practices are more widely observed than others. In fact, the same practices that were widely observed in Newton Mearns ranked somewhat higher in Edgware. Thus, some 96.8% observed the Chanuka festival; 94.0% observed the Passover festival;

-
1. The religious confirmation ceremony for boys of 13 years of age.
 2. A small case attached to the doorpost, containing a scroll of Biblical verses.

85.6% lit candles on the Friday night and 80.3% reported of fasting on Yom-Kippur (Krausz 1965, p.120).

There has also been a slackening of the observance of the dietary laws. When compared with the Newton Mearns respondents, however, a larger proportion of Edgware Jewry (31.4%) did not eat non-Kosher food outside the home (compared with 11.8% of the Newton Mearns Jewish respondents), but only 37.0% had separate milk and meat dishes (compared with 66.4% of the Jewish respondents in Newton Mearns). Thus, in effect, home observances are kept to a larger extent in Newton Mearns than in Edgware, while a larger proportion of the Edgware Jews observed the dietary laws outside their home than the Newton Mearns respondents. The Sabbath also seems to be somewhat more observed in Edgware than in Newton Mearns, with 30.1% not working, and 11.2% not travelling on the Sabbath (Krausz 1965, p.125).

Thus, similar to the position in Edgware, it is unrealistic to examine "degrees" of "Orthodoxy" since the latter implies strict adherence to all the laws laid down by the Shulchan-Aruch (Ganzfield 1927). It is, however, possible to examine degrees of 'traditionalism' which implies the observance of some of the traditional customs.

It is at this point that the small differences in the patterns of observance amongst the Newton Mearns and Edgware respondents have the greatest impact. In Edgware responses to the traditional observance items satisfied the requirements of the Guttman scaling techniques whereas, in Newton Mearns, although the responses approximated the minimal requirements, they were found to be not

scalable.⁽¹⁾ This suggests that the Edgware community shows a somewhat greater uniformity in the selection of items which are observed. It also shows a greater consistency in the choice of items, although this does not necessarily imply that the Edgware respondents were more traditional in their behaviour. It does imply, however, that they were more consistent in their traditional behaviour.

Cromer, although not giving a detailed account, also found a pattern of highly subjective selectivity in traditional practice in Wembley. He contended that this was "largely due to the fact that ritual observance has become a symbol of Jewish identity, rather than an act of religious and sacred significance... These rituals are usually maintained simply to remind them that they are Jewish" (1973, p.56). There is no doubt that Cromer's observation is applicable to a large proportion of the Newton Mearns Jewish respondents. However, traditional behaviour, even when it is symbolic, is of relevance to intergroup relations in that it contributes towards differences in life style. The observance of the Sabbath through lighting candles on the Friday night means a short business day in the winter time when Sabbath enters with dusk. The children are sent home earlier from school, and there was an observed tendency for the whole family to stay at home for the evening and attend a traditional Friday night meal.

1. A valid Guttman scale requires a coefficient of reproducibility of over 0.9 and a coefficient of scalability well above 0.6. (See Stouffer et al, 1950, pp. 117-119). The scale produced by the Newton Mearns responses had a coefficient of reproducibility of 0.87 and a coefficient of scalability of 0.37. Even the attempt of scaling the 4 items used by Krausz for the shorter scalogram had a coefficient of reproducibility of 0.90, a coefficient of scalability of 0.58, and 110 respondents of the non-scale type.

To gauge the extent to which traditional behaviour is prevalent amongst the respondents, the items relating to the observance of the Sabbath and of the dietary law were combined to form a Likert⁽¹⁾ type index of traditionalism. The items combined in the index were first combined into two separate scales of Sabbath observance (items 1, 8 and 9 from Table 7) and observance of the dietary laws (items 3, 4, 5 and 6 from Table 7). These are provided in Table 15 in the Appendix. When the two were cross-tabulated χ^2 was significant at $p < 0.000$, which is the highest level of significance that can be achieved statistically. Thus, by combining the two scales, we do not lose information but gain a closer insight into the level of traditionalism amongst the respondents. Table 8(A) presents the full index. It shows the majority of the respondents to be concentrated around the central scores of 3, 4 with very few at either extreme scores. An eight point index, however, is somewhat cumbersome to work with, and it was therefore decided to regard all those with scores of 6-7 as being high on the traditional index; those with scores 5-4 as moderately traditional; those with scores of 3-2 low on the traditional index and those with scores of 1-0 'not traditional'. Thus, the sensitivity of the index might be somewhat reduced but the more concise index, with 4 categories, will be more manageable. The more concise index, presented in Table 18(B) shows, as in the full index, the majority of the respondents to rank moderately or low on the index, with a very small proportion being highly traditional or not traditional.

1. See Sellitz, Jahoda, Cook and Deutsch 1971, pp.366-370.

TABLE 8: INDEX OF TRADITIONALISM

(A) THE FULL INDEX				(B) THE CONCISE INDEX		
Score	No.	Pct.	Level of Traditionalism	No.	Pct.	
Highest	7	4	1.4	High	16	5.7
	6	12	4.3	Moderate	119	42.5
	5	38	13.6	Low	106	37.9
	4	81	28.9	Not traditional	39	13.9
	3	78	27.9			
	2	28	10.0	TOTAL	280	100.1
	1	24	8.6			
Lowest	0	15	5.4			
TOTAL		280	100.1			

Levels of traditionalism, as Tables 9-12 show, are highly related to synagogue and branch of synagogue affiliation, attendance of services and involvement with synagogue affairs. Although a very small proportion of the respondents were found to be highly traditional, virtually half of those who were affiliated with a synagogue, and with an orthodox synagogue in particular, were moderate or high on the index of traditionalism. Thus, although the Reform affiliated respondents were better synagogue attenders, most of them do not observe the dietary law or the sabbath. Furthermore, regular attendance and involvement in the affairs of the synagogue are highest amongst those respondents who were found to be high on traditionalism and lowest amongst those who are either low on the traditionalism index or were found to be non-traditional.

Herberg's thesis again gains no support as far as generation is

TABLE 9: AFFILIATION WITH A SYNAGOGUE AND LEVELS OF TRADITIONALISM

Levels of Traditionalism:	Affiliated with a synagogue		Not affiliated with a synagogue	
High	16	6.0	-	-
Moderate	118	44.4	1	7.1
Low	100	37.6	6	42.9
Not traditional	32	12.0	7	50.0
TOTALS	266	100.0	14	100.0

TABLE 10: INDEX OF TRADITIONALISM BY BRANCH OF SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION

Level of traditionalism	Orthodox Affiliated		Reform Affiliated	
High	16	6.5	-	-
Moderate	115	46.4	3	16.7
Low	92	37.1	8	44.4
Not traditional	25	10.0	7	38.9
TOTALS	248	1100.0	18	100.0
Level of significance $p < 0.001$ (significant)				

TABLE 11: ATTENDANCE OF SERVICES BY INDEX OF TRADITIONALISM

	High		Moderate		Low		Not Traditional	
1 x a week or more	8	50.0	18	15.1	7	6.6	2	5.1
1-3 x a month	3	18.8	30	25.2	19	17.9	3	7.7
5-6 x a year	3	18.8	23	19.3	22	20.8	5	12.8
High Festivals	2	12.5	37	31.1	33	31.1	9	23.1
Less often	-	-	9	7.6	18	17.0	13	33.3
Never	-	-	2	1.7	7	6.6	7	17.9
TOTALS	16	100.1	119	100.0	106	100.0	39	99.9

TABLE 12: INVOLVEMENT WITH SYNAGOGUE AFFAIRS BY INDEX OF TRADITIONALISM -
ONLY AFFILIATED RESPONDENTS

Involvement:	High		Moderate		Low		Not Traditional	
Active member	11	68.7	31	26.3	15	15.0	2	6.2
Not active	5	31.3	87	73.7	85	85.0	30	93.8
TOTALS	16	100.0	118	100.0	100	100.0	32	100.0
Level of significance	p < 0.000							

TABLE 13: TRADITIONALISM BY GENERATION

Level of Traditionalism	First Generation		Second Generation & Mixed Parentage		Third Generation and Over	
High	3	10.3	9	6.5	4	3.6
Moderate	8	27.6	69	<u>49.6</u>	42	37.5
Low	12	<u>41.4</u>	44	31.7	50	<u>44.6</u>
Not traditional	6	20.7	17	12.2	16	14.3
TOTALS	29	100.0	139	100.0	112	100.0
Level of significance	p < 0.12					

concerned. Most of the respondents, regardless of generation, were either moderate or low on the index of traditionalism. The highest proportion of non-traditionalism was, in fact, found amongst respondents of the first generation. This is not difficult to account for. As we have already seen (Table 5, Chapter 2), a large proportion of first generation respondents were from Western Europe, mainly Germany. While it is not the case that German Jewry was "assimilated" as Cahnman remarked (Cahnman 1965, pp.17-27), their

Jewishness was difficult to define in the sense that it ranged from "rejection and repression, via a balanced fusion, to orthodox intensity, with the majority occupying probably the broad middle spectrum between self-hatred and Zionism" (Strauss 1971, p.77). Thus, a large proportion of the first generation respondents of German descent would not have a firm traditional background. Indeed, evidence presented in Table 16 in the Appendix shows almost 70.0% of the respondents of German and Austro-Hungarian descent to rank either low on the index of traditionalism or be "not traditional".⁽¹⁾ When traditionalism was examined by descent and generation simultaneously (Table 17 in the Appendix), in spite of the small numbers involved it is confirmed that first generation respondents of German descent are less observant than those of Eastern European descent. Further, although the pattern for second and third generation respondents is very similar, a large proportion of respondents of German descent are not traditional, compared with those of an Eastern European descent. Thus it seems that an analysis by generation alone is an oversimplification which does not reflect the complexities of the current situation.

(2) The Ethnocentric Factor in Identification

The discussion in the previous section makes it clear that religion can no longer be regarded as the sole channel of Jewish identification. This being the case, the question to be asked next is whether there has been a shift in emphasis - or in "orientation to Jewishness" (Cromer 1973). In other words, do

1. A similar finding was reported by Krausz 1965, p.140.

respondents identify themselves as Jews through familial (endogamy), communal, Zionist or other channels or it is the case that "Individuals are Jews merely if they think or assert that they are Jews" (Harris 1969, p.175c).

(a) Kinship and Inter-marriage - The centrality of the family in the Jewish tradition is a widely acknowledged factor contributing to the survival of the Jewish group (Schlesinger 1971, p.xi; Simpson & Yinger 1972, pp.480-481; Cromer 1973, pp.8-20). One index of the closeness of Jewish families is the extent to which the respondents, their parents and other relatives exchange visits.

TABLE 14: KINSHIP VISITING PATTERNS

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				Respondents		Relations other	
	Respondents* Visiting Their Parents		Parents* Visiting Respondents		Visiting Relations Other than Parents		than Parents Visiting Respondents	
At least								
1 x a week	107	71.4	81	54.0	135	48.3	149	53.2
1-3 x a month	20	13.3	35	23.3	86	30.7	81	29.0
Less often	21	14.0	33	22.0	56	20.0	47	16.0
Never	2	1.3	1	0.7	3	1.1	3	1.1
TOTAL	150	100.0	150	100.0	280	100.1	280	100.1

*These figures relate only to those who had at least one live parent.

Table 14 presenting the kinship visiting patterns shows a very strong link between the Jewish respondents and their parents. The pattern of visiting relations other than parents also shows a high frequency of visiting, although the intensity of the pattern is lower than the one for the respondents and their parents. Comparability

with results obtained for the non-Jewish respondents is problematic, since the differences in the pattern of residential mobility make for a greater accessibility of relations amongst the Jewish respondents.⁽¹⁾ However, when allowances were made for this factor, and kinship visiting of those respondents who are likely to have relations in Glasgow (i.e. those who moved into Newton Mearns from other neighbourhoods in Glasgow) is considered, results presented in Table 16 in the Appendix show that the extent of parent visiting amongst these respondents is much lower than amongst the Jewish respondents. Furthermore, ties with other relations are also much more occasional than those found amongst the Jewish respondents. Thus, it can be said that this dense visiting pattern found amongst the Jewish respondents is an exclusively group characteristic and is not an outcome of class distribution, since it was not matched by a similar pattern amongst the non-Jewish respondents.

When the results for the Jewish respondents are compared with results obtained from the Edgware survey, it is confirmed that parents visiting is very high amongst Jews (Krausz 1965, p.152). However, it seems that links with other members of the family (relations other than parents) are somewhat stronger in Newton Mearns than amongst the Edgware respondents (Krausz 1965, p.152).

The strength of the Jewish family system is witnessed in yet another factor, namely the prevalence of ingroup marriages which was found to be very strong amongst the Jewish respondents. Of those who were ever married (N=277), only 17 (6.1%) married a non-Jewish person. These were 11 Jewish male respondents and 6 female respondents, converts to Judaism. Thus, in effect, of all those who were

1. See discussion pp. 33, Chapter 2.

born Jewish amongst the respondents and their spouse, the only ones who were intermarried were men.⁽¹⁾ Only one of the respondents who were intermarried was not affiliated with a synagogue. His wife was a Roman Catholic, not converted, and did not plan to convert to Judaism. Of the remaining 16, 11 were affiliated with the Reform synagogue, with 9 of the women involved in these intermarriages having been converted and the other 2 undergoing the process of conversion to Judaism at the time of the survey. The remaining 5 were all members of an Orthodox synagogue, and all 5 women were converts to Judaism.

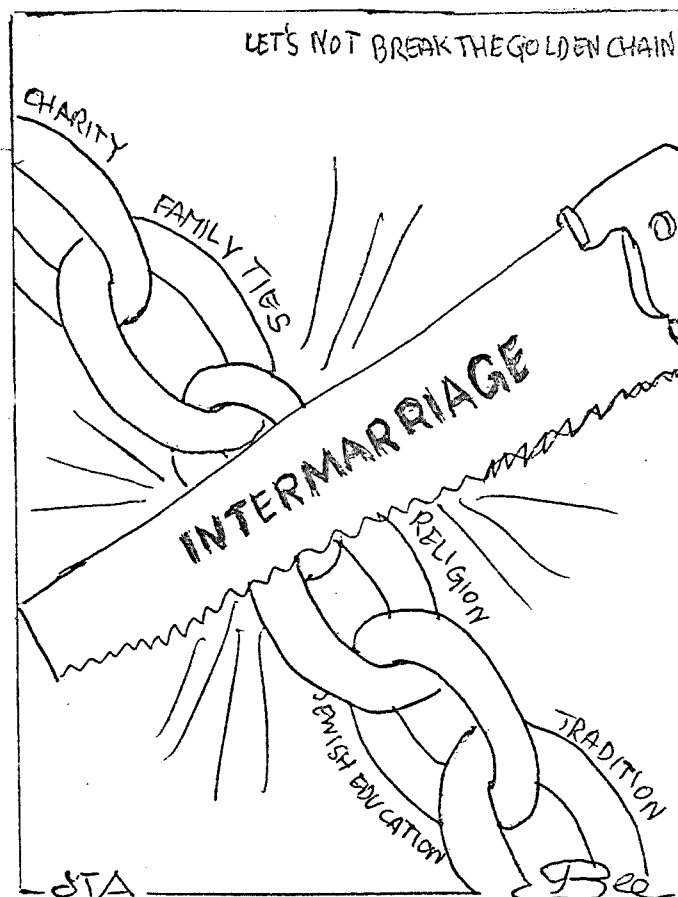
The high proportion of intermarried respondents amongst those who were affiliated with the Reform synagogue is an accurate representation of the membership figures of this congregation. The Rabbi of the Reform congregation has estimated the proportion of mixed marriages amongst the members at higher than 50% and commented that "It is the highest in the world, I am sure of that" (31.10.74). This is a direct result of the severe stand taken by the Orthodox movement on the issues of intermarriage and conversion (Freedman 1955, p.234; Davis 1971, pp.12-13).

Intermarriage has been described, in view of the importance of the family as the major agent for transmitting Jewish identity and

1. This is in line with Neustatter's findings that Jewish men tend to marry out more often than women (1955, p.92; see also Simpson & 1972, pp.500-502). It is quite possible that this finding is a result of the sampling frame. Intermarried women, taking on their husband's name, would have a smaller probability of entering the sample, if they have severed their contacts with Jewish organised life. However, there is some evidence that women intermarry less often than men. Only one of the non-Jewish respondents was found to be married to a Jewess, and, in addition, of the 14 children of the respondents who were intermarried, 10 were male children (see p.82).

as the centre of ritual observance, as "the most formidable assault on the integrity of Jewry" (Freedman 1955, p.233). "Marital assimilation", as it is usually referred to (Gordon 1964, pp.71ff) is seen as the most serious threat to Jewish survival; the most severe 'crime' a Jewish person can commit, short of conversion to Christianity (Benjamin quoted in Davis 1971, p.13).

Rabbi Gottlieb, the head of the Glasgow Beth-Din,⁽¹⁾ stated very clearly that "Intermarriage means the dissolution of the community... ..The Community should take every possible step to fight intermarriage" (Jewish Echo, 26.3.65). This attitude is very well illustrated in a cartoon that has appeared in the Jewish Echo (9.4.65), illustrating how intermarriage cuts through the "Golden Chain" of communal life.



SOURCE: THE "JEWISH ECHO",
9th April 1965, p.11.

1. Beth-Din = The Jewish Rabbinical Court. It is the highest religious authority in the community, and all the synagogues affiliated with the United Orthodox Congregations accept its authority.

It is not suggested here that the Reform movement deliberately encourages intermarriages. Both Orthodox and Reform Rabbis agree on the dangers of intermarriage to communal survival (Jewish Echo, 14.2.66). Conversion, however, is somewhat easier to obtain within the Reform than within the Orthodox movement. The Rabbi of the Reform congregation has admitted that 95.0% of the intermarried men in the congregation were originally members of an Orthodox synagogue. They joined the Reform congregation only when all attempts at conversion through their own synagogue had failed (31.10.74).

When the marriage pattern of the respondents' children was considered, of the 97 respondents who had any married children, 14 (14.4%) had children who were intermarried (none of these were the offspring of an intermarried couple). This obviously is an increase compared with the respondents' generation, and it may still rise to an even higher proportion, as 37.3% (73) of those with any unmarried children (N=204) thought their children might possibly marry out; 6.4% (13) thought their children would definitely marry out; 25.0% (51) said they couldn't possibly know what would happen, and only 31.4% (64) thought their children would definitely not marry out.

These 14 intermarriages involved 8 conversions to Judaism of a non-Jewish wife, and 6 cases in which there were no planned conversions. They were 10 male and 4 female children, and only 1 of the respondents said that he did not object to his child's inter-

marriage. However, 10 of the respondents said that after a few years they accepted the marriage, whereas 3 still remained estranged from their children.

The picture conveyed by the data shows the endogamous factor to be very strong amongst the Newton Mearns respondents, but it is weakening amongst their children.

Attitudes towards intermarriage in general were very negative. Respondents were asked whether they could "give any reasons why intermarriage could be a good thing?" (Q.112, Jewish Interview Schedule, p.44) and then they were asked to "give any reasons for opposing intermarriage" (Q.113, p.44). Some 202 (72.2%) of the respondents thought that under no circumstances can intermarriage be "a good thing", whereas only 19 (7.0%) of the respondents could not think of any reason for opposing intermarriage.

Most interesting are the reasons given as to why intermarriage could be "a good thing", and reasons for opposing it. Results presented in Table 15 show that, when the possibility of intermarriage being a good thing was considered, it was mainly because it helped break down the barriers between peoples in general. The rest of the answers were qualified by 'if' and 'only' statements, which shows that a large proportion of the respondents in this group can see some benefit in intermarriage only under certain circumstances.

The reasons given for opposing intermarriage related mainly to the possible outcome and problems created by such a marriage. As such, reasons given here were more specific and had more relevance to the daily life patterns and realities within the community than the biological - or perhaps more global - considerations which were

TABLE 15: REASONS GIVEN AS TO WHY INTERMARRIAGE COULD BE A

GOOD/BAD THING		
Those who thought intermarriage could be a good thing:		
	No.	Pct.
Intermarriage helps to break down barriers between peoples	35	44.9
It's only good if people are in love	18	23.1
It might be good biologically - a change of blood	8	10.2
Only good in an overall context	7	8.9
Only good if the non-Jew converts to Judaism	2	2.6
Other and D.K.	8	10.2
TOTAL	78	99.9
Those who gave a reason for opposing intermarriage:		
Poor prospect for mixed marriages	47	18.0
Discord within the marriage	56	21.4
Problem for the offspring of intermarriages	69	26.4
Social problems	13	5.0
Problems for relations	6	2.3
Personal reasons	11	4.2
Weakens Judaism	41	15.7
Other and D.K.	18	6.9
TOTAL	261	99.9

brought forth in favour of intermarriage.

The small proportion of respondents who objected on religious grounds suggests that, for most of the respondents, intermarriage does not represent a religious problem but rather an undesirable

social disturbance.

A similar pattern can be observed in the attitude of the respondents who had unmarried children to the possibility of their child's intermarriage. The vast majority of the respondents, 82.4% (168 of N=204) said they would be unhappy if their child married out; 7.8% (16 of N=204) said they would be indifferent; 5.4% (11 of N=204) said that their reaction would depend on who the non-Jewish person was; 4.0% (8 of N=204) were undecided, and only one respondent said she would be happy.

Explaining their feelings, only a small proportion of the respondents related their personal feelings to concern with the survival of the Jewish group, as can be seen from Table 16. The majority of the respondents stressed various difficulties and discords within the marriage, and the difficulties the offspring of these marriages would face rather than the religious problems connected with intermarriage. This is particularly obvious amongst those who said they would not feel unhappy. Most of these expressed the view that religion is not the most important factor as far as marriage is concerned. This pattern is similar to that found with the more general attitude towards intermarriage, whereby opposition is not on religious grounds but rather on social and ethnic grounds, related to factors which affect the daily life and routines of the respondents.

Most of the opposition would not be translated into action intending to prevent the marriage, as some 47.5% (97) said they would not act upon their feelings but would accept their child's decision; 30.4% (62) expressed a qualified acceptance - 10 would accept if the non-Jew converted - 20 would try and talk their

TABLE 16: REASONS GIVEN BY RESPONDENTS TO EXPLAIN THEIR FEELINGS CONCERNING THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR CHILD'S INTERMARRIAGE - ONLY THOSE WITH UNMARRIED CHILDREN

The reasons for respondents' feelings	Respondents' feelings				
	All respondents with unmarried children	Unhappy	Indifferent	Undecided	Depends on the non-Jewish person
Concern with Jewish identity and Jewish survival.	38 18.8	35 21.0	1 6.3	-	2 18.2
Stress differences between Jews and non-Jews as a possible source of discord within the marriage	51 25.2	51 30.4	-	-	-
Respondents feel proud of being Jewish	24 11.9	24 14.4	-	-	-
Concern with the offspring of these marriages	17 8.4	17 10.2	-	-	-
Would feel they failed as parents/lost a child	7 3.5	6 3.6	-	1 12.5	-
Stress, social difficulties	5 2.5	4 2.4	-	1 12.5	-
Stress values of Jewish family life	3 1.5	3 1.8	-	-	-
Religion's not important - most important thing is love and eligibility	22 10.9	2 1.2	12 75.0	2 25.0	6 54.5
Respondents disapprove of intermarriage in principle	4 2.0	4 2.4	-	-	-
Personal reasons	11 5.4	9 5.4	1 6.3	-	1 9.1
Other, D.K. and N.A.	22 10.9	13 7.2	2 12.5	4 50.0	2 18.2
TOTALS	203 ⁽¹⁾ 101.0	168 100.0	16 100.1	8 100.0	11 100.0

1. The respondents who said he would be happy said it was because religion is not important in marriage.

children out of it, but accept eventually - and 32 said they would try and prevent it but, failing that, they would accept eventually; 7.8% (16) said they would not allow the marriage to take place; 2.0% (4) said they would disown their child, while 12.3% (25) could not anticipate their reaction. Thus, the majority of the respondents, although opposed to intermarriage, would not act very strongly upon their feelings and would, eventually, accept the marriage as a fait accompli.

Considering the question of conversion, some 61.8% (126 of N=204) of the respondents said they would feel much better, and it would be much easier for them to accept the marriage if the non-Jewish person were to convert to Judaism. When the opposite possibility of their own child's conversion was suggested to the respondents, reaction was very strong. Only 14.3% (29 of N=204) said they would be indifferent. Of the rest, 28.9% (59) thought it would be "disastrous"; 18.1% (37) said they would be very hurt; 18.6% (38) said they would think their child was "crazy"; while 4.4% (9) were undecided and a further 14.7% (30) refused even to consider the possibility. When asked what they would do if this situation arose, only 7.8% (16) said there was nothing they could do; all the rest said they would at least make an attempt at stopping the process, with 7.8% (16) saying they would consider their children dead and sit "Shivah"⁽¹⁾.

To summarize, it seems that most of the respondents, although opposed to intermarriage, would accept 'the inevitable' subject to some conditions. Their objection, on the whole, would be mild and a large proportion of them would not actively object as long as the problem of their own child's conversion to Christianity was not raised as a possibility to prevent "discord within the marriage".

1. Shivah - seven days of mourning the dead.

The reaction to this possibility clearly shows that while respondents are not strictly observant Jews, they feel strongly enough about their Jewishness to be shaken by the hypothetical possibility of their child's conversion to Christianity.

(b) Communal Identification - The extent to which the respondents participate and identify themselves with the Jewish community can be gauged through figures of affiliation with Jewish voluntary associations.

Of the 280 Jewish respondents, some 193, or 68.9%, were affiliated with a Jewish organisation. However, when those who are not affiliated with any association are not taken into account, the proportion rises to 89.8% (N=215). Thus it seems that a larger proportion of the respondents identify themselves with the community via affiliation with a sectarian group than that found in Edgware (54.0% who were affiliated or had some sectarian affiliation in the past, (Krausz 1965, p.158).

Table 22 in the Appendix shows most of these to be affiliated with either the Bonnyton Golf Club or a Zionist organisation. The proportion of respondents who were members of a religiously affiliated organisation is very low (12.4%), which supports the previous finding that religion is declining in its importance as a source of identification amongst the Newton Mearns respondents.

Another measure of communal identification is the extent to which respondents restrict their social ties to individuals or informal groups within the ingroup. Table 17 shows that, both as far as the larger circle of friends and the close friends are concerned, a very small proportion of the respondents had them mainly amongst non-Jews. Also a much larger proportion of the

respondents had exclusively Jewish close friends, as compared with

TABLE 17: THE PATTERNING OF FRIENDSHIP AMONGST THE RESPONDENTS

	People respondents were 'on friendly terms with'		'close friends'	
All are Jewish	35	14.0	144	55.9
Mostly Jewish	149	53.6	50	34.2
Both Jewish and non-Jewish	89	32.0	24	9.1
Mostly or only non-Jewish	1	0.4	5	1.9
None	2	-	17	-
TOTALS	280	(-)	280	(-)
Adjusted Totals	278	100.0	263	100.0

'being on friendly terms' with other people. Thus close friends are usually restricted to other Jews mainly, and the figures clearly show how inward looking the Jewish respondents are in their social life.

In view of the above findings, it is not surprising to see that, of the 174 respondents who were involved with an informal circle of friends, visiting each other on a regular basis, 140 (80.5%) were exclusively Jewish cliques; 29 (16.7%) were mainly Jewish; 3 (1.7%) were mixed and 2 (0.8%) were mainly non-Jewish.

With most of his casual friends, the circle of friends and his close friends being Jewish, together with his strong family ties, the Newton Mearns Jew, like the Edgware Jew, mixes on an informal basis, mainly with other Jews. This strong ethnocentric tendency

in informal relations is explained in part by the fact that more than half of the respondents, 142 (50.7%), felt more comfortable in Jewish company. Of the rest, 132 (47.1%) said they felt no difference, whereas only 4 said they felt more comfortable with non-Jews, while 2 were undecided. The basis of this discomfort in the presence of non-Jews was mainly an awareness of differences and barriers between Jews and non-Jews (25 respondents - 17.5%), and a feeling that they have to be on their guard as to what they say and what is said in their presence (28 respondents - 19.7%). A further 38 respondents (26.8%) said they feel inhibited in non-Jewish company, while 28 (19.7%) said they feel 'cold' and unattached when in non-Jewish company, and a further 23 (16.3%) did not refer to non-Jewish company in their answer. (1)

(c) Zionism - The importance of Zionism as a focal point of Jewish identity has been stressed by various studies. Krausz found great interest in Zionism in Edgware (1965, p.179) and Harris found that in Bristol "Jewishness" comprised of a subjective feeling of difference from non-Jews and identification with Israel (1969, p.175b).

In Newton Mearns, we have already seen that some 33.1% of the respondents who were affiliated with a Jewish organisation belonged to one of the local Zionist bodies. Also, some 56.1% (157 of N=280) have been to Israel for a visit. This is a much higher proportion than the 16.0% found to have done so in Edgware (Krausz 1965, p.178). Further, of those who had never visited Israel, some 71.5% (88 of N=123) have expressed "a special desire to visit Israel".

When asked about their personal feelings if the state of Israel ceased to exist, 89.6% (251) said they would feel a very deep personal sense of loss; 7.9% (22) some sense of loss; 1.8% (5) said they would feel no sense of loss; one respondent refused to consider this possibility and a further one refused to answer the question.

1. For further discussion on this topic see Chapter 4.

It is, however, in explaining their feelings towards the possibility of losing Israel that the full extent of their identification with its fate and the sense of "peoplehood" and "togetherness", "oneness" with the Israelis is realised, as Table 18 shows. Although only two respondents said they wanted to settle in Israel, the majority of the explanations were Jewish centred, with only 8.0% (22) of the respondents saying their sense of loss would be the same if they "heard that India had slaughtered all of Bangladesh. Would feel sorry for any race, Jews or other". The majority of the respondents, however, referred to Israel as their own country - "It's my country, I feel I belong to Israel"; or explained their

TABLE 18: REASONS GIVEN BY RESPONDENTS AS TO WHY THEY WOULD FEEL
A PERSONAL SENSE OF LOSS IF ISRAEL WAS DESTROYED*

	No.	Pct.
Acknowledge an affinity with the Jewish race	120	43.6
It is the natural homeland for Jews	68	24.7
Because of Israel's function for diaspora Jews	55	20.0
Proud of Israel's achievements	18	6.2
It's a place for Jewish refugees	13	4.7
Want to go and live there	3	1.1
Because of general humanitarian reasons	22	8.0
Other and D.K.	7	2.5
TOTALS	275**	

*Excluding the 5 respondents who expressed no personal sense of loss,
 **As more than one reason was mentioned by some of the respondents, figures do not add up to totals.

feelings by stating: "They are my brothers and sisters"; or "I associate myself with the Jewish race".

This feeling of "oneness" with Israel is also expressed, though in a different way, by those who stressed how functional Israel was for diaspora Jewry. The majority of those (26 out of 55) saw Israel as an insurance policy - "I suppose it's the final refuge for Jews. If every nation turns sour or anti-Semitic, the only safe place is Israel", or "Basically I will feel a sense of loss because of my own security. It is always a house to go to should you need it. You feel more secure knowing that Israel is there". Thus, for some 26 respondents, Israel represents a place of refuge to which they can turn in case of need, and this gives them a sense of security. But this is not the only way in which Israel is seen as functional for diaspora Jewry. Many respondents also thought that the existence of Israel has changed the image of the Jew, thus changing the general attitude towards Jews, and through that also acting as a distant protector of the Jews, as the following statements show: "I think Israel will be the answer to our problem in diaspora. Jews always used to just run away and not fight. Now people regard Israel with respect and include us in that respect"; "Because ... Israel's existence has given us a status and respect we didn't have before. Since the establishment of Israel, the Jews have been accepted"; or, "The fact that Israel is there has kept anti-Semitism on the Hitler scale from raising its ugly head".

Thus it seems that Israel has become not only a place of possible refuge, but also an influential factor in safeguarding the position of diaspora Jewry.

Underlying all the above statements there are three themes. Firstly, there is a basic insecurity in their status and future in diaspra - "We must have a country of our own - none of us is safe you know". Secondly, connected with this basic insecurity is the fear that, basically, anti-Semitism is a very lively issue which is only kept under control temporarily, and Israel forms part of that control and thirdly, that the fate of the Jewish people in diaspra is closely linked with the fate of Israel - which is very well expressed in the following statement: "I consider Israel as the backbone of my existence".

The strong feelings revealed by the respondents towards Israel do not represent a mere shift in the focal point of Jewish identity, but are also very significant psychologically. In view of the basic insecurity revealed above, identification with Israel, the fighting nation, seems to give a sense of belongingness and security around which their secular-national identification evolved. Israel has become the topic which, more than any other single factor, evokes their sense of peoplehood: it has become a symbol they were proud to identify with. As was put by one of the respondents: "Israel IS the Jewish people. It is the embodiment of the Jewish people. It's loss would psychologically maim the Jewish people in Diaspra".

3. Structural Factors and Jewish Identity

Tables 18-21, 23 and 24 in the Appendix presenting the various items considered in this chapter according to sex, age, education and occupation show the following patterns. As far as religious identification is concerned, respondents of the younger age group and the better educated are somewhat less traditional than the older and less educated respondents, although the results were not

significant statistically. Most of the respondents, regardless of age, sex, education and occupation were opposed to intermarriage, had mostly Jewish friends and stated that they would feel a very deep personal sense of loss if Israel ceased to exist.

Affiliation with Jewish organisations was found to be significantly higher amongst men than amongst women, and amongst respondents of the managerial than those of any other occupational group.

No significant relationship was found between the expression of Zionist feelings and the date of the interview. This means that the overwhelming support for Israel is not a reflection of heightened awareness caused by the 1973 war. Rather, this represents a long term shift in the focal point of Jewish identification.

Further evidence to the effect that there has been such a shift is presented in Table 25 in the Appendix. Although a larger proportion of the respondents who were traditional opposed intermarriage and expressed Zionist feelings as compared with the less traditional respondents, the very high proportion of the latter expressing similar feelings, and a similar tendency to be affiliated with Jewish associations and have mainly Jewish friends is the clearest indication of the strength of the ethnocentric factor amongst the respondents. Thus, respondents who were not traditional in their religious behaviour show a strong group identity expressed through communal channels.

Table 19 presenting the relationship between the various ethnocentric factors and generation and descent again demonstrate the uselessness of a generational analysis for the understanding of current Jewish identification. Most of the respondents, regardless

TABLE 19: ETHNOCENTRIC FACTORS OF IDENTIFICATION BY GENERATION AND DESCENT

A. Attitudes Towards Intermarriage by Generation and Descent

	Generation:						Descent:					
	First		Second		Third		Poland & Russia		Germany & Austro- Hungary		Other and not immigrants	
Attitude to intermarriage:												
Consider intermarriage a "bad thing"	28	96.6	132	95.0	101	90.2	223	94.9	27	93.1	11	68.8
Do not con- sider it a "bad thing"	1	3.4	7	5.0	11	9.8	12	5.1	2	6.9	5	31.3
TOTALS	29	100.0	139	100.0	112	100.0	235	100.0	29	100.0	16	100.1

p < 0.2

B. Close Friends by Generation and Descent

The Friends:	First						Second		Third		Poland & Russia		Germany & Austro-Hungary		Other and not immigrants	
All are Jewish	15	62.5	67	50.8	62	58.0	122	54.4	14	58.4	8	53.4				
Mostly Jewish	6	25.0	50	37.9	34	31.8	77	34.4	6	25.0	7	46.6				
Both equally	2	8.3	13	9.8	9	8.4	20	8.9	4	16.7	-	-				
Mainly not Jewish	1	4.2	2	1.5	2	1.9	5	2.2	-	-	-	-				
TOTALS	24	100.0	132	100.0	107	100.1	224	99.9	24	100.1	15	100.0				

C. Affiliation with Jewish Organisations by Generation and Descent

Affiliation:	First		Second		Third		Poland & Russia		Germany & Austro-Hungary		Other and not immigrants	
Affiliated	16	55.2	97	69.8	80	71.4	164	69.8	18	62.1	11	68.8
Not affiliated	13	44.8	42	30.2	32	28.6	71	30.2	11	37.9	5	31.3
TOTALS	29	100.0	139	100.0	112	100.0	235	100.0	29	100.0	16	100.1
	p < 0.2						p < 0.6					

D. Zionist Feelings by Generation and Descent

Personal sense of loss in case Israel ceased to exist:	First	Second	Third	Poland & Russia	Germany & Austro-Hungary	Other and not immigrants
Very deep	29 100.0	129 93.5	94 83.9	213 91.0	25 86.2	14 87.5
Some sense of loss	- -	7 5.1	15 13.4	16 6.8	4 13.8	2 12.5
No sense of loss	- -	2 1.4	3 2.7	5 2.1	- -	- -
TOTALS	29 100.0	138 100.0	112 100.0	234 99.9	29 100.0	16 100.0

of generation, were opposed to intermarriage and expressed strong Zionist feelings, although this was strongest amongst respondents of the first generation. Another feature displayed in the Table shows some variation in the extent of affiliation with Jewish organisations and the tendency to have "all Jewish" friends amongst respondents of the different generations. However, no clear cut pattern is found according to generation. In a similar way, no clear cut patterns were found in relation to the ethnocentric factors and descent.

C. Summary and Discussion

Attention in this chapter has been focused on the religious behaviour of both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, and on Jewish identity.

As far as religious behaviour is concerned, it was found that the non-Jewish respondents were somewhat less affiliated with a church than the Jewish respondents with a synagogue. In spite of this, a very small proportion of the respondents declared themselves to be atheists. When they were affiliated, the non-Jewish respondents were found to be somewhat better attenders than the Jewish ones, particularly when compared with the Orthodox affiliated respondents.

As far as Jewish identity is concerned, it was found that, similarly to Leeds (Krausz 1963), Edgware (Krausz 1965), Bristol (Harris 1969) and Wembley (Cromer 1973), there has been a weakening of the observance of the Jewish traditions. Indeed, the observance of the festivals with an additional two or three items sums up fairly accurately the religious situation amongst the Newton Mearns respondents.

Nevertheless, as Lenski stated "the vigor of Jewish communalism

more than compensated for the weakness of the religious associations" (1963,p.319). Kinship ties, resistance to intermarriage, affiliation with Jewish organisations and in group patterns of friendship were found to be important channels of identification, both reflecting and strengthening associational inbreeding (Dean 1958, p.316) amongst the respondents. This comes through very clearly in the sympathy and feeling of "oneness" with the Jews in Israel.

Zionism - or support for Israel - proves to be one of the strongest ethnocentric factors amongst the Newton Mearns respondents. It is through this factor that the strength of the social-psychological sense of "peoplehood" (Gordon 1964,p.24) amongst the Jewish respondents is realized. Zionism is clearly the new focal point of Jewish identification, more so than in Leeds (Krausz 1963,p.135), Edgware (Krausz 1965,pp.178-179) and Bristol (Harris 1969, p.175b). Indeed Chaim Bermant has already noted that "Zionism, though on the decline everywhere, is stronger in the provinces than in London and is stronger in Glasgow than in any other provincial centre. At any national Zionist gathering, Glasgow always provides the liveliest contingentGlasgow, compared to its size, has probably sent more people to Israel than any other Jewish community in the country" (Bermant 1969, p.58).

This apparent shift is accompanied by a parallel shift in ideology. When respondents were asked to explain "What is a Jew?" only 44.6% (116 of N=260),⁽¹⁾ described Jewishness as a quality related to religion; 59.2% (154 of N=260) stated that "one is born Jewish", suggesting that 'Jewishness' is an ascribed status similar to sex and

1. 20 respondents (7.1%) said they could not explain Jewishness to anyone.

nationality, while 23.6% (62 of N=260) described a Jew in terms of ethical life style.⁽¹⁾ The fact that over 50.0% of the respondents do not appear to be able to justify Jewishness on religious grounds and, moreover, the fact that there is no unanimous agreement over the definition of Jewishness, has led Sydney Harris to conclude that the Jewishness of his respondents seems to be "devoid of content" (1969, pp.175b and 185c). He also states that this reflects a lack of agreement as to the "behaviour necessary for a Jew" (1969, p.108).

Although the findings in Newton Mearns are similar to those reported by Harris, I would disagree with his interpretation. I would argue that, although the respondents might find it difficult to explain 'Jewishness' to others, this is not because their Jewishness is devoid of content, but is due to the changing character of Jewish identity as witnessed by the figures presented in this chapter. Furthermore, it is not the case that the respondents have no model of the behaviour necessary to be considered a good Jew, and the evidence produced in Table 26 in the Appendix proves this point. Respondents were asked to consider some 20 items and state whether, in their opinion, they are essential, desirable, have no bearing or should not be practised in order to be considered a good Jew.⁽²⁾

Looking at the qualities considered to be essential, we find the following items to rank the highest:

1. Figures do not add up to totals since more than one type of explanation was used by some respondents.

2. The actual question is presented at the top of Table 26 in the Appendix. However, for the sake of clarity, it is reproduced here: "In your opinion, for a Jew to be considered a good Jew, which of the following must he do? Which are desirable but not essential? Which have no bearing on whether or not he is considered a good Jew? Which must he not do?" (Q.132, Jewish Interview Schedule, p.53).

"Accept his being a Jew and not try to hide it"	80.4%
"Lead an ethical and moral life"	74.3%
"Belong to a synagogue"	72.1%
"Know the fundamentals of Judaism"	66.4%
"Marry within the Jewish faith"	65.7%
"Help the underprivileged to improve their lot"	64.3%
"Support Israel"	62.5%
"Support all humanitarian causes"	61.1%
"Attend services on High Holidays"	55.7%
"Gain respect of Christian neighbours"	52.5%
"Promote civic betterment and improvement in the community"	47.1%

The above list shows a clear shift from past models of religious piety, with only synagogue membership and attendance of services on "High Holidays" considered as essential. Thus the list proves to be short of a religious model. It is also short of a Jewish cultural model with roots in traditional Jewish life and history. It does, however, include a "good citizenship" model, nationalistic and ethnocentric models.

The ideal of Jewishness seems to be mainly that of the practice of good citizenship and moral and ethical conduct. Thus, to be a good Jew is to be a helpful person, interested in helping the underprivileged and leading a clean and moral life. It is, however, not clear whether the moral and ethical code of such a way of life is derivative from the teachings of Judaism or not. But it is quite clear that the ideal of the good Jew also means self acceptance and an open acknowledgement and pride in one's Jewishness. Another important theme is to gain the respect of their Christian neighbours.

This seems to suggest that every individual, in his dealings with the non-Jewish environment, is to be seen to be Jewish, and thus is seen as a representative of the whole community, with his conduct reflecting back on the whole community. "Thus the good Jew is under the obligation of conducting himself in an exemplary manner; each Jew represents the Jewish group and is obliged to act accordingly" (Sklare and Greenblum 1967, p.325).

On the whole, then, the essential qualities of a "good Jew" are self acceptance, moral excellence and some knowledge and practice of Judaism. The acts he is obliged to perform include membership and attendance of synagogue (on High Holidays only), endogamous marriages, promotion of social welfare, and contribution to good intergroup relations.

The "desirables" category shows a much more traditional bias, with the following items ranking the highest:

"attend weekly services"	60.4%
"belong to Jewish organisations"	59.6%
"be well versed in Jewish history and culture"	58.9%
"observe the dietary laws"	45.7%

The above list includes the well established religious traditions and a Jewish cultural model. It shows that, while Orthodoxy is regarded as desirable, it is not essential to be considered a good Jew, and it seems that our respondents comply with this model and act accordingly.

Turning to the "no bearing" category, the highest ranking are "Promote the use of Yiddish"; "Have mostly Jewish friends" and "Give Jewish candidates for political office preference". These suggest a decline in the use and knowledge of the distinctive

Jewish language, hence a decline in its importance. The second item might be an indication of a possible breakdown of the Jewish interaction system, although this, unlike Bristol Jewry (Harris 1969, p. 106), has not yet taken place. The third item is also the one ranking highest on the "must not do" category. This idea is rejected by some 40.0% of respondents and probably reflects a defensive reaction based on the fears that Jews would be charged with being more devoted to the advancement of their group interests than to the advancement of the common good.

There is no way of knowing whether the image of the "good Jew" has been constructed to fit the type of Jewishness which our respondents seem to practise. However, there is a clear shift from the religious focal point to the nationalistic-ethnic focal point of ideology, which corresponds to the parallel shift in practice and behaviour.

Inasmuch as this shift can be considered within the context of the secularization thesis, it is clear that, while membership figures do not lend support for this thesis, the growing emphasis on ethnocentric factors and the very low proportion of respondents who were traditional in their behaviour show a great deal of change in the traditional patterns of Jewish life. Whether this will be seen as evidence in support of the secularization thesis would be entirely dependent on the way Judaism is defined.

As far as the three generation thesis is concerned, the findings presented in this chapter can be added to the volume of evidence against this thesis (Lazerwitz & Rowitz 1964; Axelrod et al 1967; Goldstein & Goldscheider 1968; Sharot 1973). It seems to me that generations do not make a meaningful index for the understanding of

the present day communal pattern. As Lazerwitz and Rowitz suggest, "The attempts by Herberg and others to picture all the complexities of religious change as a result of, or illustrated by generations, is an endeavour to use a crude index on too many social forces and does not seem to lead to much in the way of results" (1969, p.538).

CHAPTER 4: THE ATTITUDINAL BACKGROUND: THE JEW AND INTEGRATION,
THE NON-JEW AND HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE JEW

Having discussed the background for intergroup relations in terms of religious behaviour and Jewish identification, we can now turn to discuss attitudes which bear on the issue of intergroup relations. Ultimately, these relate to the way the Jewish respondents perceived themselves in relation to non-Jews and vice versa.

Simpson and Yinger, following L.Wirth, have distinguished four main ultimate objects that minority groups might strive to achieve (Wirth 1945, p.354; Simpson & Yinger 1972, p.14). These range from a desire for complete absorption into the larger society, thereby casting off their distinctive culture ('Assimilation'), to going beyond the desire for equality to a desire for domination ('Militant'). Between these two extremes are a desire to co-exist with the majority and other minorities ('Pluralism') and a desire for both cultural and political independence ('Secessionist'). They have also postulated six major policies which dominant groups might adopt in their dealings with minorities. These range from a wish to assimilate the minority (forced or permitted) to the complete extermination of the minority while pluralism, legal protection of minorities, population transfer and continued subjugation of the minority are seen as intermediate goals between the above-mentioned extreme goals (Simpson & Yinger 1972, p.17). Stated this way, the question which poses itself is whether and to what extent the Jewish respondents wish to integrate into the wider society on the one hand and whether and to what extent the wider society is open enough and free enough of prejudice to permit the integration of the minority

on the other hand.⁽¹⁾ Is there a common goal which might bind minority and majority groups together, or are their goals too disparate?

A. The Jew and Integration

Findings presented in the previous chapter show very clearly that the Jewish respondents do not wish to assimilate. Most of them opposed intermarriage, even if this was not done on religious grounds, or consciously out of concern for Jewish survival.

However, the problem is somewhat more complex than a simple wish to preserve the group. In addition to opposition to intermarriage, respondents have also expressed a wish to improve intergroup relations. Thus, when asked about residential segregation, as many as 98.6% (165 of N=280) rejected the idea of "many Jews living together in a few Jewish districts" because it would affect the relations between Jews and non-Jews badly. Only 3.9% (11 of N=280) thought that residential segregation would actually improve intergroup relations. The remaining respondents thought that residential segregation would not affect relations with non-Jews (28.0% - 80 of N=280), or were undecided on the matter (8.6%, 24 of N=280). Furthermore, it was also clear that the respondents did not wish to segregate themselves in their own neighbourhood. When asked about their preference as to the proportion of non-Jews in the twenty houses nearest to their own, the majority - 83.9% (235 of N=280) - were indifferent, 10% (28 of N=280) preferred a majority of 50.0% or more non-Jewish residents, and only 2.6% (7 of N=280) expressed a preference for less than 30.0% non-Jewish residents.⁽²⁾

1. The problem was expressed by Krausz in terms of "A Jewish Dilemma". See Krausz 1964, p.15.

2. 3.6% (10 of N=280) were satisfied with their present position.

Further to that, the model of the essential qualities of the good Jew includes "good citizenship", which indicates a wish for both improved intergroup relations and for greater participation in the community at large.⁽¹⁾ All these reflect a wish to integrate into the general community, although it is not quite clear what is the type of integration which is desired.

Some more direct indication as to the wish to integrate into the wider society on a primary group level is achieved through answers to the question "Do you think there should be more mixing socially between Jews and non-Jews?" (Q.63, p.22, Jewish Interview Schedule). Some 70.4% (197 of N=280) of the Jewish respondents answered in the affirmative,⁽²⁾ 19.6% (55 of N=280) answered negatively, while 10.0% (28 of N=280) were unconcerned and/or undecided.

When these results were combined with those of preferences for neighbourhood composition and of whether the respondents considered civic involvement or gaining the respect of their Christian neighbours as essential to being considered a "good Jew", only 12.9% of the respondents (36 of N=280) were found to be self segregating. The remaining 224 respondents (87.1% of N=280) have all expressed at least some wish to integrate and to be accepted into the wider social network. However, all attempts at scaling the responses of the 87.1% who expressed some wish to integrate failed, as did all attempts at producing a meaningful index. When responses to the various key items were arranged in an index form, the index did not seem to have any differentiating power among the various scores with relation to traditionalism, feelings of unease in the company of non-

1. See p. 99 Chapter 3.

2. For a similar finding, see Cromer 1973, p.78.

Jews, attitudes and feelings towards intermarriage or any other structural factor such as age, sex, occupation, generation or education. This seems to indicate that the wish to integrate is expressed more as a general value, reflecting a wish to be accepted by the general society, which is not unique to the Jewish group alone (Brown 1970, p.209). It is also possible that this large-scale acceptance of the idea that there has to be some sort of integration also reflects an acceptance of the general value of equality and liberalism which prevails in British Society (Banton 1967, Ch.15), but which is not related to the more privatised everyday experiences. Having stated this, I would like to stress that this should not be misinterpreted to mean that the Jews do not actually wish to integrate or to be accepted by non-Jews. On the contrary, results presented here and in other parts of this dissertation show that most of the Jews value acceptance by non-Jews and integration into the general society very highly. What is implied here is that this is rather an attitudinal commitment which is unrelated to practical inconveniences and fears expressed by the respondents. This is further indicated by the fact that most of the respondents, regardless of whether they have expressed a wish to integrate or not, and regardless of individual scores on a given 'Integrationism' index, felt more comfortable in the company of Jews, were aware of group differences and obstacles which prevent the integration of the Jewish group, and have expressed various fears when further probed, which serve to clarify somewhat the type of integration valued.

Table 1, page 107 presents the account of those who thought that there should be more mixing socially between Jews and non-Jews, as

to what in their opinion prevents more mixing. Table 2 presents the personal accounts of those respondents who thought that there should not be more mixing socially between Jews and non-Jews, while Table 3, page , presents the responses of those who felt more at ease in the company of Jews to the questions: "Why are you more comfortable with Jews?" and "What kind of feelings do you get when you are with non-Jews?" (Q.43a and Q.43b, p.16, Jewish Interview Schedule).

TABLE 1: "WHAT PREVENTS MORE MIXING BETWEEN JEWS AND NON-JEWS" -
JEWISH RESPONDENTS WHO THOUGHT THERE SHOULD BE MORE MIXING

	No. (1)	Pct.
Jewish clannishness and arrogance	54	27.4
Social differences between Jews and non-Jews	28	14.3
Religious-Traditional differences	25	12.7
Jewish fear of anti-Semitism	22	11.2
Jewish fear of intermarriage and assimilation	16	8.1
Non-Jews don't want to mix with Jews	16	8.1
Both Jews and non-Jews don't want to mix	15	7.6
Lack of contact opportunity	8	4.1
Nothing	9	4.6
Other and D.K.	25	12.7
TOTAL	197	(--)

1. As more than one reason was mentioned by some of the respondents, figures do not add up to totals and percentages do not add up to 100.0.

TABLE 2: WHY DO THEY THINK THERE SHOULDN'T BE MORE MIXING? -

JEWISH RESPONDENTS WHO THINK THERE SHOULDN'T BE MORE
MIXING BETWEEN JEWS AND NON-JEWS"

	No.	Pct.
Fear of intermarriage and assimilation	23	41.8
Awareness of barriers and group differences	7	12.8
Not too keen - can't be bothered making the effort	7	12.8
Like to be with Jews	5	9.1
There is sufficient mixing as it is	4	7.2
Fear and distrust on both sides	2	3.6
Other and D.K.	7	12.8
TOTAL	55	100.1

TABLE 3: REASONS FOR FEELING UNEASY IN THE COMPANY OF NON-JEWS

(THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO STATED THEY ARE MORE COMFORTABLE
IN THE COMPANY OF JEWS)

	No.	Pct.
Answers relating to Jewish company:		
Common cultural background - general	63	44.4
Common cultural features - focused	71	50.0
Common social bond	5	3.5
Did not refer to Jewish company	21	14.8
Answers relating to the company of non-Jews:		
General differences and barriers	25	17.6
Focused cultural differences	28	19.7
Feel inhibited	40	28.2
No feelings at all	28	19.7
Quite at ease	17	11.9
No reference to the company of non-Jews	8	5.6
TOTAL	142 ⁽¹⁾	-

1. Many of the respondents referred to both Jewish and non-Jewish company and mentioned more than one factor. As a result, numbers exceed totals and percentages exceed 100%.

Three main factors are seen as obstacles to more mixing between Jews and non-Jews. First, it seems that a large proportion of the respondents are aware of group differences which either deter them from mixing socially with non-Jews or make them feel uncomfortable in the company of non-Jews. Secondly, a large proportion of the respondents have either personally expressed underlying fears and suspicions, or thought that most Jews are directed in their contacts with non-Jews by fears and anxieties relating to two main issues: A. A fear of intermarriage and assimilation and B. Suspicions as to the basic underlying attitudes of the non-Jew, i.e. fears of rejection, rebuff and underlying hostile attitudes and feelings on the part of non-Jews. Thirdly, there is the accusation that the Jews are clannish and actually do not wish to mix with non-Jews.

(1) Awareness of Group Differences

Respondents who were aware of group differences expressed this awareness mostly in relation to 'intrinsic' cultural traits rather than those of the 'extrinsic' type,⁽¹⁾ and when differences of the latter type were mentioned, these were usually related back to some sort of an 'intrinsic' cultural value. Furthermore, awareness was also expressed on two levels differing in their degree of abstraction - the general level, and the more focused and practical type of group differences. The former have produced rather general statements

1. 'Intrinsic' traits are those characteristics which are essential ingredients of the group's cultural heritage like religious beliefs and practices, ethical values, norms, etc. 'Extrinsic' traits are those characteristics which are not part of the group's cultural heritage but reflect group adjustment to its local environment such as dress, linguistic communications, etc. For further discussion see Gordon 1964, pp.79-80.

such as: "We have a different outlook to life. These are two different ways of life" or, "There are differences in our general mode of life, different holidays and different mode of home life". These responses envisage a difference of normative and ideological premises and assumptions about life which, according to some of the respondents, make for a completely "different emphasis on the concept of life".

In contrast to this group, those who discussed more focused cultural differences invariably mentioned either conversational difficulties and differences or more specific differences such as drinking and gambling habits. The conversational barriers are usually seen to be of three main kinds.

A. Throughout the process of acculturation, the Jews have adopted the English language as their native tongue, but at the same time have retained a fair amount of Yiddish which they have incorporated into English. The fact that non-Jews do not understand Yiddish makes conversation somewhat less relaxed and fluent, and forces the Jewish respondents into a state of awareness of cultural differences and a deliberate attempt at avoiding using well-worn Yiddish phrases. As some of the respondents reported: "With non-Jews I feel somewhat more reserved, less able to express my feelings. I can't use Yiddish words"; or "We grow up with colloquial Jewish phrases which we have in our language, and when we speak we understand what each of them means. When speaking to non-Jews, one must be constantly aware of whom one is speaking to".

B. In addition to these barriers, there is the constant fear of being misunderstood, of being offended or of offending non-Jews when no offence was meant. As a result, respondents are always alert to

any emotional undercurrents and are on their guard, as the following statements suggest: "Among non-Jews you have to watch everything you say in case you will offend someone"; or "There is always a tension in case they make an anti-Semitic comment".

C. Some respondents also felt that some topics of conversation need to be avoided as they might be misinterpreted as 'boasting' or 'showing off', as the next statement clearly suggests: "I feel uncomfortable because one would feel that certain topics of discussion would appear big and blasé to non-Jews. For example business and holidays, conversation like that, financial things, etc."

The foregoing discussion shows very clearly that the differences mentioned by the Jewish respondents reflect the cultural pattern of group life as described by Schutz (1971, p.31). The way in which the Jewish respondents perceive these differences points to "an accepted way of life ... , a conception of how to come to terms with things and men" (Schutz 1971, p.229) or, in other words, to a "cosmos" of speech founded on a "world taken for granted" (Schutz 1971, pp.230-234) which is not entirely shared with non-Jews. Thus, the barriers mentioned reflect the historical-cultural heritage of the Jews and the different interests they are thought to have in life. As such, these seem to heighten the fears that various cues, correctly understood by other Jews as a result of sharing this "world taken for granted", and of starting off with similar assumptions and premises about life, would be misinterpreted by non-Jews as offensive or arrogant. This contributes towards a deliberately heightened self awareness when in the company of non-Jews and an attempt at staying on safe ground and avoiding controversial issues and topics which separate

Jews from non-Jews, or which accentuate the differences between the two groups. As some of the respondents stated: "I am careful about the subjects I choose when I am with non-Jews"; or yet another respondent who stated: "When I am with non-Jews we try to avoid controversial topics". It is clear that the foregoing account shows that, in mixed situations, various strains are introduced into the conversation, as a result of which some respondents might feel that they "cannot be bothered making the effort".

Similar factors arise when drinking, gambling and other more focused differences are discussed, as can be seen from the following statement: "Non-Jews drink, I don't. They gamble, I don't. Their idea of a good night out is a booze-up. This is not my idea. Yiddish people aren't brought up this way. I'd rather spend my money on my property or family".

It is quite possible that, in drinking habits, references are made to Glasgow in general and the drinking habits of Glaswegians rather than specifically to the non-Jews in Newton Mearns. It is quite possible that a similar reaction would have been achieved from the non-Jewish respondents in reference to other Glaswegians and this represents a class rather than ethnic reaction. However, it is clear that the above differences, mentioned by some of the respondents together with other differences ("I feel non-Jews are completely different from us. Their outlook on life, food habits and clothes are all different") are extrinsic in nature, but they are seen as implying or originating from intrinsic cultural differences in values and attitudes. Whether these differences in value relate to money, property, family or life in general, they are all important factors constituting the world taken for granted by the in group. This is

clearly demonstrated by the following statement about the differences between Jews and non-Jews in more general terms: "A way of thinking - there are a lot of things you don't have to say when you are in Jewish company. You can take them for granted".

In an attempt to investigate these perceived group differences still further, we have furnished the Jewish respondents with seven statements comparing Jews with "other people" and with six further statements comparing non-Jews with Jews. Results presented in Table 4, page 12 show some interesting differences between the picture the Jews have of themselves and the pictures they have of "other people" or of non-Jews. It seems that the Jews have accepted the economic stereotype of the Jew as a person who is motivated by ambition, monetary and business considerations more than other people. This, needless to say, has always been an integral part of any anti-Semitic ideology (Beard 1942, pp.362-401), and insofar as these traits are seen as negative, this acceptance might represent what is usually known in sociology as "Jewish self hatred" (Lewin 1948, pp.186-200). We have no indication as to the extent to which these traits are seen as negative; however, it can be safely assumed that they are seen as negative in part, and form the basis of the view expressed by some members of the community as to the materialistic values which generally prevail in the community.⁽¹⁾ On the other hand, judging by the formerly cited statement, it seems that these traits can be more adequately seen as part of a general picture of a cautious and responsible individual who thinks of the future rather than of the present, who is able to postpone immediate gratifications for the

1. Editorial comment in the Jewish Echo, 22.3.74.

TABLE 4: ANSWERS TO QUESTION 130 (p.52 OF JEWISH SCHEDULE):

"I AM GOING TO READ A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS TO YOU WHICH HAVE OCCASIONALLY BEEN MADE IN CONTRASTING JEWS WITH OTHER PEOPLE. I'D LIKE TO KNOW YOUR REACTIONS TO EACH. TELL ME WHETHER YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE STATEMENT."

Statements comparing Jews with other people	Agree	Disagree	No Opinion	N=280
A. "Jews tend to be more clever than most other people"	104 37.1	163 58.2	13 4.6	199.9
B. "Jews tend to be more money-minded than most other people"	182 65.0	93 33.2	5 1.8	100.0
C. "Jews tend to be more ambitious than most other people"	227 81.1	47 16.8	6 2.1	100.0
D. "Jews tend to be more aggressive than most other people"	81 28.9	184 65.7	15 5.4	100.0
E. "Jews tend to be more interested in education than most other people"	179 63.9	96 34.3	5 1.8	100.0
F. "Jews tend to be shrewder businessmen than most other people"	144 51.4	122 43.6	14 5.0	100.0
G. "Jews tend to be intellectually superior to most other people"	60 21.4	208 74.3	12 4.3	100.0

Q.131: "Here are a few more, which compare non-Jews with Jews.

Do you agree or disagree with each statement?"

	Agree	Disagree	No Opinion	N=280
A. "Non-Jews tend to be more religious than Jews"	67 23.9	184 65.7	29 10.4	100.0
B. "Non-Jews tend to drink more than Jews"	230 85.0	33 11.8	9 3.2	100.0
C. "Non-Jewish families tend to be less closely knit than Jewish families"	223 79.6	42 15.0	15 5.4	100.0
D. "Non-Jews tend to fight physically more than Jews do"	215 76.8	41 14.6	24 8.6	100.0
E. "Non-Jews are more inclined to go in for sports as leisure time activity than Jews do"	168 60.0	99 35.4	13 4.6	100.0
F. "Non-Jews tend to be more loose sexually than Jews"	56 20.0	153 54.6	71 25.4	100.0

sake of long range goals such as educating his children, securing their future, and caring for his family. Thus, the economic picture of the Jew seems to constitute one facet of a general structure of responsibilities towards one's own children and family. The picture arising here is that of a community consisting of aspiring and ambitious individuals, very much interested in improving their position in life through education and business, careful with money and in investing it, and more interested in their family life than in drinking or sports. In short, we get a picture of a responsible and reliable community.

Somewhat contrasting with this picture, the non-Jews are seen as individuals who are more interested in immediate gratifications. They are not motivated by ambition, familial or business interests as much as Jews are. They are also seen as heavier drinkers and as having more extra-familial interests than Jews do. That they are also seen as less responsible than Jews is further shown in that they are seen as being more aggressive and tending to fight physically more than Jews do. This picture of the less responsible non-Jew who is more interested in drinking than in his family or culture and education was further conveyed to me on various informal occasions, with specific reference to drinking habits and irresponsible handling of money. All this seems to show that the differences are not seen as extrinsic differences of manner, but rather as more intrinsic differences of ideology, which bear on normative systems.

Here, again, it is possible that the picture of the non-Jew is a rather generalized view of Glaswegians as a whole than of the Newton Mearns non-Jew and is engendered by class differences, although in some cases this picture definitely extended to include the Newton Mearns residents.

(2) The Underlying Fears and Suspicions

(a) The fear of assimilation:- It is quite clear that, while most of the Jewish respondents value integration very highly, the integration which seems to be desired is one which will not affect their group life and culture too severely. In other words, the Jewish respondents have expressed a wish to integrate and be accepted by non-Jews, yet they do not wish to lose their identity as Jews, be it through intermarriage or acculturation. Statements such as the following put this view quite strongly: "What is the border line between social intercourse and assimilation! I am not sure how I feel about this. I think so many Jews are so weak in their hold on Judaism that the line is too easily crossed"; or "We can become too anglicised. We want to maintain our Jewish identity". The fear of assimilation and intermarriage was somewhat more prevalent amongst the respondents who valued integration but not on the primary group level, as some of them openly stated: "It would lead to intermarriage between their children and mine and I wouldn't want that" or, "When you are raising a family, one of the most important things is the hope that a Jew will marry a Jew". The above statements only strengthen the previous observations regarding the undesirability of "marital assimilation" amongst the respondents. It also shows the ambivalent feelings that the Jewish respondents have towards structural integration,⁽¹⁾ that is, towards informal socializing with non-Jews. While most of the respondents, as was shown, value structural integration, a large proportion see it as the opening for marital assimilation, which is

1. For the use of the terms "structural assimilation" and "structural pluralism" see Gordon 1964.

undesirable from their standpoint.

(b) The Fear of anti-Semitism:- Another substantial group is formed by those respondents who thought that the Jews were "afraid of exposing themselves", or who themselves were afraid of such an exposure to unpleasant experiences and forces which are beyond their control. It is, however, evident that most of the respondents thought it to be an obstacle from within the Jewish group, rather than one from without. Statements such as the following serve to demonstrate this point: "I think that Jewish people haven't got the confidence. They are afraid that the non-Jews are anti-Semitic"; or "I think most Jewish people have a chip on their shoulder about non-Jews. They think everyone is against them". Some, however, put the responsibility more directly on the anti-Semitic feelings of non-Jews, stating that "I always feel that even in the best of non-Jewish people there is a little seed of anti-Semitism. They always say 'I don't mean you personally'. I've lived with them all my life'".

Some insight into the extent to which this basic feeling is grounded in experience, as opposed to gossip and hearsay, is gained from looking at responses to more direct questions bearing on this point. Thus, some 24.3% (68 of N=280) of the respondents reported some personal anti-Semitic encounter. A further 20.0% (56 of N=280) have heard of anti-Semitic incidents that have occurred in Newton Mearns, and as many as 162 respondents, 57.9% (N=280) have reported knowledge of some other discrimination practised against the Jews in Glasgow. It seems that, while a considerable proportion of the respondents have had some anti-Semitic encounters, the majority of the respondents had some knowledge of such encounters, even though they themselves have not personally experienced them. These

figures, however, are somewhat misleading, as quite a few respondents, while not in a position to mention a specific anti-Semitic incident, have often found themselves in situations which had an atmosphere of hostility, but thought they could not report it as an anti-Semitic incident. The following serve to demonstrate this point quite clearly: "None, really, I always feel it's (anti-Semitism) there though"; or "Glasgow is not too bad for this". Others did report incidents even though they considered them to be very marginal, stating: "Only snide remarks like 'your people', etc."; or "Nothing severe, just a kind of nastiness, suggestive remarks, etc."

Looking at the contexts within which the most severe anti-Semitic incident personally experienced by the respondents have occurred, and those of which respondents had only secondary knowledge (Tables 5, 6, 7), it should be borne in mind that the categories of classification are not mutually exclusive. The reasons for this are two. Firstly, while all incidents involving children were isolated to form a separate category, some of these occurred in the neighbourhood involving neighbours and neighbours' children, while others might have occurred in schools or clubs, and involved comments. Secondly, many respondents who mentioned remarks and abuses did not mention the contexts in which these were made. Bearing in mind these restrictions, it seems that most of the personally experienced anti-Semitic encounters have occurred in business or involved children and neighbours, while most of the encounters of which respondents had only a secondary knowledge referred to the exclusivist practice of restricted Jewish membership in prestigious clubs and associations. The latter is substantiated by other secondary sources (Higley 1958, p.753) and seems to be the main area in which discrimination en masse is

TABLE 5: THE MOST SEVERE ANTI-SEMITIC ENCOUNTERS, PERSONALLY
EXPERIENCED BY THE JEWISH RESPONDENTS

	No.	Pct.
In business dealings and at work	13	19.1
Incidents involving children	20	29.5
Remarks and abuses - general	7	10.3
Incidents involving neighbours	12	17.6
Within organisations	2	2.9
In buying/renting flats	2	2.9
In other matters	7	10.3
Refused to specify	7	10.3
TOTAL	68 ⁽¹⁾	

TABLE 6: ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS OF WHICH RESPONDENTS HAD
SECONDARY KNOWLEDGE, AND WHICH HAPPENED IN NEWTON MEARNS

	No.	Pct.
Refusal of membership in tennis and golf clubs	12	21.4
Remarks and abuses	18	32.1
Vandalism against synagogues and Jewish owned shops	5	9.0
Discrimination in housing	6	10.7
Boys beaten up	2	3.6
Other	6	10.7
Refused to specify	7	12.5
TOTAL	56	100.0

1. As more than one incident was mentioned by some of the respondents, figures do not add up to total and percentages exceed 100.0%.

practised against the Jews in Glasgow.

On a closer examination, most of the incidents which were experienced personally involved derogatory remarks such as "bloody Jews", "Jewish bastards", "money-grabbing old Jew", etc. Very few of the incidents involved physical fights or resulted in bodily harm, and when they did they were mostly confined to children beaten up or spat upon by other children.

The incidents involving children often can be classified more adequately as "derogatory remarks incidents", or as referring to the neighbourhood context, as the following remarks show: "Other children called my children 'dirty Jew' and other similar things"; or "A young boy of 8 wrote on a neighbour's pathway 'No Jews allowed in here'". These incidents cause a great deal of concern,

TABLE 7: OTHER DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JEWS IN GLASGOW

	No.	Pct.
Refusal of membership in clubs	150	53.6
Refusal of membership in professional bodies	3	1.8
Refusal to sell houses to Jews	5	3.1
Discrimination at work	6	3.7
Remarks and abuses	2	1.2
School quotes	4	2.5
Other	1	0.6
Refusal to specify	1	0.6
TOTAL	162*	(-)

*More than one type mentioned.

particularly as some of the respondents do not see them as isolated incidents, but rather tend to relate them to the parents' or other adults' attitudes, as the following statement shows: "When I told one of my non-Jewish neighbours that she was having a new neighbour her seven-year-old asked 'Are they Jews?' The mother later apologised for her child's remark. The child must have heard something". This latter incident shows very clearly the "hyper sensitivity" of the respondents to any remark which is even remotely suggestive of anti-Jewish feelings. The fact that the neighbour apologised also shows some awareness amongst non-Jews to the sensitivities of the Jews.

Incidents with neighbours usually involved verbal confrontations, or putting up of a fence between the two back gardens to separate the children. ["A neighbour pushed past us with his dog and called us 'Bloody Jews!'", and "The man next door didn't want his children to mix with my children. He even put up a wall to stop his children from playing with mine".]

The incidents which occurred at work or in buying and renting flats are seen as very severe, since invariably they are reported to involve some sort of discriminatory practice against the person involved on the basis of his group affiliation. Incidents like the following are typical: "I was a senior assistant in a non-Jewish firm. A quarrel developed, and the firm split. As a result I went to join another firm as a partner, but when it appeared in the papers, at the last moment they said they didn't want me as a partner because of my religion. They said their clients wouldn't like it" (11178); or "When a neighbour was selling a house and had a Jew interested in it, he wasn't going to sell it to him. He told

me so himself"; or further, "I went to rent a flat which turned out to be filthy. I refused to take it and the man was very unpleasant about it. He said 'Hitler should have done away with all you Jews'".

It is not our task here to consider whether all of these incidents, as described by the respondents, were really due to the anti-Semitic sentiments of the "offender", or to what one of the respondents noted as "a sharp ear for anti-Semitism" which is due to "our past". The fact that they are regarded as such, or arouse these sort of feelings and anxieties, coupled with the fact that a sizeable proportion of the respondents have either experienced personally, or heard of such incidents is sufficient, in my opinion, to explain the reluctance to enter situations which would potentially expose the respondents to similar encounters. Thus statements such as "When I am with non-Jews I am always conscious of being a Jew" are better understood in the light of this basic fear of exposing oneself to unpleasant experiences.

It is not difficult to see how the issues involved in relations with non-Jews can lead to what is often labelled by both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents as "clannish behaviour". As one of the respondents has put it "a Ghetto syndrome - the feeling that if you stick together, you won't get hurt".

(3) Summary

In this section, the discussion has centred around the Jewish respondents, how they are themselves in relation to the non-Jewish environment, their feelings and ideas as to their status in "a gentile world" (to use Graeber and Britt's term, 1942).

It was shown that the respondents have rejected the idea of a

"ghetto" type neighbourhood; have expressed a wish to be involved in the civic affairs of the general community and to gain the respect of their Christian neighbours and have expressed a favourable attitude towards more informal social mixing with non-Jews. All these show that social integration into the general community is highly valued by the Jewish respondents. However, alongside this rather vague and general wish to integrate, there were also strong indications of an undercurrent of separatism. Respondents have expressed a wish to retain their identity as Jews, and to avoid complete assimilation. Statements such as the following, made by the respondents, highlight this point very clearly: "I think there should be more mixing in order that better understanding may be achieved, i.e. integration without assimilation"; "There should be more mixing as long as you don't think that you will become so assimilated that you will be regarded as anti-religious".

Inasmuch as any conclusion can be derived from the statements made by the Jewish respondents, these seem to indicate that the type of integration desired approximates the pluralistic rather than the assimilationist model as described by both Simpson & Yinger (1972,p.14) and Gordon (1964, pp.132-159).

Pluralism means "a continuation of the minority group as a distinct unit within the larger society" (Wagley & Harris 1958, p.287), while at the same time it also means an acceptance of certain general features of the society of which the minority group forms part (Gordon 1954, p.153). There are several dimensions to pluralism. Gordon (1954) distinguished between two main types of cultural pluralism - A.Cultural pluralism at the "tolerance level" of group relations and B.Cultural pluralism at the "good group

relations level". The first entails a high degree of social isolation and maintaining virtually all primary contacts within the ethnic group, while most secondary contacts that would occur across ethnic lines would be "completely accommodative" (1954, p.153). The second type of cultural pluralism entails a maintenance of "such degree and frequency of primary relationships as does not threaten the existence of the respective ethnic group's subsystem and identity, support of subgroup institutions, and endogamous marriage patterns" (1954, p.154). As far as secondary contacts are concerned, this type of cultural pluralism implies employment integration, inter-ethnic composition of civic organizations and integration in various other secondary institutions (Gordon 1954, p.154).⁽¹⁾

The notions expressed by the Jewish respondents very clearly approach the "good relations" level of cultural pluralism. Most of the respondents think that there should be more mixing with non-Jews but only insofar as this does not endanger the survival of the group either through acculturation or marital assimilation. They also have expressed a wish for greater civic involvement in the community at large. Only a small proportion of the respondents have expressed a wish for cultural pluralism "at the tolerance level".

Most of the respondents, however, were doubtful as to whether the non-Jews were prepared to accept such a goal on the part of the Jews. They did not think that the general society is open enough

1. For further examination of some of the dimensions of pluralism see Van Den Berghe 1967, pp.142-143. His usage of the term is somewhat different in that he sees 'secessionist' and 'militant' goals also as expressions of 'pluralism'.

and free enough of prejudice to allow them to take that course of action. Others went even further and stated that they were prepared to accept complete assimilation of the Jewish group, provided that religion was abolished completely as a frame of reference - they doubted the possibility of this, as the following respondent suggested: "If I could be guaranteed that nobody would come in about fifty years and tell me 'you must be a Catholic or a Mohammedan' I think I would like us all to live on humanitarian principles alone. We don't need these religions at all. They have caused so many things"; and the same respondent went on to state "I was in a non-Jewish school. There were only 5 Jews and 420 non-Jews, and nobody could convince me that they are not anti-Semites".

These make it clear that, while most of the Jewish respondents value integration, most of them do not think that the type of integration they seek, the one that will retain their group differences, both religious and cultural, can be accepted by non-Jews as a legitimate goal.

This type of response is typical of the 'cultural hybrid' or, in Stonequist's terms, "the Marginal Man" (Stonequist 1961). Stonequist claimed that Jews represent the classical example of 'marginal man' status in the Western World. They are cultural hybrids to the extent that they are "half...derived from the traditional Hebrew culture, half...moulded by Western culture" (1961, p.80). The marginal man is characterized by a "double consciousness" to the effect that he "sees himself from the Jewish standpoint and from the gentile standpoint" (1961, p.145). This leads to an ambivalence of attitudes and sentiments (1961, p.146); an excessive self-

consciousness (1961, p.148) and hypersensitivity (1961, p.150).

Statements made by the respondents show these "typical" characteristics very clearly. Even the type of cultural pluralism professed by most of the respondents represents a form of accommodation which is typical of the marginal man (Stonequist 1961, p.130). Thus, I would disagree with Stonequist's critics who claim that his approach picks on the 'irregular' or problematic element of the minority group and disregards the more prevailing element (Rothman 1967, p.43). The prevailing attitude of the Newton Mearns Jewish respondents is that of self-consciousness, hyper-sensitivity and an attempt at finding the "Golden Path" between assimilation and segregation.

B. The Non-Jew and His Acceptance of the Jew

Turning to an examination of the attitudes and feelings expressed by the non-Jewish respondents, Benjamin Ringer (1967, p.155), Robin Williams, Jr. (1964, pp.112,223) and Milton M. Gordon (1964, p.5) have noted that members of a secure majority are invariably unaware of minority worlds and show a marked disinterest in intergroup relations. That this is the case amongst the Newton Mearns non-Jewish respondents is obvious from the data collected in the present study.

Firstly, it is quite obvious that, for the vast majority of the respondents, the Jews as a group have no saliency or, in other words, the Jewish influx into the area does not seem to figure highly in the system of relevances of most of the non-Jewish respondents. Only 4 (1.8% of N=221) of the respondents voluntarily mentioned the Jewish influx into the area when relating^{to} recent changes in the community or factors which are attractive or unattractive in the

area.

Secondly, it is also clear that most of the respondents were indifferent towards mixing with Jews. Most of the respondents (131 or 59.2% of N=221) estimated their opportunities of coming into contact with Jews as being very small or non-existent. However, only 45 of the respondents (20.4% of N=221) expressed a wish for more contact opportunities with Jews, 19 (8.6% of N=221) said that they did not wish to have more opportunities of coming into social contact with Jews, while the vast majority of the respondents, 156 (71.1% of N=221) were indifferent to any further opportunities for contact. Moreover, 103 of the latter came from amongst those who estimated their opportunities for contact with Jews as being very low or non-existent.

Apart from those who claimed that they "meet plenty of them (Jews) already" and that "Everyone seems happy as they are", the majority of the indifferent respondents commented that "It doesn't bother me one way or the other"; or "I don't feel inclined to meet them any more than any other group. Why should one single out the Jews for friendship?" All these seem to indicate that the vast majority of the respondents do not feel any particular need to engage in intergroup relations or to come into contact with Jews, which is the exact opposite of what was found amongst the Jewish respondents.

Very similar in their approach are the 19 respondents who did not wish an increase in their opportunities to contact Jews. Most of them expressed a satisfaction with their present opportunities and with the friends they had. They also noted that their negative answer does not in any way reflect upon the Jewishness of the

person, but rather that they did not wish to enlarge their circle of acquaintances, regardless of creed, as the following statements show: "I am satisfied with the friends I have. I am not particularly against Jews. It is just that I have got enough friends"; "I am not interested in making friends here"; or "I have more than enough friends". Others have stated that they were not interested in the community at all, while yet others have noted that the Jews are different and they feel they "have nothing in common with Jews". Only three respondents have declared that they had an "in-built" or an "inherent" dislike of Jews, while a further two respondents referred to certain Jewish traits (arrogance and clannishness) which they detested. The above account shows that, apart from these five respondents who expressed some antipathy towards Jews, the rejection of the remaining 14 respondents does not, by and large, rest upon a rejection of the Jews as a group. Rather, their responses show apathy and disinterest in intergroup relations and, perhaps to a lesser extent, a feeling of social incompatibility.

The lack of concern with intergroup relations is also very apparent amongst the 45 respondents who expressed a wish for increased opportunities of social contact with Jews. Only 8 respondents in this group expressed some concern with or principal interest in intergroup relations, stating that "With the percentage of them in Newton Mearns, there is not enough contact with Jews"; "I think there ought to be more contact. There is a lack of understanding. People are too self-centred, which is a wrong outlook"; or "It would be better for everyone. We would understand people better". The remaining 37 explained their wish for increased opportunities for contact on rather personal grounds, such as

"Their faith intrigues me"; "I'd like to understand their religion and general attitude to life"; "I'm interested in every aspect of other people's point of view" or "I have a high regard for Jews".

Generally speaking, it seems that the most adequate way to describe the position of the non-Jewish respondents towards mixing with Jews is indifference, or simply a lack of any opinion or attitude in this respect - a "non-attitude". Most of the respondents' comments seem to indicate that they had no reason to wish for, or to refrain from contact with Jews ("Quite immaterial to me. I am indifferent to the whole thing", or "I have no specific reasons either way"). Thus, unlike the Jews, for the Newton Mearns non-Jewish respondents there is no value comparable in scope to 'integration' that would commit them to live amongst and associate with, or at least feel obliged to associate with and gain the respect of, their Jewish neighbours. The only phenomenon that seems to approach the large scale acceptances of the value of integration is the widespread indifference to the whole question of intergroup relations as far as the Jews are concerned.

Unlike the Jews, the non-Jewish respondents do not have to be accepted by Jews in order to feel secure in the social system. While they may experience status tensions, these clearly bear no relationship to their acceptance by Jews. Likewise, their identity is not threatened by involvement and participation in intergroup contact, and lacking a long history of discrimination and persecution, they do not manifest the anxieties or sensitivities which were so characteristic of the Jewish group. From the point of view of the member of the relatively secure majority, there are no factors from within to push him or to stop him from engaging in

intergroup contacts. Thus, with the absence of 'pushing' factors from within and the lack of external factors that will attract them to engage in intergroup relations, the non-Jewish respondents remain indifferent to the possibility of further contact with Jews.

Asking about wish for further contact with Jews in general is somewhat different from asking about the Jews in Newton Mearns. The first question is rather more general, whereas the second type of question asks for a rather more direct assessment of the way the respondents see the Jews in their particular neighbourhood. Results presented in Table 8 show most of the responses to be in favourable or neutral terms.

On the whole, a large proportion of the respondents who did not pass any value judgements on the Jews in the area claimed either that the Jewish influx has not reached their particular street or neighbourhood, or that they had no contact with the Jews in their neighbourhood (37 out of 60). The remaining 23 respondents in this group claimed that the Jews were not different from the other residents in the area: "I think they must be like everyone else. Some are good, and some not so good"; while others stated that they were not bothered by the Jewish influx, as they had some knowledge of it prior to moving into the area - "Well, all right, it has always been Jewish here anyway"; or "I knew they were here before we moved in".

Most of the respondents who expressed a favourable attitude towards the Jews in Newton Mearns did so on the basis of some personal experience with their Jewish neighbours and other Jews. Their statements were usually to the effect that Jews made good

TABLE 8: RESPONSES TO THE JEWISH INFLUX INTO THE AREA

	No.	Pct.
The response being:		
Neutral in value	60	27.1
Positive in value	100	45.2
Negative in value	35	15.8
Mixed in value	26	11.8
TOTAL	221	99.9

neighbours, such as, "The Jewish lady across the road is marvellous".

A further respondent commented: "How many criminals or vandals are Jewish? Hardly any. On the whole I admire them. Once I didn't have a job and only a Jew offered me one. If it were up to me, it is the only faith I would accept". Others have commented favourably on the Jewish family life: "I like their idea of family life. They look after their children". On the whole, it is clear that the basic favourable attitude is closely connected with personal contact with Jews, and the statement "The ones I know are very nice" is very representative of the feelings expressed by this group.

In contrast to those who expressed a favourable attitude towards the Jews, most of the comments made by the group of respondents with an initially negative attitude seem to be observations made by outsiders, with very little contact with Jews. Thus we come across respondents who commented: "I am neither aware of, nor have I particularly noticed any Jews". However, the same respondent goes on to state "They are responsible for the position Newton Mearns finds itself in the housing ladder, pricewise". Others have noted some unfavourable characteristics which they seem to imply from the behaviour they have observed: "They are aggressive. You only need to go to the shops to find out. To be blunt about it, Jewish women are cheeky bitches"; "They are a bit arrogant, seem to think they can do as they please, I dislike them". The main complaint of this group, however, was that the Jews do not wish to integrate, and

that they keep to themselves. This, together with various other observations, produce comments which are very unfavourable. For example: "Jews keep to themselves, they do not integrate socially. I would say one hundred per cent that the Jews here have no social contact with non-Jews. I am not anti-Jewish, but they have not endeared themselves to other neighbours. They are compulsive noisy horn-tooters. Don't get out of the car to ring on the door bell when they come to collect friends but keep tooting the horn. Brash, don't look after gardens. If the gardner does not turn up they don't bother. Don't care about the external appearance of houses. They are untidy. Their dust bins get filled and they don't bother. For example, one neighbour's dust bin got filled with sanitary towels. They are thoughtless". (This respondent reported only two Jewish families residing in the nearest 20 houses to his, yet he unhesitatingly generalises his observations to include all the Jews in the area.) Other respondents were less articulate in their observations and simply noted that "They will not integrate. Why must they put up a barrier to prevent integration?" Thus, on the whole, although the main complaint of this group was the clannishness of the Jews, most of their comments are based on observations of the type made by strangers attempting to interpret behavioural items which deviate from their implicit "notions of the proper way to behave", or behaviour which fails to observe an "unspoken code" which, according to M. Banton, maintains the network of relations which constitute British society (Banton 1967, pp. 371-373). Only in two cases did respondents relate their attitude to some personal experience with Jews, and only one of these involved a Jewish family presently residing in the area. The tendency to categorise all Jews as arrogant, noisy, aggressive and clannish represents a selective interpretation of the observed behaviour, and is usually

an indication of the existence of accepted cultural definitions or, in other words, of stereotyped thinking (Tajfel 1969, p.83).

The fourth group of respondents, those who have expressed both likes and dislikes about the Jews, represent a combination of the two former groups in more than one way. Firstly, the traits they mention are a combination of the traits mentioned by the two latter groups. They stress the fact that most of their Jewish neighbours are helpful and friendly, but they also regard the Jews as a group as being clannish, somewhat overbearing, arrogant and pushy. Secondly, their statements are partly based on personal experience and partly anchored in the stereotypical view of the Jews as a group. Thus they state: "We get on very well with our neighbours. There are traits that I don't like, though. They tend to be very pushy. They are a funny lot. Terribly kind to children but hardest people in business and from what I heard they tend to take the last pound of flesh from their employees"; or "The ones we come across couldn't be nicer. Next door neighbours are a fabulous couple. However, some are rather unscrupulous in business. Very arrogant without doubt". The statements cited above show an acceptance of cultural stereotypes with a tendency to exempt the Jews known personally from this unfavourable stereotype of the typical Jew. (1)

The foregoing discussion points to a number of factors relevant to the attitude of the non-Jewish respondents. Firstly, it is revealed that the indifference with regard to intergroup relations

1. For a further discussion of the exemption mechanism see Williams 1964, pp.337-351. His discussion is based on Rose 1957.

in general is extended to attitudes towards their Jewish neighbours. Secondly, it showed that only a small proportion of the respondents demonstrated in their answers stereotyped structures of thought in relation to the Jewish group in Newton Mearns. It is quite possible that this is due to some self selection in moving into the area. A person with anti-Semitic attitudes is probably less likely to move into an area which is known to have Jews than a person with no such convictions. Thirdly, although, on the whole, contact with and living in close proximity to Jews seems to produce a favourable attitude to the Jewish influx, in some cases, as one respondent noted, "Living nearby them (Jews) could heighten the dislike for them, especially if you are anti-Semitic to begin with, as one of our neighbours here is". Where this is the case, it will always be easier to find supporting evidence for the assumed characteristics of an individual - member of a certain group - than to find contradicting evidence (Tajfel 1969, p.83), and the result invariably is highly stereotyped statements.

Although a large proportion of the respondents were either indifferent or favourable towards the Jewish influx, it seems that some would object to any further increase of the Jewish population in the area. When asked about their preferences for the ethnic composition of the residents in the 20 houses nearest to their own, some 166 (75.1% of N=221) were indifferent, while only 55 respondents (24.9%) have expressed a preference regarding the proportion of Jews acceptable to them in the nearest 20 houses. These figures on the surface seem to suggest a basic disconcern as to the composition of the neighbourhoods in which they live. On a closer examination this proved to be a somewhat oversimplified interpretation.

The respondents who expressed an attitude of indifference to the composition of the neighbourhood were not asked to explain their attitude. Many, however, volunteered comments such as "There would have to be some limit though"; "I would not like to be outnumbered though"; or more elaborate statements such as: "Jews keep to themselves. I wouldn't like to have all Jewish people in the street. I wouldn't want to be isolated and this might happen if too many Jews come in here". Although by no means all the respondents who were indifferent made such statements, the fact that many of them did feel a need to make them shows that their attitude of indifference relates to the status quo-- i.e. the present composition of the neighbourhood, with a further suggestion that, should the position change, they would raise some objections. A few respondents in this group have also shown a reluctance to express any preference at all, stating: "It is nothing to do with us. Non-discrimination act stops us from doing anything. I would prefer our kind among us though"; or, "It is a democracy, I am not to dictate who is to live here. If I said none, it would be anti-Semitism". Thus, on the whole, these statements show that, in actual fact, these respondents are not entirely indifferent to the composition of their neighbourhood.

It seems that the main difference between those who have expressed a preference and those who have not rests somewhat with their initial response to the Jews in the neighbourhood. Most of those who were initially neutral or favourable towards the Jews in Newton Mearns have expressed an attitude of indifference, while almost 50.0% of those with an initially negative attitude, and over 40.0% of those with a mixed attitude towards the Jews in the area

TABLE 9: INITIAL RESPONSE TO THE JEWS IN NEWTON MEARNS ACCORDING TO
WHETHER THE RESPONDENTS HAVE EXPRESSED A PREFERENCE AS TO
NEIGHBOURHOOD COMPOSITION OR NOT

Expression of Preference	Positive or Neutral		Negative		Both Positive and Negative	
Expressed a preference	27	16.9	17	46.6	11	42.3
Did not express a preference (indifferent)	133	83.1	18	51.4	15	57.7
TOTAL	160	100.0	35	100.0	26	100.0
Level of significance $P < 0.001$						

have expressed a preference. In other words, a large proportion of the respondents who passed value judgements which were derived from a stereotypical view of the Jews as a group have expressed a preference as to their neighbourhood composition.

When the preference of these 55 respondents were checked against the proportion of Jews/actually living in the twenty houses nearest to their house, on the whole the preferences seem to represent a wish to maintain the status quo or to reduce the proportion of Jews in the nearest twenty houses. Thus, some 41.8% of the respondents have expressed a wish to retain the status quo and a further 25.3% have expressed a wish for a smaller proportion of Jews than at present, altogether some 67.1% wishing to retain the status quo or to reduce and control the Jewish influx. The remaining 32.7% who quoted proportions higher than the Jews represent at present did not (in their statements) show a particularly positive inclination towards their Jewish neighbours or Jews in general, but rather seemed to quote the highest proportions which would be acceptable to them

TABLE 10: THE PREFERRED PROPORTION, BY THE PROPORTION OF JEWS
PRESENTLY RESIDING IN THE 20 HOUSES NEAREST TO THE
RESPONDENT'S HOUSE

Proportion in the nearest 20 houses	0-20%		25-45%		50%		Over 50%		Total
0-20%	16	29.1 ⁽¹⁾	11	20.0	5	9.1	1	1.8	33
25-45%	7	12.7	6	10.9	1	1.8	-	-	14
50%	2	3.6	1	1.8	1	1.8	-	-	4
Over 50%	-	-	-	-	2	3.6	-	-	2
Don't know	-	-	1	1.8	1	1.8	-	-	2
TOTAL	25		19		10		1		55

(1) Percentages represent proportions of totals = 55.

without feeling concerned as to their position in the neighbourhood. The following statements show this quite clearly: "I wouldn't like to be outnumbered" (Number of Jewish families in the nearest 20 houses = 4, preferred proportion in the nearest 20 houses = 50%); "I wouldn't like to see it overrun. They seem different in some ways, not so friendly" (Number of Jewish families in the nearest 20 houses = 1, preferred proportion = 30%); or "If you have too many it's no good" (Number of Jewish families in the nearest 20 houses = 0, preferred proportion = 10%). Thus, on the whole, most of the respondents who have expressed a preference, including some of those who stated that they were indifferent to the Jewish influx, have expressed a wish to limit the proportion of Jewish residents in the nearest neighbourhood. The only differences between those who said they were indifferent and those who have expressed a preference are differences in initial orientation towards the Jews in the area and probably also in the level of anxiety or fear of a Jewish takeover. These two are probably

related, but I have no relevant data to that effect. It can only be hypothesised that, when fear of a Jewish takeover coincides with a negative stereotype of the Jews as a group, respondents would be much more likely to express openly a wish to restrict the Jewish influx than when only one of the two factors is present, whether manifestly or latently.

Turning to the statements made by the respondents in an attempt to explain their preference for neighbourhood composition, a large proportion of the respondents (35 out of 55) made statements very similar to those volunteered by the indifferent respondents and those quoted above. In other words, there is an increasing fear amongst these respondents of being isolated socially if more Jews came into the neighbourhood. The following additional statements illustrate this point very clearly: "If there were all Jews here I'd feel terribly out of place" (preferred proportion = 25%); "I wouldn't want to be in the middle of a terribly Jewish community. I'd feel terribly out of it. They have an awful lot of friends and relations" (preferred proportion = 10%).

The above statements, as well as many others, are based on the premise that the Jews want to keep to themselves and do not wish to integrate or to have any contact with their non-Jewish neighbours. As a result, some of the non-Jewish respondents are afraid of finding themselves socially isolated if more Jews moved into the 20 houses nearest to their own.

Only five of the respondents referred to some vague notion of cultural pluralism in explaining their preference. For example: "I like to see the place mixed. Not everyone should be of the one type" (preferred proportion = 50%); or "You have got to intermingle,

but it should not be an overtaking number" (preferred proportion = 30%). A further two respondents expressed an anti-Jewish attitude such as "If they want to live somewhere, let it be away from here" (preferred proportion = none). This respondent later admitted to being anti-Semitic and stated "My prejudices are inherited from my youth". The remaining eight respondents expressed a preference to live amongst non-Jews for various reasons such as "One feels happier amongst one's own lot. I would prefer to keep the numbers down. They are noisy and brash. They would like it to be a 100% Jewish area" (preferred proportion = 15%); or "I wouldn't like them to move next door, they are more aggressive - pushy. Give them an inch and they take a mile" (preferred proportion = 10%).

Thus the wish to restrict the proportion of Jews in the area is based on 3 main factors: (a) a fear of a Jewish takeover which rests on the premise that (b) Jews are clannish and want to keep to themselves, and both these are anchored in the implicit recognition of (c) group differences. This latter proposition was expressed more explicitly by some of the respondents, stating: "They have different conventions which don't coincide with mine"; or "They seem different in some ways". The same assumption is made by those respondents who referred to some vague notion of cultural pluralism, when they referred to "one kind" or "one type", implying that Jews are of a "different kind" or a "different type" of people.

So far, the results suggest that most of the non-Jewish respondents are completely indifferent both to the Jews in the area and to intergroup contact. Very few of the respondents were found to hold a negative image of the Jews in the area, and the expression of preferred ethnic composition of the residents in the nearest

neighbourhood was, to a large extent, based on an awareness of group differences rather than on some firm unfavourable attitude towards Jews.

(1) Ethnic Prejudices

The question which poses itself next is the prevalence of ethnic prejudices. This question does not refer to personal likings, attractions or preference for association but rather to the acceptance of shared cultural definitions and evaluations of social categories as such. (1) The main point here is not that an individual wishes to avoid social contact with a particular Jewish person. Individual preferences that are oriented only to the compatibilities of individual personalities could never form the cultural phenomenon of anti-Semitism. Rather it is the perception of social categories or group traits which are seen as characterising a collectivity of people indiscriminately, and on the basis of which the individual member of the group is judged, that we are dealing with under the heading of "ethnic prejudice".

Some evidence of the existence of such categorization amongst a small group of non-Jewish respondents is presented in the various statements quoted earlier. To carry the investigation still further, a series of questions was devised to test the attribution of 12 group traits to the Jews. In each case respondents were asked to state whether they thought that 'Jews' as a group were more likely to have that specific trait than most other people.

Questioned in the above manner, only two of the respondents did not select any trait as being distinctively characteristic of the Jews, with the average number of traits chosen being 6.4 and the

1. See Williams 1964, pp.110-114; also Simpson & Yinger 1972, pp. 139-164.

highest number of traits chosen being 11. The four traits most frequently mentioned were clannishness, ambition, family-mindedness and money-mindedness. Next are the following five in order of frequency: shrewdness in business, hatred for manual work, an inclination to "keep up with the Joneses", aggressiveness and interest in culture and education. The remaining three, which are the least agreed upon, are intellectual superiority, sexual promiscuity and drinking habits (see Table 11, p.142, column 4).

The widespread agreement on some seven of the traits confirms the existence of cultural categorization which is accepted by a large proportion of the respondents. It also reveals the content of the stereotype of the Jew held by these respondents. Thus the picture conveyed relates to two main spheres - the economic and the social. On the economic level, the Jew is seen as an economically orientated person, ambitious, moneyminded and shrewd in business. Socially, he is a family-centred, inward looking, socially exclusive, ostentatious person.

There is also a noticeable difference amongst the respondents as to the type of accepted stereotype. Table 12 presenting the number of traits in which the Jews are seen as different from most other people shows the group of 39 respondents who chose less than the average number of traits (1-4) to think of the Jews as being mainly socially exclusive, family-centred and ambitious. Only a few of these respondents have shown an acceptance of the picture of the economically motivated Jew. The second group, who chose between 5-to 7 traits, accept both the social and economic picture of the Jew while the third group, those who chose 8 or more traits, in addition to the acceptance of both stereotypes also see the Jews as 'snobbish'

TABLE 11: NUMBER OF TRAITS CHOSEN AS CHARACTERISING JEWS BY THE
TYPE OF TRAIT CHOSEN

Affective Value	The Trait:	Number of Traits ⁽¹⁾							
		1-4 Traits		5-7 Traits		8+ Traits		Total Choosing the Trait	
Favourable	Ambition	24	61.5 ⁽²⁾	87	88.2 ⁽²⁾	80	97.6 ⁽²⁾	191	87.2 ⁽³⁾
Favourable	Family-mindedness	24	61.5	78	79.6	75	91.5	177	80.8
Favourable	Interest in Education & Culture	3	7.7	29	29.6	57	69.5	89	40.6
Mixed	Money-mindedness	15	38.5	76	77.5	79	96.3	170	77.6
Mixed	Aggression	4	10.3	34	34.7	59	71.9	97	44.3
Negative	Clannishness	26	66.6	89	90.8	82	100.0	197	89.9
Mixed	Shrewdness in Business	12	30.8	71	72.4	76	92.7	159	72.6
Negative	Inclination to "Keep up with the Joneses"	13	33.3	43	43.9	71	86.6	127	58.0
	Heavy drinking habits	1	2.6	2	2.0	4	4.9	7	3.2
	Promiscuity	-	-	6	6.1	23	28.0	29	13.2
Favourable	Intellectual Superiority	4	10.3	15	15.3	37	45.1	56	25.6
Negative	Aversion to Manual Work	3	7.7	58	59.2	75	91.5	136	62.1
	TOTAL	39	(100.0)	98	(100.0)	82		219	(100.0)
		17.8	⁽⁴⁾	44.7	⁽⁴⁾	37.5	⁽⁴⁾	100.0	

Average number of traits chosen = 6.4

Largest number of traits chosen = 11

- (1) The two who did not choose any traits are excluded from these Tables.
- (2) Percentages in these columns represent proportion of respondents who chose the stated number of traits
- (3) Figures in these columns represent percentage of respondents choosing every specific trait of all the respondents who chose at least one trait.
- (4) These represent proportions choosing the given number of traits of all the respondents who chose at least one trait.

('keep up with the Joneses') or as 'impulse gratifying' in Kramers' terms (1949,p.417), aggressive, and as being more interested in education and culture. Also a much larger proportion of the respondents in this group think of the Jews as intellectually superior, when compared to the two former groups. Thus, there is an observable cumulative pattern here in two ways. Firstly, the larger the number of traits chosen, the more articulate the picture gets and secondly, the larger the number of traits chosen, the larger is the proportion of respondents agreeing on each individual statement and, therefore, the more widespread is the agreement amongst the respondents as to the traits which characterise Jews more than most other people, and the firmer is the stereotype.

Probing further, respondents who said that the Jews differ from other people with respect to a given trait were asked as to the affective value attached to that trait on its own - i.e. seen in isolation and not as attached to any specific group. The resulting division shows only three traits to be considered as initially favourable - ambition (71.2% of N=191), family-mindedness (91.5% of N=177) and interest in education and culture (91.0% of N=89). A further three traits represented a mixture of "sometimes good and sometimes bad" or of approval/disapproval "to a certain extent". These are: Money-mindedness (67.6% of N=170), aggression (51.5% of N=97) and shrewdness in business (58.8% of N=159). The remaining five traits were seen as mainly negative traits, with intellectual superiority being a further favourable trait chosen by only a few of the respondents.

Relating the affective component to the choice of number of traits, of the 39 respondents who chose between 1 to 4 traits only three (7.7%) did not select any favourable trait, while only one

saw all four traits as favourable. The three traits most agreed upon in this group consisted of two clearly positive traits and one clearly negative trait (clannishness). Of the second group, who chose between 5 to 7 traits, only seven respondents (7.1% of N=98) did not choose any favourable traits and the largest number of favourable traits endorsed was 5 (only three respondents in this group endorsed 5 favourable traits), with the majority of the respondents (50.0%) choosing between 1 and 2 favourable traits only. Looking at Table 12, it seems that of the six most agreed upon traits in this group, two traits are clearly favourable (ambition and family-mindedness), two are clearly negative (clannishness and hatred for manual work), and two are mixed in orientation (money-mindedness and shrewdness in business). The third group was somewhat more complex. Only two respondents in this group did not choose any favourable traits, while the largest number of traits seen as favourable was 7 (only three respondents, 3.7% of N=82). Most of the respondents in this group saw between two to four of the traits as being mainly favourable (68.3% of N=82). Of the 9 traits mostly agreed upon by this group, 3 traits were seen as mainly negative, 3 as mainly positive and 3 as mixed traits, with an additional 45.1% seeing the Jews as intellectually superior, a trait towards which 61.3% of the respondents who endorsed it (N=56) were favourably disposed.

On the whole, the picture presented here shows a mixed affective orientation to the traits attributed to the Jews as a group. Only a small minority of the respondents were mainly positively disposed towards Jews as a group (those who chose between 1-4 traits), while most of the respondents held a stereo-

type which was mixed in value.

(2) A Typology of the Attitudes Expressed by the Non-Jewish Respondents

Given the discussion in the former section, bearing on the cognitive and affective aspects of prejudice, a typology of the attitudes expressed by the non-Jewish respondents is now possible.

It was shown that, amongst the non-Jewish respondents, a widespread indifference towards mixing socially with Jews prevailed side by side with the belief that Jews as a group have some distinguishing traits, which are not always seen as positive, yet neither are they seen as completely negative.

The variation in number and type of traits which are perceived as characterising Jews is sufficient to divide the respondents into three main groups: the low differentiators - those who chose between 1 to 4 traits; the average differentiators - those who saw the Jews as being characterised by 5 to 7 traits; and the high differentiators - those who saw the Jews as characterised by 8 or more traits. We saw that respondents in these three main groups differ in the mental picture which they have of the Jews as a group. While the low differentiators were agreed upon only 3 traits, 2 of which were initially positive, the average differentiators show a greater agreement on the negative than on the positive traits, while the ones on which they seem to have agreed somewhat less are the mixed traits. Also, there is some agreement with further unfavourable traits ("keeping up with the Joneses" in particular), which makes for a more negative picture of the Jew than that held by the low differentiators. It is amongst the high differentiators, however, that the highest consensus of opinion about the Jews is reached, with over 85% agreement on 7 traits. It is also this group which conveys the most articulate

stereotype of the Jew, somewhat more negative than the one conveyed by the average differentiators.

When this typology is related to other issues discussed in this chapter, Tables 27-28 in the Appendix show no clear cut differences amongst respondents of the various differentiation levels in relation to a wish for more opportunities for social contact with Jews or to the initial response to the Jews in the area. However, the trend is clearly for a somewhat larger proportion of the high differentiators to express a negative or mixed response to the Jewish influx into the area. Furthermore, a larger proportion of them have also expressed a preference concerning the composition of the residents in the twenty houses nearest to their own (Tables 29 in the Appendix). This conforms to the previous observation that respondents in this group are somewhat more negative in their attitude to Jews than the rest of the respondents.

Most of the respondents, however, showed a reluctance to express an unfavourable attitude towards the Jews. When they were asked to express agreement or disagreement with three statements which put the Jews in a very unfavourable light, very few of the respondents agreed with the statements. Results presented in Table 12 show this very clearly. The fact that the statement most agreed upon concerned the economic stereotype of the Jew, coupled with the finding that this was the statement over which a larger proportion of the respondents did not wish to express an opinion shows that, although this is the most prevailing stereotype of the Jew, there is a reluctance to admit that Jews are unfair in their business dealings.

When results for all three statements were combined and shown against the levels of differentiation, results presented in Table 30

TABLE 12: AGREEMENT/DISAGREEMENT WITH THREE STATEMENTS ABOUT THE JEWS -

AMONGST THE NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS

The Statements:	Agree (N=221)	Disagree (N=221)	No opinion (N=221)
1. "One trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighbourhood is that sooner or later they spoil it for other people" (Q.84,p.31, Non-Jewish Interview Schedule)	19 8.6	187 84.6	15 6.8
2. "One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they are so shrewd and tricky that other people don't have a fair chance in competition" (Q.84,p.31, Non-Jewish Interview Schedule)	52-23.5	125 56.6	44 20.0
3. "Persecution of Jews would be largely eliminated if the Jews would make a sincere effort to rid themselves of harmful and offensive faults" (Q.84, p.31, Non-Jewish Interview Schedule)	45 20.4	142 64.3	34 15.3

in the Appendix were again not significant statistically. Most of the respondents rejected all three statements, or endorsed only one of them. However, a somewhat larger proportion of the higher differentiators agreed with two or more statements, as compared with the average differentiators, whereas none of the low differentiators agreed with more than one statement. Furthermore, half of the high differentiators agreed with at least one statement as compared with only 32.7% of the average and 35.9% of the low differentiators.

Thus, on the whole, only a very small proportion of the non-Jewish respondents showed a consistently stereotyped structure of thought. These were mostly found amongst the high differentiators,

whereas the rest of the respondents were mainly indifferent to intergroup relations, holding a stereotype which represents a mixture of positive and negative traits attributed to the Jewish group.

I It is clear that these attitudes for the most part do not represent a rejection of the Jewish group. On the other hand, they do not represent a full acceptance. It is obvious that, just as it is invalid "to think of integration as a single process operating across the whole society" (Banton 1967, p.387), in a similar way it is invalid to speak of a general "rejection" or "acceptance" amongst non-Jews. It is "preferable to assume that there are different processes of integration in separate spheres" (Banton 1967, p.387) and that the acceptance of Jews also varies with these separate spheres.

C. Relating the Attitudes of Jews and Non-Jews

We have seen in this chapter that both Jews and non-Jews are aware of group differences which serve as barriers to the integration of the Jewish group. It was further shown that the picture the Jews have of themselves does not differ drastically from that held by the non-Jews as far as various traits are concerned. Both the Jews and non-Jews see the Jewish group as basically clannish, a closed system, which is very difficult to penetrate, the only difference being that the Jewish respondents have expressed a wish to break out of this circle, while the non-Jewish respondents did not seem to show an inclination to help them to do so. It seems that, at least as far as attitudes are concerned, we have come across a vicious circle. The historical background of the Jewish

group and the experience of survival surrounded by hostile non-Jews has led to a group cohesiveness and to the perpetuation of the Jewish group. It has also led to a creation of a separate community with its own network of face-to-face primary relations which, as a result, has brought a sense of security and a feeling that one is safe amongst one's own kind. The holocaust in Europe has served further to strengthen the tie between members of the community and to create a suspicion of the motives of non-Jews. This, coupled with a wish to remain Jews and not to lose their identity, has created a closed system. On the other hand, the non-Jew, aware of the existence of the Jewish group who seem different in some ways yet about which he nevertheless lacks knowledge, seems to see them as posing an impenetrable united front. Some non-Jews repudiate a group so defined, while others indicate a deep-rooted indifference to intergroup relations.

It is not difficult to see how this deep-rooted indifference, composed of rather mixed stereotypes and a lack of interest in knowing any Jews better, can be taken to mean a hostile attitude towards the Jews. That this is the case is quite obvious from our results. This is further supported by another finding. The Jewish respondents were asked to estimate the proportion of non-Jews who would agree with the three statements unfavourable to Jews ⁽¹⁾. Only 10% of the Jewish respondents estimated correctly that the proportion of non-Jews agreeing to the statement about Jewish neighbours was under 10%; 11.5% estimated the proportion of non-Jews agreeing with the

1. See statements on page 147, Table 12.

statement about Jewish businessmen as being between 20.0% to 30.0%; while 47.1% estimated it as being over 33.3% and only 12.8% estimated the agreement with the statement about the persecution of Jews as being between 15.0% and 25.0%.

This widespread indifference amongst the non-Jewish respondents, coupled with the rather mixed stereotype held of the Jews, when expressed in detached behaviour, can further reinforce self-segregating tendencies amongst the Jews who appear to be very sensitive to any suggestion of unfavourable attitudes towards the Jews. Sensitivity in a similar way to prejudice makes for a selective interpretation of experiences and behaviour. Thus, various comments and cues are interpreted in the light of the existing model created by the long history of the Jews in Europe. This is further accentuated by various discriminatory practices directed against the Jews in Newton Mearns which are not a secret to either Jews or non-Jews in the area. Furthermore, a few of the Jewish respondents have experienced some unpleasantness in their dealings with non-Jews. These experiences do not remain the private knowledge of the person who has encountered them. Information is spread around the community, serving as further reinforcement to segregationist tendencies by putting off other members of the community from any further ventures beyond the scope of the group.

Thus, on the one hand, there is a widespread acceptance of the value of "integration" amongst the Jewish respondents with an explicitly favourable attitude towards cultural pluralism at "the good group relations level". There is a similarly widespread feeling that the non-Jews are not prepared to accept such a goal and that they will 'never' be regarded by non-Jews as anything other than 'Jews'

with all the antipathies that were associated historically with such a status.

On the other hand, the widespread indifference towards intergroup relations amongst the non-Jewish respondents makes any discussion of group goals unrealistic. Only a small proportion of the respondents have shown in their statements that they wished the assimilation of the Jewish group, or have expressed some vague notion of cultural pluralism. On the whole, however, there seems to be an acceptance of the idea of cultural pluralism at the "tolerance level" (Gordon 1954, p.153) rather than "a wish" for cultural pluralism at "the good group relations level". The Jews are tolerated and are also passively accepted as part of the neighbourhood. It still remains to be seen whether they are accepted as part of the social lives of the non-Jewish respondents.

When these two attitudinal approaches interact, it is clear that in practice the "wall of indifference" is as difficult to break as the defensive "wall of clannishness". This is particularly so when the former is in fact seen as a "wall of antipathy", and when no attempts are made at penetrating the defensive "wall of clannishness". Milton Gordon has stated, borrowing a folk saying, that "It takes two to tango", and that White Protestant America never extended "a firm and cordial invitation to its minorities to dance" (Gordon 1964, p.111). The position in Newton Mearns is similar. If we continue this analogy, not only has there been no such invitation, there is also not likely to be one, since the majority of the non-Jewish respondents have shown a great indifference to dancing. Very few have shown a willingness to tango, while the Jewish respondents would probably prefer to waltz.

P A R T T H R E E

CHAPTER 5: LEISURE, FORMAL ASSOCIATIONW AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

In this chapter, and for the rest of this dissertation, attention is focused on the contacts and type of relations that exist between Jews and non-Jews, given the similarities and differences in their group characteristics and attitudes.

A. The Patterning of Leisure

Studies of middle class suburbs in Britain and in America have presented two main contrasting views of the patterning of leisure time activity.

The first view sees leisure activity in the suburbs as increasingly privatized with a strong emphasis on the family and home (Riesman 1957; Clark 1968, p.151; Pickett and Boulton 1974, pp.94-100). The rise of the "new craftsmanship" (Willmott & Young 1971, pp.30-33), the 'do-it-yourself about the house', is seen not only as a result of ownership pride but also as one manifestation of the "keeping up with the Joneses" aspect of suburbia (Thorns 1972, p.126). This view, then, presents the leisure activities of the suburban resident as being highly domesticated, with not much involvement in cultural and communal activities, all of which remove the focal point from the home.

In direct contrast with the above described pattern is the view which sees the suburban resident as over-active in communal and social affairs, with too little private interests and not enough concentration upon the family unit, home and self improvement (Whyte 1957, pp.350-365). This over-involvement with communal affairs is explained not only as a status requisite and a fight against

" rootlessness", but also as a result of group pressure and demand for group loyalty in suburbia. Whyte goes as far as calling it "Tyranny".

To these two views, emerging out of middle class suburban studies, mainly American, a third can be added, not directly related to suburban residence, but emerging out of studies of class and leisure.

According to this third view, the middle classes are seen as cultivating a variety of home-centred leisure interests and serious pursuits such as reading and self improvement (BBC 1965; Child & Macmillan 1973, pp.113+116). A large proportion support and participate in various sporting activities (Child & Macmillan 1973, p.115), partake in communal and social activities (Roberts 1970, p.54), and a minority show an interest in the arts, classical music and ballet, although it is the middle classes where these interests are mostly found (Roberts 1970, p.26).

This third approach, drawing heavily on studies of managerial leisure (The Director 1966; Leigh 1967; Thorns 1972) represents the middle way between the first two contrasting views of the suburban leisure.. It is also somewhat more general in nature in that it is not restricted to suburban middle class alone, but involves a somewhat larger stratum within society.

The question to be asked next is how do the Newton Mearns respondents compare with these three accounts or patterns of leisure time activity, and to what extent do the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents share leisure time interests. This latter is an important question to the matter under investigation, since shared interests form one of the main bases for the formation of friendships (Lazarsfeld and Merton 1954, p.23).

(1) Leisure Interests and Most Enjoyed Leisure Time Activity

Tables 1-4 present the findings concerning the type of activity which the respondents enjoyed most in their leisure time; their special leisure interests, and both the extent of affiliation and the type of formal associations with which the respondents were affiliated.

As can be seen, the respondents cultivated a large variety of interests, some of which were shared by both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, others were only shared by the women or the men, while yet others were specific interests which separated Jews and non-Jews. Furthermore, some interests were carried out within an institutional context (golf, sports, bridge, etc.), whereas other interests were not given an institutional expression (gardening, cooking, sewing, etc.).

Generally speaking, music, particularly classical music, was found to be the main shared interest between Jews and non-Jews. (1) Another feature that was common for both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents was cultivating a hobby. However, here both group and sex differences exist. Amongst the Jewish respondents the most prevalent type of hobby was collecting various objects. The men usually collected stamps and coins, whereas the women collected china and silver. Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, although some had collections of a similar nature, the most prevalent type of hobby was the home-centred one. This was expressed amongst the men in hobbies such as gardening (16 of the 26 with home-centred hobbies) and home improvement whereas, amongst the women, hobbies

1. Indeed, in 1975 a new "music club", mixed in membership, was formed in Newton Mearns, supported by both Jews and non-Jews.

TABLE 1: LEISURE ACTIVITY MOST ENJOYED ⁽¹⁾ BY JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS

	JEWISH SAMPLE						NON-JEWISH SAMPLE					
	All		Male		Female		All		Male		Female	
Relaxing - doing nothing	27	9.6	13	9.3	14	10.0	7	3.1	5	4.1	2	1.9
SPORTS	<u>92</u>	32.0	<u>67</u>	48.0	<u>25</u>	18.0	<u>113</u>	51.1	<u>78</u>	65.0	<u>35</u>	34.6
Golf	40	14.3	35	25.0	5	3.5	54	24.4	42	35.0	12	11.8
Football	6	2.1	5	3.5	1	0.7	8	3.6	8	6.6	-	-
Squash	4	1.4	4	2.8	-	-	4	1.8	4	3.3	-	-
Fishing	3	1.0	3	2.1	-	-	7	3.1	6	5.0	1	0.9
Swimming	8	2.8	4	2.8	4	2.8	15	6.7	8	6.6	7	6.9
Tennis	8	2.8	5	3.5	3	2.1	18	8.1	9	7.5	9	8.9
Boating	5	1.7	5	3.5	-	-	12	5.4	11	9.1	1	0.9
Shooting	2	0.7	2	1.4	-	-	2	0.9	2	1.6	-	-
Walking	23	8.2	14	10.0	9	6.4	17	7.6	7	5.8	10	9.9
Skiing	4	1.4	3	2.1	1	0.7	7	3.1	5	4.1	2	1.9
Horse Riding	3	1.0	3	2.1	-	-	3	1.3	2	1.6	1	0.9
Yoga	4	1.4	-	-	4	2.8	3	1.3	-	-	3	2.9
Athletics	1	0.3	1	0.7	-	-	4	1.8	3	2.5	1	0.9
Sports General	7	2.5	3	2.1	4	2.8	15	6.7	12	10.0	13	12.9
Camping	2	0.7	2	1.4	-	-	16	7.2	9	7.5	17	16.9
HOME-CENTRED	<u>146</u>	52.1	<u>62</u>	44.3	<u>84</u>	60.0	<u>125</u>	56.5	<u>49</u>	40.8	<u>73</u>	72.2
Needlework	14	5.0	-	-	14	10.0	28	12.6	-	-	28	27.7
Cooking & Housework	9	3.2	-	-	9	6.4	5	2.2	-	-	5	4.9
Family Life	14	5.0	5	3.5	9	6.4	6	2.7	3	2.5	3	2.9
Reading	52	18.5	18	13.0	34	24.3	32	14.4	9	7.5	23	22.7
T.V.	28	10.0	18	13.0	10	7.1	16	7.2	11	9.1	5	4.9
Music	25	8.9	10	7.1	15	10.7	12	5.4	6	5.0	6	5.9
Collections	5	1.7	2	1.4	3	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gardening	27	9.7	19	13.5	8	5.7	46	20.5	35	30.0	14	13.8
House Repairs	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	4.5	9	7.5	1	0.9
ARTS	<u>52</u>	18.5	<u>18</u>	13.0	<u>34</u>	24.2	<u>23</u>	10.4	<u>8</u>	6.6	<u>15</u>	14.8
Painting	14	5.0	8	5.7	6	4.2	4	1.8	2	1.6	2	1.9
Theatre & Drama	28	10.0	9	6.4	19	13.5	7	3.1	3	2.5	4	3.9
Music	5	1.7	1	0.7	4	2.8	4	0.9	-	-	2	1.9
Poetry	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Photography	4	1.4	4	2.8	-	-	3	1.3	3	2.9	-	-
Arts - General	5	1.7	-	-	5	3.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Flower Arranging	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	2.2	-	-	5	4.9
Handicraft	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.9	-	-	2	1.9
CARDS	59	21.0	29	20.0	30	21.4	11	5.0	5	4.1	6	5.9
SOCIALIZING	<u>50</u>	18.0	<u>17</u>	12.0	<u>33</u>	23.5	<u>36</u>	16.0	<u>15</u>	12.5	<u>21</u>	20.9
Home-entertaining	34	12.0	12	8.5	22	15.7	21	9.5	8	6.6	14	13.8
Eating out	10	3.5	5	3.5	5	3.5	2	0.9	1	0.8	1	0.9
Dancing	6	2.1	-	-	6	4.2	7	3.1	2	1.6	5	4.9
Drinking	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	3.6	7	5.7	1	0.9
COMMUNAL WORK	31	11.1	13	9.3	18	12.8	11	5.0	5	4.1	6	5.9
TOTAL ⁽²⁾	280	100.0	140	100.0	140	100.0	221	100.0	120	100.0	101	100.0

1. Table constructed from answers to question 10, p.3 on the Jewish Schedule, and question 20, p.7 on the non-Jewish one.

2. More than one activity was mentioned, therefore numbers do not add up to totals - also percentages were calculated from the general totals.

TABLE 2: SPECIFIED⁽¹⁾ LEISURE TIME INTERESTS - JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS⁽⁴⁾

<u>Special interest in sports</u>	JEWISH SAMPLE						NON-JEWISH SAMPLE					
	All	Male		Female			All	Male		Female		
NO	130	46.4	43	30.0	89	63.6	75	33.9	31	25.8	44	43.5
YES	150	53.9	99	70.0	51	36.4	146	66.1	89	74.2	57	56.5
<u>The Sport:</u> (2)												
Golf	49	32.7	39	39.7	10	18.1	54	36.9	33	37.0	21	36.8
Football	28	18.7	28	28.5	-	-	14	9.5	14	15.7	-	-
Tennis	23	15.3	7	7.1	16	29.0	10	6.8	-	-	10	17.5
Rugby	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	7.5	11	12.3	-	-
<u>Hobby</u>												
NO	173	61.8	83	59.2	90	64.2	117	53.0	75	62.5	52	51.5
YES	107	38.2	57	40.8	50	35.8	104	47.0	45	37.5	49	48.5
<u>The Hobby:</u> (2)												
Collections	52	48.5	28	49.2	24	48.0	22	21.0	7	16.0	15	30.6
Home-Centred	29	27.2	10	17.6	19	38.0	52	50.0	26	59.0	26	53.0
Arts	24	22.5	18	31.4	6	12.0	22	21.0	12	27.0	10	20.4
<u>Game Playing</u>												
NO	105	44.0	49	35.0	56	40.0	120	54.2	62	51.7	58	57.4
YES	175	56.0	91	65.0	48	60.0	101	45.8	58	48.3	43	42.6
<u>The Game:</u> (2)												
Bridge	119		70	77.0	42	50.0	56	55.4	26	44.8	30	69.7
Koon-Kan	54		14	15.4	40	47.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Card Games	42		34	37.3	8	9.5	56	55.4	37	63.7	18	44.1
<u>Special Interest in Music</u>												
NO	60	21.5	35	25.0	25	17.8	47	21.3	30	25.0	17	16.8
YES	220	78.5	105	75.0	115	82.2	174	78.7	90	75.0	84	83.2
<u>Type of Music:</u> (2)												
Classical-Operatic	112	50.9	57	54.2	48	41.7	78	44.8	40	44.4	38	45.2
Light	37	16.8	14	13.3	23	20.0	39	22.4	20	22.2	19	22.6
All kinds	37	16.8	17	16.1	20	17.3	22	12.6	10	11.1	12	14.2
<u>Entertainment Attended at</u> (3) <u>Least Once During the</u> <u>Past Year</u>												
Plays	180	64.3	89	63.5	91	65.0	70	31.7	31	25.8	39	38.6
Musical Plays	106	37.9	56	40.0	50	35.7	44	19.9	18	15.0	26	25.7
Opera	61	21.8	22	15.7	39	27.8	27	12.2	10	8.3	17	16.8
Concerts	116	41.1	54	38.5	62	44.2	73	33.0	36	30.0	37	36.6
Films	244	87.1	123	87.8	121	86.4	127	56.6	73	60.8	52	51.4
Social Dances	208	74.3	117	83.5	91	65.0	162	73.3	95	79.1	67	66.3
Disco	28	10.0	19	13.5	9	6.4	21	9.5	13	10.8	8	7.9
Pantomime	52	18.6	26	18.5	26	18.5	47	21.3	22	18.3	25	24.7
Ballet	50	17.9	16	11.4	34	24.2	9	4.1	4	3.3	5	4.9
Dining Out	262	93.6	132	94.2	130	92.8	202	91.4	112	93.3	90	89.1
TOTAL	280		140		140		221		120		101	

1. Table compiled of answers to Q.11-13 pp.4-5 on Jewish Schedule, and Q.21-23 pp.8-9 on the Non-Jewish one.
2. Percentages for the special sports, hobbies, games, etc. were calculated only of those who expressed interest in the activity - not out of the total sample.
3. Percentages calculated of the total sample for male & female, of the totals for that group.
4. Activities which were only taken up by less than 10 respondents were not included in the Tables.

TABLE 3: AFFILIATION WITH FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS BY SEX

JEWISH RESPONDENTS						
	All		Male		Female	
Affiliated	215	76.8	118	84.3	97	69.3
Not affiliated	65	23.2	22	15.7	43	30.7
TOTALS	280	100.0	140	100.0	140	100.0

$p < 0.004$

NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS						
	All		Male		Female	
Affiliated	145	65.6	87	72.5	58	57.4
Not affiliated	76	34.4	33	27.5	43	42.6
TOTALS	221	100.0	120	100.0	101	100.0

$p < 0.02$

TABLE 4: TYPE OF ORGANISATIONAL AFFILIATION OF THE JEWISH AND
NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS, BY SEX

JEWISH RESPONDENTS							
	All		Male		Female		
Religious affiliated	24	11.2	17	14.4	7	7.2	
Charitable & Welfare	56	26.0	25	21.2	31	32.0	
Social, Cultural and Educational	103	47.9	57	48.3	46	47.2	
Masonic Lodges	14	6.5	14	11.9	-	-	
Professional Bodies	41	19.1	30	25.4	11	11.3	
Political Organisations	3	1.3	3	2.5	-	-	
Golf Club	86	40.0	44	37.3	32	33.0	
Other Sports Clubs	66	30.7	52	44.1	14	14.4	
Zionist Organisations	64	29.8	17	14.4	47	48.4	
Bridge Clubs	35	16.3	26	22.0	9	9.3	
Other	12	5.4	10	8.5	2	2.1	
TOTAL	215		118		97		
NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS							
	All		Male		Female		
Religious affiliated	28	19.3	16	18.4	12	20.7;	
Charitable & Welfare	33	22.7	16	18.4	17	29.3	
Social, Cultural and Educational	70	48.3	29	33.3	41	70.7	
Masonic Lodges	6	4.1	6	6.9	-	-	
Professional Bodies	67	46.2	61	70.1	6	10.3	
Political Organisations	12	8.3	8	9.2	4	6.9	
Golf Club	63	43.4	49	56.3	14	24.1	
Other Sports Clubs	95	65.5	68	78.2	27	46.5	
Zionist Organisations	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Bridge Clubs	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Other	7	4.8	3	3.5	4	6.9	
TOTAL	145		87		58		

were very domesticated and included the traditional feminine preoccupation with baking, knitting, crochet and sewing.

Another type of activity in which Jews and non-Jews differed was the larger involvement of the former in card playing, although both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents who played cards tended to play bridge.

The men, both Jewish and non-Jewish, share a special interest in sports and enjoyed home-centred activities. The most enjoyed sport was golf. This reflects both the popularity of this sporting activity in Scotland (British Travel Association 1969, p.38; Coppock and Duffield 1975, p.59) and the abundant facilities that exist for this sport in and around Newton Mearns (McCallum 1962, p.393). However, a considerable proportion of the Jewish men were also interested in football, an interest which was not matched to a great extent by the non-Jewish respondents. The Jewish and non-Jewish men also differ in the type of home-centred activity they enjoy most. The non-Jewish men enjoy mostly gardening, which was described by Riesman as "a tax imposed by neighbourhood consciousness" (1957, p.139). This was only partly shared by the Jewish respondents whose home-centred interests were much more varied.

The women, on the other hand, share a strong domestic bias in their leisure interests. Most of them stated that the home-centred activities were the ones they enjoyed most. However, the Jewish women do not share the non-Jewish women's interest in needlework or in gardening, with the only shared interest being reading. Further to that, the women more than the men expressed an interest in the Arts, the Jewish women in particular, with their main interest being the Theatre and Drama, yet another specific interest in which they

differ from the non-Jewish women. Even as far as playing cards is concerned, great differences persist both in the centrality of card-playing amongst the Jewish as compared with the non-Jewish women, and in relation to the type of card game played. Although, as mentioned earlier, most of the respondents played bridge, a second widespread card game mentioned by a large proportion of the Jewish women was "Koon-Kan", best known as "Kalooki". This is a very popular game amongst members of the Jewish community. It represents an elaborated form of Gin-Rummy (Gibson 1974, p.149), and can be considered as the local Jewish card game. None of the non-Jewish respondents mentioned it, and it is doubtful whether many of them would know how to play it.

Another difference between the Jewish and non-Jewish women relates to interest in sport. A larger proportion of the non-Jewish women, compared with the Jewish ones, expressed such an interest and shared the men's interest in golf. This interest was not exactly shared by the Jewish women who showed a greater interest in tennis, although both enjoyed walking, which is a less sociable type of sport.

Turning to a different question, that of attending various entertainments and the pursuit of interests within an organizational context, it is clear that the Jewish respondents attended these much more than the non-Jewish ones and tended to give expression to their interests within a formal association to a somewhat greater extent than the non-Jewish respondents.

As far as attendance of various entertainments is concerned, dining out in restaurants seems to be one of the most prevalent types. Over 90.0% of the respondents dined out at least once

during the past year. Another type of activity which is very prevalent and shared by both Jews and non-Jews is attendance at social dances and going to the pictures. A much larger proportion of the Jewish respondents, however, attended plays and, to a lesser extent, concerts, which shows the differences in the cultural patterns between Jews and non-Jews.

Affiliation with formal associations, more prevalent amongst the men than the women, shows again the differences in interests expressed by the respondents. The greater interest in sports and golf amongst the non-Jewish respondents as compared with the Jewish ones, and amongst the men compared with the women, shows up in the type of associations with which the respondents are affiliated. The greater interest in bridge amongst the Jewish, and the higher proportion of respondents in the professional occupations group amongst the non-Jewish respondents also show up very clearly in the membership figures. Another feature of interest is the greater affiliation with religious bodies other than Church amongst the non-Jewish women, and affiliation with a Zionist organisation amongst the Jewish ones.

On the whole, then, although the general pattern is similar with men interested mainly in sport and home-centred activities and women reversing the order with a strong domestic bias in their leisure interests, differences persist in the more specific type of leisure activities pursued. Thus the type of home-centred activities differed, as well as some of the sports interests. Further, a larger proportion of the Jewish respondents were engaged in cultural and intellectual pursuits as compared with the non-Jewish respondents. This was particularly the case amongst the

women who provided the broadest support for the cultural life of the community. The Jewish respondents' interest in card playing (especially as far as Koon-Kan is concerned), various collections and communal work is only partly shared by their non-Jewish neighbours, and the non-Jewish interest in gardening seems to be much higher than that of their Jewish neighbours, and can hardly be considered a shared interest.

In spite of these differences, both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents approximate the pattern established in the British studies described at the outset of this chapter more closely than the first two opposing patterns of the middle class suburban resident's leisure activity. Both cultivate a large variety of home-centred interests, yet both were interested in sport and lent great support to mass entertainment and formal associations, both of which are not exactly home-centred interests. Also very noticeable is the interest in cultural and intellectual activity cultivated by a minority of the respondents. All these are very much in line with the pattern presented for the English middle classes. Although the women were somewhat more home-centred in their interests, the non-Jewish ones in particular, no clear-cut polarization between home-centred and other social activities in which respondents expressed an interest was found either along ethnic, sex or ethnic-sex lines. Rather a mixture of both types of interests was found which leads to the conclusion that the Newton Mearns respondents are in an intermediary position, somewhere between the two polarized patterns presented on pp.152-153 and, as such, are closer to the middle class pattern.

(2) The Differences and Similarities in Approach

Just as there are areas of similarities and differences in their leisure interests, so can we find differences and similarities in their approach to leisure.

Both Jews and non-Jews seem to spread themselves out in their leisure time activities and attend functions and entertainments for which they have expressed no special interest. This tendency is more marked amongst the Jewish respondents. For example, a much larger proportion have attended concerts and operas than those who expressed interest in that type of music, and a similar tendency can be seen with regard to the theatre (see Table 2). The fact that dining out, which is more the type of entertainment of the wealthier class⁽¹⁾ seems to be almost universally practised, coupled with a high attendance of social dances, concerts and opera, suggests some cultural patterning of these activities. C.Bermant suggested that these were of the status-conferring type and reflect the fact that the Glasgow-Jewish community is a "snob-ridden community" (1968,p.15). To the extent that it is a manifestation of snobbery, the Newton Mearns Jew is not alone in displaying wealth and maintaining status through these activities, as has already been shown.

Apart from the similarity in pattern, there are differences in the intensity and frequency of attending evening entertainment. Table 5 shows very clearly that not only do a larger proportion of the Jewish respondents attend such entertainments, they also attend them on a more regular basis. Dining out, although being the most practised type of entertainment amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish

1. See the Family Expenditure Surveys, produced annually by the Department of Employment and Productivity, H.M.S.O.

TABLE 5: AVERAGE NUMBER OF TIMES RESPONDENTS HAVE ATTENDED
ENTERTAINMENT DURING THE PAST YEAR

	Non-Jewish Respondents		Jewish Respondents	
Plays	0.8		6.3	
Musical Plays	2.2		2.3	
Opera	3.1		3.0	
Concert	2.9		5.4	
Film	5.1		10.6	
Social Dance	6.9		6.9	
Disco	2.3		4.5	
Pantomime	1.4		1.3	
Ballet	2.2		1.8	
Dining Out	21.2		39.7	

TABLE 6: TYPE OF PARTICIPATION IN SPORTS OF THOSE WHO EXPRESSED
PARTICULAR INTEREST IN SPORT

	Non-Jewish Respondents						Jewish Respondents					
	All		Male		Female		All		Male		Female	
Play it	90	61.3	48	53.9	41	71.9	79	52.7	50	50.5	29	(56.8)
Watch it	56	38.7	41	46.1	16	28.1	71	47.3	49	49.5	22	(43.2)
TOTAL	146	100.0	89	100.0	57	100.0	150	100.0	99	100.0	51	(100.0)

TABLE 7: HOURS PER WEEK SPENT WORKING IN THE GARDEN DURING THE
SEASON

	Non-Jewish Respondents						Jewish Respondents					
	All		Male		Female		All		Male		Female	
1-5 hours	118	53.4	63	52.6	55	54.4	81	28.7	50	35.7	31	21.8
6-10 "	48	21.8	28	23.4	20	19.8	21	7.5	11	7.8	10	7.1
11+ "	14	6.3	11	9.2	3	2.9	20	7.2	11	7.8	9	6.5
None	10	4.5	4	3.3	6	5.9	32	11.5	14	10.0	18	13.8
Has a gar- dener	10	4.5	4	3.3	6	5.9	111	39.8	14	33.5	64	45.1
Does not have a garden	21	9.5	10	8.4	11	10.9	15	5.3	7	5.0	8	5.7
TOTAL	221	100.0	120	100.0	101	99.8	280	100.0	140	99.8	140	100.0

respondents, is done much more by the Jewish respondents. This is not surprising since a larger proportion of them are businessmen, whose roles involve entertaining customers and business associates. However, the Jewish respondents also attended plays, concerts and films more often than the non-Jewish ones.

Table 6 reflects the different type of sporting activity that the respondents enjoyed. Golf, for example, is the type of sport in which most of the respondents participated actively, thus a very similar proportion of the Jewish and non-Jewish men played rather than watched golf. Amongst the women golf, tennis and walking are also types in which respondents participated, rather than watched. Furthermore, camping and swimming were a further two types of sporting activities mentioned by the non-Jewish women, which are not usually a 'spectating' type of interest. Thus, the different sporting interests produced a pattern whereby women are more active than men in the pursuit of their interests.

Table 7, however, reflects very clearly the lack of interest in gardening amongst the Jewish respondents, both male and female. Some 39.8% had a gardener, 11.5% did not work at all in their garden and of those who did, the majority spent the minimum necessary time on this activity. The contrary is true of the non-Jewish respondents, a very small proportion of whom employed a gardener or did not work in their gardens. The majority worked in their garden and spent, on the average, more time gardening than their Jewish neighbours, especially the men.

There are also great differences in the level of involvement with voluntary associations. The extent of such an involvement can be obtained through three main indicators. These are: A. Whether the

respondent is performing some voluntary service for any of these organisations; B. Whether the respondent holds an office in any of the groups with which he is affiliated, and C. Regularity of attendance at functions and meetings organised by the formal association. Tables 32-34 in the Appendix show very clearly that the Jewish respondents tend to be active in associations mainly through performing some voluntary service for the organisation. This is mostly the case amongst the women. The non-Jewish respondents, on the other hand, are active through being office bearers but mostly through regular attendance at functions, which is significantly higher amongst the women. All these, however, do not give an adequate overall picture of the level of involvement. To achieve that, all three indicators were combined into the one index. Table 8 presents the distribution of the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents on this index.

On the whole, the Jewish respondents are more active in the associations with which they are affiliated. This is particularly the case amongst the women who were mainly involved through performing a voluntary service for the association.

Generally speaking, the Jewish respondents made more use of the entertainment facilities which are available and were more actively involved in formal associations than the non-Jewish respondents, while the latter attended to their gardens more often than the Jewish respondents, and led a somewhat less "outgoing" life.

(3) Evening Visiting

However different the two patterns of suburban leisure presented on pages 151-153 may appear, both are agreed on the point that the middle class suburbanite is given to neighbouring and to friendly

TABLE 9: EVENING VISITING PATTERNS: FREQUENCY WITH WHICH RESPONDENTS VISITED AND WERE VISITED BY OTHERS

JEWISH RESPONDENTS										NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS									
Respondents Visited Others										Respondents Visited Others									
Frequency:	General Visiting	Visited Friends	Visited Relations	Visited Neighbours	General Visiting	Visited Friends	Visited Relations	Visited Neighbours	Visited	Frequency:	General Visiting	Visited Friends	Visited Relations	Visited Neighbours	General Visiting	Visited Friends	Visited Relations	Visited Neighbours	Visited
1 x a week and more	215	75.3	131	65.1	150	54.0	21	7.6	94	42.5	69	32.4	68	31.9	33	15.5			
2-3 x a month	37	13.2	47	16.9	37	13.3	10	3.6	61	27.6	59	27.7	30	14.1	20	9.4			
1 x a month and less	24	8.5	40	14.4	52	18.7	38	13.7	58	26.2	71	33.3	57	26.8	34	16.0			
Never	2	0.7	10	3.6	39	14.0	209	75.2	8	3.6	14	6.6	58	27.2	126	59.2			
N.A.	2	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
TOTALS	280	99.9	278	100.0	278	100.0	278	100.1	221	100.0	213	100.0	213	100.0	213	100.1			

Respondents Were Visited By Others										Respondents Were Visited By Others									
Frequency:	Generally Was Visited	Visited By Friends	Visited By Relations	Visited By Neighbours	Generally Was Visited	Visited By Friends	Visited By Relations	Visited By Neighbours	Visited	Frequency:	Generally Was Visited	Visited By Friends	Visited By Relations	Visited By Neighbours	Generally Was Visited	Visited By Friends	Visited By Relations	Visited By Neighbours	Visited
1 x a week and more	250	89.5	210	76.4	173	60.9	53	19.3	134	60.6	103	48.6	72	34.0	49	23.1			
2-3 x a month	20	7.1	39	14.2	35	12.7	10	3.6	46	20.8	52	24.5	32	15.1	21	9.9			
1 x a month and less	5	1.7	20	7.3	36	13.1	48	17.5	32	14.5	51	24.1	57	26.9	28	13.2			
Never	5	1.7	6	2.2	31	11.3	164	59.6	9	4.1	6	2.8	51	24.1	114	53.8			
TOTALS	280	100.0	275	100.1	275	100.0	275	100.0	221	100.0	212	100.0	212	100.1	212	100.0			

personal contact. In fact S.F.Fava maintains that "the most interesting observation on the suburban way of life is that residential suburbs are said to have a high degree of neighboring and other informal primary-type contacts" (Fava 1956, p.35).

We have already seen that kinship visiting was a widespread practice amongst the Jewish respondents. When evening visiting is considered, results presented in Table 9 show two main things. Firstly, they show that the Jewish respondents were engaged in this activity more often than the non-Jewish ones, and secondly, that friends have somewhat replaced kin in evening visiting. Evening visiting between neighbours is more the common practice amongst the non-Jewish than amongst the Jewish respondents, although amongst both less than 50.0% of the respondents were engaged in a visiting relationship with a neighbour. This is in direct contradiction to Pickett and Boulton's findings in Maghull, who reported that neighbours have replaced kin (1974, p.108). The findings also do not fully substantiate Fava's statement about the nature of social life in the suburb.

The family as an institution again seems to be more central in the visiting pattern and value system of the Jewish respondents. This is particularly noticeable from the comments made by Jewish respondents who reported no kin visiting. Invariably they felt obliged to make statements such as "I have no relations in Glasgow"; or "All my relations here are dead". These show the high value placed on the family amongst the Jewish respondents and the perception that a "non-visiting" relationship with kin is an abnormality which needs further explanation.

(4) Intergroup Contact and Leisure Time Activity

Most of the activities enjoyed by the respondents were of the highly sociable type and required the participation of others.⁽¹⁾

Turning to an examination of the people who shared the leisure activities of the respondents, Table 10 shows most of these to be friends and relations. As such, and in view of the segregated friendship patterns amongst the respondents, it is not surprising to see that most of the participants were also members of the in group. Thus different interests, coupled with a segregated pattern of friendship, make for increased segregation in leisure time activity, particularly when the more specific types of leisure activity are concerned.

Evening visiting and affiliation with formal associations were found to be somewhat less segregated, although here there is also a tendency to exchange visits within the confines of the group and to be affiliated with ethnically segregated associations.

A peculiar pattern is presented by the intergroup evening visiting reported by the Jewish respondents. A larger proportion reported being entertained by their non-Jewish neighbours and friends, rather than entertaining these friends at home. It is difficult to understand how such a non-reciprocal pattern can emerge. In reality this is probably not the case, but it is interesting to note that the Jewish respondents were under the impression that they were entertained by more of their non-Jewish friends than they in fact entertained.

Another interesting feature which is apparent in the findings relates to the tendency for a larger proportion of the Jewish, compared

1. Since sports interests were usually pursued within an organizational context, these will be discussed in Section B of this chapter.

TABLE 10: PERSONS INVOLVED IN RESPONDENT'S LEISURE ACTIVITY

JEWISH RESPONDENTS										
	Watching Sports with		Hobby Involves Participation of		Playing Games					
					All		Men		Women	
Friends	40	93.0	17	85.0	150	85.7	73	79.0	77	92.9
Relations	13	30.2	8	40.0	49	28.0	23	25.0	26	31.6
Neighbours	3	7.0	-	-	15	8.0	7	7.6	8	9.4
Children	6	14.0	-	-	12	7.0	8	8.7	4	4.7
Club Members	-	-	-	-	18	10.3	14	15.2	4	4.7
Business Associates	-	-	1	5.0	3	1.7	1	1.1	2	2.4
TOTAL	43**	-	20**	-	175**	-	91**	-	84**	-
<u>Religion:</u>										
All or most Jewish	34	79.1	11	55.0	147	84.0	68	74.7	79	94.0
Mixed or more non-Jews	9	20.9	9	45.0	28	16.0	23	25.3	5	6.0
TOTAL	43	100.0	20	100.0	175	100.0	91	100.0	84	100.0
NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS										
	Sport		Hobby		Games:					
					All		Men		Women	
Friends	31	60.8	25	75.7	62	61.4	35	60.3	27	62.8
Relations	21	41.2	7	21.2	37	36.6	17	22.3	20	46.5
Neighbours	5	9.8	8	24.2	15	14.9	9	15.5	6	14.0
Children	7	13.7	-	-	12	11.9	8	13.8	4	9.3
Club Members	1	2.0	5	15.1	4	4.0	3	5.1	2	4.6
Business Associates	-	-	-	-	4	4.0	4	6.9	-	-
TOTAL	51**	-	33**	-	101**	-	58**	-	43**	-
<u>Religion:</u>										
All non-Jews	51	100.0	31	94.0	92	91.9	52	89.6	40	93.0
Some Jews	-	-	2	6.0	9	8.1	6	10.4	3	7.0
TOTAL	51	100.0	33	100.0	101	100.0	58	100.0	43	100.0

**Totals include only those whose activities involved the participation of others. Also since more than one category of persons was mentioned, numbers do not add up to totals.

TABLE 11: INTERGROUP EVENING VISITING

Ethnicity	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
	Persons the Respondent has Visited During the Past Year		Persons Who Visited the Respondent During the Past Year	
All are Jewish	150	54.0	194	70.4
Most are Jewish	37	13.3	43	15.6
Mixed	52	18.7	34	12.3
Most are non-Jews	39	14.0	1	1.1
N.A.	-	-	3	1.1
TOTALS	278	100.0	275	100.0
NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS				
Persons the Respondent has Visited During the Past Year				
All non-Jews	184	86.4	180	84.9
Some Jews	23	10.8	23	13.2
No religion/D.K.	6	2.8	4	1.9
TOTALS	213	100.0	212	100.0

TABLE 12: AFFILIATION WITH ETHNICALLY MIXED ASSOCIATIONS

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
	Persons the Respondent has Visited During the Past Year		Persons Who Visited the Respondent During the Past Year	
Affiliated with Ethnically Mixed Associations	92	42.8	49	38.0
Not affiliated with Ethnically Mixed Associations	123	57.2	80	62.0
TOTAL AFFILIATED WITH FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS	215	100.0	129*	100.0

*No information about the nature of the association for which these respondents performed some voluntary service was collected, therefore there are 16 missing observations here.

with the non-Jewish respondents to be involved in intergroup contact through their various leisure activities. This is best understood in relation to the size of the Jewish group. Being part of a minority group, a relatively large pool of potential contacts in the majority group exist for the Jewish respondents. This is not the case for the non-Jewish respondents whose contacts with Jews are severely restricted by the size of the minority group. The higher probability that the Jewish respondents will be found in intergroup contact also increases the probability that they will meet some non-Jews with similar interests. This probability is much lower amongst the non-Jewish respondents, hence the differences in pattern.

(5) Summary of Findings for Leisure Time Activity

The findings presented in the preceding sections of this chapter show very clearly that Newton Mearns is not a centre of the "new kind" of privatized home-centred activity. Neither is it a place where social participation and neighbourliness have reached an "all time high level" in Thorn's terms. Rather, the picture that emerges is of a suburb, in which residents are equally interested and engage in indoor and outdoor activities. Although the interests of the non-Jewish respondents were somewhat more home-centred than those of the Jewish respondents, there is not enough evidence to support the "privatized" as opposed to the more "active" patterns presented in the outset of this chapter. Thus it is clear that, while the Jewish respondents led a somewhat busier leisure life than the non-Jewish respondents, both are nearer to the third pattern, the one relating to middle class in general than to any of the two opposing suburban patterns.

Leisure interests, some of which were found to be ethnically

segregated, have led, as we have seen, to a highly segregated pattern of leisure time activities. However, we have also seen that some of the interests were shared by both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, and that they were affiliated with sufficiently similar types of clubs and organizations which can provide a basic setting for intergroup relations. However, such a setting cannot be established on the basis of these similarities alone. Common interests need to be communicated, and this is done more directly in the various associations with which the respondents are affiliated.

B. The Formal Associations

Formal associations provide a context within which individuals can pursue their special interests and meet others who share these interests. However, not all formal associations perform such a specialized service, and many associations cater for a number of interests. For example, Bonnyton Golf Club, which is the Jewish high status association, has a bridge section and various other social functions are organized, such as social dances. Members can go to Bonnyton for a meal and for social purposes, not only in order to play golf. In a similar way, the Rotary Club provides a setting in which business men can meet and, at the same time, it also engages in charitable work and has social functions. Eastwood and Bellahouston sports centres cater for various sporting activities, and various other clubs provide a setting in which social as well as specialized interests can be pursued.

Thus, in an urban setting, associations are also seen as providing a setting for meeting new people and widening the range of

acquaintances (Kuper 1953, p.126; Mann 1965, p.104). In a broader context they are further seen as "key structural elements", inasmuch as they are the means through which individuals cope with their environment and transcend their routinized day to day activities by establishing links with the broader community (Eausknecht 1964, pp.207-215).

Formal associations thus form one of the settings within which links between Jews and non-Jews can be established. This is of particular relevance amongst the Newton Mearns respondents since affiliation with formal associations is invariably found to be more characteristic of middle class than of working class communities;⁽¹⁾ so much so that it is almost seen as one of the concomitants of higher status. Axelrod attempted to account for this by reference to the greater variety of specified interests and the status-maintaining nature of affiliation for members of the middle class. He stated that: "High status represents a convergence of many kinds of interests arising in part from higher education, more and more varied contacts, and interaction arising from demands of the occupational role...Apart from these specifics which contribute to and are related to status, status once achieved becomes a value which must be maintained. Exclusive clubs, rather than inclusive clubs, are instruments for maintaining this high status"(1956, p.16). This is also true of middle class suburban communities, as has been demonstrated by many other studies.⁽²⁾ Since both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents

1. See Cauter and Dunham 1954,p.66; Bottomore 1954; Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1969, p.93 and there are various other studies with similar findings.

2. See Willmott & Young 1971,p.82,Table XIII; also Thorns 1972,pp.131-141. He found a higher rate of affiliation with formal associations amongst members of the middle as compared with the working class although he contends that this is not sufficient evidence to justify the claim that the suburb is a "hotbed of social participation".

are found to be highly middle class suburbanites, membership in exclusive and prestigious clubs would not only reflect but also feed back into their status positions.

Thus we have seen that a large proportion of the respondents, particularly the men, were affiliated with formal associations.⁽¹⁾ These to a large extent are exclusive clubs (golf and sports clubs in particular) of the status-conferring type. Professional associations, apart from their disciplinary nature, are also of the status-conferring type. Although some of the professional associations carry with them the full monopoly of the registering body in Britain (mainly the Law Society and the Pharmaceutical Society), other associations monopolise the profession only to a certain degree (medical associations, architecture and a few others - Lewis & Maude 1952, p.66). However, membership of professional bodies, with the exception of these few cases, is by and large voluntary. These bodies attract members by offering special qualifications, which would not only ensure that the holder will have advantage over others when applying for a post, but which will also confer prestige and ensure the gaining of "the best and most wealthy clients" (Lewis & Maude 1952, pp.60-67).

The importance of affiliation with status-conferring associations puts the Jewish respondents in a vulnerable position, since it is exactly in this sphere of prestigious and exclusive clubs that the "golf club syndrome" type of discrimination in Percy Cohen's words (1965), or in Parson's terms "snobbish" anti-Semitism⁽²⁾ is exercised. It has been noted by Banton that "the principal

1. See Table 4, page 158.

2. Quoted in Simpson and Yinger 1972, p.275.

sphere of regular discrimination is the exclusion of Jews from suburban golf, tennis and other social clubs" (Banton 1967, p.382). We have also had some indication that such an exclusivist policy is practised by the various clubs in the area. It is obvious, then, that if the interests which were mostly shared (sports and golf in particular) are pursued in segregated associations, such interests are not communicated and therefore will not form the basis for intergroup friendships.

However, even when interests are communicated in an organizational setting, there is no assurance that friendly intergroup relations will follow. This, to a large extent, will depend on the way in which these interests are pursued, i.e. whether the special interest requires team work or not; on the type of atmosphere that is created within the association; the proportion of Jews who are affiliated with these associations; and the various attitudes which bear directly on the situation. The first two conditions do not apply to intergroup relations alone. If people who are affiliated with a film club only meet when they come to watch a film, it is doubtful whether such a situation will result in friendships regardless of who the members are. When there are additional reservations these would serve as further barriers. On the other hand, when some voluntary service is performed within an ethnically mixed association, or when respondents are office bearers of such associations, they are bound to be in more contact with other members, and such a setting can be more conducive to the formation of friendships.

All these issues are of great importance to the understanding

of the type of relations which develop within the various associations, and form the focal point of the rest of this chapter.

(1) The Ethnically Mixed Associations

Looking at the type of associations within which the respondents were in contact across ethnic lines, Table 13 shows very clearly the impact of exclusivist policy on such affiliation. Only 3 of the Jewish and 6 of the non-Jewish respondents were affiliated with a golf club that was mixed ethnically.

TABLE 13: THE ETHNICALLY MIXED ASSOCIATIONS WITH WHICH THE RESPONDENTS
WERE AFFILIATED

	Jewish Respondents		Non-Jewish Respondents	
Special Hobby Clubs	10	10.9	5	10.2
Cultural	20	21.7	9	18.4
Educational	6	6.5	2	4.1
Social	3	3.2	2	4.1
Bridge	8	8.7	-	-
Masonic	3	3.2	3	6.1
Charitable and Welfare	11	12.0	-	-
Professional and Commercial	41	44.6	25	51.0
Sports:	<u>37</u>	<u>40.2</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>44.9</u>
Multi-purpose	10	10.9	2	4.1
Specific	27	29.3	20	40.8
Golf	3	3.2	6	12.2
Political	4	4.3	-	-
Mixed purpose and other	6	6.5	1	2.0
TOTALS	(92) (100.0)		(49) (100.0)	

A further noticeable trend relates to the finding that Jewish respondents did not join associations whose functions are purely

social. Rather they joined associations with some more definite goal, in which sociability would, if at all, be the "latent function". In fact, amongst the Jewish respondents, affiliation with ethnically mixed associations tends to occur most often in those areas in which the Jewish communal structure is found to be lacking.⁽¹⁾ For example, there are no trade or commercial associations, professional bodies or an adequate number of sports clubs to cater for the various interests in this field. There are also not sufficient clubs or groups that cater for various hobbies such as flower arranging, stamp collecting or drama. On the other hand, there are two Jewish bridge clubs and, as a result, most of those interested in bridge were affiliated with sectarian clubs.⁽²⁾ This feature also shows up very clearly in the type of ethnically mixed associations with which the non-Jewish respondents were affiliated.

On the whole, it seems that affiliation with mixed associations is closely related to various features, some of which are structural. Others relate more to special interests and attitudes, the latter of particular significance amongst the Jewish respondents. Thus with a large proportion of the men involved in the professions and trade, it is not surprising to see that most of the Jewish respondents who were affiliated with ethnically mixed associations were men of the professional or managerial occupational groups (see Tables 42 and 44 in the Appendix). The greater interest of the men in the various sports also contributes towards this pattern. In a similar way, it was mostly non-Jewish men who were affiliated

1. For a list of available Jewish organisations see Table 21 in the Appendix, C.

2. See Table 22 in the Appendix.

with ethnically mixed associations, although no clear division along occupational lines was found since most of the men, regardless of occupational differences, were affiliated with formal associations (See Tables 36, 42 and 44 in the Appendix).

The lower proportion of non-Jewish women, compared with the Jewish female respondents, who were affiliated with ethnically mixed associations is largely due to the great differences in their leisure interests and to the type of associations with which they were affiliated. Non-Jewish women were interested in sports, golf in particular, to a larger extent than the Jewish women, and were also affiliated with such associations somewhat more than the Jewish women.⁽¹⁾ Furthermore, these are the associations which are notorious for practising some restrictive measures on Jewish membership. In addition to this, some 20.7% of the non-Jewish women were also affiliated with religious bodies, which by nature are segregated.

When the atmosphere surrounding affiliation with ethnically mixed associations amongst the Jewish respondents was examined, it became clear that a considerable proportion of the Jewish respondents thought that most Jews were either indifferent or approved of such an affiliation, as can be seen from Table 14. However, a large proportion of the women thought that most of the Jews would disapprove of non-sectarian affiliations, and it is quite possible that this might in part explain the lower proportion of women affiliated with ethnically mixed associations. It is highly likely that women, more than men, respond here to some

1. See Table 4, page 151.

TABLE 14: PERCEIVED COMMUNAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS AFFILIATION WITH
ETHNICALLY MIXED ASSOCIATIONS - JEWISH RESPONDENTS ONLY

Perceived Communal Attitude:	All		Male		Female	
Strongly Approve	15	7.0	10	8.5	5	5.2
Approve	55	25.6	34	28.8	21	21.6
Indifferent	72	33.6	45	38.1	27	27.8
Disapprove	26	12.0	7	5.9	19	19.5
Strongly Disapprove	2	0.9	-	-	2	2.1
Don't Know	45	21.0	22	18.6	23	23.7
TOTAL	215	100.1	118	99.9	97	99.9

TABLE 15: PERCEIVED COMMUNAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS AFFILIATION WITH
ETHNICALLY MIXED ASSOCIATIONS AMONGST RESPONDENTS WHO
WERE AFFILIATED WITH EXCLUSIVELY JEWISH ASSOCIATIONS
AND THOSE WHO WERE AFFILIATED WITH SOME ETHNICALLY
MIXED ASSOCIATIONS

Perceived Communal Attitude being that of:	Respondents Affiliated with Ethnically Mixed Associations		Respondents Affiliated with Exclusively Jewish Organisations	
Approval	34	37.0	36	29.3
Disapproval	7	7.6	21	17.1
Indifference	35	38.0	37	30.1
Uncertain - D.K.	16	17.4	29	23.5
TOTAL	92	100.0	123	100.0

$p < 0.07$

perceived general feelings of communal disapproval, particularly when these perceived attitudes are examined in relation to the type of associations with which respondents are affiliated.

It is clear that a somewhat larger proportion of the respondents who were affiliated with ethnically mixed associations thought that most members of the Jewish community either approved or were indifferent to such affiliation more than respondents who were not affiliated with such associations. Furthermore, a somewhat larger proportion of the latter thought that the communal atmosphere was one of disapproval, or were not completely certain about the communal atmosphere. On further inspection, these were found to be mainly women. Results presented in Table 16 show that women are somewhat

TABLE 16: PERCEIVED COMMUNAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS AFFILIATION WITH
ETHNICALLY ORIENTATED ASSOCIATIONS OF JEWISH RESPONDENTS
AFFILIATED EXCLUSIVELY WITH SECTARIAN ASSOCIATIONS BY SEX

Perceived communal attitude as being that of:	Male		Female	
Approval	20	33.9	16	25.0
Disapproval	4	6.8	17	26.7
Indifference	22	37.8	15	23.4
D.K.	13	22.0	16	25.0
TOTAL	59	100.0	64	100.0
Level of Significance $p < 0.01$				

more sensitive to communal approval or disapproval, and tend to respond more closely to their ideas of what is expected of them. When they are not certain of whether there is communal approval to

such an affiliation, they would rather not risk disapproval.

Thus, of the 23 women who were uncertain of communal attitude, 16 were affiliated with exclusively Jewish associations.

Looking into the way in which the respondents explained their perceived attitudes, results presented in Table 17 show that not all those who thought that "most Jews" approved or were indifferent to the subject thought that they were so unconditionally. Some 14.3% of the respondents who perceived the communal attitude as being that of approval, and some 4.2% with a perceived attitude of indifference qualified their answers with statements such as: "It will depend on the type of club. For example, there was an anti-Semitic bridge club, and there was hostility towards the Jews in the club. Jewish people would not like to join clubs of this type" (male - perceived attitude of "Approval"); or, "I think this would only apply to professional organisations" (Female, perceived attitude of "Indifference").

The largest proportion of those who perceived the communal attitude to be that of approval thought so because affiliation with non-sectarian associations is seen as an achievement, a status symbol. As some of the respondents state, "Jewish people want to join because it has some social status" (Male, "Approval"); "It gives them social standing, not social acceptability" (Male, "Indifferent"); A further 12.9% have expressed interests prevailing in the community with regard to improved relations with non-Jews, stating that "I think the majority of the Jewish people think it is a good thing and a healthy thing to belong to non-Jewish organisations for the sake of better relations" (Male, "Approval"); "It's a good thing to have close social contacts. It helps for mutual understanding and

TABLE 17: PERCEIVED COMMUNAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS AFFILIATION WITH
ETHNICALLY MIXED ASSOCIATIONS, AND REASONS GIVEN TO
EXPLAIN THE ATTITUDE

The Explanation:	The Perceived Attitude					
	Approval		Disapproval		Indifference	
Affiliation with non-sectarian groups as an achievement and status symbol	20	28.6	-	-	3	4.2
Affiliation because of interest in activity	9	12.9	-	-	7	9.7
Affiliation would improve Jewish-non-Jewish relations	9	12.9	-	-	-	-
Approval/disapproval would depend on the type of club they wished to join	10	14.3	1	3.6	3	4.2
Jews like to be with Jews only - clannish attitude	-	-	9	32.2	17	23.6
Jews don't want to appear clannish	2	2.8	-	-	-	-
Jews feel they are not wanted in non-Jewish organizations	8	11.4	11	39.3	17	23.6
Fear of assimilation and intermarriage	1	1.4	3	10.7	4	5.6
It is not important	3	4.3	-	-	13	18.1
No answer/don't know	8	11.4	14	14.3	8	11.1
TOTAL	170	100.0	28	100.1	72	100.1

tolerance" (Female, "Approval"). However, some 12.8% of those who had an initial perceived attitude of approval, 50.0% of the "Disapproval" and 29.2% of the "Indifferent" have expressed some deep-rooted anxieties that are prevalent within the community. These related mainly to fears of not being accepted and fear of assimilation and intermarriage. As some of the respondents stated, "The Jews who belong to non-Jewish organisations are there as outsiders courteously treated, and that's about it" (Male, "Indifferent"); "Most Jews don't belong to non-Jewish

organizations as they fear they will be rejected" (Male, "Indifferent"); or, "The majority regard themselves as not wanted, a bit uncomfortable and accepted with reservation" (Male, "Disapproval"). These statements reveal similar anxieties to those discussed in the previous chapter and show how fear of non-acceptance or rejection seems to create an attitude of social distance, of a wish to avoid situations in which rejection might be expressed.

Another type of response which is very prevalent amongst those who perceived an atmosphere of disapproval or indifference relates to what can conveniently be grouped under "clannish attitudes", thus 32.2% of the "disapproval" and 23.6% of the "indifferent" expressed such views as: "They feel they are happier in Jewish organisations. It is less complicated. It is folkishness only, not their religious attitude" (Male, "Indifferent"); or "If they have any free time they want to devote it to helping Jewish people" (Female, "Indifferent"); or "I think we are mostly taken up with our things and not interested in non-Jewish organisations" (Male, "Indifferent"). This feeling of wishing to direct most of their activities inwardly, and lack of interest in non-Jewish activities, is expressed by a further 18.1% of the indifferent: "This is not a subject for conversation; no one ever really bothers to talk about it" (Male); and "I don't really think they'd think about it - they'd automatically go to a Jewish organisation" (Female).

Thus, it can be seen that, although a large proportion of the respondents thought that the general atmosphere within the community is favourable towards affiliation with non-sectarian groups and only a small proportion thought it was unfavourable, when

the responses of the group who thought that the communal atmosphere was neither one of approval nor disapproval were examined, the picture was somewhat different. The majority of those who felt there was an atmosphere of indifference within the community, when asked to explain their feeling, did so in terms which were closer to disapproval than to indifference. Also, when the type of explanation is examined, on the whole the impression conveyed is more that of disapproval or qualified approval than that of straightforward approval.

We have also tried to elicit responses on two further questions, somewhat more hypothetical than the former, and those are communal approval-disapproval of non-Jews trying to enter Jewish organisations, and the respondents' personal attitude on the matter. (See questions 96, a, b, c, p.38 on the Jewish Schedule.)

Results presented in Tables 18 and 19 show some interesting trends. Firstly, half of the respondents who were affiliated with formal associations perceived communal atmosphere to be unfavourable towards non-Jews joining Jewish associations, compared with only 17.1% who perceived a similar atmosphere with regard to Jewish participation in non-sectarian associations. Moreover, when the respondents expressed their own personal attitudes, some 56.3% appeared to be in favour of non-Jews entering Jewish organisations, in spite of perceived communal disapproval. When the relationship between the perceived communal attitude and personal attitude was considered, some more subtle trends could be observed. Table 19 clearly shows that most of the respondents tend to conform to what they perceive to be the communal attitude. Thus, only 4.5% of the respondents who disapproved of non-Jews trying to enter Jewish

TABLE 18: ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS 96: "DO YOU THINK THAT THE MEMBERS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY WILL APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF NON-JEWS TRYING TO ENTER JEWISH ORGANISATIONS?";
96b: "HOW ABOUT YOU, PERSONALLY. WOULD YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF NON-JEWS TRYING TO ENTER JEWISH ORGANISATIONS?"

	<u>96</u>		<u>96B</u>	
Approve	56	25.9	121	56.3
Disapprove	109	50.5	46	21.4
Don't care	28	13.0	38	17.7
It doesn't arise	9	4.2	1	1
Suspicious	-	-	7	3.3
D.K.	13	6.3	3	1.4
TOTAL	215	100.1	215	100.1

TABLE 19: PERSONAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS NON-JEWS TRYING TO ENTER JEWISH ORGANISATIONS, BY PERCEIVED COMMUNAL ATTITUDE ON THE SAME TOPIC.*

Perceived Communal Attitude	PERSONAL ATTITUDE									
	Approve		Disapprove		Don't Care		Suspicious		D.K.	
Approve	48	42.1	2	4.5	4	10.5	-	-	-	-
Disapprove	46	40.4	35	79.5	20	52.6	4	57.1	-	-
Don't Care	9	7.9	4	9.1	12	31.6	1	14.2	2	66.6
It doesn't arise	3	2.6	2	4.5	1	2.6	2	28.6	1	33.3
D.K.	8	7.0	1	2.3	1	2.6	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	114	100.0	44	99.9	38	99.9	7	99.9	3	99.9

*There are 9 missing observations from this table due to some punching error.

organisations thought that there was a communal atmosphere of approval, while 79.5% thought that the communal atmosphere was disapproving. Similarly, the ones who said they would be suspicious of non-Jews who tried to enter Jewish organisations perceived an atmosphere of disapproval, or dismissed the whole question by saying that this has not happened so it is a purely hypothetical question. The only ones who seem to deviate somewhat from this pattern are those who personally approve and those who do not care. However, when their explanations are taken into account and the proportion of those who gave qualified explanations is considered, it is seen that actually a large proportion of those who said they approve, or do not care, are nearer to disapproval than to approval.

Tables 20 and 21 show a considerable proportion of the explanations for both perceived and personal attitudes of approval and indifference to be qualified. Thus one respondent started off with a perceived attitude of indifference and finished with a qualified approval and disapproval when he stated: "If there were a dozen Jewish persons on some social committee or such like, and two or three non-Jews joined, it would be O.K. If a dozen non-Jews joined, this would change the balance and they would perhaps disapprove" (Male). Another respondent started off expressing a personal attitude of approval, and ended up not knowing whether he actually approved - "In so far as excluding religious activities, I would approve...but then what about the children, when they want to get married?" (Male).

Thus it seems that, on the one hand, it is easier to say that most of the Jewish community disapprove than to personally express

disapproval. On the other hand, the respondents themselves are somewhat ambivalent about their own feelings. They want to be on good terms with non-Jews, to improve intergroup relations and, hopefully, to lead towards the reduction of anti-Jewish feelings, but they are not prepared to do so at the expense of losing their own identity. It is in this light that we should see the contradicting statements, two of which were cited above.

On the whole, the majority of those who perceived communal attitudes to be favourable, and who themselves expressed a favourable attitude, did so for the sake of better relations with non-Jews or, as one of the respondents explained: "I think more non-Jews should be allowed in to create an atmosphere where cross-fertilisation of ideas and cultures would occur. One of the best ways to stop religious antagonism is to teach more and understand more about the other religions"; or, more briefly, "It's the best way to improve relations".

Amongst those who expressed disapproval either on a communal or personal level, most apparent were the ones who wished to keep Jewish organisations exclusively Jewish, or who thought that other Jews wished it. This was usually expressed in short statements such as "The *raison d'être* of a Jewish organisation is to be Jewish - for Jews"; or yet another male, expressing his own attitude, said "If I could guarantee that in the long term they wouldn't take it over and we would be back to square one - then it would be O.K.". Another salient group were the ones who expressed either communal or personal fear of intermarriage, stating "I feel too much mixing of the various ethnic groups would bring on intermarriage and weaken the Jewish sense of identity"; or, as a female respondent

TABLE 20: REASONS GIVEN FOR PERCEIVED COMMUNAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS

NON-JEWS JOINING JEWISH ORGANISATIONS									
THE PERCEIVED ATTITUDE									
The reasons:	All		Approve		Disapprove		Don't Care		
Approval/Disapproval Would Depend on the organisation or on the person	17	8.8	6	10.7	5	4.6	6	21.4	
Wish to keep Jewish organisations exclusive- or at least a Jewish majority	24	12.4	2	3.6	20	18.4	2	7.2	
Promotes better relations between Jews and non-Jews	26	13.5	21	37.5	1	0.9	4	14.3	
Fear of assimilation and intermarriage	17	8.8	1	1.8	16	14.7	-	-	
Show an example to non-Jews	16	8.3	12	21.4	1	0.9	3	10.7	
Retaliate for discrimination practised against Jews in organisations	13	6.7	-	-	13	11.9	-	-	
Not enough in common - barriers	12	6.2	-	-	12	11.0	-	-	
Clannish attitude	14	7.2	-	-	14	12.8	-	-	
Non-Jews do not want it	10	5.2	2	3.6	5	4.6	3	10.7	
Some organisations have non-Jews	11	5.7	5	8.9	1	0.9	5	17.9	
Jewish arrogance and superiority feelings	6	3.1	-	-	6	5.3	-	-	
Other and D.K.	20	10.4	4	7.1	11	10.1	5	17.9	
No answer	7	3.6	3	5.4	4	3.7	-	-	
TOTAL	193	99.9	56	100.0	109	100.0	28	100.1	

TABLE 21: REASONS GIVEN FOR PERSONAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS NON-JEWS

The reasons:	THE ATTITUDE							
	All	Approve				Disapprove		Don't Care
Only if the non-Jews were sincere	23	11.2	17	14.0	1	2.2	5	13.2
Depends on the type of organisation or person	25	12.2	10	8.3	7	15.2	8	21.1
Wish to keep Jewish organisations exclusive - or at least a Jewish majority	17	8.3	3	2.5	14	30.4	1	1
Better relations, good to mix	68	33.2	61	50.4	1	2.2	6	15.8
Fear of assimilation and intermarriage	11	5.4	1	0.8	10	21.7	-	-
Makes no difference	14	6.8	4	3.3	-	-	10	26.3
The organisation might benefit	12	5.8	10	8.3	-	-	2	5.3
No inhibition in speech when there are only Jewish members	5	2.4	-	-	4	8.7	1	2.6
To show an example to non-Jews	4	1.9	3	2.5	-	-	1	2.6
Other and D.K.	15	7.3	5	4.1	7	15.2	3	7.9
No answer	11	5.4	7	5.8	2	4.4	2	5.3
TOTAL	205	100.1	121	100.0	46	100.0	38	100.1

explained the communal attitude of disapproval, "Tragic fear of intermarriage".

The ones who were indifferent, and the ones who perceived the communal atmosphere to be indifference, on the whole said they did not really care as they were not interested in a person's religion, or they themselves were not religious ("It's the activity, not the religion, that counts"; "I wouldn't mind, religion doesn't bother me one way or the other - it doesn't make any difference"). However, a large proportion said that it would depend on the type of organisation in question. As one of the respondents stated: "It all depends on what organisation you are talking about. I can't see them joining the J.I.A. (Joint Israel Appeal), but I can see them joining the Golf Club" (Male).

One type of attitude which appeared to be common to both those who personally approved and those who were indifferent was an underlying assumption that most non-Jews were hostile towards Jews, which is very apparent in the following quotes: "Whether we like it or not, there is an invisible barrier. I consider myself to be a liberal, incidentally, but I don't think we should kid ourselves. I feel that by all means let's have good relations to the best of our ability, but not to the extent of deluding ourselves into thinking that, in the mind of every non-Jew, the fact that one is Jewish is not always uppermost" (Male) or, more directly: "I don't see why we should keep them out. We should let them join and show them we don't have horns!" ('don't care', male). These statements, coupled with a fear of "what would happen if non-Jews gained control over Jewish organisations..." seem to suggest a basic attitude of mistrust, and a suspicion that most non-Jews are basically potential

anti-Semites. This basic attitude was expressed directly by one of the Jewish female respondents, stating: "They (the Jews) feel non-Jews are anti-Semitic" (disapproval), and by another Jewish male respondent who stated: "I think anyone who is not Jewish is deep down a bit anti-Jew, no matter what they appear on the surface, in the same way as a Protestant is anti-Catholic".

On the whole, attitudes expressed with regard to non-Jews entering Jewish organisations brought up some deep-rooted fears and anxieties which are found amongst the Jewish respondents and, although basically a large proportion of the affiliated respondents seem to value integration and improved intergroup relations very highly, these deep-rooted fears seem to interfere and the result is a feeling of ambivalence. Similar responses were found in discussing the attitudes towards more mixing between Jews and non-Jews and integration.⁽¹⁾ This feeling of a wish to be accepted by non-Jews and to integrate, but not to the extent of losing their own identity as Jews, is widespread amongst the Jewish respondents, and is best described by one of the Jewish men as a "basic survival need", as he stated: "There is a basic survival need which may or may not be correct, but does exist in Jews. A fear of losing their identity as a race within a non-sectarian group".

With such ambivalent feelings, it is not surprising to find that affiliation with ethnically mixed associations is confined to special interest groups. It is usually Jews who are very interested in a certain type of activity, or who are pursuing

1. See discussion in Chapter 4.

business and professional interests, who join non-sectarian associations. This is clear from the high proportion of these respondents who were active in the non-sectarian associations that they have joined. Only 15, or 16.3% of those who were affiliated with ethnically mixed associations did not attend any of the meetings or functions organised by their associations. These held membership in some 6 cultural, 6 sports clubs, 5 professional associations and 4 others. On the other hand, some 17 of the Jewish respondents were very active in these mixed associations, 32 (34.8% of N=92) attended most of the meetings and 28 (30.4% of N=92) attended some of the meetings. The parallel figures amongst the non-Jewish respondents were 22.4% of nominal members (11 of N=49); 22.4% of highly active members (11 of N=49); 42.9% (21 of N=49) regular attenders and 12.2% (6 of N=49) who attend only some of the meetings. These figures show that most of the respondents who were affiliated with ethnically mixed associations frequented the club or organisation quite regularly and, as such, it is valid to speak of intergroup contact and to examine the type of relations that exist within these associations.

(2) Intergroup Relations in Ethnically Mixed Associations

Respondents who were affiliated with only one mixed association were asked to state how friendly their relations with members of the "other group" in the association were. Those who were affiliated with more than one mixed association were asked to state the association in which they experienced the greatest friendliness in their contact with members of the "other group". Results presented in Table 22 show that, for the most part, these contacts seem pleasant and comfortable. The majority of the respondents tended to rank their relationships with members of the "other group" as "close" or "friendly".

TABLE 22: THE NATURE OF CONTACTS BETWEEN JEWS AND NON-JEWS IN

MIXED ASSOCIATIONS, BY SEX

	All Jewish Respondents in Mixed Associations		JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
			Male		Female	
Friendly	68	73.9	50	84.7	18	54.5
Superficial and no contact	19	20.6	7	11.9	12	36.4
No answer and don't know	5	5.4	2	3.4	3	9.1
TOTAL	92	99.9	59	100.0	33	100.0
	All Non-Jewish Respondents in Mixed Associations		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
			Male		Female	
Friendly	28	57.1	23	60.5	5	45.5
Superficial and no contact	17	34.7	11	29.0	6	54.5
None of the associations particularly friendly	4	8.2	4	10.5	-	-
TOTAL	49	100.0	38	100.0	11	100.0

The figures also show that not only is there a higher rate of affiliation with ethnically mixed associations amongst the men, but that when they are affiliated they also report friendly relations to a somewhat greater extent than the women.

An examination of the type of associations in which superficial or no contact was reported does not show a clear pattern, although in most cases these appeared to be in the sports clubs and some of the special hobby clubs. 6 of the non-Jewish, 1 of the Jewish men and a

further 3 of the non-Jewish and 4 of the Jewish women reported no contact in a sports club. However, amongst the women, reference was mainly made to a Yoga Club, at which team work is not needed. Thus one of the non-Jewish women reported: "We don't really get friendly as you don't go there to talk". In other cases, when team work is required, this seems to be carried on with members of one's own group, as a Jewish woman reported: "I go with Jewish girls, we play tennis, and then we leave". Another type of association which does not seem to promote contact is that in which members attend a lecture, see a film or listen to a concert. Respondents usually did not develop contacts in associations of this type. Thus one of the women reported: "We are very cordial, 'good morning', etc. We are all busy people, we come in, listen to the talk, and rush away like in a modern comedy"; or as one of the Jewish men stated: "There is no close contact there. The main function of the organisation is to show unusual and award-winning films and time is taken up by films". Furthermore, one of the Jewish respondents, a member of the Association for Christians and Jews, reported: "There is no real personal contact. We just attend the meeting". Even when tea is served at the 15 minutes break between the talk and the questions period in this latter association, Jews cluster together and so do non-Jews.

Of the smaller hobby groups, the flower arranging club seems to be the most divided ethnically, as one of the non-Jewish women reported: "When they come they (Jewish women) seem to keep to themselves. I have never spoken to any of the Jews in the flower arranging group". Thus, when Jewish women join or attend an

ethnically mixed club two features arise. Firstly, they tend to join as a group, i.e. they do not join it alone, but rather with at least one other Jewish friend (this is illustrated by the statement made by the woman who goes to play tennis with other Jewish friends and it is backed by observations in the area), and secondly they tend to stay together as a group. Thus, it is quite possible to be active in these associations through participating in the activities organised within them, without having any contact with members of the "other group".

When the type of associations within which the respondents reported on friendly intergroup relations is considered, results presented in Table 23 show that most of these are of the "expressive" rather than the "instrumental"⁽¹⁾ type, except for the Jewish men, 56.0% of whom stated that they have experienced the greatest friendliness in an instrumental type of group, mainly a professional association.

1. This sort of classification was used by Rose, 1956, Chapter 10; Gordon and Babchuk 1959, pp.22-29; and Boskoff 1970, pp.172-190 (Ch.10). Gordon and Babchuk defined the expressive groups as performing "a function for the individual participants through activities confined and self-contained within the organisation itself... they provide the opportunity for carrying on activities such as recreation of direct interest to the participant, and help to provide satisfaction of personal fellowship" (p.27). Boskoff adds that in these associations "members merely desire to exchange ideas and experiences in some limited field of interest" (p.173). The examples he gives are garden clubs, literary societies, hobby groups, fraternal lodges, etc. The instrumental groups were defined by Gordon & Babchuk as "Groups which exist in order to attain goals that lie outside of the organisations themselves" in that they "seek to maintain a condition or to bring about change which transcends its immediate membership" (p.25). The examples Boskoff mentions are political groups, welfare, medicine, industry, agriculture, etc.

TABLE 23: THE ORGANISATION WITHIN WHICH RESPONDENTS HAVE EXPERIENCED
FRIENDLY INTERGROUP RELATIONS, BY SEX

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Expressive Groups:				
Special hobby and cultural associations	8	7	1	2
Educational	1	4	-	1
Social	1	2	1	1
Bridge	4	1	-	-
Masonic	3	-	1	-
Sports	5	1	11	1
Instrumental Groups:				
Charitable & Welfare	5	1	-	-
Professional and Trade Associations	21	-	7	-
Political	2	-	1	-
Other Instrumental	-	2	1	-
TOTALS	50	18	23	5

These findings conform to those reported by Boskoff. Alvin Boskoff found sociability to be the prime feature of the "expressive" groups, even when these groups involve specific activities, and concluded that "it probably indicates that expressive associations are essentially supplements to one's stock of primary experiences" (1970, p.174). Ringer, in studying relations between Jews and non-Jews, found that Boskoff's hypothesis did not apply to intergroup situations. He found that it was rather in associations of the instrumental type that friendly relations between Jews and non-Jews developed (1967,

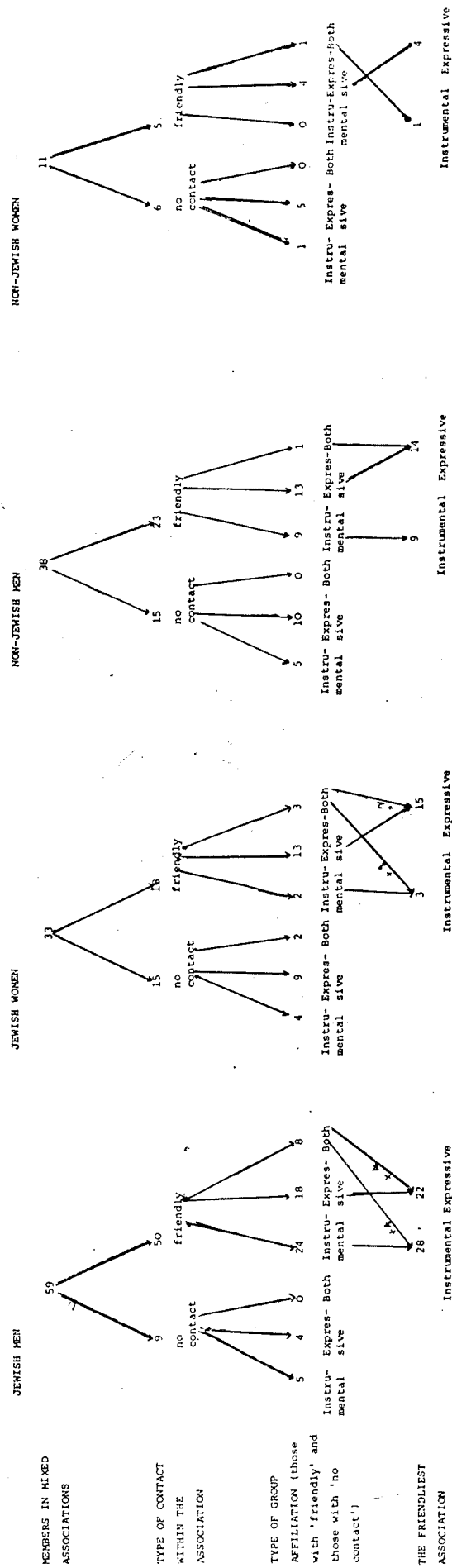
pp.202-203). John P. Dean, on the other hand, found that in Elmira friendly relations between Jews and non-Jews were equally likely to occur in both fraternal associations and those of the "civic, charitable or business nature" (1958, p.311).

On a closer examination of the data obtained for the Newton Mearns respondents, the findings were to a large extent due to the type of associations with which the respondents were affiliated rather than to some inherent feature or function of the association. Chart I shows this very clearly. Firstly, it is shown that the Jewish men were affiliated mainly with the Instrumental type of association, whereas the Jewish women and the non-Jewish respondents were affiliated mainly with the Expressive type of mixed associations. Secondly, it also demonstrates that proportionately there was no great difference in the friendliness experienced in either of these two types of associations. Thus, of the 29 Jewish men who were affiliated with Instrumental associations, 17.2% (5) said they had no contact with non-Jews and 82.8% (24 of N=29) experienced friendly relations. In a similar way, of the 22 Jewish men affiliated with expressive associations, 18.1% (4) said they had no contact with non-Jews whereas 81.9% experienced friendliness in their associations. A similar position exists amongst the women and the non-Jewish respondents.

Thus it seems that, if type of membership group is taken into account, friendly organisational contacts between Jews and non-Jews are likely to occur in both types of associations and, to that extent, the findings in Newton Mearns are nearer to those reported by Dean rather than Boskoff or Ringer.

Further evidence is obtained from an examination of the

CHART 1: TYPE OF MIXED MEMBERSHIP GROUP AFFILIATION AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITHIN THE ASSOCIATION - JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS



respondents' accounts, presented in Table 24. It is clear that respondents do not see the type of association to be a very important factor in the type of relations that develop between Jews and non-Jews. Only some 10.2% of the Jewish respondents and 7.1% of the non-Jewish respondents attributed the friendliness they experienced within the association to some factor inherent within the organisation, which could remotely be connected to Expressive-versus-Instrumental type of association and, even here, five of the seven Jewish respondents were referring to the friendly nature of the Instrumental association and two to the Expressive association. Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, both referred to Expressive associations. All the other explanations with, perhaps, the exception of the three Jewish respondents and one non-Jewish respondent who referred to the "nature of activity" as important in promoting friendly relations, could hardly be said to characterise the one rather than the other type of association. Rather, most of them are related to factors which can appear in both types of associations and are hardly related to the functions carried out within the association.

While the sharing of interests, as noted earlier, is important for any friendly relations to develop, not only those between Jews and non-Jews, the type of shared interest that promoted friendliness was mostly business or professional amongst the men, and special hobby interests amongst the women. Statements such as "We are all businessmen and have a lot in common, and this brings to a very friendly atmosphere" (Jewish male in a Professional association); "We have a common interest. We are all intelligent people doing the same stuff and having different backgrounds" (Jewish male in a Professional association); or "Because we all like the same thing.

TABLE 24: SUBJECTIVE ACCOUNTS FOR THE FRIENDLINESS EXPERIENCED
 WITHIN THE MIXED ASSOCIATIONS, JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH
 RESPONDENTS, BY SEX

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS						NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS					
	All Jewish Respondents		Male		Female		All non-Jewish Respondents		Male		Female	
Comes in contact with more members of the "other group" in this association	6	8.8	6	12.0	-	-	7	25.0	7	30.4	-	-
Common interest	20	29.9	15	30.0	5	27.7	12	42.8	9	39.1	3	60.0
No religious bias	10	14.7	7	14.0	3	16.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nature of the association	7	10.2	7	14.0	-	-	2	7.1	1	4.3	1	20.0
Personal involvement in the association	6	8.8	4	8.0	2	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Known the members for years	4	5.8	4	8.0	-	-	1	3.6	1	4.3	-	-
Nature of activity	3	4.4	2	4.0	1	5.5	1	3.6	-	-	1	20.0
Mutual respect	2	2.9	-	-	2	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
No explanation offered and D.K.	7	10.2	3	6.0	4	22.2	5	17.8	5	21.7	-	-
A question of personality	3	4.4	2	4.0	1	5.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	68	100.1	50	100.0	18	99.7	28	99.9	23	99.8	5	100.0

It creates a bond between people if they like the same thing" (Jewish female, affiliated with a hobby association). In short, the occupational or hobby interests which are shared within these associations provide a basis for more personal relations and thus the instrumental groups, more often than not, create an atmosphere within which easy and comfortable relations between Jews and non-Jews are possible. Furthermore, although the main function of these associations is defined as "instrumental", they do provide the opportunity for self-expression and for the satisfaction of private interests.

The second most frequent explanation amongst the Jewish respondents relates to the fact that their friendliest association has no religious bias. Statements such as "It is one of those organisations where religion doesn't mean anything. We are all as one. There is no anti-Semitism at all" (Jewish female member of a social club), or "You get into all sorts of discussions and religion doesn't come into it. Most people in the --- club are not interested in religion" (Jewish male, member of a political club) illustrate this. Thus it seems that group differences and issues which tend to separate Jews and non-Jews in the community at large are kept out of both Expressive and Instrumental associations and do not interfere with the activities performed within the association. This in itself, according to some 14.7% of the Jewish respondents, is enough to increase and promote friendly relations. Furthermore, the fact that some of the non-Jewish respondents mentioned this points to the hypersensitivity of the Jewish respondents and to the importance of this factor.

We have already mentioned the third factor of the "nature of

association". This type of explanation was used to explain friendliness in both the Expressive and Instrumental groups, as is apparent in the following statements: "It has far more social atmosphere than the other organisations; it's for local government" (Jewish male, member of a political club); "The --- is friendly and personal. The art club is somewhat less personal" (non-Jewish female, member of a social club).

The availability of persons of the "other group" within the associations apparently seems to be more important to men than to women. Proportionately it is also more important to the non-Jewish than to the Jewish men.

This factor is of particular importance since, in a large number of cases, availability decides accessibility. Thus, a few of the non-Jewish respondents attributed their experience of friendliness to the fact that "Perhaps because I come into contact with more of them" (non-Jewish male, Rugby Club, estimated 5% of Jewish membership); "Because there are no Jewish members in the other clubs" (Non-Jewish male, Boxing Club, estimated 20% of Jewish membership); or "There are more of them, and this club is a small friendly place" (Non-Jewish male, Bowling Club, estimated 10% Jewish membership).

However, it is not only the physical presence of members of the other group, but also the actual proportions that are of some importance. Thus, if the proportion of Jewish membership is very low, every Jewish member will have higher opportunities to contact the non-Jewish members than if the proportion of Jewish membership was higher, since this would enable the formation of a separate clique. For the non-Jewish respondents, however, the reverse is

true. Too low a proportion of Jewish membership would create very few opportunities, whereas a larger proportion would increase their opportunities. This is somewhat paradoxical since, if the proportion of Jewish membership is large enough to provide more contacts for the non-Jews, it is quite conceivable that it is large enough to enable clique formation, in which case the amount of contact opportunities for the non-Jewish members is not increased at all. A hint to the effect that some of the non-Jewish respondents are aware of this comes from a male respondent who is affiliated with two associations which have some Jewish membership - a sports club with a low proportion of Jews (about 5%), and a sports/social club with "a lot" of Jews (in his terms). He found his friendliest contacts within the association which had a lower proportion of Jews and stated that relations were friendly because "there are quite a few of them but not too many of them there".

With no outside relevant information on the proportion of Jewish membership in formal associations, this question cannot be explored any further. The information obtained from the respondents can only be a subjective estimate and most probably reflects the saliency that Jewish membership in a particular association has for the respondents.

Tabulation of the results presented in the Appendix (Table 47) seems to substantiate the claim made by the non-Jewish respondents. Most of the Jewish respondents who reported friendly relations estimated the proportion of Jewish membership at being under 5%, whereas most of the non-Jewish respondents estimate the proportion of Jews in the associations in which they have experienced friendly relations at being between 5%-10%. However, most of the respondents'

estimates were within this range and, as such, no valid claim can be made about these findings without further support of outside information, which is not available at present.

Two other types of statement are of importance, although mentioned only by some of the respondents. The first relates to the level of activity within the association and the second to the time span of the acquaintance. The position of the first group is summarised well by one of the respondents who stated: "The fact that I was chairman and undertook a major job brought me into the circle. Involvement brings participation" (Jewish male, chairman of a professional association). Thus it is not surprising to see that those who are active on boards find the association friendly and rewarding. Even when activity was confined only to participation in a council or a committee, satisfaction was high. As one of the Jewish respondents comments: "They got to know me. They say I am modest and voted me into the Council" (Jewish male, professional association).

The second explanation related the friendliness experienced within the association to their long standing affiliation, and stated that other activities followed these acquaintances. Thus, one of them reported: "If you play in a club you can meet the same people and over the years you become friendly. We meet at bridge and spend weekends together" (Jewish male). This type of experience was mentioned by another Jewish man and it seems that, in some cases, sharing other interests is both a result of and strengthens the feeling of friendliness within the association. A further three men reported an opposite process. They stated that members of the "other group" who were affiliated with the association were

part of their other role-sets, and thus not only does friendliness originate outwith the association, it is also sustained by these outside contacts. Thus we come across statements such as "The people I meet within the organisation are people I meet professionally. I have known many of them since my student day" (Jewish male, member of a professional association); or "I know them through my profession - hence I know them better and there is a better social informal atmosphere in this club" (non-Jewish male, member of a professional association).

The term "Friendly", however, is used by the respondents very loosely to refer to pleasant, casual relations rather than to more intimate meaningful relations. Within the associations, relations are courteous but very much task-bound and relate to a friendly way of performing the activity rather than to a deeper personal involvement. This is very clear from the type of statements made by respondents who reported being involved in "friendly" intergroup relations. Some of these produced here show that most of the respondents, also, do not expect relations to develop beyond the scope of the activity performed within the association. Thus, statements like the following are very common amongst the respondents: "Relations stay very much on the acquaintance level. One doesn't really get too friendly with them, in the same way as one doesn't really get to know people all that well at work" (Jewish male, member of a professional group); "There is not too much contact, but quite friendly at meetings and dinners" (non-Jewish male, professional association); or "Quite friendly, we only see them at concerts" (Jewish female, member of SNO Club). The only cases where relations extend to a deeper personal level are in those

associations where the respondents are highly active and where there is either an overlap of role-sets or a long standing affiliation which helps to transfer the relationship from an acquaintanceship to a friendship.

Indeed, only 10 of the Jewish and none of the non-Jewish respondents who had a close friend, member of the "other group", reported meeting their friend in an association. These were 6 Jewish men and 4 women. 4 of these met their friend through an association with which they were affiliated in the past. A further 5 met their closest intergroup friend through a cultural or special hobby club, and one of the women met her closest friend through her sick-visiting activities for a Jewish organisation.

Formal associations, as a rule, do not seem to promote friendships in general, and not only friendships of the intergroup type. Only some 11.6% of the Jewish (22 of N=190) and 8.2% of the non-Jewish respondents (11 of N=134) who had an in group friend reported meeting this friend in an association. Thus, amongst the Newton Mearns respondents, formal associations seem to promote only limited friendliness, and cannot be seen as a main source for friendship, whether of the in group or of the inter-group type.

C. Summary

Having presented the findings, we can now discuss the main trends and evaluate them in the light of former research. Unfortunately there are not many studies of the British middle class with which the findings can be compared. Of those studies that have been published, comparisons are further limited due to the differences in research techniques. Bearing these considera-

tions in mind, we have seen that, as far as leisure interests are concerned, the respondents conform with the accepted notions of middle class patterns.

Thus findings seem to conform, also, to the image of the middle class suburban "joiner". The proportion of the respondents who were affiliated with a formal association is usually higher than those found in various other studies.⁽¹⁾ A similar conclusion is reached from a comparison of the findings for the Jewish respondents with the results for the Edgware study. Only 54.0% of the latter (Krausz 1965, p.158) were affiliated with formal associations, compared with 76.8% of the Newton Mearns Jewish respondents.

Also, a larger proportion of the Jewish, compared with the non-Jewish respondents were affiliated with ethnically mixed formal associations. This proportion was also higher than that reported by Krausz for the Edgware Jewish respondents (19.0%).⁽²⁾ However, most of those who were affiliated with these associations attended the meetings fairly regularly. Very few were found to be nominal members.

Attitudes towards such affiliation brought up issues discussed in Chapter 4. Similar to H.M.Brotz (1951, p.234 and 1955 pp.165-185)

1. Some 76.8% of the Jewish and 65.6% of the non-Jewish respondents were affiliated with formal associations. Compare these with 60.0% of the white collar workers reported by Goldthorpe & Lockwood to be affiliated with such associations (1969, p.9); 52.0% in Woodford (Willmott & Young 1971, p.82); 45.0% in South Wales (Rosser & Harris 1965; p.107; and 43.0% in the Nottingham & Bristol suburbs (Thorns 1972, p.135).

2. E.Krausz 1965, p.158. His figures, however, referred to organisations and clubs in the district and no figures are given as to affiliation with associations outside the district, if at all, whereas the Newton Mearns respondents were affiliated with associations within the general nearest district, but outside of Mearns, which does not have any formal associations.

and Benjamin Ringer (1967 pp.134; 137), we find that a large proportion of the Jewish respondents value integration on the secondary group level. But like Brotz's respondents (1951, pp. 234; 238-240) they do not wish to lose their distinctive culture and identity. The idea of integration comes under further attack from those who revealed deep-rooted fears of rejection by non-Jews.

It is, however, perceived communal attitudes which have great influence upon one's attitudes, and thus serve as a controlling agency to keep the Jewish group intact. It is particularly obvious in the case of perceived communal attitudes towards joining non-sectarian associations. As we saw, there was a relationship between the above attitude and whether or not the respondent is affiliated with non-sectarian associations. More specifically, those who were affiliated exclusively with Jewish organisations, the female respondents in particular, tended to perceive the communal attitude towards affiliation with non-sectarian associations as being unfavourable or undecided to a greater extent than was the case amongst those who were affiliated with ethnically mixed associations.

Affiliation with a mixed membership association, however, does not, in a considerable proportion of the cases, mean that interaction between Jews and non-Jews was established. Even in associations which required cooperation and team work, this was mainly done within small ethnically segregated cliques. Even in the Association for Christians and Jews, which is deliberately aiming at bringing about such cooperation, interaction was very limited. In many cases cordial and polite relations developed, but no attempt was made at bridging group differences or establish-

ing closer relationships which could extend beyond the organisational scope.

In other words, it is hard to speak of a special atmosphere, which might be conducive to friendship formation in these associations. In most of the cases, respondents would perform their "duties" if it is a charitable association, or watch the movie, listen to the talk or demonstration in a cultural association and perhaps have tea "together but separately" where tea is served, and then go back home to their familial and close ingroup ties. The impact of these associations on the sociability and friendship patterns amongst the respondents was found to be negligible.

CHAPTER 6: WORK, THE NEIGHBOURHOOD AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

The importance of the work and neighbourhood environments in providing social contacts for the individual member of society is acknowledged by most sociologists. There is also some agreement as to the relative importance of each of these spheres as a source for friendship contacts amongst the members of the English middle class. It seems that a large number of sociologists are agreed on the point that the work situation is more important as a source for friends, particularly amongst the men who engage in professional relations during the day and entertain clients and other business contacts in the evening. (Willmott and Young 1971, pp.89-97, 108-112). Margaret Stacey found that, although the neighbourhood was 'female dominated' during the day, middle class women found their closest friends either in the traditional Banbury set or through their husbands' colleagues. (Stacey 1960, p.114). Goldthorpe & Lockwood found that white collar couples drew more heavily on friends made through work than on kinsmen or neighbours (1969, p.90), and Elizabeth Bott found that, among the professionals, one of the factors contributing to loose-knit networks was the tendency to establish friendly relationships with colleagues and others who did not form a part of the neighbourhood network (1971, p.105). On the other hand, Pickett and Boulton found that in Maghull "friendship grew from daily contact with people, whether this contact was with neighbours, workmates, or with other mothers taking their children to school" (1974, p.108). All these findings, however, related to the middle class, unstratified by ethnicity. It is very interesting to see whether the introduction of an ethnic group into the neighbourhood,

coupled with the characteristic of 'spiralism' amongst some of the non-Jewish respondents, produces any changes in the above-described patterns.

The Newton Mearns residents, motivated and conditioned by economic needs and occupational requirements, participate in a complex economic system. They are involved in a web of status and role-sets over which they most often have no real control. Who one's employers or employees are is quite often determined by the position of the market at a given time, i.e. the availability of posts. Similarly, as Mogey (1956, p.94) stresses, quite often chance determines who one's neighbours are and although the choice of the wider area of residence is given to the individual, the actual placement of his house is more conditioned by what is available on the market than by ethnic preference, although this might possibly be taken into account. However, we have seen that the Jewish respondents tended to live in houses with a somewhat higher rateable value than the non-Jewish respondents.⁽¹⁾ This suggests that they would be somewhat more concentrated in streets with bigger houses. Thus, while it is the case that the size of the house would be a more important consideration than who one's neighbours are, this in effect might lead to a higher ethnic concentration in some streets and affect the opportunities for contact across ethnic lines.

That work and neighbourhood are important sources of friendly contacts across ethnic lines is evident from the data gathered in

1. See Chapter 2, pages 51-53

Newton Mearns. Some 47.3% (89)⁽¹⁾ of the non-Jewish respondents have pointed to the neighbourhood and some 20.2% (38) to the work situation as the settings within which they have the greatest opportunity to come into friendly contact with Jews. Amongst the Jewish respondents the parallel figures were 18.7% (51)⁽²⁾ for neighbourhood and 49.1% (134) for work. This means that, as far as intergroup relations are concerned, work and neighbourhood assume varying degrees of importance according to group membership, somewhat mediated by the size of the minority group. In the case of the Jewish respondents, the easy availability of non-Jews in various spheres makes for a pattern very close to that revealed amongst the English middle classes. On the other hand, for the non-Jews, given the size of the Jewish group and the concentration in a few trading occupations, the largest pool of potential Jewish contacts exists in the neighbourhood and, accordingly, for them the neighbourhood assumes some special significance as far as intergroup relations are concerned.

Having assessed the relative importance of the neighbourhood and work spheres in providing friendly intergroup contacts, we can now proceed to a closer examination of the setting and social relations within these two spheres.

A. THE WORK SITUATION

(1) The Occupational Environment

The organisation of work brings most Newton Mearns working

1. Of N=188. 33 respondents reported no opportunity for intergroup contact.

2. Of N=273. 7 reported no opportunity for contact.

residents in contact with other people who do not live in the area, and with members of various other groups. The latter is somewhat more representative of the position of the Jewish respondents vis-a-vis non-Jews than of the position of non-Jewish respondents vis-a-vis Jews. This is mainly due to the fact that, by working in and around Glasgow where Jews comprise a much smaller proportion of the working population than they do in Newton Mearns, the possibility of intergroup contact is somewhat lower for the non-Jews when compared with the Jewish respondents.

The above point is borne out by the results presented in Table 1. Disregarding those who did not know the composition of their work environment, some 33.8% of the non-Jewish respondents for whom information was available reported no contact with Jews at work, while none of the Jewish respondents reported having no contact with non-Jews at work.

Table 1 also shows that the work environment seems to reflect the size of the Jewish group rather than ethnocentric tendencies. Both Jews and non-Jews, regardless of sex, work in predominantly non-Jewish environments. Very few of the Jewish respondents work mainly with Jews, and none of the non-Jewish respondents work in an environment where over half of the persons are Jewish. This tendency surpasses occupational differences (see Tables 48 and 49 in the Appendix); within each occupational group most of the respondents, both Jewish and non-Jewish, work in environments which are predominantly non-Jewish. Thus it seems that, regardless of sex, occupation or whether the respondents were employed or self-employed, the ethnic composition of the work environment is determined by factors other than ethnic preference.

TABLE 1: ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF WORK ENVIRONMENT, BY SEX

(RESPONDENTS WHO ARE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE)

JEWISH RESPONDENTS						
Ethnic Composition of Work Environment	All Economically Active Jewish Respondents		Econ.Active Jewish Male Respondents		Econ.Active Jewish Female Respondents	
All or most are non-Jewish	174	91.1	122	91.7	52	89.7
Half are non- Jewish	11	5.8	8	6.0	3	5.2
Only some are non-Jewish	6	3.1	3	2.3	3	5.2
D.K. and N.A.	11	-	5	-	6	-
TOTAL	202	100.0	133	100.0	58	100.1
NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS						
Ethnic Composition of Work Environment	All Economically Active Non-Jewish Respondents		Econ.Active non-Jewish Male Respondents		Econ.Active non-Jewish Female Respondents	
Half are Jewish	5	3.7	2	1.8	3	11.1
Only some are Jewish	85	62.5	70	64.2	15	55.6
None are Jewish	46	33.8	37	33.9	9	33.3
D.K. & N.A.	19	-	11	-	8	-
TOTAL	155		120		35	
Adjusted Totals	136	100.0	109	100.0	27	100.0

This impression is further supported by the findings related to who one's employers or employees are. Of the 153 self-employed Jewish respondents, some 129 had employees. Of these, none reported having predominantly Jewish employees, 4 reported a mixed environment and 125 reported having mostly non-Jewish employees. Amongst the self-employed non-Jewish respondents, of the 37 in this category only 28 had employees, and of these only 2 had some Jewish employees. Further probed, most of the Jewish and all the non-Jewish self-employed respondents stated that the ethnic composition of their body of employees was not related to any personal preferences. Only 14 of the Jewish self-employed respondents reported that they preferred non-Jewish employees, and therefore the ethnic composition of their body of employees was a direct result of their own choice. Amongst the salaried respondents, 8 of the non-Jews (68% of N=117) worked for a Jewish employer, while some 24 of the Jewish respondents (47.1% of N=51) worked for a non-Jewish employer. When further probed, again none of the non-Jewish respondents attributed their work for a Jewish or non-Jewish employer to their own personal preference, and only one of the Jewish respondents working for a Jewish employer attributed this to some personal preference.

On the whole, then, it seems that who one's employers or employees are is, to a large extent, determined by the position of the market and tends to reflect the small size and the special concentration of the Jewish group in a number of trades and occupations rather than any ethnic preferences. These figures show very clearly that there is a lack of salience in the employment sphere of any ethnic considerations as regards Jews and non-Jews.

Thus, the chief considerations of the self-employed respondents are task bound and relate to the economics of running a business or a firm rather than ethnic considerations. In a similar way, for the salaried respondents factors other than ethnicity seem to be operative in the choice of a post.

(2) The Context of Intergroup Contact

Throughout their working day, respondents come into contact across ethnic lines in various contexts, within which they occupy different positions vis-a-vis members of the "other group". Thus, for example, a Jewish solicitor who was in business on his own reported being in contact with his non-Jewish employees, clients and other solicitors from neighbouring offices, as well as colleagues he meets in court. In a similar way a non-Jewish respondent, self-employed director of a linen hire company, reported contact with Jewish customers and other Jewish business men who sell him various linen products. Another non-Jewish respondent, a solicitor in partnership with a non-Jewish colleague, reported being in contact with some Jewish solicitors as well as having Jewish customers, whereas a Jewish antique company director reported having contact with his non-Jewish staff, buyers, sellers and overseas contacts. Thus, in one context, respondents will come into contact across ethnic lines in what is usually termed as "hierarchical" relations, in others as professional peers, and yet in others in exchange, or "market" relations (Weber 1947, pp.181-182).

With most of the Jewish respondents involved in business on their own, it is not surprising to see that both Jews and non-Jews are found most frequently in contact through the exchange of goods and services. This, as can be seen from Tables 3 and 4, was most marked amongst the self-employed respondents of the managerial and third

TABLE 2: THE CONTEXT WITHIN WHICH JEWS AND NON-JEWS COME MOST
FREQUENTLY IN CONTACT WITH MEMBERS OF THE "OTHER GROUP"
AT WORK, BY SEX

	Jewish Respondents in contact with non-Jews at Work (1)				Non-Jewish Respondents in contact with (1) Jews at Work			
Market	75	39.5			40	44.4		
Hierarchical	60	31.6			5	5.6		
Peer	16	8.4			22	24.4		
Hierarchical and Peer	2	1.1			-	-		
Hierarchical and Market	11	5.8			1	1.1		
Peer and Market	-	-			5	5.6		
All the same and other	26	13.7			17	18.9		
TOTAL	190 ⁽²⁾	100.1			90	100.0		
	<u>SEX</u>							
	Jewish		Jewish		Non-		Non-	
	Male		Female		Jewish		Jewish	
					Male		Female	
Market	53	40.2	22	37.9	35	48.6	5	27.8
Hierarchical	44	33.3	16	27.6	4	5.6	1	5.6
Peer	9	6.8	7	12.1	17	23.6	5	27.8
Hierarchical and Peer	2	1.5	-	-	1	1.4	-	-
Hierarchical and Market	8	6.1	3	5.2	-	-	-	-
Peer and Market	-	-	-	-	5	6.9	-	-
All the same and other	16	12.2	10	17.2	10	13.9	7	38.9
TOTAL	132	100.1	58	100.0	12	100.0	18	100.1

1. Excluding retired respondents

2. There is one missing observation in this Table

TABLE 3: THE CONTEXTS WITHIN WHICH JEWS AND NON-JEWS INTERACT MOST
FREQUENTLY AT WORK, BY OCCUPATION AND SELF EMPLOYMENT -
JEWISH RESPONDENTS ONLY

The Context	EMPLOYED					
	Employers & Managers		Professional Occupations		The Rest	
Market	2	14.3	1	6.7	9	47.4
Hierarchical	10	71.4	2	13.3	2	10.5
Peer	1	7.1	5	33.3	3	15.8
Hierarchical & Peer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hierarchical & Market	1	7.1	-	-	-	-
Peer & Market	-	-	-	-	-	-
All the same & other	-	-	7	46.7	5	26.3
TOTAL	14	99.9	15	100.0	19	100.0
THE SELF EMPLOYED						
Market	39	43.8	6	28.6	18	56.3
Hierarchical	34	38.2	3	14.3	9	28.1
Peer	2	2.2	3	14.3	2	6.3
Hierarchical & Peer	2	2.2	-	-	-	-
Hierarchical & Market	7	7.9	3	14.3	-	-
Peer & Market	-	-	-	-	-	-
All the same & other	5	5.6	6	28.6	3	9.4
TOTAL	89	99.9	21	100.1	32 ⁽¹⁾	100.0

1. One missing answer

TABLE 4: THE CONTEXT WITHIN WHICH JEWS AND NON-JEWS INTERACT MOST
FREQUENTLY AT WORK, BY OCCUPATION AND SELF EMPLOYMENT -
NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS ONLY

The Context	THE EMPLOYED					
	Employers & Managers		Professional Occupations		The Rest	
Market	11	44.0	7	26.9	8	61.5
Hierarchical	4	16.0	-	-	1	7.7
Peer	8	32.0	5	19.2	3	23.1
Hierarchical & Peer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hierarchical & Market	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peer & Market	-	-	2	7.7	-	-
All the same & other	2	8.0	12	46.2	1	7.7
TOTALS	25	100.0	26	100.0	13	100.0

THE SELF EMPLOYED						
Market	8	61.5	2	25.0	4	100.0
Hierarchical	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peer	2	15.4	4	50.0	-	-
Hierarchical & Peer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hierarchical & Market	1	7.7	-	-	-	-
Peer & Market	2	15.4	1	12.5	-	-
All the same & other	-	-	1	12.5	-	-
TOTALS	13	100.0	8	100.0	4	100.0

occupational group. Amongst the respondents who were employed by someone else, it is mostly respondents of the third occupational group - salesmen and women - who are found in market relations with members of the "other group".

Thus, within this context, the contacts are usually between a Jew and a non-Jew in managerial positions, or between a manufacturer and his suppliers and clients. This category also includes the transactions made between a salesman in the shop and a customer buying goods for consumption, and the exchange of professional services.

It is clear that a large variety of market positions and market situations within which the respondents are involved in intergroup contact exist. However, due to the nature of the occupational structure and industrial distribution of the respondents, most of these transactions are made at some 'intermediary' stage of production (Moore 1970, p.64), particularly amongst the Jews, who are more involved in the manufacturing industries than the non-Jews. Furthermore, although a larger proportion of the Jewish respondents are involved in the distributive trades as owners of shops and warehouses, this in most of the cases does not entail a personal involvement in transactions at the shop level.

The type of contacts that exist between a doctor and his patients or a lawyer and his clients are clearly different in nature from those that exist between sales representatives of two different companies bound together by a sales contract or negotiating a sales agreement. In most cases, the former type of contact is very much context bound and lacks the competitive nature of a

business transaction. They were, however, classified under "market relations" following Ringer (1967, pp.189-191) simply because they do involve the exchange of a professional skill on the market (Weber 1943, p.182; Moore 1970, p.87). Furthermore, as was reported by one of the non-Jewish respondents, law practice was conducted very much along the lines of market relations. He told the interviewer of an incident when he was approached by one of his Jewish clients who claimed that the fees were too high, and as a result he had to reduce his fees. Later he was told by another colleague that lawyers usually "add to a Jew's bill so that they can then knock a bit off and everybody is satisfied. The solicitor gets the amount he wants and the Jew thinks he has got some knocked off". While it is not clear whether such a practice is widespread, as this respondent claims, and whether it applies only to lawyers in their relations with Jews, or perhaps to other professions as well, it is very relevant in this context as a typically "market" relationship.

It is, however, clear that although Jewish doctors and lawyers have non-Jewish patients and clients and non-Jewish accountants or engineers have Jewish customers, this is so to a much lesser extent than in other branches of industry or types of exchange.

It is also clear that these types of exchange would vary in the degree to which they involve further social contact outside the work environment. Thus, a basic relationship of seller-to-consumer will remain essentially impersonal, whereas transactions at the intermediary stage of production would involve entertaining clients to a somewhat greater extent than both the former type of relationship and the type of exchanges that occur between a doctor

or lawyer and their patients and clients.

Next to market-type relations, the most extensive type of Jewish/non-Jewish interaction at work is between a Jewish employer and his non-Jewish employees whereas, amongst the non-Jewish respondents, it is between managers or professionals and their Jewish occupational or organisational peers.

Hierarchical relations exist mainly between salaried and self-employed Jewish business owners or managers and their non-Jewish employees. Although three of the salaried managers have a non-Jewish employer, only one of these reported of having the most frequent contact with his non-Jewish employer, rather than with non-Jews he supervises. Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, the only ones who are found in hierarchical relations vis-a-vis Jews at work are the salaried respondents, mainly managers and respondents of the third occupational group. The four managers whose most frequent contact with Jews at work is in the context of authoritative-hierarchical relations have Jewish employees, while a further cashier works for a Jewish firm.

Very few Jewish respondents find themselves in frequent contact with non-Jewish colleagues of equal status, i.e. professional or managerial peers. This is most marked amongst respondents who are self-employed and the reasons for this are fairly obvious. Being in a business or in professional practice on their own, other professional or managerial peers do not form a constant part of their daily contact. Clearly when they do come into contact with other managers, it is mostly with business competitors or in a market relationship. On the other hand, when they are not self-employed, it is mostly doctors or lawyers, meeting

other doctors in the hospital or other lawyers in the office, from neighbouring offices or in court.

Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, we have already noted that contacts with Jewish colleagues are somewhat more frequent than intergroup contact in a similar context amongst the Jewish respondents. Proportionately this type of contact was most prevalent amongst the self-employed respondents of the professional occupations and amongst the salaried managers working alongside Jewish managers in manufacturing and sales firms. Amongst respondents of the professional occupations, there were 4 doctors (1 self-employed and 3 employed in a hospital), 3 solicitors (all self-employed) and a chartered accountant and a university lecturer. Those who were self-employed usually saw their Jewish colleagues "very infrequently" or reported "very little and very infrequent contact". Those who were employed by someone else reported much more frequent contact with Jewish colleagues at work.

In short, it seems that, on the whole, the context in which Jews and non-Jews find themselves together is much more affected by the Jewish occupational structure than by the occupational structure of the non-Jewish respondents, although these two are interrelated. Thus, with most of the Jews being involved in business, market relations were the most pervasive type of contact. Even when peer relations are considered, they are more often decided by the occupational structure of the Jewish group. Thus peer relations exist between general and sales managers, or doctors and lawyers, all of which are more characteristic of the Jewish occupational structure. On the other hand, the differences in occupational structure, together with the size of the Jewish group,

account for the 33.8% (see Table 1, page 216) of the non-Jewish respondents who reported no contact with Jews at work.

(3) Social Contact and Intergroup Relations

Economic and work relations form the setting within which Jews and non-Jews meet at work. However, as shown in Table 5, in some cases these acquaintances do not remain confined to the market place or work environment. Indeed, socialising with members of the "other group" met through work was much more prevalent amongst the Jewish, both men and women, than amongst the non-Jewish respondents. Furthermore, as Table 6 shows, over 50.0% of the Jewish respondents within each occupational-employed/self-employed status socialised with at least one non-Jewish person they met through work with the exception of the self-employed respondents of the third occupational group. This was the case regardless of work environment (see Table 50 in the Appendix) and of sex (see Table 51 in the Appendix). The low proportion of socialising amongst the self-employed respondents of the third occupational group is largely due to the lower participation of the women of this group in socialising.⁽¹⁾

Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, socialising with Jewish persons met through work is somewhat more variable, depending on the occupation and sex. Socialising was more common amongst the men, in the employers and managers occupational group and amongst respondents of the professional occupations (both employed and self employed - see Table 52 in the Appendix), with the men of the third occupational group being the ones least engaged in this activity. Amongst the women, only 3 socialised with Jewish persons they had met through work.

1. It should be noted here that these were mainly women who helped the family or in their husbands' businesses.

TABLE 5: SOCIALISING WITH MEMBERS OF THE "OTHER GROUP" RESPONDENTS
HAVE MET THROUGH WORK, BY SEX

JEWISH RESPONDENTS							
Socialising with members of the "other group" respondents have met through work	All those who reported of contacts with non-Jews at work		Male		Female		
YES	110	57.7	81	60.9	29	50.0	
NO	81	42.3	52	39.1	29	50.0	
TOTALS	191	100.0	133	100.0	58	100.0	

$p < 0.20$ (not significant)

NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS							
Socialising with members of the "other group" respondents have met through work	All those who reported of contacts with Jews at work		Male		Female		
YES	29	32.2	26	36.1	3	16.6	
NO	51	67.8	46	63.9	15	83.4	
TOTALS	90	100.0	72	100.0	18	100.0	

$p < 0.03$ (significant)

TABLE 6: INTERGROUP SOCIALISING AMONGST THE JEWISH RESPONDENTS WHO
ARE IN CONTACT WITH NON-JEWS AT WORK BY OCCUPATION AND
EMPLOYMENT/SELF EMPLOYMENT STATUS

	THE EMPLOYED					
	Employers & Managers		Professional Occupations		The Rest	
Engage in intergroup socialising with people met through work	8	57.1	9	60.0	11	57.9
Do not engage in intergroup socialising with people met through work	6	42.9	6	40.0	8	42.1
TOTALS (all those who are in intergroup contact at work)	14	100.0	15	100.0	19	(100.0)
p < 0.99						
	THE SELF EMPLOYED					
	Employers & Managers		Professional Occupations		The Rest	
Engage in intergroup socialising with people met through work	58	65.2	12	57.1	12	36.4
Do not engage in inter- group socialising with people met through work	31	34.8	9	42.9	21	63.6
TOTALS	89	100.0	21	100.0	33	100.0
p < 0.01						

TABLE 7: INTERGROUP SOCIALISING AMONGST THE NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS
WHO ARE IN CONTACT WITH JEWS AT WORK BY OCCUPATION

NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS						
THE EMPLOYED						
	Employers & Managers		Professional Occupations		The Rest	
Engage in intergroup socialising with people met through work	10	40.0	6	23.0	3	23.0
Do not engage in intergroup social- ising with people met through work	15	60.0	20	77.0	10	77.0
TOTALS (all those who are in intergroup contact at work)	25	100.0	26	100.0	13	100.0
p < 0.3						
THE SELF EMPLOYED						
	Employers & Managers		Professional Occupations		The Rest	
Engage in intergroup socialising with people met through work	6	46.2	3	33.3	1	25.0
Do not engage in intergroup social- ising with people met through work	7	53.8	6	66.7	3	75.0
TOTALS	13	100.0	9	100.0	4	100.0

It is clear that here, again, the most severe restriction on intergroup socialising is the lack of sufficient Jewish contacts of similar occupational background.

The figures also make it clear that the type of contact which brings both Jews and non-Jews together after working hours is the market and peer type of contact. Even with the salaried Jewish managers, who stated that the most frequent type of vocational contacts they had with non-Jews was hierarchical, 7 out of the 8 who engaged in intergroup socialising with people they met through work reported entertaining clients. Furthermore, socialising with members of the "other group" was more characteristic of those respondents who were involved in transactions at some intermediate stage of production rather than transactions between a seller to consumer. Some 46 of the Jewish and some 4 of the non-Jewish self-employed respondents in the employers and managers occupational categories who socialised with members of the other group they met through work were involved in such transactions.

Amongst the respondents of the professional occupations, both peer and market relations seem to be equally conducive to further intergroup socialising. The self-employed Jewish respondents of the professional occupations engaged in such socialising with both their clients and professional peers. All the six who were involved in market relations socialised with clients and, similarly, all the three who were involved in peer relations socialised with occupational peers, with a further three respondents socialising with both. Amongst the non-Jewish respondents of the same category, all three have socialised with peers. Results for the salaried professionals show a similar trend to their self-employed colleagues. Although

it seems as if the pattern here is different - almost opposing the former - with only one Jewish respondent socialising with a customer and four socialising with peers, and with four of the non-Jews socialising with customers and only three with peers, when examined against the background of the type of role-contacts they have at work (see Tables 3 and 4, pages 220 and 221), the picture is not so different. Thus, while this group is the least likely to be engaged in market relations with members of the "other group", when they do these contacts are as conducive to intergroup socialising as peer relations.

(4) The Type and Function of Social Activities

In most of the cases, socialising with business or work contacts who are not members of one's own group usually means a dinner date or an evening outing to a party or some other function and, as such, it is usually a couples event. However, amongst the self-employed Jewish respondents, there is also a higher occurrence of business lunch dates which do not involve other members of the family. This is so to a lesser extent amongst the non-Jewish respondents who, together with the salaried Jewish respondents, seem to entertain more at home than to have lunch dates, as Table 8, page 232 shows.

The fact that Jews and non-Jews entertain each other, however, need not signify any real change in the character of their relationship. In other words, it merely indicates that they do so as part of their professional or business relationship. These relationships are usually entered into as a routine pragmatic way of business exchange. Indeed, as shown in Table 9, most of the socialising which occurs amongst the managers and respondents of

TABLE 8: THE TYPE OF INTERGROUP SOCIALISING ORIGINATING FROM THE WORK ENVIRONMENT (1)

Type of Activity	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				SELF EMPLOYED			
	EMPLOYED		Professional Occupations		Employers & Managers		Professional Occupations	
			The Rest				The Rest	
Evening enter-taining at home	4	50.0	3	33.3	4	36.4	3	25.0
Evening enter-taining outside the home	7	87.5	8	88.9	9	81.8	7	58.3
Lunch	-	-	1	11.1	1	9.1	6	50.0
Sports	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8.3
TOTALS	8		9		11		12	
NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS								
Type of Activity	EMPLOYED				SELF EMPLOYED			
	Employers & Managers		Professional Occupations		Employers & Managers		Professional Occupations	
			The Rest				The Rest	
Evening enter-taining at home	4	40.0	1	16.7	1	33.3	-	-
Evening enter-taining outside the home	4	40.0	5	83.3	2	66.7	2	66.7
Lunch	2	20.0	-	-	-	-	1	33.3
Sports	-	-	2	play football	-	-	-	1
TOTALS	10		6		3		3	

1. Numbers do not add up to totals as some respondents engaged in more than one type of activity.

TABLE 9: THE INSTRUMENTAL FUNCTION OF INTERGROUP SOCIALIZING BY OCCUPATION

Is socialising in any way connected to work?	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
	EMPLOYED				EMPLOYED			
	Employers & Managers	Professional Occupations	The Rest		Employers & Managers	Professional Occupations	The Rest	
YES	7 87.5	5 55.5	4 36.3	9 90.0	4 66.7	1 33.3		
NO	1 12.5	4 44.5	7 73.7	1 10.0	2 33.3	2 66.7		
TOTALS	8 100.0	9 100.0	11 100.0	10 100.0	6 100.0	3 100.0		
	THE SELF EMPLOYED				THE SELF EMPLOYED			
	Employers & Managers	Professional Occupations	The Rest		Employers & Managers	Professional Occupations	The Rest	
YES	43 74.1	8 66.7	6 50.0	5 83.3	2 66.7	- -		
NO	15 25.9	4 33.3	6 50.0	1 16.7	1 33.3	1 100.0		
TOTALS	58 100.0	12 100.0	12 100.0	6 100.0	3 100.0	1 100.0		

the professional occupations groups was reported as being connected in one way or another to the occupational or business requirement of the respondents. Some 62.7% of the Jewish respondents (69 out of N=110) and some 72.4% of the non-Jewish respondents (20 out of N=29) who reported such intergroup socialising reported the event to be connected with work.

This motive for socialising is most obvious amongst the respondents who find themselves involved in intergroup market relations. It seems that, in the world of the business executives, entertaining and being entertained have become so thoroughly bound up with the selling process that it is often taken for granted. A managing director of a distilling company called these occasions "commercial socials", or as another self-employed owner of an insurance company stated, "We have a business working relationship. I go out for a meal in the evening with a customer. It increases my business potential".

Thus it is clear that these activities are not seen by most of the respondents as part of their social life. One of them put it more explicitly and stated: "There's a distinct barrier between people you meet through work and people you want to meet socially" (a self-employed manufacturer's agent - involved in market relations), or as another Jewish respondent stated: "It is purely a business relationship. I don't want to extend this into my leisure hours" (self-employed co-director of menswear retail company - involved in market and hierarchical relations).

In a similar way, respondents of the professional occupations entertain their clients and "discuss a case over a meal". However, when respondents in this group socialise with colleagues, the

connection to work is somewhat less direct. As one of the Jewish respondents, an optician (self-employed) reported, "I go out for a drink with Gentile fellow opticians about once a fortnight. It is connected to work just in that we will mainly 'talk shop'" or, as another Jewish doctor reported, the only connection to work lies in the occupational background of the participants in that "it is lunch with other doctors and nurses".

Given the widespread practice of using social settings to facilitate business transactions, such relations do not, as a rule, develop much personal content. The business interest which generates this routine socialising is mutual and apparent to both parties. As a result, they do not expect friendships to follow such socialising. The whole attitude to the work and business sphere seems to be very instrumental. This is further demonstrated by the fact that some 85.6% of the non-Jewish respondents who had any contact with Jews at work (77 out of N=90), and some 74.0% of the Jewish respondents who reported contact with non-Jews at work (142 of N=191) said they were completely indifferent as to who they worked with. Furthermore, some 81.2% of the Jewish respondents (156 of N=191) were indifferent as to whether they had any further contact with non-Jews they had met through work. 53.9% of these (84 of N=156) explained their attitude in a manner which is best expressed by one of the non-Jewish respondents: "You can't afford to notice religion in business" or, as a Jewish respondent commented, "In business I am not interested in people's religion"; or, more to the point, as one of the Jewish respondents stated: "You are associating with them, etc., but there's not really any question of being friendly". In general, then, the competitive

atmosphere of the market place, though conducive to further intergroup socialising, is not the most favourable atmosphere for nourishing friendships.

In some cases, however, during the process of communicating business interests, the relaxed quasi-social atmosphere which is created may lead to a disclosure of mutual interests, values and attitudes that can give a new dimension to the relationship. Furthermore, it is precisely in that same factor which makes for the instrumental nature of market relations that the potentiality for relations which transcend the commercial level can be found. The ulterior motive involved in these commercial relations might, and to a certain extent does generate a feeling that it would be advantageous to refrain from any favouritism on ethnic grounds. It is for this reason that the formerly quoted non-Jewish respondent stated that in business it is not advisable to make allowances for factors such as religion. In a similar way, the Jewish respondents reported that "You can't account for something like that (religion) in business"; "I will try not to differentiate between them on this basis" or, "If someone were to show any favouritism of this kind in business the results would be disastrous". Thus, with the lack of ethnic or religious considerations, socialising which originates in the market place fosters at the very least an awareness of each other as persons who are involved in business in certain specific roles, i.e. at the very least there is some reference to the person in a role other than the representative of the minority or majority group. Where other interests and values are communicated, the lack of ethnic considerations might lead to further contacts, more expressive rather than

commercial in nature. Although the economic or professional motive may still be part of the relationship, in some cases it ceases from being the primary one, as we saw in the case of the respondents of the professional occupations (see page 235).

The possibilities are, perhaps, even more frequent when socialising includes professional or occupational peers. Here the profit motive is somewhat less operative and social intercourse involves a sharing rather than a trading association and, as such, shared interests are more readily communicated as one of the non-Jewish respondents, a senior assistant in further education, reported musical evenings with one of his Jewish colleagues.

Thus, on the whole, although in most of the cases relations are still seen as tightly bound up with business, in many cases they are carried out in quasi-social settings and, as such, contribute to the transformation of these relations. However, only in a few of the cases have the relations been completely transformed from the instrumental to the expressive level, and are not seen as connected to work in any sense. In other cases, they are seen as loosely connected to the work relationship, whereas in most of the cases socialising which is generated in the market place is only transferred to a different locality or setting, but still retains the commercial nature which has given rise to the activity. It is, however, in this transfer of location that the key to the transformation of commercial relations lies, and it is here, more than in the market place, that informal behaviour, through facilitating commercial exchange, intrudes most meaningfully into the basically informal process of transaction.

That this is the case is very clear from the findings relating

to intergroup friendships. Some 22 of the Jewish and 3 of the non-Jewish respondents with close friends who are members of the "other group" stated that they met their close friend through work. These were 13 Jewish men, of whom 11 were involved in further socialising with a business contact or a colleague. These 13 were equally divided between market relations (7) and peer relations (6). The two non-Jewish men were also involved in socialising, but both were involved in a market contact. Amongst the non-Jewish women, only 1 reported meeting her close Jewish friend at work, and she was a colleague she met through past employment. Of the 9 Jewish women who had a close friend they met through work, 7 were engaged in intergroup socialising. As for the type of work context which produced these friendships, 3 reported peer relations, 2 with a market contact, 2 with employees of a family business, 1 with a person she met through her past employment (her ex boss) and 1 with her husband's colleague's wife.

Thus both the transfer of work contact into a more diffused setting and peer relations are conducive to transforming work relations into a more personal relationship. Proportionately, however, as noted earlier, relations with colleagues are the ones most likely to be transformed into a friendship.

B. THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

We have already seen in the previous chapter that, while Newton Means was not the type of suburb in which neighbourly socialising was high, this was the least segregated type of leisure activity⁽¹⁾.

1. See Chapter 5, page 172, Table 11.

Being essentially a place of residence rather than a place of work, "a dormitory suburb for the middle classes" as one of the ministers described it, neighbourly relations vary according to a number of factors found to be related to such status attributes and residence. D.C.Thorns, in studying Bristol and Nottingham suburbs, found that although these were by no means chiefly characterised by informal neighbourly relations, the incidence of informal participation varied with social class. He found that "The higher the class ... the greater the amount of informal participation" (1972, p.143). J.M. and R.E.Pahl found that most of the managers' wives in their sample made a clear distinction between friends and neighbours, and described a successful relationship between neighbours as being mainly 'instrumental' (1971, p.148) whereas Bracey found neighbourly relations on the English estates (both council and private enterprise estates) to be characterised by "aloofness, if not actual chilliness" (1964, p.181). In line with the Pahls' and Bracey's findings, M.Stacey found neighbourliness to be less intensive in middle class neighbourhoods, and the notions of neighbourly relations to presume a much greater social distance than the notions of the working class (1969, p.107). The latter three also found that the 'aloofness' or social distance is directly related to some notions of a "good neighbour" as being someone who "was ready to help if help were needed, but who did not otherwise obtrude into a family's privacy" (Pahl & Pahl 1971, p.148).⁽¹⁾

In Newton Mearns we gain some insight into the general notions

1. See also Bracey 1964, pp.74-86; Stacey 1969, pp.101-115; Willmott and Young 1971, p.91.

of "good neighbourliness" and the nature of neighbourly relations from various comments relating to attractive or unattractive characteristics of the area and from other comments relating to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with life in the neighbourhood. It seems that, for most of the respondents, the neighbourliness of the area is not an important feature in their satisfaction with their life in Newton Mearns. Although some 93.9% (263 of N=280) of the Jewish and 92.8% (205 of N=221) of the non-Jewish respondents were satisfied with their life in Newton Mearns, only 16.7% of the satisfied Jews (44 of N=263) and 15.6% (32 of N=205) of the satisfied non-Jewish respondents attributed their satisfaction to good neighbourly relations. Amongst the dissatisfied respondents, however, neighbourly relations seem to be more important. Thus almost half of the dissatisfied Jewish respondents (8 of N=17) and over 80% of the dissatisfied non-Jewish respondents (14 of N=16) complained of the lack of, or of the formal nature of neighbourly relations. However, when discussing the characteristic features of the area, social relations seem to be more important. Firstly, some 59.3% (166 of N=280) of the Jewish and some 60.2% (133 of N=221) of the non-Jewish respondents mentioned some social and communal factors. These referred to three main categories:- (a) to the people in the area in general (54.2% of the Jewish respondents - 90 of N=166; 61.7% of the non-Jewish respondents - 82 of N=133); (b) to their neighbours (31.3% of the Jewish respondents - 52 of N=166; 34.6% of the non-Jewish respondents - 46 of N=133) and (c) to the type of community relations and community atmosphere in the area (19.3% of the Jewish respondents - 32 of N=166; 25.6% of the non-Jewish respondents - 34 of N=133). Not all, however, were considered

to be particularly attractive characteristics by those who mentioned the people in the area; some 82.2% (74 of N=90) of the Jewish and 65.9% (54 of N=82) of the non-Jewish respondents thought that the people in the area were nice and friendly. However, over half of the Jewish respondents, and 12 of the non-Jewish respondents who thought so referred to friends and relations they had in the area whom they knew prior to moving into Newton Mearns, rather than to new acquaintances. The remaining 17.8% (16 of N=90) of the Jewish and 34.1% of the non-Jewish respondents in this category thought that the people in the area were characterised by snobbish and materialistic attitudes and were not "too friendly". Of those who mentioned neighbours and neighbourly relations, 84.6% (44 of N=52) of the Jewish and 69.6% (32 of N=46) of the non-Jewish respondents thought that their neighbours were nice and friendly, while the remaining 15.4% (8 of N=52) Jewish and 30.4% (14 of N=46) non-Jewish respondents thought that the area was characterised by rather formal or no neighbourly relations. The most unfavourable characteristic was lack of communal atmosphere. Thus, of the few who mentioned this factor, only 37.5% (12 of N=32) of the Jewish and 17.6% (6 of N=34) of the non-Jewish respondents thought that Newton Mearns was characterised by 'good' and 'close' communal atmosphere, whereas the remaining 62.5% (20 of N=32) Jewish and 82.4% (28 of N=34) non-Jewish respondents in this category thought that the area was characterised by a lack of communal atmosphere.

It was often difficult to assess or evaluate what the respondents meant when they stated that their neighbours or the people in the area were "friendly", "pleasant" or "not friendly". Judging by the available statements, these attributes were found to be

closely related to some vague notions of what being friendly with neighbours, or being neighbourly should mean, since it seems that the type of neighbourly relations described by those who thought that neighbours were friendly were not different from the type described by those respondents who thought that neighbourly relations in the area were not particularly friendly.

Two main notions were found to be prevalent amongst the respondents. The first notion was very near to that described by the Pahls as 'instrumental' (1971, p.148) and by Bracey as a type of "aloofness" involving some notions of privacy (1964, pp.181ff). This notion is divorced from the concept of 'friendship', as can be seen from statements made by some of the Jewish respondents: "As far as I am concerned I don't have too friendly relations with my neighbours. It doesn't mean that I don't know them. When I meet them, we have a chat, but neither of us wants to get too involved", or further, "You can be selective about the friends you have but with neighbours they are there by chance and friendships can be cultivated or not, according to one's own wishes". Thus, for these respondents, neighbours do not form a group of people which represent personal choice. They (the neighbours) do not figure high in the choice of residence for this group. Rather neighbours are given, in the sense that they are a by-product of the choice of houses. They 'exist', should be acknowledged, but they are not one's close friends.

The second notion of neighbourliness is nearer to the concept of friendliness of the East End type described by Willmott and Young (1957) and expects more than cordiality in neighbourly relations. This becomes very clear from statements made by respondents who were

dissatisfied with the nature of neighbourly relations in the area. For example, one of the non-Jewish women reported that "neighbours are not exactly neighbourly, they are reserved. I mean they are friendly enough but not exactly neighbourly". This respondent implies that being neighbourly should mean more than being friendly in a reserved way. Other dissatisfied respondents stated that "people don't invite their neighbours in. It is not a social area, people don't talk to each other". This implies that good neighbourly relations should be characterised by more informal socialising and visiting each other, while yet another respondent stated: "I prefer a more neighbourly atmosphere, not so official. You have to make an appointment for your child to play with the child next door". The latter relates not only to socialising in each other's homes but also to the fact that "dropping in" is not the accepted practice in Newton Mearns and that calling on neighbours unannounced is not considered a virtue.⁽¹⁾

As can be seen from these statements, neighbourly relations in Newton Mearns appear to be superficial and reserved. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with such relations would, to a large extent, depend on expectations and notions of neighbourliness.

It is perhaps not surprising to find that the more instrumental or reserved notions of neighbourliness are somewhat more prevalent amongst the Jewish than amongst the non-Jewish respondents, whereas the more diffuse notion is somewhat more prevalent amongst the non-Jewish respondents, a larger proportion of whom complained about the nature of neighbourly relations in the area. We have

1. On this point, see Bracey 1964, p.94, who found a similar phenomenon in the English estates he studied.

already seen that, due to the pattern of residential mobility, the Jewish respondents are more likely to have friends in the area. Indeed, as shown on page 241, satisfaction with life in the area was attributed by the Jewish respondents to a larger extent to having friends and relations in the area than by the non-Jewish respondents. Thus, for the Jewish respondents neighbours do not form an important part of their social life, nor do these respondents think that neighbourly relations should form into friendships. On the other hand, due to the same factor of residential mobility, it is the non-Jews, the women in particular (Pahl and Pahl 1971, pp.54-55), who are faced with the need to make new friends, and the neighbourhood provides them with a large pool of new potential contacts. As a result, these factors make for a different emphasis on the neighbourhood and neighbourly relations.

Indeed, these two patterns, of the Jewish residents having more friends whom they met prior to moving into the area, but who live in Newton Mearns, and the more spiralist nature of the non-Jewish population were used by some of the non-Jewish respondents to explain the nature of neighbourly relations in the area. Thus, one of the non-Jewish respondents stated that "They (the Jews) make the community more stable. Less of them come and go. But they have so many friends and stick to themselves and it spoils the friendly atmosphere a bit"; or another respondent referring only to the spiralist nature of the non-Jewish population in the area stated: "There is no scope for socialising here. It is a floating population. You hardly get to know people well enough to make friends when they move away". Thus, it seems that, although the non-Jewish respondents showed a greater interest in developing neighbourly

relations, the greater turnover in the non-Jewish population in the area⁽¹⁾ on the one hand, and the reserved attitude found amongst the Jewish respondents towards such relations make it somewhat difficult to develop friendships with one's neighbours.

These considerations, however, do not rule out the possibility of neighbourly interactions which transcend the level of instrumental relations. It is by no means the case that all the Jewish respondents possess the first type of notion compared with all the non-Jewish respondents possessing the second type of notion. Furthermore, it is also not exactly the case that all the Jewish respondents had friends in the area and all the non-Jewish respondents were constantly "on the move". This, however, makes it clear that, when we come across statements such as "delightful neighbours" or "unfriendly neighbours", we cannot judge what is meant by these attributes without a further knowledge of the notions of neighbourliness underlying these statements.

In an attempt to study neighbourly relations in some more detail, it was difficult to relate to the whole suburb as one unit. within which all the residents are considered to be neighbours, thus constituting the basic unit for neighbourly relations. Yet at the same time it was also difficult to establish the limits of such a unit. Indeed, such difficulties are encountered by any sociologist attempting to study neighbourly relations in an urban or suburban setting.

Mann stated that for the term 'neighbourhood' to have a

1. Further support for this can be obtained from the larger proportion of potential non-Jewish respondents who moved out of the area between January 1973 and July 1973, and were classified as 'no contact' households compared with the Jews in the area. See Chapter 1, page

sociological meaning, two sets of factors must be considered - the geographical-physical and the social element. The geographical-physical element relates to physical boundaries and a certain homogeneity of housing. The social element relates to "a certain homogeneity of social class within the given neighbourhood" (1965, p.150). These two were operative in the choice of the suburb, but as Stacey noted they cannot form a unit for social relations between neighbours. She stated that a neighbourhood in the above sense may run into several hundreds of houses, whereas a neighbourhood in terms of the area from which neighbourhood friends are drawn is much smaller (1969, p.101). Furthermore, she found that the definition of neighbours varied according to social class. Thus, in working class streets, near neighbours were the most important source of friendship and assistance whereas, above this level, amongst the respondents of the middle and upper class, neighbours ceased to be relevant in the sense of next door neighbours, and the area from which neighbourhood friends are chosen is somewhat wider (1969, pp.105-106). As a result, she studied neighbourly relations on two main levels, the next door neighbours and the street level.⁽¹⁾

In Newton Mearns the pilot study revealed that although with greater mobility due to the fact that virtually all the respondents possessed a car, the next door neighbours were not very important as far as evening socialising is concerned, but they were very important

1. Stacey herself contends that the study was carried at three main levels, 1. "the next door neighbour", 2. "Participation of housewives in small groups in the street where they live" and 3. "relationships between neighbours in the street as a whole" (p.101). It seems to me that the latter two levels are actually two different types of neighbourly interactions within a street and, as such, fall into the same level even if the gossip groups tend to be located at a certain point in the street.

during the day amongst the women. Furthermore, defining one's neighbours amongst the Jewish respondents was directly related to whether they had met their neighbours prior to moving into the area. Thus many of these respondents who had friends in the area with whom they were friendly prior to moving into Newton Mearns referred to them as friends rather than neighbours, even when they lived on the same street. In fact, in discussing neighbours they usually did not refer to these friends. When this was pointed out to them they commented "X is not exactly a neighbour - he is an old friend". On the other hand, non-Jews and other Jews whom the respondents did not know prior to moving into the area were defined as neighbours strictly on the basis of propinquity.

As a result, a compromise was reached. In order to gauge the extent of ethnic concentration in the area, respondents were asked about the residents in the twenty houses nearest to their own. On the other hand, for the purposes of studying neighbourly relations, the term 'neighbourhood' was not defined for the respondents, and the colloquial use of the term was accepted when the respondents were asked about socialising or turning for help to their neighbours. Obviously some respondents defined as neighbours only those who were nearest to their house, whereas others probably included a larger unit in their definition. However, responses represent personal accounts of the unit which was meaningful for the respondents and, as such, they are comparable in spite of the possible differences in the size of the unit so defined.

(1) Ethnic Composition of the Residents in the Twenty Houses
Nearest to the Respondent's House

Table 10, presenting the respondents' reports of the ethnic

composition of the residents in the 20 houses nearest to their own, shows that both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents find themselves in a predominantly non-Jewish environment. This is somewhat more apparent amongst the Jewish than amongst the non-Jewish respondents, a larger proportion of whom reported living in equally mixed units. It is clear that these figures would, to a large extent, reflect the saliency of Jews/non-Jews to the respondents. However, even as such

TABLE 10: ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE RESIDENTS IN THE 20 HOUSES
NEAREST TO RESPONDENT'S HOUSE

No. of non-Jewish Residents in the 20 houses nearest to the Jewish Respondent's House	Jewish Respondents Residing in Neighbourhoods of the Given Composition	No. of Jewish Residents in the 20 houses nearest to the non-Jewish Respondent's House	Non-Jewish Respondents Residing in Neighbourhoods of the Given Composition
None (0% non-Jews)	2 0.7	None (0% Jews)	27 12.2
1-4 (5-20% " ")	8 2.9	1-4 (5-20% ")	118 53.4
5-8 (25-40% " ")	31 11.1	5-8 (25-40% ")	39 17.6
9-12 (45-60% " ")	63 22.5	9-12 (45-60% ")	19 8.6
13-16 (65-80% " ")	91 32.5	13-16 (65-80% ")	4 1.8
17-19 (85-95% " ")	46 16.4	17-19 (85-95% ")	2 0.9
D.K.	39 13.9	D.K.	12 5.4
TOTAL	280 100.0		221 99.9

these findings are interesting and show again that the Jews in the area do not have great saliency amongst non-Jews.

Whether a neighbourhood unit of 20 houses was reported as being heavily mixed or not, most Jews and non-Jews are aware of each other's presence in the street and know members of the "other group"

well enough to identify them as such. That this is the case is clear from the reports of some of the non-Jewish respondents who stated: "The only Jewish person in this neighbourhood was pointed out to me as a Jew". Thus it is certain that at least some 'passive' ⁽¹⁾ contacts exist between Jews and non-Jews in the neighbourhood.

(2) Neighbourly Relations and Intergroup Contact

Some of the respondents, as we saw earlier, would be quite content to confine their neighbourly relations to passive contacts alone. For others, neighbourly relations mean much more than passive contacts or a mere acknowledgement of one's neighbours. Neighbourly relations for them also mean mutual assistance and cooperation ⁽²⁾ alongside with developing some more friendly or expressive relations with each other (Willmott & Young 1971, pp. 88-97), although probably to a somewhat lesser extent than is the case in working class neighbourhoods (Stacey 1969, Chapter 6).

Three main types of neighbourly relations were studied:

(a) turning to neighbours for help; (b) socialising with neighbours and (c) participation in neighbourly get-togethers for "a neighbourhood party, a social evening or something of the sort" (Question 68, p.24 of the Jewish Interview Schedule; Question 14, p.4 of the non-Jewish Schedule).

It is clear that even a most independent household cannot prepare itself to meet all the possible emergencies or situations in which some help is needed. Indeed, as shown in Table 11, some

1. For further discussion on this point see Festinger, Schacter & Back 1950, p.58; Beshers 1962, pp.125-127.

2. See Bracey 1964, p.85; Stacey 1969, p.107; Pahl & Pahl 1971, p.148.

TABLE 11: TURNING TO NEIGHBOURS FOR HELP "IN CASE OF NEED" BY SEX

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS			NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS								
	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female			
Turned to neighbours for help	172	61.4	79	56.4	93	66.4	189	85.5	99	82.5	90	89.1
Did not turn to neighbours for help	108	38.6	61	43.6	47	33.6	32	14.5	21	17.5	11	10.9
TOTALS	280	100.0	140	100.0	140	100.0	221	100.0	120	100.0	101	100.0
	p < 0.1			p < 0.2								

TABLE 12: INTERGROUP NEIGHBOURLY ASSISTANCE AMONGST THOSE WHO TURNED TO THEIR NEIGHBOURS FOR HELP, BY SEX

JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	
Turned for help to an intergroup neighbour	108	62.8	55 69.6	53 57.0	20 10.6	12 12.1	8 8.9
Turned for help only to ingroup neighbours	64	37.2	24 30.4	40 43.0	169 89.4	87 87.9	82 91.1
TOTALS	172	100.0	79 100.0	93 100.0	189 100.0	99 100.0	90 100.0
	p < 0.1			p < 0.6			

TABLE 13: NEIGHBOURLY SOCIALISING BY SEX

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS			NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS		
	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female
Socialised with neighbours	137	48.9	53	37.9	84	60.0
Did not socialise with neighbours	143	57.1	87	56.1	56	40.0
TOTALS	280	100.0	140	100.0	140	100.0
	$p < 0.001$			$p < 0.03$		

TABLE 14: DAY, EVENING AND WEEK-END SOCIALISING WITH NEIGHBOURS BY SEX AMONGST THOSE WHO ENGAGED IN THIS ACTIVITY

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS			NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS		
	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female
Socialising with neighbours during the day	74	53.6	9	16.9	65	77.4
Socialising during the evening	84	61.3	40	75.5	44	52.4
Socialising over the week-end	76	55.4	45	84.9	31	36.9
TOTALS	(137) (100.0)	(53) (100.0)	(84) (100.0)	(154) (100.0)	(77) (100.0)	(77) (100.0)

six of every ten Jewish and almost nine of every ten non-Jewish respondents have turned to their neighbours for help. This type of neighbourly activity is somewhat more prevalent amongst the women than amongst the men, and is usually not confined to in group neighbours alone, as Table 12 shows. However, the Jews seem to be engaged in such activities with a non-Jewish neighbour to a greater extent than the non-Jewish respondents are with a Jewish neighbour. Amongst both, it is the men somewhat more than the women who engage in such intergroup activities, though differences are not statistically significant.

Socialising with neighbours was also very prevalent amongst the non-Jewish respondents, with six out of every ten men and almost eight of every ten women socialising with some of their neighbours. Amongst the Jewish respondents this was much less so, with almost four of every ten men and six of every ten women socialising with some of their neighbours (see Table 13).

Neighbours form an important part of the social life of women. During the day, neighbourly activities typically involve women having "a drink and a chat with next door neighbour" or "coffee, just pop in for a drink and a chat, nothing special". As such, it is mainly an unstructured activity, spontaneous get-together of women. Indeed, as can be seen from Table 17, page 257, only 15 of the Jewish and 17 of the non-Jewish respondents reported organised coffee mornings or afternoon teas. Thus day-time socialising is characterised by "popping-in" and it seems that this is the only time of day when such an activity is legitimate. However, spontaneity is not to be equated with friendship. It seems that, in spite of the spontaneous nature of day-time socialising,

this does not lead to friendships or relations which include the husbands, thus leading to evening couples socialising. This was clear from various reports of the women, some of whom stated that "We have a coffee together but we never usually invite them in for an evening", or "Occasionally I go in, or she comes here for a coffee, but we don't see them socially. It is all very casual".

Socialising with neighbours in the evening assumes significantly different aspects amongst the respondents. Firstly, it is much less restricted to women, rather it typically involves the men more than women. However, to a large extent, evening socialising is a couples event and becomes a part of the social life of the married couple. As such, it is more a planned event, thus losing the spontaneous character of day-time socialising. It also involves activities other than a drink and a chat, although these still remain the chief get-together activities. The other types of activity are usually a "Drink before or after the evening meal", playing bridge, listening to records, watching T.V. or having a meal together.

Weekend socialising is again somewhat different in character; with the children being mostly at home, women are less free for socialising and, as a result, it involves mostly the men. The main activity again is drinking; however, other types of activity such as sports and parties or organised mornings for children seem to suggest that some of the weekend activities are planned ahead, while only a few of the weekend social activities assume a spontaneous character similar to that of day-time socialising.

It is clear that the most common 'get-together' activity is "having a drink". During the day this usually means tea or coffee. However, one of the non-Jewish respondents commented that "When the

Newton Mearns newspaper is talking about people drinking gin at 11 a.m. instead of coffee, they are probably talking about Jews". While I cannot comment on this habit amongst the non-Jewish respondents, I can confirm that in some Jewish houses people had alcoholic drinks during the day-time when they had visitors. However, such a practice was observed very rarely, and only over the weekend. During the week, only tea or coffee were served, and such habits clearly cannot form a barrier for intergroup neighbourly relations.

Results presented in Table 15 show a similar trend to that found in relation to neighbourly assistance. Jewish respondents who socialised with neighbours only rarely restricted such activities to the ingroup alone, whereas the non-Jewish respondents socialised mainly with other non-Jewish neighbours. Another difference between the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents relates to the finding that a larger proportion of the Jewish respondents turned to neighbours for help than socialised with them, whereas amongst the non-Jewish respondents a larger proportion socialised with neighbours rather than engaging in an instrumental relationship. However, of those who engaged in such activities, a larger proportion were involved in an intergroup neighbourly visiting relationship than in intergroup neighbourly assistance. This holds for most of the respondents, with the exception of the Jewish men who were equally involved in both types of intergroup activities.

Neighbourhood parties pose a different question. As Bracey noted, such an activity is more characteristic of American than of English neighbourhoods and suburbs (1964, pp.93-109). However, the type of parties reported by the Newton Mearns respondents were by no

TABLE 15: INTERGROUP NEIGHBOURLY SOCIALISING BY SEX AMONGST RESPONDENTS WHO SOCIALISED WITH THEIR NEIGHBOURS

JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS								
	All	Male	Female	All	Male	Female						
Involved in intergroup neighbourly socialising	97	70.8	34	64.2	63	75.0	41	26.6	19	24.7	22	28.6
Socialises only with in group neighbours	40	29.2	19	35.8	21	25.0	113	73.4	58	75.3	55	71.4
TOTALS	137	100.0	53	100.0	84	100.0	154	100.0	77	100.0	77	100.0
		p < 0.2										p < 0.5

p < 0.2

p < 0.5

TABLE 16: REPORTING AND PARTICIPATING IN PARTIES ATTENDED BY OTHER NEIGHBOURS

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
	Reported parties	Participated ⁽¹⁾ in parties	Reported parties	Participated ⁽¹⁾ in parties
YES	97	34.6	139	62.9
NO	183	65.4	82	37.1
TOTALS	280	100.0	221	100.0

1. Only amongst those who reported such parties.

means "Block Parties" embracing "The whole of a short street or that part of a long street from one side street to the next" (1964, p.94), rather they were parties to which other neighbours are invited. As one of the Jewish respondents stated, "We have coffees together, and if I have a big party I invite some of my neighbours, but we are not a close neighbourhood". Thus the figures presented in Table 16 do not represent the extent to which Jews and non-Jews hold parties in Newton Mearns. Rather they show the extent to which neighbours are invited to parties that are organised by others in the nearest neighbourhood.

Such parties do not occur very frequently; over 60.0% of the respondents who reported their occurrence stated that they knew of about 1 to 6 parties a year (70 of N=97 amongst the Jewish and 96 of N=139 amongst the non-Jewish respondents). When they do occur, they are much more the common practice amongst the non-Jewish than amongst the Jewish respondents, a larger proportion of whom both reported and participated in such parties.

While most of the parties were not designed to celebrate any particular occasion, a larger proportion of the parties reported by the non-Jewish respondents (Table 17) were similar in content and purpose to what Bracey noted as being a "survival of the ancient practice of keeping an 'open house' or of neighbouring in times of festivals" in Scotland (1964, p.108). Furthermore, some of the non-Jewish respondents reported strictly neighbourhood parties designed "to introduce new residents" or "to get to know one another". Although this type of party was only mentioned by six of the non-Jewish respondents, it is clear that the parties attended by some of the non-Jewish respondents serve such a purpose. This type of party

TABLE 17: THE OCCASION ON WHICH PARTIES OCCUR

The Occasion:	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
New Year/Christmas	21	21.6	66	47.5
Coffee mornings/Afternoon teas	15	15.5	17	12.2
No special occasion	38	39.2	80	51.6
D.K. (and other for the non-Jewish respondents)	23	23.7	13	9.4
TOTALS (reporting parties)	97	100.0	(139)	(100.0) *

TABLE 18: PARTICIPATION IN ETHNICALLY MIXED PARTIES

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
Participated in ethnically mixed parties	55	90.2	54	40.6
Participated only in segregated parties	6	9.8	79	59.4
TOTALS	61	100.0	133	100.0

*More than one type of party was mentioned by some of the respondents.

was not mentioned by any of the Jewish respondents.

Although very few of the Jewish respondents attended parties in which other neighbours are present, when they did they usually found themselves in an ethnically mixed environment. This was less so amongst the non-Jewish respondents, although a considerable proportion of them participated in parties attended by other Jews. This is not surprising since the non-Jewish respondents seem to invite neighbours to their parties to a greater extent than the Jewish respondents. This was directly commented upon by one of the Jewish respondents who attended parties organised by both Jewish and non-Jewish neighbours. He stated that whether he finds himself at parties to which neighbours, non-Jewish ones in particular, are invited would depend on who holds the party. Thus "If a non-Jewish neighbour makes a party, we will probably be the only Jewish neighbours invited. When Jews made a party it would be unlikely that other neighbours or non-Jews would be invited". Indeed, one of the Jewish women noted that her non-Jewish neighbours were more friendly than her Jewish ones, but when she held a party she didn't invite either of her neighbours, stating that "I don't bother with such things".

So far we have seen that all three types of neighbourly activities were more prevalent amongst the non-Jewish than amongst the Jewish respondents. We have also seen that the Jewish respondents were much more involved in intergroup neighbourly activities, in spite of the fact that a smaller proportion of them turned to neighbours for help, socialised with them or attended parties to which other neighbours were invited.

It is clear from Table 19 that the low proportion of intergroup

TABLE 19: INTERGROUP NEIGHBOURLY SOCIALISING BY ATTITUDES TOWARDS JEWS
AMONGST THE NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS

A. REACTION TOWARDS THE JEWS IN THE AREA

	Neutral		Positive		Negative		Both Positive and Negative	
Socialised with some Jewish neighbours	7	15.9	26	38.2	4	17.4	4	21.1
Did not social- ise with Jewish neighbours	37	84.1	42	61.8	19	87.6	15	78.9
TOTALS	44	100.0	68	100.0	23	100.0	19	100.0

$p < 0.02$

B. AGREEMENT WITH THE THREE UNFAVOURABLE STATEMENTS ABOUT JEWS

	Did not agree with either of the statements		Agreed with one statement		Agreed with two statements		Agreed with three state- ments	
Socialised with some Jewish neighbours	31	31.0	5	14.3	4	26.7	1	25.0
Did not social- ise with Jewish neighbours	69	69.0	30	85.7	11	73.3	3	75.0
TOTALS	100	100.0	35	100.0	15	100.0	4	100.0

C. LEVEL OF DIFFERENTIATION OF JEWISH TRAITS

	High		Moderate		Low	
Socialised with some Jewish neighbours	16	30.8	18	25.0	7	24.1
Did not social- ise with Jewish neighbours	36	69.2	54	75.0	22	75.9
TOTALS	52	100.0	72	100.0	29	100.0

$p < 0.7$

socialising amongst the non-Jewish respondents is not related to stereotyped structures of thought or to unfavourable attitudes towards the Jews as a group. The only statistically significant relationship was found between the initial response to the Jews in the area and socialising with Jewish neighbours. This confirms our previous observation that statements made by respondents who reacted favourably towards the Jews were based on social contact with them to a greater extent than those made by other respondents. (1)

Rather it seems that factors such as availability of Jewish neighbours, perceptions relating to food restrictions and different concepts of neighbourliness are more important here.

As shown in Table 10, page 248, most of the non-Jewish respondents stated that they lived predominantly amongst other non-Jews. Such reports undoubtedly reflect saliency to the extent that for those respondents who were engaged in intergroup neighbourly interaction, their Jewish neighbours would have greater saliency than for those respondents who did not engage in such interactions. Therefore it is quite possible that the former would tend to overestimate the proportion of Jews in the nearest 20 houses, while the latter would tend to underestimate it. However, as can be seen from Table 20, such figures do not reflect only saliency, since a large proportion of those who estimated the proportion of Jews in the nearest 20 houses at being over 45.0% did not socialise with or turn for help to their Jewish neighbours. Thus, while estimates and intergroup contact are probably inter-related, this is not so in all the cases, and it seems that saliency is to a large extent dependent on the number of neighbours of the "other group" there are in these twenty houses. As such, however, ambiguous these

1. See Chapter 4, pages 130-133.

TABLE 20: PATTERNS OF INTERGROUP NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS BY THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD (1)

Engaged in intergroup neighbourly assistance	JEWISH RESPONDENTS					NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS				
	Patterns of neighbourly assistance					Patterns of neighbourly assistance				
	Neighbourhood composed of % non-Jews					Neighbourhood composed of % Jews				
	0%	5%-40%	45%-60%	65% or more	D.K.	0%	5%-40%	45%-60%	65% or more	D.K.
YES	-	10	43.5	28	59.6	59	72.8	11	57.9	-
NO	2	100.0	13	56.5	19	40.4	22	27.2	8	42.1
TOTALS	2	100.0	23	100.0	47	100.0	81	100.0	19	100.0
Significance	$P < 0.04$ (significant)									
Engaged in intergroup neighbourly socialising	Patterns of neighbourly socialising					Patterns of neighbourly socialising				
	Neighbourhood composed of % non-Jews					Neighbourhood composed of % Jews				
	0%	5%-40%	45%-60%	65% or more	D.K.	0%	5%-40%	45%-60%	65% or more	D.K.
YES	-	9	52.9	19	57.6	55	84.6	14	70.0	-
NO	2	100.0	8	47.1	14	42.4	10	15.4	6	30.0
TOTALS	2	100.0	17	100.0	33	100.0	65	100.0	20	100.0
Significance	$P < 0.001$ (significant)									

1. Levels of statistical significance were calculated with the exclusion of those who lived in completely segregated neighbourhoods and those who did not know the exact composition of the neighbourhood.

figures may be, results presented in Tables 20 and 21 show that the

TABLE 21: ETHNICALLY MIXED PARTIES ATTENDED BY THE RESPONDENTS,
BY NEIGHBOURHOOD COMPOSITION

Are the parties attended mixed?	JEWISH RESPONDENTS % of non-Jews in the neighbourhood									
	0%		5-40%		45-60%		65%+		D.K.	
Yes	-	-	8	88.8	10	90.9	34	100.0	3	50.0
No	1	100.0	1	11.2	1	9.1	-	-	3	50.0
TOTALS (attending)	1	100.0	9	100.0	11	100.0	34	100.0	6	100.0

Are the parties attended mixed?	NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS % of Jews in the neighbourhood									
	0%		5-40%		45-60%		65%+		D.K.	
Yes	4	19.0	40	40.8	7	77.8	1	100.0	2	50.0
No	13	61.9	44	44.9	1	11.1	-	-	2	50.0
D.K.	4	19.0	14	14.3	1	11.1	-	-	-	-
TOTALS (attending)	21	99.9	98	100.0	9	100.0	2	100.0	4	100.0

proportion of those involved in intergroup neighbourly activities amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents rises together with the rise in the estimated proportion of members of the "other group" residing in the twenty houses nearest to the respondent's own house.

Another factor relates to the tendency to hold somewhat differing notions of neighbourliness amongst the Jewish and non-Jewish

respondents. When two neighbours hold such differing views, there is not much scope for socialising, as some of the non-Jewish respondents remarked: "They (the Jewish neighbours) don't want to come if we asked them around. They are cold and polite and say that they are too busy"; or another respondent who stated: "There is no social contact. They (the Jews) keep to themselves. For example, there was a new young Jewish couple here. They were welcomed into the area and invited for coffee. However, the compliment wasn't returned".

Further to these two factors, one of the non-Jewish respondents stated quite clearly that awareness of the existence of food restrictions can, to a large extent, explain the lower rate of such socialising amongst the non-Jewish respondents. He stated that: "Their religion, their culture demands that they keep themselves to themselves, therefore they cannot communicate with the community. For example, you can't invite them to eat or drink because of their religion which is a barrier to communication with others". A few other non-Jewish respondents mentioned food restriction and it seems that a considerable proportion of the non-Jewish respondents have some vague knowledge of the existence of such religious restrictions. These might act as a barrier to further intergroup socialising amongst the non-Jewish respondents.

That food restrictions do not form a barrier to intergroup neighbourly socialising amongst the Jewish respondents is clear from Tables 23-24. As can be seen, within each level of traditionalism, over 60.0% of the respondents who engaged in neighbourly activities have established a relationship with at least one of their non-Jewish neighbours. This is not surprising as we have already noted that

TABLE 22: INTERGROUP NEIGHBOURLY ASSISTANCE BY TRADITIONALISM, GENERATION IN THE U.K. AND
FEELING AT EASE IN THE COMPANY OF NON-JEWS - AMONGST THE JEWISH RESPONDENTS

A. TRADITIONALISM

	HIGH	MODERATE	LOW	NOT TRADITIONAL
Turned for help to a non-Jewish neighbour	8 61.5	41 60.3	45 65.2	14 63.6
Turned for help only to Jewish neighbours	5 38.5	27 39.7	24 34.8	8 36.4
TOTALS	13 100.0	68 100.0	69 100.0	22 100.0

$p < 0.8$

B. GENERATION

	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation or More
Turned for help to a non-Jewish neighbour	10 71.4	55 65.5	43 58.1
Turned for help only to Jewish neighbours	4 28.6	29 34.5	31 41.9
TOTALS	14 100.0	84 100.0	74 100.0

$p < 0.1$

C. FEELING AT EASE IN THE COMPANY OF NON-JEWS

	More comfortable in the company of Jews	No difference, and more comfortable in the company of non-Jews
Turned for help to a non-Jewish neighbour	45 48.9	63 78.8
Turned for help only to Jewish neighbours	47 51.1	17 21.3
TOTALS	92 100.0	80 100.0

$p < 0.001$

TABLE 23: INTERGROUP NEIGHBOURLY SOCIALISING BY TRADITIONALISM, GENERATION IN THE U.K. AND

FEELING AT EASE IN THE COMPANY OF NON-JEWS - AMONGST THE JEWISH RESPONDENTS

A. <u>TRADITIONALISM</u>				
	HIGH	MODERATE	LOW	NOT TRADITIONAL
Socialised with non-Jewish neighbours	11 100.0	36 67.9	33 64.7	17 77.3
Socialised only with Jewish neighbours	- -	17 32.1	18 35.3	5 22.7
TOTALS	11 100.0	53 100.0	51 100.0	22 100.0
p < 0.1				
B. <u>GENERATION IN U.K.</u>				
	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation or More	
Socialised with non-Jewish neighbours	9 64.3	49 70.0	39 73.6	
Socialised only with Jewish neighbours	5 35.7	21 30.0	14 26.4	
TOTALS	14 100.0	70 100.0	53 100.0	
p < 0.7				
C. <u>FEELING AT EASE IN THE COMPANY OF NON-JEWS</u>				
	More comfortable with Jews		No difference & more comfortable with non-Jews	
Socialised with non-Jewish neighbours	42 60.9	55 80.9		
Socialised only with Jewish neighbours	27 39.1	13 19.1		
TOTALS	69 100.0	68 100.0		
p < 0.01				

TABLE 24: PARTICIPATING IN ETHNICALLY MIXED PARTIES BY TRADITIONALISM, GENERATION IN THE U.K. AND
FEELING AT EASE IN THE COMPANY OF NON-JEWS - AMONGST THE JEWISH RESPONDENTS

A. TRADITIONALISM			
	HIGH	MODERATE	LOW
Participated in ethnically mixed parties	3 100.0	25 86.2	21 91.3
Participated in segregated parties	- -	4 13.8	2 8.7
TOTALS	3 100.0	29 100.0	23 100.0
B. GENERATION IN THE U.K.			
	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation or more
Participated in ethnically mixed parties	4 80.0	27 87.0	24 96.0
Participated in segregated parties	1 20.0	4 13.0	1 4.0
TOTALS	5 100.0	31 100.0	25 100.0
C. FEELING AT EASE IN THE COMPANY OF NON-JEWS			
	More comfortable with Jews	No difference and more comfortable with non-Jews	
Participated in ethnically mixed parties	25 83.3	30 96.8	
Participated in ethnically segregated parties	5 16.7	1 3.2	
TOTALS	30 100.0	31 100.0	

TABLE 25: FEELING AT EASE IN THE COMPANY OF NON-JEWS AND NEIGHBOURLY SOCIALISING BY SEX AMONGST THE JEWISH

RESPONDENTS					
MALE RESPONDENTS		FEMALE RESPONDENTS			
A. NEIGHBOURLY ASSISTANCE					
	More comfortable in the company of Jews	'No difference and more comfortable with non-Jews	More comfortable in the company of Jews	'No difference' and more comfortable with non-Jews	
Turned to non-Jewish neighbour for help	22 56.4	33 82.5	23 43.4	30 75.0	
Turned only to Jewish neighbour for help	17 43.6	7 17.5	30 56.6	10 25.0	
TOTALS	39 100.0	40 100.0	53 100.0	40 100.0	
	p < 0.8		p < 0.001		
B. NEIGHBOURLY SOCIALISING					
	More comfortable in the company of Jews	'No difference' and more comfortable with non-Jews	More comfortable in the company of Jews	'No difference' and more comfortable with non-Jews	
Socialised with non-Jewish neighbours	16 55.2	18 75.0	26 65.0	37 84.1	
Socialised only with Jewish neighbours	13 44.8	6 25.0	14 35.0	7 15.9	
TOTALS	29 100.0	24 100.0	40 100.0	44 100.0	
	p < 0.2		p < 0.05		
C. ETHNICALLY MIXED PARTIES					
	More comfortable in the company of Jews	'No difference' and more comfortable with non-Jews	More comfortable in the company of Jews	'No difference' and more comfortable with non-Jews	
Participated in ethnically mixed parties	12 100.0	13 92.9	15 75.0	17 100.0	
Participated in ethnically segregated parties	-	1 7.1	5 25.0	-	
TOTALS	12 100.0	14 100.0	20 100.0	17 100.0	

most of the respondents did not observe the dietary laws outside their own homes.⁽¹⁾ Thus, while traditionalism, which was found to be at a minimal level amongst the Jewish respondents, does not form a barrier to intergroup interaction amongst the Jewish respondents, partial knowledge of such traditions can and does form a barrier amongst some of the non-Jewish respondents.

Tables 22-24 also show that although respondents of the first generation are more likely to be involved in an instrumental relationship with their non-Jewish neighbours than to socialise with them or participate in ethnically mixed parties, compared with respondents of the second generation, and those of the second generation bear a similar relationship to respondents of the third generation, the differences along generational lines are not great.

Indeed the only factor which seems to be associated with exclusively in-group neighbourliness is not feeling at ease in the company of non-Jews. This association was stronger as far as neighbourly assistance was concerned, particularly amongst the women, as shown in Table 25. Types of assistance sought by men and women were different in nature. Men usually require help in moving furniture or borrow gardening equipment, whereas the type of assistance required by women is more connected with the running of the kitchen. Thus, although neighbourly assistance was not related to traditionalism, women who are less at ease in the company of non-Jews would probably feel more inhibited and avoid turning to a non-Jewish neighbour for such assistance.

However, it is clear that being more at ease in the company of other Jews does not form a serious barrier to intergroup neighbourly socialising or participating in mixed neighbourhood parties. On the whole, it seems to me that neighbourly relations are relatively

1. See Chapter 3, page 69.

free of ethnic bias. Only a minority of the respondents who socialised with their neighbours tended to restrict their neighbourly activities exclusively to other Jewish neighbours, and while these by no means were only women (see Tables 12 and 15, pp. 250 and 255), this practice was found to be more closely associated with feelings of greater ease in the company of other Jews amongst the women than amongst the men.

Neighbourly relations, particularly amongst the Jewish respondents, do not tend to become particularly friendly, as Table 26 shows. A larger proportion of the non-Jewish respondents have stated that they have formed a particularly friendly relationship with at least one of their neighbours. However, amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, particularly friendly relations with a neighbour are much more likely to develop amongst the women than amongst the men. Furthermore, the Jewish respondents are much more likely than the non-Jewish ones to form particularly friendly neighbourly relations of the intergroup type, as shown in Table 27. These findings are not surprising in view of the previous findings that non-Jewish respondents socialised with their neighbours to a greater extent than the Jewish ones (Table 13, page 251) and that the latter socialised with their non-Jewish neighbours to a greater extent than the non-Jewish ones with their Jewish neighbours.

Results presented in Table 28 seem to suggest that, amongst the Jewish respondents, being friendly with a non-Jewish neighbour is related to feelings of ease in the company of non-Jews. As can be seen, somewhat over 50.0% of the respondents who felt more at ease in the company of other Jews, amongst those who formed a particularly

friendly relationship with their neighbours, did so with other Jewish neighbours. This figure, however, is strongly affected by

TABLE 26: ARE THERE ANY NEIGHBOURS WITH WHOM RESPONDENTS ARE PARTICULARLY FRIENDLY - BY SEX⁽¹⁾

Does respondent have a particularly friendly neighbour?	JEWISH RESPONDENTS						NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS					
	All		Male		Female		All		Male		Female	
Yes	116	53.5	45	45.5	71	60.2	160	75.8	80	70.2	80	82.5
No	101	46.5	54	54.5	47	39.8	51	24.2	34	29.8	17	17.5
TOTAL	217	100.0	99	100.0	118	100.0	211	100.0	114	100.0	97	100.0

$p < 0.05$

$p < 0.05$

TABLE 27: ONE'S PARTICULARLY FRIENDLY NEIGHBOUR STRATIFIED BY ETHNICITY AND SEX

The particularly friendly neighbour being:	JEWISH RESPONDENTS						NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS					
	All		Male		Female		All		Male		Female	
Jewish	43	37.1	15	33.3	28	39.4	2	1.2	1	1.2	1	1.2
Non-Jewish	40	34.5	13	28.9	27	38.0	133	83.1	65	81.3	18	85.0
Both equally	33	28.4	17	37.8	16	22.5	25	15.6	14	17.5	11	13.8
TOTAL	116	100.0	45	100.0	71	99.9	160	99.9	80	100.0	80	100.0

$p < 0.3$

the relationship found between neighbourly socialising and feelings of ease. When this factor is taken into account, two points of great interest emerge. Firstly, that a somewhat larger proportion of those

who were mostly in contact with other Jewish neighbours (36 of N=54, or 66.7%) reported being particularly friendly with their neighbours,

TABLE 28: ONE'S PARTICULARLY FRIENDLY NEIGHBOURS, BY FEELING AT EASE
IN THE COMPANY OF NON-JEWS AND SEX AMONGST THE JEWISH
RESPONDENTS

The particularly friendly neighbour being:	ALL RESPONDENTS			
	More at ease in the company of other Jews		'No difference' and more at ease in the company of non-Jews	
Jewish	31	51.7	12	21.8
Non-Jewish	12	20.0	27	49.1
Both equally	17	28.3	16	29.1
TOTALS	60	100.0	55	100.0

$p < 0.001$

compared with those who were in contact mostly with their non-Jewish neighbours (79 of N=163, or 48.5%). However, when the latter are considered, only 17.7% of those who were particularly friendly with their neighbours (14 of N=79) were so only with their Jewish neighbours, whereas 48.1% (38 of N=79) were particularly friendly only with a non-Jewish neighbour and the remaining 34.1% (27 of N=79) were so with both their Jewish and non-Jewish neighbours. This was the case regardless of feelings of ease as shown in Table 29. Three of every four Jewish respondents who were particularly friendly with their neighbours were so with a non-Jewish one even when they expressed a feeling of greater ease in the company of other Jews. Generally speaking it seems that although feelings of ease are

TABLE 29: THE NEIGHBOURSWITH WHOM RESPONDENTS WERE PARTICULARLY
FRIENDLY BY FEELINGS OF EASE IN THE COMPANY OF NON-JEWS
AMONGST THOSE WHO HAD SOME CONTACT WITH THEIR NON-JEWISH
NEIGHBOURS

	More comfortable with other Jews		'No difference' and more comfortable with non-Jews	
Particularly friendly Jewish neighbours	8	25.8	6	12.5
Particularly friendly non- Jewish neighbours	11	35.5	27	56.3
Particularly friendly with both	12	38.7	15	31.3
TOTALS	31	100.0	48	100.1

$p < 0.2$

related to whether or not some of the respondents will interact with their non-Jewish neighbours, once they do those who are more comfortable in the company of other Jews are almost as likely to develop particularly friendly relations with a non-Jewish neighbour as those who do not experience any discomfort in the company of non-Jews. These feelings, it seems, do not interfere significantly with neighbourly relations to the extent that respondents will have differentiated notions of neighbourliness, depending on the ethnic background of their neighbour. Indeed those who did not welcome neighbourly relations stated that "I say 'hello' to all of them but that's all really. I am not interested in my neighbours, Jewish or not", whereas those who socialised with their neighbours for the most part did not make ethnic distinctions, rather when they were found to have

mainly Jewish or non-Jewish contacts some of them stated that "all my neighbours are Jewish" or "All around here are not Jewish", which suggests that availability is very important in deciding the pattern of intergroup neighbourliness and the development of friendly relations.

On the whole, neighbourly relations, as some 76.8% of the Jewish respondents stated (212 of N=280), were harmonious. Only 1.4% (4 of N=280) reported disharmony in the relations between Jews and non-Jews in the neighbourhood, while the remaining 12.7% (35 of N=280) reported no intergroup contact in their neighbourhoods.

These harmonious relations are disrupted only occasionally, when neighbourly disputes occur. Tables 30 and 31 show these disputes to be very rare, with their occurrence being higher amongst the Jewish respondents. Both Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, however, were more involved in disputes with other non-Jewish than with their Jewish neighbours. Thus, the Jewish respondents reported somewhat more often of intergroup disputes. Most of these intergroup disputes involved adults rather than dogs or children and, as such, were not very different from in group neighbourly disputes. Neither were the issues that were in dispute different from issues disputed with neighbours of one's own group. In most cases, whether the

TABLE 30: PARTICIPATION IN NEIGHBOURLY DISPUTES AND UNFRIENDLY ACTS

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
With Jewish neighbours	34	12.1	15	6.8
With non-Jewish neighbours	56	20.0	22	10.0
TOTAL	N = (280)		(221)	

TABLE 31: PARTICIPANTS IN NEIGHBOURLY DISPUTES

Participants include:	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
	Disputes with Jewish Neighbours		Disputes with non-Jewish Neighbours		Disputes with Jewish Neighbours		Disputes with non-Jewish Neighbours	
Dogs	4	11.8	9	16.1	3	20.0	4	18.2
Children	2	5.9	11	19.6	-	-	5	22.7
Adults	28	82.3	36	64.3	12	80.0	13	59.0
TOTAL	34	100.0	56	100.0	15	100.0	22	99.9

dispute was between two Jewish, two non-Jewish or a Jewish and a non-Jewish neighbour, the issues were those likely to be disputed by any two neighbours. These relate to property disputes such as over the location of the fence separating two back gardens; disputes over building extensions to houses and garages; complaints about noise and blocking the car exit from a garage. In some cases the dispute was carried further and official authority was called upon. However, in most of the cases, calling the police or County Council officials was not related to who were the parties involved in the dispute. In fact, the only difference between the intergroup disputes and other disputes can be found in relation to the Jewish respondents only. It seems that, when the Jewish respondents are in conflict with their non-Jewish neighbours, sometimes latent suspicions and fears may become manifest and the incident often takes on a different significance from the one it would have if both of the parties were Jewish.

Generally speaking, a Jew in an open dispute with a non-Jew does not remain long in doubt about whether the non-Jew is prejudiced.

Where the non-Jew uses anti-Semitic language, there is no doubt in the mind of the Jewish respondent that his non-Jewish neighbour is motivated by anti-Semitic prejudices. However, if he does not, then the Jewish respondent is somewhat more inclined to attribute the non-Jew's behaviour to the issue at hand or to his bad character. The following example illustrates this point quite clearly: "I asked my neighbour for a small favour. Her husband objected, but I cannot be too sure that it was anti-Semitism". Where anti-Semitic abuses are used, there is no doubt as to the prejudices of the non-Jews. "We have an anti-Semitic neighbour. He said things I wouldn't care to repeat"; or, "Some of the young boys here were bothering us, they were abusive with anti-Semitic slogans, 'dirty Jews' etc.". Experiences of the latter nature, however, were in the minority. Only 15 of the 56 Jewish respondents involved in intergroup disputes reported ethnically relevant comments and anti-Semitic abuses.

On the whole, then, the neighbourhood is characterised by pleasant, casual, intergroup neighbourly relations, and in some cases these relations, which originated in a more or less relaxed atmosphere, can also lead to more expressive intergroup friendly relations. Even respondents who stated they felt more at ease in the company of other Jews, when in contact with non-Jews tended to form friendly relations with them.

Notions of neighbourliness, however, to a large extent qualify the type of friendliness that might develop between two neighbours. Where these notions are similar, the possibilities would depend on the type of notion which is shared. Where both neighbours share the view that neighbourly relations should approximate notions of friendliness, the possibility of a relationship developing such

attributes is greater than when the shared notions do not imply such a characteristic. Indeed, some 17 of the Jewish and 5 of the non-Jewish respondents who reported having a close friendship of the intergroup type said that they had met their closest friend in the neighbourhood. Most of these amongst the Jewish respondents were women (12 of N=17) who socialised with their neighbours (9 of N=12). Furthermore, most of these were also women who did not experience discomfort in the company of non-Jews (8 of N=12).

Only two of the Jewish and none of the non-Jewish respondents who had a close friendship of the intergroup type which originated in the neighbourhood made statements which showed that the notion of neighbourliness they held was of the instrumental type. Indeed, these two stated that their closest friend was not a next-door neighbour; they stated, rather, that they had met him in the neighbourhood.

Thus it seems that when notions of neighbourliness imply greater friendship than a mere acknowledgement of one's neighbours, friendships are likely to arise out of a setting in which ethnic considerations are not always the most salient ones.

Where notions of neighbourliness clash, that is, where the Jewish and non-Jewish neighbours or, for that matter, any two neighbours, hold differing views as to what should constitute good neighbourly relations, friendships, regardless of feelings of ease, do not usually follow. Rather, misunderstanding and incidents like the following might occur: "We borrowed a ladder from our non-Jewish neighbours and they were annoyed. They thought we were taking advantage of them. We actually thought we were very friendly".

C. SUMMARY

When work and neighbourly relations are considered in their relationship to ethnicity, as we saw in the preceding discussion, the results are somewhat different from those pointed to by Willmott & Young, R.E. & J.M.Pahl and E.Bott.

It seems that although favourable work relations are seen as an important part of the work situations, and many respondents, particularly amongst the Jewish men and women and non-Jewish men, socialised with others who were not members of their own group, these in the most part did not lead to friendships, as was suggested by the Pahls and Bott. Furthermore, it is the case that the rationality and profit motive which lie behind these relations are not easily transformed. Thus a meeting place can be changed, but the nature of the relationship does not always change correspondingly. In the few cases where change in the nature of the relationship did occur, this was more marked amongst those who were in contact with other professional or managerial peers than amongst those who were in market relations, and much more marked amongst those who were involved in these two types of contact than amongst those who were in direct hierarchical contact with members of the "other group" at work.

Within the neighbourhood, the setting is somewhat different. The atmosphere is much more relaxed. Very few of the respondents were involved in open disputes with their neighbours, and these, as shown in Table 57 in the Appendix, did not arouse feelings of discomfort or fears of anti-Semitism amongst the Jewish respondents. With the lack of an ulterior motive, which is so apparent in the market type of relations, the opportunities for developing more

expressive relationships are more apparent.

Various factors were found to operate in the neighbourhood setting which are not conducive to the development of neighbourly relations, whether of the intergroup type or not. The existence of friends and relations in the area makes for a pattern whereby neighbours are not very important for the Jewish respondents. On the other hand, the absence of these amongst the non-Jewish respondents makes for a greater reliance on neighbours and on the neighbourhood for the recruitment of new friends. However, the greater turnover in the non-Jewish population in the area does not facilitate the development of friendships based in the neighbourhood.

The tendency for a different emphasis on the concept of neighbourliness amongst the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents is also closely related to the type of neighbourly relations in which these respondents were involved. Thus we found that the Jews, who held a more restrictive view of neighbouring, tended to associate with their neighbours to a much lesser extent than the non-Jewish respondents, who had a more diffuse view of neighbourliness. Similarly, less of them tended to transform their neighbourly interactions into more expressive relations either through inviting their neighbours to spend an evening in their house, or going to their neighbours for an evening's socialising, which involved 'couples' rather than only one neighbour. As a result, less of them reported being particularly friendly with any of their neighbours.

In addition to notions of neighbourliness, intergroup socialising and neighbourly relations were found to be related to some other factors. Thus, we saw that, amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, availability of members of the "other group" was

an important factor in such relations. Furthermore, knowledge of food restrictions served as an additional barrier to such intercourse amongst the non-Jewish respondents. Amongst the Jewish respondents traditionalism was found to be completely unrelated to neighbourliness. Rather feelings of ease or unease in the company of non-Jews were related to such neighbourliness, mainly amongst the women. However, only a few of the respondents who felt more at ease in the company of other Jews restricted their neighbourly activities to their Jewish neighbours only, as one of the respondents who turned for help to a Jewish neighbour stated: "He just happens to be a Jew. The religion of my neighbours is immaterial", thus indicating that availability is more important than ethnic considerations.

Thus, when respondents did involve in neighbourly activities these, for the most part, were not stratified by ethnicity. Particularly friendly relations, where they developed, were more a function of availability and of a similar definition of the situation than of ethnic preferences.

The term 'friendly' which was applied by many respondents to the nature of neighbourly relations in the area was found to be related to accepted notions of neighbourliness rather than to the type of neighbourly relations. Generally speaking, it was not stratified by ethnicity. The Jewish and non-Jewish respondents did not hold two notions of neighbourliness, one applied to in group and the other to intergroup situations. The term was applied to a wide range of neighbourly activities, from a simple borrowing relationship to the more expressive type of relationship. In some cases it was applied to what can be referred to as 'passive contacts'. As one of the Jewish respondents reported, "I have no contact with

my neighbours, therefore we are on good terms". Thus, neighbourly relations, while not characterised by conflict, for the most part do not form particularly close friendships.

On the whole, intergroup contacts in the neighbourhood and at work are casual and perhaps even 'friendly' in a very vague sense of the word. In spite of the restrictive nature of such contacts, the vocational and neighbourly environments create atmospheres in which ethnic considerations are not the only criteria involved and, as such, the potentiality of transforming the contacts made in these spheres is greater than in any other hitherto examined setting.

CHAPTER 7: THE PATTERNING OF INTERGROUP FRIENDSHIPS

There is no general agreement amongst sociologists as to the meaning of the term 'friendship'. Georg Simmel distinguished amongst various types of social relationships on the basis of the degree of reciprocal knowledge among the participants. The most important distinction was that between an "ACQUAINTANCE" - a relationship which does not involve "actual insight into the individual nature of the personality" (Simmel translated by Wolff 1950, p.320) and "FRIENDSHIP" relationships "which do not centre around clearly circumscribed "interests" but rather "are built upon the person in its totality" (Simmel translated by Wolff 1950, pp. 324-325). He further differentiated four types of such friendships, which he refers to as "differentiated friendships" and which represent "a very peculiar synthesis in regard to the question of discretion, of reciprocal revelation and concealment" (Simmel translated by Wolff 1950, p.326). These are "differentiated friendships which connect us with one individual in terms of affection, with another in terms of common intellectual aspects, with a third in terms of religious impulses and with a fourth in terms of common experience" (Simmel translated by Wolff 1950, p.326).

Becker and Useem defined a "dyad" on the basis of the type of interaction that exists between two persons. Thus "two persons may be classified as a dyad when intimate, face-to-face relations between them have persisted over a length of time sufficient for the establishment of a discernible pattern of interacting personalities" (1942, p.13). They further distinguished amongst different "dyads" according to the circumstances leading to their

inception and according to the scope of the relationship. Thus friendships emerge "because of voluntary selection" (1942, p.19) and not because of cultural conditions, such as are characteristic of the inception of teacher-pupil relations, or because of a biological determination such as is characteristic of the parent-child relationship. Furthermore, friendships are 'comprehensive' rather than "segmented dyads" since "a relatively large portion of the personalities of both are included in the relationship". As to the meaning of the term 'friendship', they state that there is no general agreement on this topic. "To some it signifies an ease of companionship, an exchange of confidences without fear of misunderstanding, censure, or exposure. To others, it means an individual on whom one can depend in time of crisis" (1942, p.21).

Merton and Lazarsfeld, on the other hand, were more interested in "who tends to form friendships with whom?" and stressed the importance of "value homophily" ("the tendency towards correspondence in the values of friends", 1954, p.24) both in the formation and sustaining of friendship relations. In a similar way, Buck (1974) discussed the importance of "personal constructs" in the formation of friendships. These constructs form the subjective interpretations of reality and, as such, operate in a similar way to Lazarsfeld and Merton's concept of "value homophily" in the formation of friendships.

As can be seen, this particular field of "friendship" relations has generated some complex frames of reference and conceptualisations. Regardless of the differences in classification and conceptualisation, there is some agreement among these various writers in relation to a number of features. Firstly, there is a realisation that social

relationships vary in the degree to which they involve knowledge of the "whole person" as opposed to the person in a segmented role. Secondly, there is some agreement on the point that friendships differ in content and in their meaning to the individuals concerned. Thirdly, there is an agreement that some conformity in the subjective interpretation of reality exists between friends, and fourthly to a large extent sociologists are agreed on the point that friendships are a result of voluntary selection, personal to the individual, rather than uncritical acceptance of persons with whom structured relationships already exist.⁽¹⁾

The formation of intergroup friendships, while conditioned by the various elements mentioned above, is still further limited by other factors, some of which are of particular ethnic relevance. While the formation of friendships in general is affected by the availability of contacts with other persons sharing similar interests, attitudes or values, for intergroup friendships, availability is important in at least three ways. As Williams found, interaction between members of different groups is strongly dependent upon the number of opportunities that exist for such interaction (1964, p.163). Thus the size of the Jewish group affects opportunities for interaction amongst the non-Jewish respondents. Furthermore, as we have seen, not in every case where members of both groups were physically present, thus constituting an opportunity for intergroup interaction, was such an interaction established.⁽²⁾ Once it was, as Caplow and Foreman noted, "the selection of intimate associates is

1. This was found to be a feature characterising friendships amongst members of the middle class in England. See Mogeys 1956, Chapter 5; Stacey 1960, pp.174-179, 155 and Willmott & Young 1960, pp.127-9.

2. See Chapter 5, page 197.

in large measure a function of a social situation rather than of individual whimsy" (1950, p.366), and indeed we have seen that some situations at work and in the neighbourhood were more conducive to the formation of friendships between Jews and non-Jews than other situations. However, even when the situation allows an exchange of information which is more personal in nature, such as communicating personal tastes, interests and values, this does not always result in friendships. The opportunity to communicate such tastes, only forms a potential opportunity for friendship since an increase of knowledge of what Williams calls "the inner life and personal histories of other individuals" (1964, p.222) does not lead immediately or directly "to friendship, agreement, or desire to associate with the other" (1964, p.22-). Increased knowledge might lead to greater ease in the company of that particular person, but such a knowledge will sometimes simply reveal that the other person has a completely different conception of life, different tastes, interests and values.

Further to that, we have already seen that the Jewish and some of the non-Jewish respondents were aware of great differences between Jews and non-Jews. Some of the Jewish respondents expressed a feeling of greater ease in the company of other Jews, others revealed a fear of being misinterpreted by non-Jews because of these great differences in the "worlds taken for granted" by the Jews and non-Jews, while a number of other respondents expressed a fear of anti-Semitism and a strong "survival instinct". All these, coupled with the widespread indifference towards intergroup relations amongst the non-Jewish respondents are hardly conducive to the formation of intergroup friendships. Indeed not many of the interactions

established between Jews and non-Jews were successful in overcoming these barriers and forming into friendships, as we shall see in the next section.

A. The Patterning of Friendship

We have noted earlier that the respondents applied the term 'friendly' to a wide variety of intergroup situations, while the terms 'friendship' or a 'close friend' were only used in some cases and served to explain situations in which relations with one's neighbours, vocational colleagues or members of a formal association were 'friendly' but did not form 'close friendships'. Thus it is clear that the term 'friendly' in its usage signifies a role-segmented relationship, or a relationship at the superficial level "where we react more in terms of agreed social rules, formality and 'politeness' rather than in terms of a deeper knowledge of the other" (Duck 1974, p.4). On the other hand, the concept of 'close friend' signifies greater psychological and personal involvement in the relationship.

The everyday usage of these terms amongst the respondents approximates the notions expressed by Georg Simmel, with a slight modification - acquaintances should read as 'friendly' acquaintances, that is, a superficial relationship in which no conflict was experienced. We have adopted this two-fold classification for the purposes of studying the patterning of such relationships. Thus, we asked the respondents who were the people they were 'on friendly terms' with, and of those, who were considered to be their 'close friends'.

As can be seen from Table 1, most of the respondents who were

TABLE 1: PEOPLE THE RESPONDENTS WERE 'ON FRIENDLY TERMS' WITH BY SEX

A. THE PATTERNING OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS

The persons respondents were 'on friendly terms' with	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
All ingroup	21	15.2	18	12.9	44	37.0	39	38.6
Mostly ingroup	69	50.0	80	57.1	75	63.0	62	61.4
Both ingroup and outgroup	48	34.8	42	30.0	-	-	-	-
Mostly outgroup								
None	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
TOTALS	140	(-)	140	100.0	120	(-)	101	100.0
Adjusted Totals	138	(100.0)			119	(100.0)		
	$p < 0.4$				$p < 0.8^{(1)}$			

B. THE PATTERNING OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AMONGST THOSE WHO WERE IN

INTERGROUP CONTACT THROUGH EITHER OF THE SETTINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED

The persons respondents were 'on friendly terms' with	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Exclusively ingroup	20	14.7	12	10.5	28	29.5	15	27.8
Some outgroup	116	85.3	102	89.5	67	76.5	39	72.2
TOTALS(all those in contact across ethnic lines)	136	100.0	114	100.0	95	100.0	54	100.0
	$p < 0.8$				$p < 0.3$			

1. Levels of significance were calculated without the 'None' category.

in contact across ethnic lines defined these as being 'Friendly'. This was the case regardless of sex differences. It seems that, although a larger proportion of the men, both Jewish and non-Jewish (as Table 2 shows), are found in intergroup contact within the various situations discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, when contacts were established these were characterised by the respondents as 'friendly'.

TABLE 2: INTERGROUP CONTACT THROUGH WORK, NEIGHBOURHOOD, FORMAL ASSOCIATION OR LEISURE TIME ACTIVITY, BY SEX

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS						NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS					
	All		Male		Female		All		Male		Female	
Involved in intergroup contact at least through one of these spheres	250	89.3	136	97.1	114	81.4	150	67.9	96	80.0	54	53.3
Not involved in intergroup contact through either of the spheres	30	10.7	4	2.9	26	18.6	71	32.1	24	20.0	47	46.5
TOTALS	280	100.0	140	100.0	140	100.0	221	100.0	120	100.0	101	100.0
	p < 0.000						p < 0.000					

Close friends form a different category of people. Here both psychological and personal involvement are greater and, as such, figures presented in Table 3 show that close friends, amongst those who stated that they had such a relationship with other persons, are mostly members of their own group. Amongst both men and women, there is a strong tendency to select a close friend exclusively or mostly from within the confines of the ingroup. This was somewhat more

apparent amongst the non-Jewish than amongst the Jewish respondents. Although having a Jewish close friend was related to having contact with some Jews through one of the spheres discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, it is still the case that close friends are to a large extent confined to one's own group, as Table 4 shows.

TABLE 3: RESPONDENTS' CLOSE FRIENDS BY SEX

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Exclusively ingroup	66	51.2	77	58.2	87	80.5	83	88.5
Mostly ingroup	43	33.3	47	35.1	19	17.6	11	11.7
Both equally or mostly outgroup	20	15.5	9	6.7	2	1.9	-	-
TOTALS	129	100.0	134	100.0	108	100.0	94	100.0

$p < 0.1$

TABLE 4: CLOSE FRIENDS BY INTERGROUP CONTACT THROUGH LEISURE ACTIVITY, FORMAL ASSOCIATIONS, THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OR WORK SITUATION

Respondents' close friend	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
	Not in intergroup contact		Has intergroup contacts		Not in intergroup contact		Has intergroup contacts	
Exclusively ingroup	20	74.1	124	52.5	59	93.7	111	78.9
Some outgroup	7	25.9	112	47.5	4	6.3	28	20.1
TOTALS	27	100.0	236	100.0	63	100.0	139	100.0

$p < 0.05$

$p < 0.02$

Thus while having intergroup contacts through one of the spheres increases the possibility of intergroup friendships, this is not

sufficient for the formation of such friendship. Rather it seems that once contact has been established, as we have noted earlier, other factors such as personal tastes, desires, ease of company, likes and dislikes are operative, in addition to the strong ethno-centric tendencies amongst members of the minority group. Indeed, as we have already seen in Chapter 3, having a non-Jewish close friend was not stratified by any of the structural factors or other factors such as levels of traditional observance or generation in the U.K. (1) Traditional observance, which was found to be low amongst the respondents, does not form a barrier for intergroup socialising or friendship amongst the Jewish respondents. Generations, on the other hand, were found to form an index which was too crude and unsuitable for accounting for current patterns within the Jewish community.

Being 'on friendly terms' with some non-Jewish persons or having

TABLE 5: THE PATTERN OF FRIENDSHIP AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS BY FEELINGS OF EASE AND SEX AMONGST THE JEWISH RESPONDENTS

A. PEOPLE THE RESPONDENTS WERE 'ON FRIENDLY TERMS' WITH

	Male				Female			
	More comfortable with other Jews		No Difference		More comfortable with other Jews		No Difference	
Exclusively ingroup	14	21.2	7	10.0	15	20.8	3	4.7
Some outgroup	52	78.8	63	90.0	57	79.2	61	95.3
TOTAL	66	100.0	70	100.0	72	100.0	64	100.0
	p < 0.000				p < 0.000			

B. CLOSE FRIENDS

	Male				Female			
	More comfortable with other Jews		No Difference		More comfortable with other Jews		No Difference	
Exclusively ingroup	44	66.7	22	52.4	55	70.5	17	30.4
Some outgroup	22	33.3	41	47.6	23	29.5	39	69.6
TOTAL	66	100.0	63	100.0	78	100.0	56	100.0
	p < 0.000				p < 0.000			

1. See Chapter 3, pp. 93-96, also Table 25 in the Appendix.

a non-Jewish close friend was found to be closely related to feeling more at ease in the company of other Jews. As shown in Table 5, the association is much more apparent in the figures when the close friends are considered. Thus, as shown, almost eight out of every ten Jewish respondents who felt more at ease in the company of other Jews were 'on friendly terms' with some non-Jews compared with only three of every ten of these respondents reporting a close friendship with a non-Jew. It is not surprising to find that the inception of a relationship said to be based on an ease of companionship and exchange of confidences without a fear of being misinterpreted (Becker & Useem 1942, p.21) should be closely related to the presence of such fears, anxieties and feelings of discomfort. It is, however, interesting that the differences between those who were more at ease in the company of other Jews and those who felt no different in the company of Jews or non-Jews are more apparent amongst the women than amongst the men. It seems to indicate that when the women feel at ease in the company of non-Jews, the likelihood of forming friendships of the intergroup type are somewhat higher than amongst men who expressed the same feelings.

Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, although feelings of ease in the company of Jews were, by and large, not related to the patterning of friendship, as amongst the Jewish respondents, such feelings are more closely associated with having a Jewish close friend than with being 'on friendly terms' with some Jewish persons, as Table 6 shows. However, holding a stereotyped view of the Jews as a group is not related to being 'on friendly terms' with some Jews or having a Jewish close friend, as shown in Table 7. This shows that these beliefs are held at a very high level of abstraction and are not

related or applied to the individual Jewish person that they meet

TABLE 6: FEELINGS OF EASE AND THE PATTERN OF FRIENDSHIP AND FRIENDLY
RELATIONS BY SEX AMONGST THE NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS

A. PEOPLE THE RESPONDENTS WERE 'ON FRIENDLY TERMS' WITH

	Male							
	More comfortable with other non-Jews		No Difference		More comfortable with other non-Jews		No Difference	
Exclusively non-Jews	9	47.4	34	34.3	8	72.8	31	34.4
Some Jews	10	52.6	65	65.7	3	27.2	59	65.6
TOTALS	19	100.0	99	100.0	11	100.0	90	100.0
	$p < 0.3$				$p < 0.02$			

B. CLOSE FRIENDS

	Male				Female			
	More comfortable with other non-Jews		No Difference		More comfortable with other non-Jews		No Difference	
Exclusively non-Jews	18	94.7	69	77.5	10	100.0	73	86.9
Some Jews	1	5.3	20	22.5	0	0.0	11	13.1
TOTALS	19	100.0	89	100.0	10	100.0	84	100.0
	$p < 0.1$							

and with whom they interact.

It seems that while amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents availability of suitable contacts is very important for the formation of friendships, other factors such as feelings of ease in each other's company are also important. Furthermore, the fact

TABLE 7: THE PATTERNING OF FRIENDSHIP AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS
 BY LEVEL OF DIFFERENTIATION OF TYPICALLY JEWISH TRAITS -
 NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS ONLY

A. PERSONS RESPONDENTS WERE 'ON FRIENDLY TERMS WITH'

	Levels of differentiation:					
	Low		Moderate		High	
Exclusively ingroup	16	41.0	36	36.9	29	35.8
Some outgroup	23	59.0	62	63.3	52	64.2
TOTALS	39	100.0	98	100.0	81	100.0

$p < 0.9$

B. CLOSE FRIENDS

	Levels of differentiation:					
	Low		Moderate		High	
Exclusively ingroup	29	82.9	80	88.9	61	80.3
Some outgroup	6	17.1	10	11.1	15	19.7
TOTALS	35	100.0	90	100.0	76	100.0

$p < 0.3$

that friendships of the intergroup type are as likely to be formed amongst respondents who hold a highly stereotyped view as among those who do not hold such views about the Jews shows that the overwhelming indifference and lack of interest in intergroup relations form a more effective barrier to the formation of intergroup friendships than stereotypes which are held at a high level of abstraction.

B. Close Friendship Pairs

In order to further the discussion of the formation of close friendships, their intensity and content, respondents were asked a series of questions about their closest ingroup and outgroup friends. Questioned in this manner, a number of respondents stated that in fact they were not very close to either of their friends. Thus data was collected about 106 intergroup (90, or 75.6% of N=119 amongst the Jewish, and 16, or 50.0% of N=32 amongst the non-Jewish respondents) and 324 ingroup friendship pairs or dyads (190 or 73.1% of N=260 amongst the Jewish and 134 or 66.3% of N=202 amongst the non-Jewish respondents).

An examination of the data reveals that ingroup friendships tend to be more intensive and have a longer time span than the intergroup ones and that, in both cases, there are differences between Jews and non-Jews. Thus the average time span of an ingroup friendship is 20 years amongst the Jewish and 15 amongst the non-Jewish respondents. An intergroup friendship, on the other hand, is somewhat more recent, amongst the Jewish respondents in particular. On the average it is 10 years amongst the Jewish respondents and amongst the non-Jewish respondents it is 12 years.

TABLE 8: INTENSITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLOSE FRIENDS

A. INGROUP CLOSE FRIENDS

Frequency of meeting and evening visiting during the past year:	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
	Meet their close Jewish friend		Visited in the evening by their close Jewish friend		Meet their close non- Jewish friend		Visited in the evening by their close non- Jewish friend	
At least once a week	150	78.0	71	37.4	92	68.6	22	16.4
1-3 x a month	29	15.3	81	42.6	28	20.9	58	43.3
Less often	11	5.8	28	14.7	14	10.4	45	33.6
Never	-	-	10	5.3	-	-	9	6.7
TOTALS	190	100.1	190	100.0	134	99.9	134	100.0

B. INTERGROUP CLOSE FRIENDS

Frequency of meeting and evening visiting during the past year:	JEWISH RESPONDENTS				NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS			
	Meet their close non- Jewish friend		Visited in the evening by their close non-Jewish friend		Meet their close Jewish friend		Visited in the evening by their close Jewish friend	
At least once a week	45	50.0	9	10.0	4	25.0	2	12.5
1-3 x a month	25	27.8	25	27.8	6	37.5	3	18.8
Less often	20	22.2	41	45.6	6	37.5	6	37.5
Never	-	-	15	16.7	-	-	5	31.2
TOTALS	90	100.0	90	100.1	16	100.0	16	100.0

In addition, ingroup friendships are also more intensive. Here, although the pattern is similar, group differences persist. The Jewish respondents see their ingroup friends and are visited by them in the evening somewhat more often than the non-Jewish respondents. They also see their non-Jewish close friends more often than the non-Jewish respondents see their Jewish close friends and, although evening visiting between intergroup friendship pairs is not very frequent, a larger proportion of the Jewish as compared with the non-Jewish respondents were visited by their close outgroup friend, and this also occurred more often.

This diversity of pattern shown in Table 8, relating to the differences in intensity of meeting and evening visiting between ingroup and outgroup friends and between the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, is somewhat related to the finding that ingroup friends amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents tend to be local, as shown in Table 9. This is more so amongst the Jewish respondents, with most of their friends living in and around Newton Mearns. Amongst the non-Jewish respondents a somewhat larger proportion of the ingroup close friends resided in other urban centres in Scotland and England and, as such, evening visiting patterns are somewhat less intensive. Intergroup friendships, on the other hand, show a different pattern. Amongst the Jewish respondents, these friends tend to be somewhat less local than the ingroup ones whereas, amongst the non-Jewish respondents, no differences were found between the places of residence of the ingroup and outgroup close friends. Thus the Jewish respondents met most of their non-Jewish friends fairly regularly in spite of the fact that some of them live at quite a considerable distance, whereas the non-Jewish respondents see their

TABLE 9: PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF THE CLOSEST FRIEND

A. INGROUP FRIENDSHIPS

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
Local ⁽¹⁾	143	75.3	67	50.0
Central South (Glasgow)	22	11.6	14	10.4
Glasgow - other	13	6.9	16	12.0
Out of Glasgow	12	6.3	37	27.6
TOTALS	190	100.1	134	100.0

B. INTERGROUP FRIENDSHIPS

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
Local ⁽¹⁾	38	42.2	8	50.0
Central South (Glasgow)	9	10.0	3	18.8
Glasgow - other	20	22.2	-	-
Out of Glasgow	23	25.5	5	31.2
TOTALS	90	99.9	16	100.0

1. 'Local' meaning Newton Mearns, Whitecraigs and Giffnock.

Jewish friends less regularly even when these are local. Evening visiting in intergroup friendships is somewhat less intensive amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, regardless of the place of residence of the close outgroup friend, although here, again, the pattern amongst the non-Jewish respondents is more affected by distance than it is for the Jews.

On the whole, the visiting pattern between close friends is less intensive amongst the non-Jewish than amongst the Jewish respondents, regardless of who the friend is. Thus, when friends were local, only 20.9 of the non-Jewish respondents were visited in the evening at least once a week by an ingroup close friend (14 of N=67). A similar proportion (25.0% or 2 of N=8) were visited by a Jewish close friend. Amongst the Jewish respondents whose close friends were local, the pattern is more affected by the ethnic factor. Thus 44.1% (63 of N=143) were visited by their close Jewish friend, compared with only 10.5% (4 of N=38) who were visited by a non-Jewish close friend at least once a week during the past year.

Although most of their Jewish, and a considerable proportion of their non-Jewish close friends were local, most of these friendships amongst the Jewish respondents (Table 10) were not formed locally. A similar situation is found amongst the non-Jewish respondents, although a larger proportion of the friendships, both of the ingroup and intergroup type, were formed in the neighbourhood. This particular finding reflects two issues which have already been discussed. Firstly, it reflects the previous finding that the Jewish respondents, who form a part of the closely knit network of social relations which constitutes the Glasgow Jewish community, were

much more likely to have friends in the area whom they met prior to moving into Newton Mearns as compared with the non-Jewish respondents. Secondly, the fact that a larger proportion of the non-Jewish respondents met their close friends in the neighbourhood is indicative of the saliency that the neighbourhood as a source of new friendships has for these respondents. This was more so amongst the women than amongst the men, with 28.8% of the close ingroup friendships (19 of N=66) formed in the neighbourhood, compared with 15.1% (13 of N=68) amongst the men.

A large proportion of the ingroup close friendships amongst the non-Jewish respondents date back to childhood and were formed at school. This was mainly so amongst respondents who lived in Glasgow prior to moving into Newton Mearns (22 of N=86, or 25.6% compared with 18.8% amongst those who moved into the area from other urban centres in Scotland, or 9 of N=48). However, it seems that although many new friendships were formed as a result of the residential move into Newton Mearns, old friendships are still maintained, even when the friend is geographically distant.

Amongst the Jewish respondents, most of the ingroup friendships were further reinforced by other informal contacts. While it is possible that a Jewish respondent met his closest ingroup friend at work, the link was further reinforced by a network of mutual affiliations. Thus a Jewish person met within a certain specific context is much more likely to be part of the regular social environment of the Jewish respondents, and in this way both parties are kept in touch with each other within various different contexts. Jewish friends are more likely to belong to the same organisations, to move in the same social circles and to be connected through

TABLE 10: THE TYPE OF SPHERE/SITUATION WHICH HAS LED TO THE
INCEPTION OF CLOSEST FRIENDSHIPS

A. INGROUP FRIENDSHIPS

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
Work	6	3.2	18	13.4
Neighbourhood	10	5.3	32	23.9
Formal Associations	22	11.6	11	8.2
School (as children)	33	17.4	31	23.1
In other friends' and relations' homes	65	34.2	18	13.4
Holidays, parties and pubs	23	12.1	10	7.4
Sporting activity (not in an organisational setting)	-	-	4	3.2
Can't remember	31	16.1	10	7.4
TOTALS	190	100.0	134	100.0

B. INTERGROUP FRIENDSHIPS

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
Work	23	25.6	3	18.8
Neighbourhood	17	18.9	5	31.2
Formal Associations	10	11.1	-	-
School (as children)	9	10.0	1	6.3
In other friends' and relations' homes	14	15.6	5	31.2
Holidays, parties and pubs	9	10.0	-	-
Sporting Activity (not in an organisational setting)	8	8.9	2*	12.5
TOTALS	90	100.1	16	100.0

*Two men stated that they met their closest Jewish friend in London, not stating the circumstances.

mutual friends or distant cousins, as was found through the participant observations conducted in the area. These serve to reinforce many of their mutual interests as well as to provide a more firm background to the relationship. Indeed, as shown in Table 11, a large proportion of the Jewish ingroup friendships had a wider basis of sharing general interests, background, attitudes and a way of life.

Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, with a lack of such reinforcements, friendships tended to form on a narrower basis and were more of the segregated types described by Simmel (Simmel, translated by Wolff 1950, p. 326).

The inception of intergroup friendships was somewhat more related to the type of situations within which contact was established. Thus only a somewhat larger proportion of the intergroup friendships amongst the Jewish respondents were formed within a vocational setting, as compared with the non-Jewish ones, yet a much larger proportion of such friendships amongst the non-Jewish respondents were formed within the neighbourhood. Both these findings show that, of all the spheres of social interaction examined, these two developed an atmosphere which was more conducive to friendship. The finding that a larger proportion of these friendships amongst the non-Jewish respondents were formed within the neighbourhood is again reflective of the different emphasis that Jews and non-Jews place on this setting.

Another channel through which a large proportion of the intergroup friendships amongst the non-Jewish respondents were formed was through other friends and relations. This was found to be further linked with the sex of the Jewish close friend. Thus,

TABLE 11: THE SHARING OF INTERESTS AND OTHER FEATURES WITHIN
FRIENDSHIP PAIRS

A. INGROUP FRIENDSHIPS

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
General interests	52	27.4	22	16.4
Background, attitudes and 'a way of life'	49	25.8	19	14.2
Family and business interests	27	14.2	11	8.2
Leisure interests	19	10.0	42	31.4
'Get on well'	27	14.2	11	8.2
Other and D.K.	16	18.5	29	21.6
TOTALS	190	100.1	134	100.0

B. INTERGROUP FRIENDSHIPS

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
General interests	24	26.7	4	25.0
Background, attitudes and 'a way of life'	13	14.4	-	-
Family and business interests	11	12.2	4	25.0
Leisure interests	7	7.7	1	6.3
'Get on well'	20	22.2	-	-
Politics	-	-	1	6.3
Other and D.K.	15	16.7	6 ⁽¹⁾	33.3
TOTALS	90	99.9	16	99.9

1. 3 stated they shared "a sense of humour", another one shared their "troubles" and a further 2 could not specify.

whereas amongst the Jewish respondents most of the ingroup (85.3% or 162 of N=190) and outgroup friendships (75.6% or 68 of N=90) were between people of the same sex, amongst the non-Jewish respondents this only applies to the ingroup friendships. While 88.0% of the ingroup friendship pairs amongst them (119 of N=134) were 'man-man' 'woman-woman' pairs, only 50.0% (8 of N=16) of the intergroup friendships were thus anchored. A further four mentioned 'a couple' and the remaining four were heterosexual. Of these, two were formed through an intermarriage between a close relative and a Jewish person, and a further female noted that she met her closest Jewish male friend through her husband. The fourth was a courtship. It seems that further research is needed to establish to what extent intergroup friendships, particularly those of the heterosexual type, are accidental and to what extent they are prescribed by marital choices and friendship patterns amongst close ingroup friends and relations, particularly since three of the heterosexual intergroup friendships amongst the Jewish respondents (out of N=9) were also due to marital choice of others who were close to the respondents, and a further ten met their closest intergroup friends through other close Jewish friends.

The common basis of the intergroup friendships is somewhat more similar in nature to that of the type of ingroup friendships amongst the non-Jewish respondents. Thus, although a considerable proportion of the respondents stated that they shared general interests with these friends, few of the Jewish and none of the non-Jewish respondents stated that they shared a common background, attitudes and a way of life. Only in a very few cases is an intergroup friendship based on "value homophily" in Merton's terms

(1954, p.24). Rather "getting on well" which probably signifies an ease of companionship and mutual understanding seems to be one of the most important features of intergroup friendships amongst the Jewish respondents. Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, family and work interests are operative in bringing Jews and non-Jews together. It is also important to note the great variety of differentiated qualities and interests which attract Jews to non-Jews and vice versa.

Thus intergroup friendships are much more differentiated than the ingroup ones. This is particularly so amongst the Jewish respondents. It seems that the ingroup friendships amongst the Jewish respondents are based both on an "ethnic impulse", a sense of a sharing of fate, and on the sharing of common experience (Simmel, translated by Wolff 1950, p.326), whereas their outgroup friendships and the friendships (both outgroup and ingroup) amongst the Jewish respondents are much more differentiated and based more on a sharing of specific leisure and other interests.

C. Ingroup-Intergroup Friendships: A Contrast in Intimacy

In spite of the small number of non-Jewish respondents who had a close friendship with a Jewish person, the differences between ingroup and outgroup friends seem to suggest that only in a very few cases does the intimacy reached between intergroup friends surpass the level of intimacy that the respondents have achieved in their closest friendship with a member of their own 'group'. That this is the case is very clearly stated by the respondents who were involved in both types of friendships. Thus, only 10.0% of the Jewish (7 of N=68) and none of the non-Jewish respondents reported a closer relationship with their outgroup friend as

TABLE 12: TOPICS DISCUSSED WITH INGROUP CLOSEST FRIEND

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
The children	166	86.9	107	79.9
Financial problems	114	59.7	82	61.2
Business matters	119	62.3	80	59.7
Controversial political issues	133	69.6	83	61.9
Community problems	142	74.3	70	52.2
Engage in gossip and/or small talk	164	85.9	95	72.6
Personal anxieties and worries	159	83.2	97	73.4
Intimate marital difficulties and problems	53	27.7	33	24.6
Jewish/non-Jewish relations	97	50.7	28	20.9
Anti-Semitism	112	58.9	18	13.6
TOTALS	190	(-)	134	(-)

TABLE 13: TOPICS DISCUSSED WITH INTERGROUP CLOSEST FRIEND

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS		NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS	
The children	70	77.8	13	81.3
Financial problems	46	51.1	14	68.8
Business matters	53	58.9	14	87.5
Controversial political issues	62	68.9	7	43.8
Community problems	50	55.6	4	25.0
Engage in gossip and/or small talk	65	72.2	10	62.5
Personal anxieties and worries	64	71.1	11	68.8
Intimate marital difficulties and problems	18	20.0	4	25.0
Jewish/non-Jewish relations	66	73.3	10	62.5
Anti-Semitism	50	55.6	4	25.0
TOTAL	90	(-)	16	(-)

TABLE 14: TOPICS DISCUSSED BETWEEN CLOSE FRIENDS BY SEX

A. INGROUP FRIENDSHIPS

	JEWISH RESPONDENTS			NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS					
	Male	Female	Significance p<	Male	Female	Significance p<			
The children	69	82.1	97	91.5	48	90.6	59	89.4	0.01
Financial problems	67	79.8	47	44.3	45	66.2	37	56.1	0.3
Business matters	72	85.7	47	44.3	56	82.4	24	36.4	0.000
Controversial political issues	61	72.6	72	67.9	48	70.6	35	53.0	0.05
Community problems	61	72.6	81	76.4	32	47.1	38	57.6	0.2
Gossip/small talk	67	79.8	97	91.5	47	69.1	48	72.7	0.7
Personal anxieties	63	75.0	96	90.6	42	61.8	55	83.3	0.009
Intimate marital difficulties	29	34.5	24	22.6	18	26.5	15	22.7	0.7
Jewish/non-Jewish relations	50	59.5	47	44.3	15	22.1	13	19.7	0.9
Anti-Semitism	59	70.2	53	50.0	13	19.1	5	7.6	0.1
TOTALS	(84)	(100.0)	(106)	(100.0)	(63)	(100.0)	(66)	100.0	

B. INTERGROUP FRIENDSHIPS

B. INTERGROUP FRIENDSHIPS		Male		Female		Significance		Male		Female		Significance	
		Male		Female		p<		Male		Female		p<	
The children		28	66.7	42	87.5	0.03		6	75.0	7	87.5	0.5	
Financial problems		24	57.1	22	45.8	0.3		6	75.0	5	62.5	0.5	
Business matters		33	78.6	20	41.7	0.000		7	87.5	7	87.5	0.7	
Controversial political issues		27	64.3	35	72.9	0.5		3	37.5	4	50.0	0.5	
Community problems		16	38.1	34	70.8	0.003		1	12.5	3	37.5	0.2	
Gossip/small talk		28	66.7	37	77.1	0.3		3	37.5	7	87.5	0.05	
Personal anxieties		29	69.0	35	72.9	0.5		4	50.0	7	87.5	0.1	
Intimate marital difficulties		8	19.0	10	20.8	0.9		1	12.5	3	37.5	0.2	
Jewish/non-Jewish relations		32	76.2	34	70.8	0.7		4	50.0	6	37.5	0.3	
Anti-Semitism		21	50.0	29	60.4	0.4		22	25.0	2	25.0	0.7	
TOTALS		(42)	(100.0)	(48)	(100.0)			(8)	(100.0)	(8)	(100.0)		

compared with the relationship they have established with an ingroup close friend. As many as 63.2% of the Jewish respondents (43 of N=68) and 45.5% (5 of N=11) of the non-Jewish respondents said that they felt closer to their ingroup close friend, while 19.1% of the Jewish respondents (13 of N=68) and 54.5% of the non-Jewish respondents (6 of N=11) said that they felt equally close to both their Jewish and non-Jewish friends.⁽¹⁾

An examination of the topics discussed between close friends shows very clearly the differences between both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents and the ingroup and outgroup friendships.

Jewish ingroup friendships are generally more intimate than such friendships amongst the non-Jewish respondents (Table 12). Although differences are very small, a larger proportion of the Jewish, compared with the non-Jewish respondents discussed personal anxieties and worries and engaged in gossip with their close ingroup friend. The children, amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents, form a very prevalent topic of conversation. This was more so in friendships formed by the women, as shown in Table 13. Indeed, sex differences in relation to topics discussed are of great interest. It seems that the women share confidences of personal anxieties and worries, engage in gossip and discuss the children to a greater extent than the men. On the other hand, men are mostly engaged in discussing various aspects of their career or business, financial problems and politics (this was more the case amongst the non-Jewish respondents) to a greater extent than women. They were also more engaged in discussing intergroup relations and anti-Semitism than the women.

The general picture emerging out of these findings shows that

1. A similar finding is reported by Ringer (1967, p.244).

ingroup friendships formed between women have more personal content than those formed between the men, and that women are probably also more emotionally involved in these relationships. They tend to share their daily experiences and problems to a greater extent than men do, whereas men tend to share interests rather than confide in their close friends. Furthermore, the more intimate nature and the wider base of the Jewish ingroup friendships is demonstrated by the larger proportion of respondents discussing various communal problems and engaging in gossip. Since friends and relations formed the main subjects of gossip amongst Jews, this particular finding shows the extent to which these are shared and reinforce friendships amongst these respondents.

Topics discussed with an outgroup friend are somewhat less differentiated by sex than in ingroup friendships. Furthermore, there is an observable asymmetry in topics discussed with outgroup friends amongst the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents. While amongst both the Jewish and non-Jewish respondents children still form a salient topic of conversation, all except for two of the non-Jewish respondents stated that they discussed business matters with their Jewish close friend. This does not compare very favourably with the 58.9% of the Jewish respondents who reported such discussions. Furthermore, a larger proportion of the Jewish compared with the non-Jewish respondents discussed political and communal issues, intergroup relations and anti-Semitism with an outgroup friend.

When these are examined by sex, similar trends to those found between ingroup friends are revealed with some slight differences. Although men still discuss mainly interests, rather than confide

in their close friends, and women tend to share experiences and confidences with their outgroup friends to a greater extent than men, this is so to a lesser extent than is the case with ingroup friends. Furthermore, men, particularly the non-Jewish ones, discuss controversial political issues with an outgroup friend to a lesser extent than they do with an ingroup close associate. It also seems that such friendships involve somewhat more personal content amongst the non-Jewish than amongst the Jewish women, with a larger proportion of them involved in gossip and discussing personal anxieties and marital difficulties with a Jewish friend than was found in the mixed friendships reported by the Jewish women.

Although, on the whole, there is not a great difference in the general pattern of the topics discussed between ingroup and outgroup friends, the latter have much less personal content than the former. This generalisation reflects the position amongst the Jewish respondents and the non-Jewish men, but is not exactly the case amongst the non-Jewish women. It is interesting to note that a larger proportion of the latter confided in their Jewish friends than in their non-Jewish ones, and a much larger proportion of them discussed business matters with their Jewish friends. This finding is very difficult to interpret, particularly since only two of these women met their close friend through a work connection. (One was introduced to her close friend by her husband, the other met her close friend at work.) However, two other respondents were themselves in the labour force, and an additional two of these friendships were heterosexual, thus the discussion probably centred around the vocational experience of the friend.

One of the main factors operating here, as noted earlier, is the reinforcement that ingroup friendships receive from the Jewish communal network. Another factor relates to the perception of group differences of the type discussed in Chapter 4. Thus the fact that two Jewish friends can get together and engage in gossip about the recent "Bar-Mitzvah" or wedding party, common friends, acquaintances or relations, local scandals involving the clergy or other communal affairs, without the need for further explanations as to the background of these "scandals" is very important. 25 (or 58.1% of N=43) of the Jewish respondents who stated that they felt closer to their Jewish compared with their non-Jewish close friend made statements such as the following: "I have more in common with my Jewish friend. We have friends and relations in common, our children get on well. Just more in common"; another Jewish respondent stated: "I don't know, I think there is an affinity with a Jewish person that I don't have with a non-Jewish person"; or, "We have a 'rapport' based on the fact that he 'thinks' Jewish. There is an unconscious bond and so much is 'understood' and doesn't need to be said".

In addition to these factors, it seems that the Jewish respondents continue to worry that even a close non-Jewish friend harbours anti-Jewish stereotypes, as some of those who had both a Jewish and a non-Jewish close friend stated: "Jewish friends every time (closer to them). With non-Jewish friends I feel that there is anti-Semitism with all of them, even your best friend". The remaining 18 respondents expressed a combination of the above statements with an additional focus on the geographical distance or the length of time that the relationship had existed, as the

following statements show: "I have known them (the Jewish friends) longer and we are more at one together"; or, "When the non-Jewish friend was around I was very close to him but now he has faded out of my life due to his studies and I am seeing less of him and more of my Jewish friends so I have more in common with them".

Statements amongst the non-Jewish respondents are very similar to the last two quoted above. One non-Jewish respondent who felt closer to his non-Jewish friend stated that "I've known him longer and we have more in common socially", while yet another respondent stated that "We have very different ways and I also see my Jewish friend less often".

Thus, even when close friendships between Jews and non-Jews occur, there are some psychological barriers which may inhibit the possibilities of a growing attachment between ethnically mixed pairs of friends. Even if there are no fears of prejudice and stereotyped thought amongst the Jewish respondents, the sense of cultural difference creates a greater distance in these friendships than in ingroup friendship pairs. Thus, in fact, intergroup friendships and close relationships do not, by and large, approach the scope and depth reached in ingroup friendships.

Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, with the lack of such fears and suspicions, a somewhat larger proportion of the intergroup friendships reach a degree of 'closeness' similar to the one they experience with their ingroup close friends. It seems that awareness of group differences is a strong factor affecting the type of relationship between Jews and non-Jews, but when it is coupled with various anxieties and suspicions, the effect is even stronger.

Any attempt at analysing the relationship between the type of situation within which intergroup contact was established and the type of relationship that will follow is severely limited by the small number of respondents who formed intergroup friendships within each specific context. Furthermore, the large proportion of respondents who were involved in intergroup friendships which dated back to their youth, or who have met their close friends through a relation or a friend complicate the picture still further. However, on a closer examination of the data, a number of main points emerge, which should be seen as tentative suggestions or, perhaps, hypotheses for further research.

Firstly, it seems that where childhood links or links through other friends and relations are available, these are very important in the formation of intergroup friendships. Furthermore, being introduced to a 'member of the outgroup' by a close friend or a relation in his/her home is a situation which is much less structured than any of those studied here. These situations permit or, in fact, perhaps even create an atmosphere in which questions of a more personal nature are expected, thus facilitating exchange of information about tastes and interests and, where the wish to extend the acquaintanceship thus formed exists, a further invitation in most cases does not seem to be out of place. Indeed, as shown in Tables 58-59 in the Appendix, these characteristics, coupled with the fact that these friendships had a longer time span than those established in any other sphere of social behaviour, make for closer friendship ties. Respondents who met their closest intergroup friend at school or through other friends and relations stated that they shared general interests and values to a somewhat greater extent than those

who met their friends in a different context (this is only the case amongst the Jewish respondents). Most of these respondents shared confidences in relation to personal anxieties and worries with their close intergroup friends.

Friendships which were formed with neighbours seem to approximate the level of intimacy experienced in the long-standing relationships to a somewhat greater extent than those which originated in the work situation. A larger proportion of these relationships involved exchange of confidences of marital problems and difficulties as compared with those formed in a vocational setting, in spite of the fact that the latter were of an average longer time span.

Finally, friendships formed through a formal association or on a holiday were the most segregated both in terms of interests shared, and in that the likelihood of discussing personal matters was very low.

Summary

If we put together the vocational, organisational, leisure and neighbourhood contacts between Jews and non-Jews, it is evident that the opportunities for relations across ethnic lines are frequent. Only 10.7% of the Jewish (30 of N=280) and 32.1% of the non-Jewish respondents (71 of N=221) reported that they had no contact with persons who were members of the "other group".

A large proportion of these contacts do not develop into an interaction and, when they do, most of these do not go beyond casual acquaintance - i.e. beyond the social context in which they arise. Many of the situations in which Jews and non-Jews are found in contact do not encourage the formation of more personal relations, and make it very difficult to exchange or communicate personal tastes and

desires. Interactions are usually friendly, but context-bound and, to a large extent, are formal and superficial.

The transformation of these interactions into close friendships was found to be very closely related to feelings of ease. Amongst the Jewish respondents, it seems that the common historical and cultural background which is shared with other Jews has created a bond of "interdependence of fate" amongst Jews. Additional family ties and ties of mutual acquaintance promote the sharing of interests with other Jews, which are already inbuilt within the Jewish community. Through these common mutual bonds, an associational inbreeding is created which serves to strengthen other bonds between the members of the community, and this in turn perpetuates this associational inbreeding. The latter, through cutting down social contacts with non-Jews, tends to create social insularity which strengthens bonds within the ingroup and serves to create a quasi-social-cultural island, with its own rules of conduct and accepted norms of behaviour, all of which form their special "world taken for granted" (in Schutz's terms). One of the concomitants of such social insulation is a feeling of discomfort in the company of outgroups, a fear of being misinterpreted and a suspicion that non-Jews are potentially anti-Semitic (Dean 1958, p.317). Such perceptions can easily lead to avoidance techniques. It is not suggested here that the Jewish respondents would tend to avoid 'contacts' as such, but rather that they would not tend to transform such contacts into close friendships to the same extent as they would do with other Jews. (1)

1. For various types of avoidance see Simpson & Yinger 1972, pp.268-213.

Amongst the non-Jewish respondents such fears and feelings of unease are much less prevalent, and only in a few cases did these interfere with the formation of intergroup friendships. Rather such friendships were more a function of personal interests, tastes and desires than of attitudes and lack of stereotyped structures of thought. The most inhibiting factor was the lack of interest in transforming contact with Jews into friendships.

Apparently a mixture of Jewish anxiety and sensitivity on the one hand and indifference amongst the non-Jews on the other hand are not very conducive to the formation of friendships across ethnic lines. Indifference, as we have shown, can only too easily be interpreted to mean a dislike for Jews,⁽¹⁾ which can increase discomfort. On the other hand, apparent discomfort can potentially produce an uneasy atmosphere through which the indifference of the non-Jew towards intergroup relations might be reinforced.

In the few cases where intergroup friendships were formed, these were found to be based more on specific interests than on a wider basis of sharing general values and attitudes to life. The contrast between the ingroup and intergroup friendships were more apparent in friendships formed by the Jewish than those formed by the non-Jewish respondents. With the lack of a supporting communal network of marriage, kinship and other links, ingroup friendships amongst the non-Jewish respondents are almost as segregated in nature as their intergroup ones. On the other hand, the presence of such a reinforcement amongst the Jewish respondents makes for a wider basis of ingroup as compared with the intergroup friendships. The common sharing of a minority status and life circumstances, coupled by a strong feeling of affinity with other Jews, creates a

1. See Chapter 4, pp.149-150.

greater personal involvement in ingroup compared with outgroup friendships. The greater ease in the company of the ingroup and lack of inhibitions resulting from various other bonds that already exist between Jews make for a greater intimacy between Jewish friends. The strength of these feelings are clearly shown by the finding that, in a large number of cases where the Jewish respondents formed a friendship with a non-Jewish person, these relationships have proved incapable of dissolving underlying doubts and anxieties.

Intergroup friendships, particularly those formed by the Jewish respondents, arise and operate within a more limited environment than the relationships that are formed within the group. As a result, these friendships are more limited in nature, and do not in most cases constitute a long-standing relationship with sufficient personal content to allow for an intimacy of the type experienced with an ingroup friend.

PART FOUR: CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 8: THE NATURE OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS - SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The present study has focused attention on a hitherto neglected field of sociological study. Having presented the findings concerning the nature of intergroup relations and life in Newton Mearns, we can now turn attention to a number of more general considerations.

Newton Mearns, as noted earlier, is a residential suburb with particular attraction for the middle classes. Being a dormitory suburb of Glasgow, with high cost houses and bungalows, the characteristics displayed by the respondents are, to a large extent, a result of self-selection in moving into the area. Most of the respondents were found in occupations broadly defined as those of the upper and middle-middle class (Raynor 1969, pp.8-11). A considerable proportion of the non-Jewish and most of the Jewish respondents were self-employed in business on their own, which can be seen as an expression of the dominant personal goal of 'independence' amongst the upper-middle class (Raynor 1969, pp.87-88). Amongst the Jewish respondents this is further linked with the historical development of the Jewish community in Glasgow.

Newton Mearns is, for the most part, "a place for the folks to sleep", as one of the ministers in the area described it. "This place has got no soul". Indeed, there was no sense of community in the suburb. Apart from the Church and church-affiliated associations, there are no social clubs or other organisations in Newton Mearns, and the residents usually go out of the suburb for their leisure

time pursuits.

It is in their leisure time interests and activities that the middle class features amongst the respondents are probably most obvious. A large proportion of the respondents cultivated a variety of home-centred activities and hobbies and were affiliated with formal associations of the exclusive, status-conferring type. The widespread interest in sport, and the minority interest in the Arts, classical music, ballet and various collections are again part of the cultural patterns of members of the middle class (Roberts 1970, pp.26,54). Attendance at various functions, higher amongst the Jewish than the non-Jewish respondents, is again more characteristic of the wealthier class, and in a similar way the type of collections (old coins, antiques, china and silver and rare stamps) presuppose wealth. In addition to these, some households had domestic staff and others 'home help'.

The family formed an important part of the social life of the respondents, particularly amongst the Jewish ones, although there are some signs which show that friends have replaced kin in the evening visiting pattern. Indeed, visiting in general is said to be "a characteristic middle class habit" (Raynor 1969, p.74). In this light it seems that the Jewish respondents display this, as well as various other characteristics (interest in the Arts, affiliation with formal associations, having resident staff, etc.), to a greater extent than the non-Jewish ones. They also tend to live in bigger houses and lead a somewhat busier social life than the non-Jews in the area.

Turning to the main focal point of the study, the relations between Jews and non-Jews, a number of factors were examined which

formed the background for these relations. Two main sets of factors were found to operate amongst the Jewish respondents. A strong ethnocentric identification with other Jews, which gained its clearest expression in their feelings towards the state of Israel and additional factors such as communal identification through affiliation with Jewish formal associations, sociability patterns and endogamy can all be seen as centripetal forces, drawing the respondents into the Jewish group and acting as boundary maintenance mechanisms. On the other hand, there is greater involvement in the general community than was the case some 40-50 years ago. The decline in religious adherence, seeking a status within the broader context of the general community, the increase in contacts between Jews and non-Jews can be seen as forces which draw them away from the core of Jewish distinctiveness. These can be seen as centrifugal forces.

The operation of these two contradicting tendencies is very well demonstrated in the statements made by the respondents. On the one hand, they wish to integrate into the general community. At the same time, there is a strong 'survival instinct' which serves to modify the type of integration that these respondents seek. Coupled with a fear of anti-Semitic reactions from non-Jews, the centripetal forces gain greater support than the centrifugal ones.

In contrast to this complicated attitudinal background, the non-Jews have demonstrated a widespread indifference to intergroup relations or to further contact with Jews. Stereotypes, although reflecting a clear image of the Jew, are ambivalent in their affective component and held at a high level of abstraction. A very

small proportion of the respondents were found to hold anti-Jewish prejudices, and this is possibly a result of self-selection into the area.

These considerations, however, form only part of the intricate web of interconnected factors which were found to be related to intergroup relations. Factors such as the size of the Jewish group, availability of contact and the type of situations in which these contacts occur; specific attitudes and perceived attitudes; feelings of ease, interests, personal definitions and past experiences are all very important to the understanding of intergroup relations. Additional cultural differences and the perception of these differences serve as an additional factor which has a great impact on intergroup relations.

It is obvious, but nonetheless worth mentioning, that intergroup relations cannot be formed without the existence of contact between members of different groups. It was also clear in the findings that the extent to which different persons within a given community will be involved in intergroup contact is, to a large extent, dependent on the type of role and status which they hold. Furthermore, contacts are also dependent on the size of the minority, the extent to which the roles that members of this group hold are segregated ethnically.

Thus it was found that although, by and large, 'being Jewish' did not form a separate set of roles and was not always relevant to behaviour in many situations,⁽¹⁾ various factors channel and

1. For a discussion of the extent to which 'race' forms a separate role category in different social structures, see Banton 1967, pp.55-76.

restrict the amount of contact that non-Jews will have with Jews. Thus, the small proportion that the Jewish group forms in the general population in Glasgow, coupled with their tendency to concentrate in a limited number of trades and industries, mainly as self employed, restricts vocational contacts amongst non-Jews to a number of specific occupations. Additional restrictive measures regarding the participation of Jews in various formal associations and differences in leisure interests further channel these contacts into specific contexts.

Indeed, it could be said that the Jewish respondents would be in contact with non-Jews through most of the roles or status that they hold, whereas many non-Jewish respondents will have to go out of their way "to seek interaction with a member of a minority group" (Williams 1964, pp.162-163).

Men and women in Newton Mearns hold different roles and status which entail different responsibilities and societal and communal demands. Their patterns of daily activities are different and the extent to which these require contact across ethnic lines differs. Thus men were found in intergroup contact to a larger extent than women, and in different situations. Most of the men were in contact through one of their vocational role-sets, whereas most of the women were in such contact within the neighbourhood. Very few women were found in intergroup contact through a formal association, leisure time activity or a vocational setting. By and large, the work and neighbourhood form the two settings within which most of the intergroup contacts occur. Formal associations bring a somewhat smaller proportion of Jews and non-Jews into contact, while the pursuit of leisure interests (not in a formal context) was found to

be the most segregated type of activity.

Situations in which members of the two groups are physically present, however, vary in the extent to which they require or encourage interactions across ethnic lines. They also vary in the degree to which behaviour is prescribed by relatively fixed and accepted rules of conduct. Thus it was possible to be affiliated with and active in a formal association drawing members from both groups, yet at the same time refrain from establishing any meaningful contact or interactions with members of the outgroup. At work, rules of the market place very strongly dominated the interactions that were established, with the ulterior motive very apparent. In the neighbourhood, the type of relationship which was established with neighbours was more related to notions and accepted rules of what should constitute neighbourly relations. In some cases, interactions were formal and involved a distant acknowledgement of neighbours, whereas in other instances, these involved a borrowing and/or visiting relationship.

The fact that very few of these interactions assumed more diffuse characteristics tends to suggest that even when the routine daily activities or, in Williams' terms, "the beaten paths" of members of the two groups intersect, this does not happen in situations which could potentially lead to friendship. When their daily activities require or allow for interactions in situations conducive to the formation of friendships, the centripetal forces amongst the Jewish and the widespread indifferences amongst the non-Jewish respondents pose barriers which seem difficult to cross.

Amongst the Jewish respondents the various factors which have a centripetal effect combine together and reinforce each other. The

strong ethnocentric identification creates an associational inbreeding, a sharing of common interests and communal bonds between Jews which in turn strengthens ethnic identification. One of the concomitants of this social insularity is the feeling that one has more in common with fellow Jews sharing a similar world taken for granted. With most of their contacts with non-Jews being context-bound, ignorance of the attitudes of non-Jews seems to prevail. Behaviour of non-Jews is interpreted in the light of the long *established* historical model of anti-Semitism, and such fears and anxieties further reinforce centripetal forces. Thus, respondents who established intergroup friendships were mostly those who did not feel ill at ease in the company of non-Jews.

Amongst the non-Jewish respondents, disinterest in intergroup relations makes for a lack of incentive to develop intergroup friendships unless some specific interest is shared. Thus, scarcity of contacts with Jews who share similar interests, in situations which allow the communication of these interests, coupled with perceived group differences, make for a much smaller proportion of intergroup friendships amongst these respondents.

Even when friendships between Jews and non-Jews occur, these in most cases do not compare favourably with ingroup friendships. The intimacy reached between intergroup friends does not, in most cases, approximate or match the type of understanding and knowledge of the inner life that is experienced between ingroup friends. In a large number of cases, these friendships do not, by and large, eliminate the suspicions or overcome the anxieties and sensitivities of the Jewish respondents.

Interactions examined in this dissertation were, for the most

part, pleasant though not always devoid of conflict. Most of these relationships do not go beyond a casual acquaintance, with very little emotional substance or personal involvement. Very few of these relationships were sought after and pursued in and for themselves and, even then, the centripetal forces were still strong to the extent that these friendships for the most part remained segmented and were not as significant to the Jewish respondents as their ingroup friends.

In the final analysis, given the ambivalence of feelings and attitudes amongst the Jewish and the mixture of tolerance and indifference amongst the non-Jewish respondents, intergroup relations are characterised by an air of uncertainty and fantasy. Very few of the Jewish respondents appear to be in a position to gauge the reaction of non-Jews with any accuracy, while very few of the non-Jewish respondents indicated an awareness of the feelings and sentiments of the Jew. Benjamin Ringer (1967, p.267) noted a similar "aura of unreality" in Lakeville, a community in which the Jews were more acculturated, much less traditional than the Newton Mearns Jew (Sklare & Greenblum 1967) and where intergroup friendships were more the norm than in Newton Mearns. It is perhaps for this reason that the second volume of the Lakeville studies, dealing with the relations between Jews and non-Jews, was entitled "The Edge of Friendliness".

In its ambiguity, the metaphor accurately reflects the atmosphere of uncertainty and 'unreality' surrounding the relations between Jews and non-Jews in Newton Mearns. In its subtlety it draws attention to the thin line which differentiates between the ingroup and intergroup friendships and to forces which operate towards such distinctions. I cannot think of a better metaphor which brings to the surface the doubts and questions which are involved in the relations between Jews

and non-Jews, as the "Edge of Friendliness".

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in the Appendix.