HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
California School

in cooperation with

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
School of Social Work

THE IMPACT OF JEWISH POPULATION DENSITY ON JEWISH INVOLVEMENT AND IDENTIFICATION: A COMPARISON OF TWO JEWISH COMMUNITIES

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in collaboration with

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THE IMPACT OF JEWISH POPULATION DENSITY ON JEWISH INVOLVEMENT AND IDENTIFICATION: A COMPARISON OF TWO JEWISH COMMUNITIES

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Study Problem

> The Jewish community in the United States today faces a crisis in freedom. It has achieved economic affluence, political prominence, high educational and cultural excellence, and social status rarely equalled in Jewish history. As upward mobility and freedom of association in our society increase, so do our choices with respect to the degree of Jewish identification. Jewish continuity in an open society is largely based on the ingredient of Jewish identity.[1]

Given the nature of this "crisis in freedom," and our personal concerns about Jewish survival, we are seeking, along with other social scientists, to find out more about some of the factors affecting Jewish identity and identification. Specifically, we are interested in learning about the effect of Jewish population density on Jewish identity and identification.

Based on personal and professional impressions in

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[1]John Slawson, "Jewish Identity in the United States," Journal of Jewish Communal Service 48 (Fall 1971): 42.

our contact with youth groups and day camps, as well as our field placements in the San Gabriel Valley, there seems to be a lower level of Jewish identity and identification among many Jewish residents of low density Jewish suburban areas. This brought us to question what exactly is the impact of Jewish population density on Jewish identity and identification. Does living in a highly dense urban Jewish neighborhood strengthen Jewish identity, or do people with a higher level of Jewish identity consciously choose to live in a densely Jewish neighborhood, where more contact with other Jews and Jewish institutions is possible? Do families with a lower level of Jewish identification consciously choose to move to suburban areas where there are few Jews, or are other factors involved in a decision to move to a suburban area? In addition, what is the impact of having few Jewish institutions in a community? Do fewer opportunities for Jewish involvement create a Jewish community with a lower level of Jewish identification?

Planners have generally located services for the Jewish community in areas of high Jewish population density. Was such planning sound or did it leave pockets of unmet needs? We were interested in finding out how

people felt about services provided by the organized Jewish community in Los Angeles. Are enough services being provided? If not, what other services need to be provided? Finally, are better organized communities whose residents are more verbal in expressing their needs better served?

We devised a multi-dimensional index of Jewish identification for interviewing Jewish residents of two socio-economically similar communities, one with a highly dense Jewish population (Beverlywood) and the other with low Jewish population density (Covina/West Covina). As there are many ways of expressing Jewish identity, the interview schedule was multi-dimensional. In this way unmet needs in a number of areas could be examined.

Furthermore, it is hoped that the results of this exploratory study may assist planners in providing information about perceived needs in high density urban and low density suburban communities. In particular, the study may provide useful information about possible special needs in areas where there is a low density of Jews. Working with the Community Planning Department of the Jewish Federation-Council and the Community Services Division of the Jewish Centers Association of Los Angeles, we realize that research findings can prove useful to Jewish community

planning. In addition, we hope that our explorations will generate continued research and interest in the effect of Jewish population density on Jewish identity and Jewish identification, and its subsequent impact on the level and type of services to be offered.

Before beginning our study, we would like to express our appreciation to the many people who have been helpful to us.

We want to thank those residents of Beverlywood and Covina/West Covina who opened their homes to us and shared their personal feelings with us during our interviews.

We wish to express our appreciation to Professor Bruce Jansson, Dr. Rosa Kaplan, and Dr. Samson Levey, members of our research committee, for their guidance and encouragement in the development and completion of our study.

We also wish to thank Professor Gerald B. Bubis for his encouragement, and particularly for the insights that he helped us gain from his class at Hebrew Union College.

We appreciated the assistance offered by Larry Marks of the University of Southern California in helping with the development of our instrument. In addition, a

word of thanks goes to Ms. Dorothy Blacker of the Data Processing Department of the Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles, for her assistance with the development of a sample list.

We would especially like to thank our field instructors for their advice and counsel. These include Dr. Ben Cohen of the Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles, as well as Ms. Ferne Katleman of the Community Services Division of Greater Los Angeles.

Finally, our appreciation goes to Ruth Rose Jacobs for her careful editing, constructive criticism, patience, flexibility, and encouragement.

Areas Studied

Beverlywood

The community of Beverlywood is located in the western section of Los Angeles between Cheviot Hills and Beverly Hills. Surrounded on the north by Pico Boulevard, on the south by Cattaraugus Avenue, on the east by Robertson Boulevard, and on the west by Beverwil Drive, Beverlywood is a middle-class, upper middle-class residential urban neighborhood with a preponderance of single family dwellings.

Prior to World War II, Beverlywood, along with other West Los Angeles communities, consisted of ranches and bean fields. However, the postwar migration of east coast and midwest families to California, coupled with the continued growth and expansion of Los Angeles, resulted in the urbanization of West Los Angeles and in the creation of residential neighborhoods to house these newly arrived or relocated urban professionals.[2] Accordingly, Beverlywood and other communities such as Cheviot Hills, Brentwood and Westwood were developed to satisfy the urban residential needs of affluent doctors, lawyers, and other professionals who wanted to work and live in West Los Angeles, yet who, in many cases, could not afford to purchase homes in Beverly Hills.

In addition, many of these professionals were Jews who wanted to live in an economically comfortable urban neighborhood with academically sound elementary and secondary schools for their children and accessible Jewish religious and cultural institutions. In the late 1940's, early 1950's, before the Pico-Robertson section of

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[2]Max Vorspan and Lloyd P. Gartner, History of the Jews of Los Angeles (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1970), pp. 276-277.

Beverlywood was developed as the major center for all types of local Jewish organizations, they frequented the adjacent West Adams and Beverly-Fairfax areas. In 1954, the Westside Jewish Community Center was built to serve both the Beverly-Fairfax area and other West Los Angeles neighborhoods such as Beverlywood.[3]

At present, Beverlywood has a population of 13,500.[4] The majority of the residents are white collar workers (either businessmen or professionals) with a middle-class, upper middle-class income. However, Beverlywood residents are less affluent than families from the neighboring communities of Cheviot Hills and Beverly Hills.

In terms of number of Jewish residents (the Jewish population density), there are, according to the Los Angeles Estimated Jewish Population Study, 1970-1971, approximately 3000 Jewish families or about 9,500 Jews in Beverlywood. Thus Jews make up about 70 percent of the

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[3]Ibid., p. 255.

[4]Fred Massarik, Los Angeles Estimated Jewish Population Study, 1970-1971 (Los Angeles: Research Bureau of the Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1971), pp. 10-11.

overall population.[5]

As the neighboring communities of Cheviot Hills and Beverly Hills also have high Jewish population densities, the Jewish institutions of Beverlywood tend to serve an area at least three times the Jewish population of Beverlywood. Thus there seems to exist a West Los Angeles, rather than a distinct Beverlywood Jewish community. In fact, even today many of the residents of Beverlywood still consider the Beverly-Fairfax area to be part of their local Jewish community.[6]

Of course, it is the presence of so many different and visible types of Jewish edifices that gives Beverlywood its uniquely Jewish atmosphere and flavor. Pico Boulevard, for example, from Beverwil Drive to Robertson Boulevard, has three Jewish delicatessens, three Jewish bakeries, two kosher butcher shops, a Conservative and a Conservative Orthodox Congregation (Mogen David and Bnei David) and an Orthodox Torah Institute (Rambam).

In addition, every conceivable Los Angeles based Jewish organization services the Beverlywood community.

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[5]Ibid.

[6]Interviews with Beverlywood residents, February, 1975.

Pioneer Women, Hadassah, ORT, etc. have local chapters; the Jewish Centers' Association has the Westside Jewish Community Center on Olympic Boulevard; most of the other agencies and departments of the Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles provide extensive religious, cultural and vocational services to the area; and the Jewish youth organizations of Los Angeles-B'nai B'rith Youth, United Synagogue Youth, Zionist Youth movements, etc. have groups for Beverlywood Jewish youngsters.

In general, because of this myriad of Jewish services, stores, and organizations, Beverlywood residents have a real choice as to how they should express their Jewish identity, e.g., culturally, religiously, etc. Yet, even though there exists this sense of Jewish community, one can still decide, as a matter of choice, to ignore its impact. The days of the Eastern European ghetto are over. In this era of emancipation and free choice, even the Jewish institutions of a high density Jewish community such as Beverlywood can not place significant constraints on residents who choose not to identify Jewishly.[7] Therefore,

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[7]Gerald B. Bubis, Course in "The American Jew--Changing Patterns of Identity," Hebrew Union College, Los Angeles, 15 February, 1975.

even with a pervasive Jewish atmosphere, Beverlywood still has many Jewish families who have no connection with any Jewish organization, institution, or cause.

The San Gabriel Valley
Covina/West Covina

The twin communities of Covina/West Covina are located in the east San Gabriel Valley, approximately twenty-five miles east of the city of Los Angeles, and about thirty-five miles from Beverlywood. Although they began as a citrus growing center around the turn of the century, they are now rapidly growing suburban areas.[8] Both areas have had dramatic population growths since the end of World War II. According to 1972 population estimates there are 31,500 residents in Covina,[9] and 71,300 people in West Covina[10] for a total of approximately 100,000 area residents. Socio-economically the residents of the cities are very similar. The median income in Covina is $12,500.00 and 35 percent of the residents are

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[8] An Invitation to Develop in Covina (Covina, Calif. Covina Chamber of Commerce, 1972), p. 4

[9] Ibid., p. 2.

[10] Frank Clement, West Covina (West Covina, Calif.: West Covina Chamber of Commerce, 1972), p. 13

white collar workers.[11] West Covina is slightly more affluent with a median income of $14,000.00 and 40 percent while collar workers.[12] Of the newer suburban areas in the San Gabriel Valley, the Covina/West Covina areas are relatively affluent by comparison.

In terms of density, the Jewish population of Covina/West Covina is relatively low. According to the Los Angeles Estimated Jewish Population Study 1970-1971, there are approximately 1000 Jewish families in the area or about 3000 Jews. Jews make up approximately 3 percent of the overall population.[13] This same pattern is reflected in the San Gabriel Valley; the San Gabriel Valley is geographically huge with many individual pockets of Jewish population. Typically, one of every hundred persons is Jewish. A density of 6 or 7 percent is exceptional.[14]

Due to the fact that there is no large

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[11] An Invitation to Develop in Covina, p. 8.

[12] An Introduction to West Covina (West Covina, Calif.: West Covina Chamber of Commerce, 1972), p. 1.

[13] Massarik, Los Angeles Estimated Jewish Population Study, 1970-1971, pp. 19-20

[14] Ben Cohen, Report on the Study of Jewish Centers in Greater Los Angeles, 1972 (Los Angeles, Calif.: Community Planning Department of the Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1972), p. 5.

concentration of Jewish families, many of the Jews in Covina/West Covina feel a part of a regionalized San Gabriel Valley Jewish community, consisting of 30,000 Jews.[15] In keeping with the concept of outreach to suburban areas, the Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles, a coordinating and planning body for many Jewish social welfare agencies in Los Angeles, established an Eastern Area Council office in Arcadia, designed to reach out and help area residents.

"The Eastern Area Council of the Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles was formed to create a sense of Jewish community within the area, and to raise funds for Jews in the United States, in Israel, and around the world."[16] In addition to fund raising and community organization, the services of numerous Los Angeles based Jewish social welfare agencies are provided under the auspices of the Eastern Area Council. Counseling of all kinds and outreach services to area synagogues is provided by Jewish Family Service. The Community Relations

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[15] Community Services Planning Committee Report, 1975 (Los Angeles, Calif.: Eastern Area Council of the Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1975), p. 1.

[16] Ibid., p. 1.

Committee provides information about Soviet Jewry and Israel to the community at large. Lectures, youth groups, and camping services are provided by the Community Services Division of the Jewish Centers Association of Greater Los Angeles. Each of the agencies provide full and part time workers to help meet some of the needs of the Jewish residents of the San Gabriel Valley.[17]

Presently, in Covina/West Covina there are two synagogues. Originally, there was a synagogue-center located in the area called the Citrus Valley Jewish Center. It emphasized social and recreational programs rather than religiously oriented functions. In the early 1950's a group of thirteen people, dissatisfied with the increasing religiosity of the Citrus Valley Center broke off and formed their own Reform temple, Temple Shalom. In 1954 the Citrus Valley Jewish Center changed its name and focus to Temple Beth Ami, and affiliated itself with the Conservative movement of Judaism. In spite of numerous attempts, and severe financial problems at both places, a merger has never been effected.

Both temples serve the religious needs as well as

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[17] Community Services Planning Committee Report 1975, p. 1.

social needs of the community. Both temples offer weekly as well as holiday religious services. Some of the social groups include: sisterhoods, men's clubs, teen and tween youth groups, senior citizens groups, and Israeli dance groups. In addition, formal and informal education is provided including day camps sponsored in conjunction with the Jewish Centers Association, Hebrew Schools, Sunday Schools, a Hebrew High School, and adult education courses. Counseling is offered by both rabbis as well as by a social worker from the Los Angeles Jewish Family Service, who provides services at each of the synagogues one evening per week.

In addition to the two synagogues located in Covina/West Covina, local chapters of national Jewish social service oriented organizations have been formed. These include: Hadassah, B'nai B'rith Women, ORT, Jewish War Veterans, Brandeis Book Club and others. There are also numerous youth groups including B'nai B'rith Youth Organization chapters.

Jewish Identity and Identification

Levin argues that, "While there is as yet no agreement as to what constitutes Jewish identity and what the distinction may be between Jewish identity and identification there is considerable research on what Jews believe and what they do. . . . The search for answers continues."[18]

The definition of who is a Jew, or what constitutes Jewishness, has been the subject of even greater controversy than the identity issue. In 1963, in the Oswald Rufeison v The Minister of the Interior case, Israeli Supreme Court justices struggled with the issue.

> Oswald Rufeison, known since his conversion as Brother Daniel, was the son of Polish Jewish parents, who was educated as a Jew. During the Nazi era, he found refuge from Nazi persecution in a convent where he ultimately converted to Christianity. Despite his conversion he considered himself belonging to the Jewish people. After World War II, he came to Israel. Brother Daniel applied for Israeli citizenship under the Law of Return, as a Jew. [The Law of Return provides that Jews who move to Israel are automatically citizens of the State.][19]

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[18]Morris Levin, An Analysis of Selected Research on Jewish Identification and Implications for Jewish Communal Service (New York: National Jewish Welfare Board, 1972), p. 1.

[19]Simon N. Herman, Israelis and Jews (New York: Random House, 1972), p. 91.

In this particular case, the Israeli Supreme Court found:

> A Jew who has become a Christian is not called a Jew. A Jew, who by changing his religion, severs himself from the national past of his people, ceases therefore to be a Jew in the national sense to which the Law of Return was meant to give expression. He has denied his national past, and can no longer be fully integrated into the organized body of the Jewish community as such.[20]

The Israeli Court decision offered some clarification, yet the definition of who is a Jew, or what constitutes Jewishness is a continual source of controversy. However, two important definitions have emerged, a religious one and a sociological one. According to Halacha (Jewish religious law), a person is a Jew if he has been born to a Jewish mother or has undergone conversion to Judaism.[21] The more commonly used sociological definition is that, "Jews are all those who consider themselves members of the Jewish religio-ethnic group and are so regarded by the rest of the people in the nation where they reside."[22]

In this study, some of the definitions of identity and identification as they relate to Jews will be analyzed.

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[20]Ibid., p. 92.

[21]Ibid., p. 90.

[22]Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 174.

In addition, some important studies of Jewish identification including those by Massarik, Lazerwitz, Herman, and Bubis and Marks, will be reviewed, as well as the works of Axelrod et al., Sklare and Greenblum, and Goldstein and Goldscheider, who studied three different Jewish communities. By looking at these definitions some of the factors affecting the levels of identification of those interviewed in Beverlywood and Covina/West Covina can be determined.

Irving Brodsky, writing in the Spring 1968 Journal of Jewish Communal Service, reviews some important definitions of identity as well as identification, which are worth quoting. He defines identity as, "the condition of being oneself including one's character. Identity is the total self including components of self-image and self-esteem."[23] According to Erikson, "The term identity points to an individual's link with the unique values, fostered by a unique history of his people. It connotes both a personal sameness within oneself and a persistent sharing of some kind of some essential character with others."[24]

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[23]Irving Brodsky, "Jewish Identity and Identification," Journal of Jewish Communal Service 44 (Spring 1968): 256.

[24]Ibid., p. 257.

In the Fall 1971 issue of the Journal of Jewish Communal Service, John Slawson defines identity as, "the realization of a lifelong development beginning with childhood. . . . It is in fact, the consciousness of selfhood and the extension of the ego from the individual through the family to the more embracing groups--peer, religious, ethnic, and national."[25] Freud viewed Jewish identity as, "the individual's relatedness to the unique history of his people."[26]

In Simon Herman's study, Israelis and Jews he indicates that Jewish identity involves, "those patterns or attributes of the ethnic group as seen by its members, or how the individual sees himself by virtue of his membership in the ethnic group."[27]

To relate identity to identification, Victor Sauna suggests that identification occurs when, "one's self identity becomes related to a group, in which his experiences and actions are profoundly affected by his relationship with the group, and by his conceiving himself as part

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[25]Slawson, "Jewish Identity in the United States," p. 42.

[26]Ibid., p. 42.

[27]Herman, Israelis and Jews, p. 14.

of it."[28] According to Gordon Allport, identification is "the sense of emotional merging of oneself with others."[29] Brodsky defines identification as, "to associate oneself in feelings, interests and actions with others."[30] In other words, Jewish identification is acting on one's Jewish identity.

An important contribution to the study of Jewish identity and identification is a scale for the measurement of Jewish identity and identification developed by Dr. Fred Massarik of UCLA.[31] He saw the concept of Jewish identity in terms of a pattern of external and internal forces both positive and negative, that shape a person's Jewish identity. Massarik developed nine dimensions of Jewish identity: 1) Religious, 2) Cultural, 3) Defense, 4) Philanthropic, 5) Institutional, 6) Socio-ethical, 7) Israel, 8) Socio-personal, 9) Peoplehood.

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[28]Brodsky, "Jewish Identity and Identification," p. 255.

[29]Ibid., p. 257.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Fred Massarik, "Conceptualizing Jewish Identity," paper based on a presentation at the Scholars Conference on Jewish Life, Brussels, Belgium, 12 January, 1967. (Mimeographed.)

Another important study was one by Dr. Bernard Lazerwitz.[32] In 1967 Lazerwitz studied 1016 Cook County (Chicago), Illinois residents, including 552 Jews and 464 Protestants. He was trying to learn about religious identification among Protestants and Jews. He found nine dimensions of Jewish identification which are similar to Massarik's: 1) Religious behavior, 2) Jewish education, 3) Activities and contributions to organizations, 4) Type of ideology, 5) Attitudes towards Israel, 6) Courtship patterns and friendships amongst Jews, 7) Jewish rearing of children, 8) Home background as a child, 9) Encounters with anti-Semitism. Lazerwitz found a high level of correlation between the childhood home background of a person, his level of religiosity and his Jewish identity. He also found a correlation between religious behavior and other kinds of involvement within the Jewish community.[33]

Simon Herman's Israelis and Jews is a more recent study of Jewish identity.[34] Herman's 1970 study was of a

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[32]Bernard Lazerwitz, "Religious Identification and Its Ethnic Correlates," Social Forces (December 1973): 204-220.

[33]Ibid., p. 213.

[34]Simon N. Herman, Israelis and Jews (New York: Random House, 1972).

group of 3679 Israeli high school students as well as 539 parents. In attempting to measure the relationship of two sub-identities, Jewish and Israeli, Herman introduces a number of important concepts, including "historical time perspective," (the nature of a person's linkage to Jewish values and Jewish history). This concept was used in the Rufeison decision discussed earlier. (Rufeison was not considered Jewish because his conversion could be construed as severing himself from his national past.)[35]

Herman also emphasizes the concept of "alignment," or how Israelis see themselves in relation to the world Jewish community. A natural outgrowth of the concept of alignment is the concept of "marking off," or the separation of members of a particular ethnic group from others. Herman evaluates the importance of Jewishness to the people that he interviewed in terms of its salience (how important it is), its valence (how attractive or repulsive it is, and its potence (how influential it is in a person's life). Herman found that Israelis perceive themselves to be linked to the Jewish people now and in the past, but also found a decline in religious observance by the younger generation.

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[35]Ibid., p. 90.

Herman's concept of "historical time perspective," is a very important addition to the literature of Jewish identity and identification.

Bubis and Marks have recently completed a study entitled, A Study of the Impact of an Israel Trip Upon Jewish Identity.[36] They compared Jewish Centers Association campers going to Israel with those remaining in the United States to determine if:

> Jewish identity as manifest through Jewish attitudes and behaviors would show change as a result of experiences in Jewish Community Center camp programs. The camper groups going to Israel were compared to those remaining in the United States in order to ascertain whether or not going to Israel would result in a higher level and/or retention of Jewish identity.[37]

Using Massarik's scale, they developed items dealing with Jewish attitudes, including individual directed attitudes, community directed attitudes, Passover, intermarriage-inter-dating, and Jewish cultural knowledge. Items dealing with Jewish behavior focused on: beliefs about general Jewish culture, holiday participation, inter-dating, intermarriage, Jewish cultural knowledge and civil

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[36]Gerald B. Bubis and Lawrence E. Marks, A Study of the Impact of an Israel Trip on Jewish Identity (New York: Florence G. Heller-JWB Research Center, 1975).

[37]Ibid. p. 18.

rights activities, childhood Jewish activity, universalism, and Israeli dancing. In general Bubis and Marks found no appreciable change as a result of the experience in Israel.[38] They did find that campers with a slightly stronger Jewish identity chose the Israel program. They also found that campers with a high level of Jewish identification observe Jewish holidays, are more likely to study and learn about themselves as Jews, feel themselves part of world Jewry, discourage intermarriage and interdating, have had a Bar or Bat mitzvah, are concerned about civil rights and enjoy Israeli dancing. In addition to the important studies of Jewish identity and identification, three important Jewish community studies will be examined.

Brodsky, in his review of Jewish community studies, entitled "Jewish Identity and Identification,"[39] indicates that the communal studies examine Jewish identification in terms of feelings, interests, and actions, with a major emphasis on examining social roles as they reflect the values of the Jewish religio-ethnic group.

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[38]There was some question as to the validity of the questionnaire items for teens, because of their lack of autonomy around some practices or activities.

[39]Brodsky, "Jewish Identity and Identification," p. 258.

Axelrod's, A Community Survey for Long Range Planning: A Study of the Jewish Population of Greater Boston completed in 1965, involved interviews with 1500 Jews in the Boston metropolitan area.[40] The study sponsored by the Boston Jewish Federation, was designed to find out about the behavior of Boston Jews within and attitudes toward the Boston Jewish community. Axelrod found a trend away from traditional religious observance, yet a strong desire to continue Jewish education. He also found that as children grow older there is a greater parental interest in Jewish sponsored activities, particularly during adolescence. In contrast to this attitude was the finding that it seems to make little difference to Boston residents if hospitals or employment services are under Jewish sponsorship or not.

In 1963, Goldstein and Goldscheider completed Jewish Americans: Three Generations in a Jewish Community.[41] They interviewed 1500 Jewish families in the

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[40]Morris Axelrod, Floyd J. Fowler, and Arnold Gurin, A Community Survey for Long Range Planning: A Study of the Jewish Population of Greater Boston (Boston: The Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston, 1967).

[41]Sidney Goldstein and Calvin Goldscheider, Jewish Americans: Three Generations in a Jewish Community Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1968).

Greater Providence area. They had hoped to answer three questions. First, how does the Jewish community differ demographically and behaviorally from the overall population? Second, what has been the impact of assimilation on the community in general? Third, how do each of the three generations studied differ in terms of overall Jewish identification?

They found an overall abandonment of traditional concepts of religiosity. They also found that suburban residents have a clear pattern of religious assimilation, in contrast to their urban counterparts. They argue that "the distinctive population characteristics of American Jews will diminish, yet Judaism will remain an identifiable, separate entity."[42]

Perhaps the most widely known Jewish community study is Sklare and Greenblum's classic two volume work, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier.[43] The 1958 study of 432 residents of Lakeville (a midwestern suburb) was designed to study Jewish life and learn about the level of

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[42]Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans, p. 240.

[43]Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1967).

Jewish identification of suburban residents. Sklare and Greenblum developed nine indices of identification, which are similar to those developed by Lazerwitz. These include: 1) Religious behavior, 2) Sacramentalism-pietism, 3) Jewish education, 4) Zionism-Israel, 5) Jewish organizational activity, 6) Traditional beliefs, 7) Jewish friendships, 8) Jewish educational intentions for one's children, and 9) Jewishness of one's childhood home.

Sklare and Greenblum found that there is a generational decline in Jewish religious observances. They found that religious behavior strongly correlates with other Jewish behavior. They also found that synagogue attendance and participation is a strong predictor of other behaviors. The Jews of Lakeville strongly support and identify with Israel, particularly in terms of donating and raising funds. There is also a strong correlation between support for Israel and the level of involvement in a synagogue that a person has. Finally, Lakeville Jews were found to have more Jewish than non-Jewish friends.

The studies reviewed in this chapter were the basis for the development of a multi-dimensional index of Jewish identity and identification. The researchers' index dealt with nine major dimensions: Jewish self-picture, Jewish

cultural involvement, Jewish religious observances, Jewish ethnic-national concerns, Zionist-Israel orientation, interaction with the American Jewish community, Jewish community involvement, use of social welfare institutions, and unmet needs.

CHAPTER II

DIMENSIONS OF JEWISH IDENTITY AND IDENTIFICATION AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

Jewish Population Density, Suburbanization and Urbanization

In this chapter, literature pertaining to the nine dimensions of Jewish identity and identification will be reviewed. In addition, consequences and determinants of Jewish involvement will be explored.

One important determinant of Jewish identification is the relationship between Jewish population density and suburbanization-urbanization. According to Shryock and Siegel:

> Density is usually computed as population per square kilometer, or per square mile of land. The population density of a city, however, depends a great deal upon what is considered the city. The official boundaries of some cities comprise all its suburban territory, and even some rural territory, whereas other cities as officially defined are confined to the historic core area.[44]

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[44]Henry S. Shryock and Jacob S. Siegel, The Methods and Materials of Demography (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973), p. 133.

For the purposes of this study, population density refers to the number (computed as percentage) of Jews who live in a particular community. Based on this definition, a high density Jewish community would have a high concentration of Jewish residents, and a low density Jewish community a low concentration of Jews. Covina/West Covina, for example, has a 3 percent Jewish density or concentration (the percentage of 3000 Jews out of a total population of 100,000).[45]

This method of using the percentage distribution of residents to determine density is suggested by Shryock and Siegel in The Methods and Materials of Demography:

> The simple way of ordering the statistics that is appropriate for any demographic aggregate is to compute the percentage distribution living in the geographic areas of a given class.[46]

Related to Jewish population density is the sub-urbanization-urbanization factor. According to Goldstein and Goldscheider, "Jews in the United States are unique in their exceptionally high concentration in urban places,

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[45]Massarik, Jewish Population Study, pp. 19-20.

[46]Shryock and Siegel, Demography, p. 133.

particularly in very large ones."[47] The researchers, in fact, selected a low density suburban and a high density urban community to study the relationship of density, suburbanization-urbanization and Jewish involvement.

To understand this relationship, there is a need to define what is an urban area and what are suburbs. The Statistical Office of the United Nations has come up with five major dimensions of urban communities:

> Administrative Area
> Population Size
> Local Government Area
> Urban Characteristics
> Predominant Economic Activity[48]

The United States Census Bureau, in the 1960 Census, emphasized two major indices of what constitutes an urban community, population size and incorporation:

> The urban population comprises all persons living in a) places of 2,500 inhabitants or more incorporated as cities, boroughs, villages and towns, and b) the densely settled urban fringe. The population not classified as urban constitutes the rural population.[49]

Thus suburbs are really extensions of urban areas.

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[47]Sidney Goldstein, "American Jewry, 1970 - A Demographic Profile," in The Jew in American Society, p. 126.

[48]Statistical Office of the United Nations in Shryock and Siegel, Demography, pp. 153-154.

[49]United States Census Bureau in Ibid., pp. 159-160.

Dobriner defines them as "urbanized residential communities which are outside corporate limits of a large central city, but which are culturally and economically dependent upon the central city."[50]

If this definition is accepted, then it seems apparent that when American Jews move out to suburbia, they are not divorcing themselves from the central city. While living in the suburbs may give them a feeling of residential tranquility and security, it is not at the expense of maintaining important cultural and business ties to the urban center. It would seem that, on the surface, they should have "the best of both worlds."[51]

From the perspective of Jewish identity, however, suburbanization could have a negative impact. According to Goldstein and Goldscheider, "research on Greater Providence, where an attempt was made to measure residential differences in religious assimilation, suggests a pattern of greater assimilation for suburban residents."[52]

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[50]Dobriner in Ibid., p. 163.

[51]David Riesman in Albert I. Gordon, Jews in Suburbia (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. xvii.

[52]Goldstein and Goldscheider, "American Jewry," in The Jew in American Society, p. 131.

Goldstein and Goldscheider mention, however, that these results can be misleading for suburban Jews still have positive Jewish identities:

> . . . while migration to the suburbs may be selective of those not eager to maintain as strong a Jewish identity as those in the cities, and that the greater residential dispersion of Jews within the suburbs removes the reinforcement of traditional patterns formerly provided by the older more densely populated urban areas, a high percentage of suburban Jews do continue to identify as Jews and to follow selected religious practices.[53]

It would seem that "residential differences exist, but they are not so sharp as to lead to the conclusion that suburbanization itself will cause high rates of assimilation."[54] This is substantiated by the fact that "similar changes in Jewish identification and practice are also occurring to a considerable degree in the older urban areas as the generation composition of their population changes."[55]

According to Sklare, there are other factors, besides the desire to assimilate, that motivate Jews to move out to the suburbs:

> The erosion of inner-city neighborhoods, the strong demand for housing, and the social mobility of Jews--together with their increased acculturation--all combined to motivate a significant number of families

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[53]Ibid., p. 132. [54]Ibid. [55]Ibid.

to move to the outer edges of the city.[56]

These are, of course, many of the same factors that convince non-Jews to move to the suburbs.

In addition, Sklare points out that Jews seem to concentrate in relatively few suburban areas. As a result, "in the largest cities, many suburbs and new areas have become as heavily Jewish as the old neighborhoods."[57] The San Fernando Valley near Los Angeles is an example of this phenomenon.

Studies of the New York, Detroit and Chicago Jewish communities confirm this Jewish suburbanization trend:

> In New York, the proportion of Jews living in the suburbs will increase from 18.1 percent in 1957 to 21.5 percent in 1975. . . . In 1949, no Jews lived in the suburban Oakpark and Huntington Woods sections of Detroit. By 1959, 18 percent of the Detroit area's total Jewish population had moved to the suburbs. . . . In 1958, an estimated 62,000 of the Chicago area's 282,000 Jews were living in the suburbs.[58]

Goldstein feels, that considering the significance of the suburbanization and density issues, more in-depth research is needed to either validate or disprove existing

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[56]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 193.

[57]Ibid., p. 194.

[58] Goldstein, "American Jewry," The Jew in American Society, pp. 128-130.

assumptions:

> Researchers need to ascertain how the communal orientation of Jews living in the cities and the suburbs of differing Jewish density varies and what meaning the various activities have for the individuals, particularly as they relate to the larger question of Jewish identity and survival.[59]

In this section, literature on density and suburbanization-urbanization was discussed. This facilitated the development of the following questions for the interview schedule: Numbers 5,6,7,89,90 (see Appendix A).

Jewish Friendship Patterns and Jewish Neighborhoods

An interesting pattern in what appears to be an overall trend towards assimilation in Jewish life is what Sklare and Greenblum call, "associational Jewishness," or close friendships by Jews, with Jews rather than Gentiles.[60]

In recounting the history of the formation of the Jewish community of Levittown, Gans indicated that, "Jewish adults were vitally interested in getting together with other Jews, and ultimately what held the community together

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[59]Ibid. p. 132

[60]Marshall Sklare, ed., The Jewish Community in America (New York: Behrman House, 1973), p. 43.

was sociability."[61] Gans, in a study recounting the development of the Jewish community of Park Forest, Illinois, found that, "especially for close relationships, the Jewish residents seem to prefer other Jews."[62] Sklare and Greenblum's study of the suburban Lakeville community, also found that Jewish friendships with other Jews existed among 89 percent of those that they interviewed.[63]

There are numerous theories as to why these friendship patterns exist amongst American Jews. One theory is that with the decline of closely knit extended Jewish families, close friendships with other Jews have been developed as a form of compensation.[64]

In Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, Sklare and Greenblum found that many Jews associate with other Jews because of a common religio-ethnic heritage and a

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[61]Herbert J. Gans, The Levittowners (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 77.

[62]Herbert J. Gans, "A Suburban Jewish Community," in The Jewish Community in America, ed. Marshall Sklare (New York: Behrman House, 1973), p. 34.

[63]Sklare and Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, p. 271.

[64]Sklare, The Jewish Community in America, p. 43.

sense of interdependence of fate,[65] sharing a similar sense of historical time perspective.

Ultimately, Sklare and Greenblum found that for whatever specific reason, Jews seem to be more comfortable with other Jews, in spite of a rapid rate of assimilation. Psychologically, the implications are very important, for without comfort or in Eriksonian terms, "trust," one cannot achieve intimacy. Therefore, if Jews do not feel comfortable, it will be difficult for them to have close long term relationships with non-Jews. This lack of comfort is reflected in behavioral terms. Gans suggests, "As an ethnic group, the Jews form a cohesive ingroup and tend to behave differently toward a member of the ingroup than toward a non-Jew, in many cases reserving the intimacy of friendships for the former."[66] These behavioral patterns are so common that they emerge even among Jews with ambivalent feelings toward their Jewishness.[67] For whatever reason, the pattern of associational Jewishness

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[65]Sklare and Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, pp. 280-281.

[66]Gans, "A suburban Jewish Community," p. 27.

[67]Sklare and Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, p. 284.

exists, it has important implications in terms of Jewish identity. Ultimately close Jewish friendships in an open society may solidify and strengthen group identity and help to insure Jewish survival.

Perhaps the ultimate realization of associational Jewishness is the development of Jewish neighborhoods. This pattern of living has continued, even as restrictions on housing have been lifted. As Jews leave old areas of Jewish concentrations, they tend to establish new ones.[68]

One reason for neighborhood choice is, that particularly for Jews who maintain a traditional lifestyle, services are more readily accessible. For example, in order to fulfill Jewish religious obligation traditional Jews may not ride to the synagogue on the Sabbath and certain other holidays. Accessibility to a synagogue is an important factor in terms of neighborhood choice. This would also be true in the case of easily being able to purchase kosher meats, or special food for Passover.[69] Even, for those less observant, easy access of Jewish facilities such as a Jewish community center, delicatessen,

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[68]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 46.

[69]Ibid.

or Jewish bookstore, may be a motivating factor in neighborhood choice.

Albert Gordon, in his classic study of suburban life, Jews in Suburbia, theorizes that, "Jews live in Jewish areas, because non-Jews tend to move out. The availability of good housing brings Jewish families to some areas, created by sudden withdrawal of Christians creating a vacuum filled by Jewish families."[70] Given the high percentage of friendships of Jews with other Jews, it seems quite plausible that Jews, like other ethnic groups, choose to live near their friends ultimately forming Jewish neighborhoods.

Parents may choose a Jewish neighborhood in order to enhance the Jewish identities of their children. Sklare suggests that if a child is reared in a Jewish neighborhood his Jewish identity can develop more readily. He can integrate himself into a Jewish peer group with ease, and begin to view the world from a Jewish perspective.[71] As children begin to reach adolescence, access to Jews of the opposite sex becomes important in terms of dating and

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[70]Gordon, Jews in Suburbia, p. 172.

[71]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 46.

possible choice of marital partners.

Ultimately, the reasons for neighborhood choice may be the result of the same factors affecting Jewish friendship choices. Accessibility of Jewish services or the desire for enhancement of Jewish identity may be important but the fact that Jews are more comfortable with other Jews, may be the reason for the existence of Jewish neighborhoods, even in suburban areas today.

In this section, literature on Jewish friendship patterns and neighborhood choice, as parts of the dimensions of interaction with the American Jewish community, and Jewish self-picture, was reviewed. The following questions for the interview schedule were developed as a result of this analysis: Numbers 23,31,39, 44,67,91,92 (see Appendix A).

Anti-Semitism and Assimilation

> From a Jewish point of view, two elements are inseparable from any discussion of the Jewish problem: anti-Semitism and assimilation. For to a Jew the problem essentially is this: how can the Jewish people survive in the face of hostility which threatens to destroy it, and, on the other hand, in the face of a friendliness which threatens to dissolve group ties and submerge Jews, as a whole, by absorbing them

individually?[72]

In the case of the American Jew, it is the possibility of assimilation, "the process whereby previously diverse cultural elements are brought to a resemblance of conformity,"[73] that poses the greatest threat to his Jewish survival. According to Will Herberg:

> . . . in its own history Jews in the United States have exemplified with exceptional clarity the fundamental restructuring of American society which transformed the "land of immigrants" into the "triple melting pot." Nothing is more characteristically American than the historical evolution of American Jewry. . . .[74]

Basically, assimilation or the shedding of one's Jewish identity, is such a viable option to the American Jew because it is so in keeping with the American values of "rugged individualism" and "emancipation." To many Jews, the Jewish dream has become the "American dream."

However, like other ethnic minorities, the Jew many times finds himself torn between maintaining his Jewish values and absorbing the American way of life:

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[72]Ben Halpern, "America is Different," in The Jew in American Society, p. 71.

[73]Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, rev. ed. (1968).

[74]Will Herberg in Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans, p. 3.

> Every ethnic minority is subjected to two conflicting tendencies, the isolating and the assimilating. Isolating tendencies are the sum total of those factors, both of a positive internal character and a negative external character which impede the absorption of the minority within the majority. The assimilating tendencies consist of those economic and cultural factors that create for the minority the necessity and the will to dissolve within the majority. Minorities are constantly in turmoil as the result of the clash of tendencies within the social framework.[75]

Moreover, because of the inconsistencies of Jewish existence in America, this conflict between isolation and assimilation might never be resolved:

> American Jews express and reflect two social realities, which appear contradictory. On the one hand, Jews have become a thoroughly American group, acculturated to the American middle class way of life, and they are viewed by others as participants in the mainstream of American society. Yet at the same time, there appears to be an increasing emphasis among Jews on Jewish survival, including association with Jewish culture, religion, and organizational life.[76]

Sklare and Greenblum also noted this apparent contradiction between survival and assimilation in their study of Lakeville Jews. "The Jews of Lakeville illustrate a unique paradox of American society. The very freedom which permits groups to maintain their distinctive cultural

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[75]C. Bezalel Sherman, The Jew Within American Society (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1968), p. 15.

[76]Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans, p. 3.

traits, also permits group identity to be washed out."[77]

In terms of the assimilation process itself, Milton Gordon postulated that there are six major dimensions:

> Structural assimilation - the entrance of one group into primary relations with another group.
>
> Identificational assimilation - the exclusive sharing of the core group's sense of peoplehood, and, in turn, the loss of the unique out-group identification.
>
> Cultural assimilation or acculturation - the change of the newcomer's cultural patterns to those of the host society.
>
> Marital assimilation - the large-scale intermarriage between members of the newcomer group and the core society.
>
> Attitude and behavior receptional assimilation - the degree of prejudice and discrimination toward the newcomers.
>
> Civic assimilation - the degree of conflict in values and power.[78]

While cultural assimilation, e.g. changes in language, dress, mannerisms, etc., started to take place when the first Jewish immigrants arrived in America, structural assimilation has been much more difficult to achieve even for the most Americanized second and third generation Jews. According to Isidore Chein, this is because "Jews have not been fully admitted to the American

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[77]Sklare and Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, p. 19.

[78]Milton Gordon in Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans, p. 4.

social structure or to the social world of the Protestant majority."[79]

Goldstein and Goldscheider in Jewish Americans: Three Generations in a Jewish Community, a three generational study of Providence, found a distinct relationship between the assimilation of Jews within American society and the distance from the immigrant generation:

> First generation Jews migrating to the United States around the turn of the century had little formal education, were occupationally unskilled, and were imbued with the traditional values of Eastern European ghetto life. Their goal in America was to survive economically in the voluntary ghettos in which they resided. Preoccupied with economic survival, and disoriented through migration and resettlement they sought the comfort of their own communal institutions. The immigrants attempted to transplant the Eastern European lifestyle in their new country.
>
> The children of the immigrants, second generation Jews were, on the whole, remarkably receptive to Americanization. The acculturation process was remarkably successful, primarily through public school education and the media of mass communication. In extrinsic cultural traits such as language and dress, second generation Jews were quite similar to native born non-Jews. Yet, they also lived with immigrant parents and relatives. The second generation was torn between two worlds--the world of the ghetto, and the new world of America. The plight of the immigrants' children accentuated the problem of being Jewish and being American. The reaction of the second generation was one of escape and rejection of the ghetto life. However, this rejection and escape left the second generation in search of an identity. Some believed they would be

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[79]Isidore Chein in Ibid., p. 10.

> welcome in Protestant America, yet the invitation never really was there.
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> The third generation members had no urgency to escape the world of the second generation, nor were they eager to reject the middle class status attained by their fathers. Their search was for security, for continued and greater conformity to American middle class cultural patterns, and for greater integration. At the same time, they searched for continuity in their Jewish identification, and perpetuated the Jewish institutions developed by their parents' generation.[80]

Gradually each of the generations has increasingly assimilated into American life, while at the same time maintaining their Jewish identification.

In terms of marital assimilation, the entire issue of intermarriage needs to be examined from a statistical and a theoretical perspective.

Intermarriage is an issue of concern to all minority groups. If the minority is interested in assimilating rapidly into the larger society, it is seen as a positive. If, on the other hand, the minority is interested in group survival, it is seen as a threat. An increasing rate of intermarriage has been a particular concern of the American Jewish community. "The survival of the Jews as a distinct group presumes a high rate of endogamy (intermarriage). Given the very small numbers of

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[80]Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans, pp. 6-9.

Jews in the United States, the opportunity for intermarriage is relatively great, and the potential consequences for the group are no less great."[81]

Before examing the community as well as national studies of intermarriage, it is important to clarify three terms associated with these studies: intermarriage, mixed marriage, and the loss rate.

"The National Jewish Population Study defines intermarriage as a marriage in which one or the other partner was identified with a non-Jewish religious-cultural viewpoint at the time that he/she met his/her future spouse."[82] (At the time of the marriage one of the partners may or may not have converted to Judaism.)[83] A mixed marriage is a marriage in which neither partner has converted to Judaism at the time of the marriage.[84] The loss

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[81]Leonard Fein et al., Reform is a Verb (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1972), p. 55.

[82]Fred Massarik, Intermarriage: Facts for Planning; A Report on the Findings of the National Jewish Population Study (New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1971), p. 1.

[83]Gerald B. Bubis, Lecture in "The American Jew--Changing Patterns of Identity," Hebrew Union College, Los Angeles, 15 April, 1975.

[84]Ibid.

rate is the number of Jews who marry non-Jews. (Bubis estimates the current loss rate at between nine and fifteen percent of the total population.)[85]

The pioneer study of intermarriage in the United States was done by Julius Drachsler.[86] Drachsler examined 100,000 marriage licenses issued in New York City between 1908 and 1912. He found that of all white groups, the Jews were least prone to marry members of the outgroup. The intermarriage rate between Jews and non-Jews was only 1.17 percent.

More recently, Erich Rosenthal examined marriage records in Iowa[87] and Indiana.[88] In the Iowa study, Rosenthal examined 676 records between 1953 and 1959. Of all of the intermarriages involving a Jewish spouse, 42.2

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[85]Bubis, Course in "The American Jew--Changing Patterns of Identity," 15 April, 1975.

[86]Julian Drachsler, Democracy and Assimilation (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1920), pp. 120-132.

[87]Erich Rosenthal, "Studies of Jewish Intermarriage in the United States," American Jewish Yearbook, vol. 64 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1963) pp. 3-53.

[88]Erich Rosenthal, "Jewish Intermarriage in Indiana," in American Jewish Yearbook, vol. 68 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967) pp. 243-264.

percent were intermarriages. In Indiana, Rosenthal examined 785 records and found that of the marriages involving a Jew, 48.8 percent were intermarriages.

Most of the recent intermarriage studies come from surveys that have been conducted by local Jewish communal studies. Marshall Sklare has briefly reviewed some of the major studies and the rates of intermarriage:[89]

Camden, New Jersey (1964)	4.0%
Springfield, Massachusetts (1966)	4.4%
Providence, Rhode Island (1963)	4.5%
Boston, Massachusetts (1965)	7.0%
Washington D.C. (1956)	13.1%
San Francisco, California (1958)	18.5%

Summing up the various community studies, and recognizing the limitations of the data, one can guess that currently in the United States, 10-15% of Jews are married to non-Jews.[90] Since the community studies represent very different communities it is quite difficult to generalize about intermarriage in the United States, based on the results of those studies. There have been two national studies, one by the United States Census Bureau, and a more recent study, which was part of the National Jewish

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[89]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 187.

[90]Arnold Schwartz, "Intermarriage in the United States," in The Jew in American Society, ed. Marshall Sklare (New York: Behrman House, 1974), p. 319.

Population Study.

In 1957, as part of a national census, the United States Bureau of the Census included a question about religion.[91] In a sample of 35,000 households, the Bureau found that 7.2 percent of the husbands or wives of Jews were of a different faith.

The most recent findings with regard to intermarriage are from the National Jewish Population Study, prepared by Dr. Fred Massarik.[92] The 1972 study was based on interviews in 7550 Jewish households. Massarik found that of all Jewish persons now married, some 9.2 percent are intermarried. He also found that, "The proportion of Jewish persons intermarrying in the period 1966-1972 is much greater than in earlier periods; 31.7 percent of Jewish persons marrying in this recent time span chose a non-Jewish spouse."[93] The validity of Massarik's study has yet to be assessed as few experts have had access to the

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[91]U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Religion Reported by the Civilian Population of the United States." March 1957 Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 79, p. 8.

[92]Fred Massarik, Intermarriage: Facts for Planning; A Report on the Findings of the National Jewish Population Study, p. 1.

[93]Ibid.

raw data of his study.[94]

In spite of the paucity of national studies of Jewish intermarriage rates, there are some important trends that have been observed that have implications for the future.

Goldstein, in "American Jewry 1970: A Demographic Profile," noticed a relationship between density and intermarriage. "The rate of intermarriage tends to be higher in areas where Jews constitute a small percentage of the population."[95] Citing the Rosenthal study, Goldstein suggests that intermarriage increases as the size of the Jewish community decreases.[96] As many Jews move away from larger urban areas, and into smaller towns, and low density Jewish suburbs, the likelihood of an even higher intermarriage rate increases.

Massarik, in the National Jewish Population Study, found a significant increase in the proportion of persons intermarrying from 1966-1972. Bubis suggests that this

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[94]Bubis, Course in the "American Jew--Changing Patterns of Identity," 15 April, 1975.

[95]Sidney Goldstein, "American Jewry, 1970: A Demographic Profile," in The Jew in American Society, ed. Marshall Sklare (New York: Behrman House, 1974), p. 135.

[96]Ibid., p. 117.

rate reflects the greatest acceleration in fifteen years.[97]

If the trend of movement away from large urban areas and into low density Jewish suburbs, as well as a rapid increase in intermarriage continues, the members of the American Jewish community have reason to be concerned about the future of their group.

Even with all of this potential for assimilation, however, the American Jew still seems painfully aware of the possibility of overt anti-Semitism disrupting his American way of life. It would appear that the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust can be suppressed, but not forgotten:

> Nazism may have had two possible consequences for American Jews. It may have led to greater Jewish identification because of the realization that the Jewish people can become a scapegoat in America as other Jews have become throughout history, and it may have indicated to American Jews that assimilation does not inevitably lead to a loss of Jewish identity in the eyes of others. The lesson of the assimilated Jew in Germany who died in a gas chamber as a Jew along with his co-religionists is still a powerful one.[98]

Thus the American Jew's fear of anti-Semitism, "the prejudice against Jews, or dislike or fear of Jews and Jewish things being manifested in terms of discrimination

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[97]Bubis, Course in "The American Jew--Changing Patterns of Identity," 15 April, 1975.

[98]Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans, pp. 9-10.

against or persecution of Jews,"[99] appears to make him question the validity of complete assimilation. According to Goldstein and Goldscheider, "even if the social exclusion of the Jew is declining, the fear of discrimination, and concomitant insecurity, may be a powerful factor in the identification of Jews with their own group."[100]

In the 1970's, however, the American Jew has good reason to fear the emergence of overt anti-Semitism. First of all, "while discrimination, prejudice and anti-Semitism have declined in the formal spheres of society where legal sanctions are more effective (occupations, education, housing), they still exist in the informal social structure (country clubs, recreation, personal interaction)."[101]

Secondly, many Americans reacted to the oil embargo during the 1973 Yom Kippur War by blaming, or scapegoating the Jews and Israel for America's economic woes. Letters to the Los Angeles Times clearly reflected this anti-Semitic response:

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[99]The Many Faces of Anti-Semitism (New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1967), p. 5.

[100]Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans, p. 10.

[101]Ibid., p. 11.

> Never before in the history of this country has our government espoused so ridiculous a policy as the one we have become wedded to in the Mideast.
>
> . . . two hundred million of us are made to pay through the nose because about 6 million of us are Jews and pro-Israel, and vote so solidly at the polls. Our continuing and enduring interests lie in maintaining friendly relations with the Arab nations. It is high time we came to our senses.
>
> In the hodge-podge of small-minded suggestions for alleviating the energy shortage, there is never mention of the big basic step we should take: stop supporting Israel. Stop all aid to Israel and its unethical occupation of Arab lands, and regain Arab faith and oil. We can become independent of Arab oil only by ruining our environment, if at all. Why are we sacrificing ourselves for the Israeli cause?[102]

The American Jew, then, faces the reality that, even if he wants to assimilate, even if he has no visible connection with Judaism, others can still condemn him for being Jewish and being pro-Israel.

Thus, while anti-Semitism in America, in comparison to the European situation, is "nothing but aimless hate-mongering,"[103] and, in general, is not organized on the basis of a clearly enunciated program, it still has a demonstrable effect on the psyches of American Jews. Also, because of memories of the Holocaust and an awareness of

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[102]"Letters to the Editor," Los Angeles Times, 1 December, 1973, sec. 2, p. 5.

[103]Halpern, "America is Different," in The Jew in American Society, p. 73.

the volatile Middle-East situation, most American Jews seem to be cognizant of the ramifications of anti-Semitism and the need to be with other Jews in times of crisis.

In this section studies of anti-Semitism and assimilation as components of the dimensions of ethnic national concerns, Jewish community involvement, as well as interaction with the American Jewish community were analyzed. As a result the researchers developed the following questions for the interview schedule: Numbers 21,27,33, 35,37,63,65,83,93 (see Appendix A).

Organizational Involvement

"From its early history the American Jewish community has been characterized by a multiplicity of organizations dedicated to meeting the social, charitable, benevolent, educational and religious needs of its population."[104]

Membership in these organizations thus becomes an important way for individuals to identify with the Jewish community.[105] As stated by Goldstein and Goldscheider,

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[104]Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans--Three Generations in a Jewish Community, p. 206.

[105]Ibid.

"Organizational affiliation may function to create and sustain Jewish identification when such affiliation implies greater social interaction among Jews."[106]

In their study of the Providence Jewish community, Goldstein and Goldscheider also found that, in some cases, affiliation with Jewish organizations was the sole means of sustaining a person's Jewish identification. However, with the majority of Providence Jews, organizational involvement was one of many significant dimensions of Jewish identification.[107]

The Providence study further revealed that "the adult Jewish population is strongly affiliated with the Jewish organizational structure over and above synagogue membership, but is largely unaffiliated with the non-sectarian organizations of the community."[108] In fact, 75 percent of the adult Jewish community belonged to at least one Jewish organization, and 17 percent belonged to four or more.[109]

In terms of Jewish involvement with the non-sectarian organizations, Goldstein and Goldscheider obtained data

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[106] Ibid., p. 173.

[107] Ibid., p. 206.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid.

indicating that "with distance from the foreign born generation, there is a consistent increase in non-affiliation with Jewish organizations, and some increase in affiliation with non-Jewish organizations."[110] Yet, the third generation American born Jews still tend to have a more equal membership in non-sectarian and Jewish organizations.[111]

In addition, the Providence study clearly showed that with all generations and age groups "women have a higher affiliation with Jewish organizations than men and a consistently lower affiliation with non-Jewish organizations."[112] Goldstein and Goldscheider seemed to feel that these results confirmed the fact Jewish women are assimilating at a slower rate than Jewish men, partially because even with the rise of the Women's Liberation Movement, men still have a greater need for job related non-sectarian organizational involvement.[113]

The Lakeville study also focused on the differences in types of organizational involvement between Jewish men and women:

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[110] Ibid., p. 208.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.

> Great differences were noted in the involvement of men and women. Eight of every ten women belonged to one or more Jewish organizations not connected with a synagogue and about half belonged to several. On the other hand, only six in ten men were affiliated with some such group, and only one-third with more than one. Among women, health and welfare groups were most popular, the favorite being ORT, i.e. The Organization for Rehabilitation through Training (to which 40 percent of the women belonged), Hadassah (with 26 percent), and the National Council of Jewish Women) with 18 percent). In contrast, when Lakeville men affiliated with a Jewish organization, fewer than one in five selected a health or welfare group, while as many as nine in ten joined a social or recreational one. By far the most popular association among them was B'nai B'rith; some 37 percent of all Lakeville men belonged to a B'nai B'rith Lodge.[114]

As far as the relationship between population density and organizational affiliation, Goldstein and Goldscheider found that "suburbanites (low density) tend to have the lowest affiliation with Jewish organizations and the highest affiliation with non-Jewish organizations."[115] Of course, this may be based on the fact that in suburbia, while there is an overabundance of non-Jewish organizations, there is very limited opportunity for Jewish organizational involvement.

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[114]Marshall Sklare, Joseph Greenblum, and Benjamin Ringer, Not Quite at Home--How an American Jewish Community Lives With Itself and Its Neighbors (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1969), p. 35.

[115]Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans, p. 208.

Also, in the Providence study, no substantial differences in organizational affiliation between Reform and Conservative Jews were discovered. However, in the case of Orthodox Jews, it was found that they "are the least affiliated with any type of organization, Jewish or non-sectarian."[116] This would appear to be a function of Orthodox congregations placing less emphasis on secular activities and more stress on synagogue membership and attendance as the primary types of Jewish organizational identification.[117]

In general, Goldstein and Goldscheider seemed to feel that the organizational structure of the Providence Jewish community provided "a sufficient variety of organizations to satisfy the needs of the community."[118] Yet, they stressed that:

> . . . while on the whole a considerably larger number of persons belong to Jewish than non-Jewish groups, among the second and third generations there is a tendency toward greater disassociation with Jewish organizations and greater association with the formal organizational life of the larger community.[119]

Turning to the unaffiliated group, it was found that 25 percent of the Providence Jews had no organiza-

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[116] Ibid., p. 210

[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid., p. 208

[119] Ibid., p. 210

tional involvement.[120] Interestingly, 80 percent of those who were unaffiliated with Jewish organizations also did not affiliate with non-Jewish organizations.[121] This would seem to indicate that certain Jews are simply non-joiners.

However, in all the major Jewish communities of the United States, there is a significant percentage of unaffiliated Jews whose lack of organizational involvement appears to reflect a growing disenchantment with the established Jewish community, rather than a lack of interest in group affiliation. While Federations, Jewish Community Councils, etc., through outreach programming and neighborhood storefronts, are trying to motivate these unaffiliated Jews to, in some way, participate in programs of the organized Jewish community, many of these unaffiliated are Jewish singles who do not seem to fit into the family oriented Jewish community, or Jewish youngsters who question the values and goals of the "Jewish establishment."

In many cases, the non-affiliated are assimilating because the Jewish community does not develop programs and organizations to deal with their needs. Lonely and

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[120]Ibid., p. 206

[121]Ibid., p. 211

frustrated, they seek out non-Jewish groups because there is nothing in the Jewish community for them.

In this section, literature on organizational involvement, as a sub-section of the dimensions of Jewish community involvement, and ethnic national concerns, was explored. This formed the basis for the following questions in the interview schedule: Numbers 24,42,57,69 (see Appendix A).

Religiosity, Religious Observances and the Synagogue

> Jewish tradition teaches that the Jews became a group only by their having embraced the Torah. Thus, in classical perspective religion is recognized as the foundation of group identity. American Jews seem to follow this tradition. Increasingly, they have come to understand their group identity in religious terms. However, they have not arrived at this position purely out of respect for tradition. Their feelings have also been influenced by factors such as the desire to survive as a group; the belief that survival can best be assured by a group identity that is based on religious commitments; and the impact of a culture that believes that religion is good, and that justifies separatism on the basis of religious commitment as admirable.[122]

In America, today, there are four branches of Judaism: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionism. Orthodox Judaism today represents Judaism that

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[122]Marshall Sklare, America's Jews, p. 110.

maintains a strong adherence to traditional religious practice. Reform Judaism, on the other hand, has narrowly defined the ritualistic and sacramental aspects of Judaism and has upgraded the prophetic and moralistic aspects of the religion. Conservative Judaism is at some loosely defined point in between Orthodoxy and Reform Judaism.[123] Reconstructionism, an offshoot of the Conservative movement, attempts to retain the form of many traditional observances by reconstructing them with contemporary humanist meaning or national-historic significance.[124]

The majority of American Jews would not describe themselves as being either Orthodox or Reconstructionist. Figures reflecting the percentage of American Jews who identify as Reconstructionists are not readily available. Most American Jews would categorize themselves as either Reform or Conservative. In Boston, 14 percent of the people described themselves as Orthodox, 44 percent described themselves as Conservative and 27 percent

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[123]Ibid., p. 112

[124]Charles S. Liebman, "The Religion of American Jews," in The Jew in American Society, ed. by Marshall Sklare (New York: Behrman House, 1974), p. 246.

Reform.[125] Similarly, in Providence, 20 percent were Orthodox, 54 percent Conservative, and 21 percent Reform.[126] Sklare indicates that with the possible exception of New York City, where the Orthodox numbers are larger, these figures are typical of communities on the East coast. In the rest of the country, the percentage of those who consider themselves Reform would be somewhat greater.[127]

Both Bernard Lazerwitz[128] and Marshall Sklare[129] found a distinct relationship between a person's Jewish home background and his level of religious practice. This background serves a frame of reference, either positive or negative, for the person's religious behavior.

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[125]Axelrod et al., A Study of the Jewish Population of Greater Boston, p. 119.

[126]Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans, p. 177.

[127]Sklare and Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, p. 112

[128]Lazerwitz, "Religious Identification and Its Ethnic Correlates," p. 213.

[129]Sklare and Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, p. 65.

Jewish social scientists,[130,131,132] have also traced a distinct generational pattern away from Orthodox practice (more common in the immigrant generation) toward Reform and Conservative practice today.

Keeping in mind the importance of a person's home background, in terms of Jewish identification, and viewing what appears to be a generational movement away from strong adherence to traditional religious observance, it is important to compare religious practices in various American Jewish communities today.

Before examining religious observance today, it is important to delineate some basic dimensions of Jewish religiosity. Sklare and Greenblum found five dimensions: 1) Observance of kashrut (ritual dietary laws), 2) Sabbath observance, 3) Attendance at High Holy Day services, 4) Celebration of Passover, and 5) Celebration of

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[130]Ibid., p. 51.

[131]Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans: Three Generations in a Jewish Community, p. 177.

[132]Axelrod et al., A Community Survey for Long Range Planning: A Study of the Jewish Population of Greater Boston, p. 123.

Hanukah.[133] For our purposes, we have categorized celebration of Passover and Hanukah as acts of cultural involvement. We also have added synagogue or temple involvement as a dimension of religiosity.

In terms of kashrut observance,[134] "There is no simple answer, as to what constitutes full observance of it, for, there are considerable variations in observance even among Orthodox Jews who follow the system inside as well as outside of the home. But it is indisputable that certain aspects of the system are observed only by a minority."[135] In suburban Providence between 16 and 19 percent of the Jewish residents observe the laws of kashrut.[136] In a survey of rabbis in the San Gabriel Valley in the late 1950's, only 10 percent of their

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[133]Sklare and Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, p. 53.

[134]Kashrut includes the use of ritually slaughtered meat that has been drained of blood through soaking and salting. The basic components of kashrut include: the separation of milk and meat, and the restriction on various prohibited animals and fish. For our purposes we included any family who indicated that they "kept kosher."

[135]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 113.

[136]Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans, p. 202.

congregants observed kashrut.[137] In Lakeville, 10 percent of the respondents observed kashrut.[138] Sociologists have confirmed that the observation of kashrut in any form is followed by a very small percentage of the American Jewish population today.

This pattern also appears to be true for Sabbath observance. The Jewish observance of the Sabbath begins at sundown on Friday and concludes at sundown on Saturday. Observant Jews cease from work of any kind during that period. Other less observant Jews celebrate the Sabbath only on Friday evening by lighting candles, saying kiddush (blessing over wine), and having a festive meal. In Lakeville, 30 percent of the residents observe the Sabbath.[139] While, in the San Gabriel Valley, no more than 15 percent of the families observe the Sabbath,[140] Sabbath observance also appears to be a ritual practiced by few Jews in America today.

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[137]Albert Gordon, Jews in Suburbia (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 130.

[138]Sklare and Greenblum, Jewish Identity in the Suburban Frontier, p. 53.

[139]Ibid., p. 53.

[140]Gordon, Jews in Suburbia, p. 32.

With respect to attendance at High Holiday services there seems to be a much higher participation rate. The High Holy Days are Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year, and Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. These two holidays are the most important on the Jewish calendar with the exception of the Sabbath. Sklare estimates that in Lakeville, as many as 75 percent of residents attend High Holiday services.[141] However, in general, regular service attendance among Jews, with exception of the High Holidays is quite low. Attendance at High Holy Day services appears to be the one religious observance practiced extensively by American Jews.[142]

It is interesting to speculate as to why some rituals such as attendance at High Holiday services are practiced while others, such as kashrut observance and Sabbath observance are practiced by few. Marshall Sklare as a result of his findings in Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier developed a theory as to why some rituals are retained:

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[141]Sklare and Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, p. 53.

[142]Axelrod et al., A Study of the Jewish Population of Greater Boston, p. 147.

1) The ritual is capable of re-definition in modern terms.
2) It does not demand social isolation or adoption of a unique lifestyle.
3) It serves as a Jewish alternative to the religious culture of the larger community.
4) It is child centered.
5) It is celebrated annually or infrequently.[143]

It would appear that the High Holidays are observed because they are celebrated annually, as well as serve as a Jewish alternative to the religious culture of the larger community. Sabbath and kashrut are not observed because they demand adoption of a unique lifestyle, and are observed on a daily or a weekly basis rather than less frequently.

An interesting paradox is that though the role of ritual observance in American Judaism today is weak, the synagogue is strong.[144] Within the American Jewish community today, the synagogue still ranks as the most important institution. This is particularly true in suburbia:

> The synagogue is suburbia's nuclear institution. More Jewish men and women are identified with it than any other organized body within the communities. It continues to fulfill the ancient functions that

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[143]Sklare and Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, p. 57.

[144]Ibid., p. 60.

> synagogue fulfilled. It is a House of Prayer, a House of Study, and a House of Assembly. It meets the social and cultural needs of its adherents even as it provides an opportunity for prayer and study.[145]

Particularly in smaller communities the synagogue serves as the symbol, as well as the central address of the Jewish community. Beyond fulfilling the religious need of the congregants the synagogues fulfill a myriad of other needs. These include: recreation and socializing for all age groups, serving as a meeting place for Jewish organizations, fund raising, and education.

In contrast to what appears to be a generalized low level of religious observance among Jews, sociologists have found that more Jews are affiliated with synagogues than any other form of Jewish organizational life.[146] Liebman indicates that 60 percent of American Jews are affiliated with a synagogue.[147] The affiliation rate appears to be even higher in suburban areas. For example, in Lakeville,

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[145]Gordon, Jews in Suburbia, p. 85.

[146]Axelrod et al., A Study of the Jewish Population of Greater Boston, p. 135.

[147]Charles S. Liebman, The Ambivalent American Jew (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1973), p. 72.

two-thirds of Jews belong to synagogues.[148]

Why the high rate of synagogue affiliation when religious observance seems to be of secondary interest to American Jews? Do Jews join synagogues for other than religious reasons? One of the answers, particularly in smaller suburban areas is people join to try to fulfill a need for a sense of Jewish community. Herbert Gans found that, "In forming a synagogue, the Jews of Levittown sought a Jewish sub-community rather than religiosity. They wanted to be with their peers. They wanted their children to learn Jewish cultural patterns. They also wanted to prevent the intermarriage of their children."[149]

In addition to fulfilling the need for a sense of community, many American Jews join synagogues because of their children. Jewish sociologists have found a distinct pattern in terms of when families affiliate. Many parents join synagogues when their children are ready to begin Hebrew school, and at age thirteen, after Bar or Bat

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[148]Marshall Sklare, Joseph Greenblum and Benjamin Ringer, Not Quite at Home: How an American Community Lives with Itself and Its Neighbors (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1969), p. 23.

[149]Gans, The Levittowners, p. 76.

Mitzvah of their child, the parents drop out.[150]

Jewish parents affiliate with synagogues because they are interested in formal Jewish education for their children, as well as providing them with Jewish peers, particularly when they begin to think about dating. Therefore, the aspects of synagogue programming most directly concerned with children, its school and youth department, emerge as a major consideration for affiliation.[151]

In a recent study of temple life, Reform is a Verb, Leonard Fein found that for Reform Jews temple affiliation is based on the quality of the rabbi, the ideology of the synagogue, and the quality of the religious school. Interestingly, Fein found that friendship patterns, or the community need, do not play an important part in determining affiliation.[152]

Whether or not religious observances such as Sabbath observance, and observing kashrut continue to decrease, or if High Holiday service attendance continues to be high, or even whether the synagogue's role as a

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[150]Liebman, The Ambivalent American Jew, p. 71.

[151]Sklare and Greenblum, Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier, p. 189.

[152]Fein, Reform is a Verb, p. 137.

community center lessens, the synagogue as a provider of religious services and Jewish education for children will probably continue as a motivating factor for affiliation for American Jews.

In this section studies of Jewish religiosity, religious observances, and synagogue involvement, as a part of the dimension of Jewish religious observances were reviewed. The following questions for the interview schedule were developed as a result of this analysis: Numbers 20,29,34,40,41,56,86 (see Appendix A).

Jewish Education

"Of all of the institutional arrangements developed in the American Jewish community, none involves as many fateful implications for Jewish identity as the Jewish educational system."[153]

Jewish children today grow up in an open society and lack the support systems provided by the Jewish milieu of previous generations. As a result, Jewish parents look to the school as the arena for identity formation, as a substitute for what was once provided by the home, and the

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[153]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 155.

strong, tightly knit Jewish community.[154]

Since Biblical days, education has been a primary concern of members of the Jewish community. Jewish tradition places a high value on education. In Pirke Avot (Sayings of Our Fathers), it is said that, "By three things does the world exist: by Torah (reflecting education), by worship service, and by deeds of lovingkindness."[155] The concern for education is particularly reflected by the Biblical parental injunction to parents regarding socialization of children:

> And these words, which I command you this day, shall be in your heart, and you shall teach them diligently to your children, you shall talk of them when you sit in your house, when you walk by the way, when you lie down, and when you rise up.[156]

Presently, parental concern for Jewish education is reflected, as previously indicated, in a high rate of synagogue affiliation of parents of children in the age range when Jewish education is generally offered. It is also reflected by the fact that today more than half a

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[154]Walter Ackerman, "The Present Moment in Jewish Education," in The Jewish Community in America, ed. Marshall Sklare (New York: Behrman House, 1973), p. 273.

[155]Pirke Avot 1:2.

[156]Deuteronomy 6:6-7.

million Jewish children receive some form of Jewish schooling during the elementary school years.[157]

Jewish education is now primarily under congregational auspices, with more than 90 percent of children attending religiously oriented schools sponsored by temples and synagogues.[158] Jewish congregational schools deal primarily with children of elementary school age. In a 1966 survey, 70 percent of Jewish children between eight and twelve were enrolled in a Jewish school. However, schools fail to attract or keep teenagers. Only 16 percent of Jewish teens (age thirteen to seventeen) were enrolled in congregational schools.[159] Enrollment of younger children in suburban areas is still higher. In Lakeville, 95 percent of families with children ten years or older sent them to either a Sunday School or a Hebrew School.[160]

In the United States, Jewish education is rooted in the attempts of previous generations to develop forms of

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[157]Walter I. Ackerman, "The Jewish School System in the United States," in The Future of the Jewish Community in America, ed. David Sidorsky (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 177.

[158]Ibid., p. 178.

[159]Ibid., p. 177.

[160]Sklare et al., Not Quite at Home, p. 38.

schooling compatible with the changing conceptions of Judaism, changing lifestyles, and the demands of suburban living in America.[161] Since World War II and the growth of suburbs, Sunday Schools and Hebrew Schools have grown significantly. Currently, 42 percent of Jewish children attend Sunday or one day a week schools and 44 percent attend Hebrew schools.[162]

Sunday schools, or in some cases, Saturday schools, begun under the auspices of the Reform movement, are now found in Reform as well as Conservative affiliated congregations. They were conceived as a Jewish alternative to Portestant Sunday schools. The curriculum, in English, generally includes Jewish history, Bible study, and holiday and festival observance. In spite of an upgraded curriculum, Jewish educators see the one day a week school as providing only superficial Jewish education.[163]

Synagogue sponsored Hebrew schools are the modern successor to the independently sponsored, traditional afternoon "Talmud Torahs," popular in the United States

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[161]Ackerman, "The Jewish School System in the United States," p. 176.

[162]Ibid., p. 177.

[163]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 166.

from 1890 to 1930.[164] Most modern Hebrew schools have two hour class sessions held twice each week after public school, as well as a session on either Saturday or Sunday morning. The curriculum, in Hebrew and English, involves Bible study, history, religious practice, as well as a study of Hebrew grammar and literature. Those who continue on to high school delve into Hebrew studies more intensively.[165]

The third major Jewish educational institution is the Jewish Day School. These Jewish parochial schools are attended by 13.3 percent of Jewish children. Day schools, which are the contemporary counterparts of European yeshivas, are sponsored under the auspices of the Orthodox, Conservative, and recently, Reform movements.[166] The typical day school has a two track system, one devoted to intensive study of Jewish subjects, and another to secular studies.[167] Since 1945, there has been a tremendous growth in the number of day schools. Where there were seventy-

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[164]Ibid., p. 164.

[165]Ackerman, "The Jewish School System in the United States," p. 193.

[166]Ibid., p. 194.

[167]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 168.

eight schools in 1945, today there are more than 300 schools.[168] Perhaps one major reason for such a phenomenal growth is that numerous studies have found that the day school student learns far more of the traditional Jewish disciplines than do those enrolled in Hebrew or Sunday schools.[169]

It is apparent that the traditional parental concern for Jewish education has not diminished. Yet, in spite of the significant growth of day schools, more parents opt for less intensive forms of education for their children. However, as Jews become more assimilated the role of the synagogue, and more specifically, its Sunday or Hebrew school, to provide Jewish socialization for children will become increasingly important. With the trend away from intensive Jewish education, and an increased demand for Jewish socialization, the burden on synagogues and schools will increase significantly.

In this section, literature on Jewish education as a sub-section of the dimension of Jewish community

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[168]Ackerman, "The Jewish School System in the United States," p. 179.

[169]Ibid., p. 194.

involvement, was reviewed. This formed the basis for the following questions in the interview schedule: Numbers 32, 55,60,68,70,87,88 (see Appendix A).

Zionism and Identification with Israel

Marshall Sklare, in America's Jews, emphasized that "the most significant aspect of the impact of Israel concerns its effect on the Jewish self-image, on the psychological make-up of the American Jew, on the feeling of the American Jew toward his Jewishness."[170]

Before the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, American Jews seemed to view themselves, because of the Nazi Holocaust and 2000 years of persecution, as members of a "martyred race." The presence of Israel on the world scene, however, profoundly changed this negative self-image. Instead of perceiving themselves as being weak and defenseless, American Jews began to develop a new sense of Jewish pride and power by identifying with the vitality and strength of Israel. No longer did they view Jewish expression as a private matter for the existence of Israel gave them the security and status to identify publicly as

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[170]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 214.

Jews.[171]

To American Zionists, the creation of the State of Israel was the realization of a life-long dream--the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland in Zion. As stated by Martin Buber:

> After the Jewish people was expelled from the land destined for it, it continued to exist for almost two thousand years thanks to its faith in its resettlement, in the existence of its destiny, in the realization of its ideal. The internal connection with its land and the faith in the revival of its unity with it, were a continual source of strength for the rejuvenation of the people which lived in conditions which would certainly have led to the disintegration of any other group.[172]

Not only did American Zionists view Israel as the homeland of the Jewish people, but they were also actively committed to its survival. Many served in Israel's Defense Forces during the 1948 War of Independence, and after the establishment of the state, joined garinim (core groups) to settle kibbutzim and moshavim (collectives) in Israel. As they believed in "the national liberation of the Jewish people,"[173] in the Jewish homeland, they immigrated to

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[171]Ibid.

[172]Martin Buber in The Voices of Jewish Emancipation (Jerusalem: Zionist Library, 1971), p. 60.

[173]Jacob Tsur, Zionism--National Liberation Movement (Jerusalem: Zionist Library, 1971), p. 7.

Israel so that they could emotionally and physically directly link their Jewish fate with the fate of Zion.

From 1948 to 1966, the bulk of the American Jewish community, while not contemplating making aliyah (going to live in Israel), still actively supported the Jewish homeland by buying Israel Bonds and giving money to the United Jewish Appeal. In 1966, for example, $64 million was raised for Israel, and $76 million in Israel Bonds were sold.[174]

Those Zionists who remained in America (for it is possible to be committed to the survival of Israel without necessarily going to live there), also participated in American Jewish fund-raising for Israel. The difference, then, between the Zionist who remained in America and his Jewish contemporaries was in terms of the intensity or degree of support for Israel beyond financial contributions (including membership in Zionist organizations, visiting Israel, etc.).

The 1967 Six Day War further accentuated the interdependence between Israel and the American Jewish community. According to Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg:

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[174]Nathan Glazer, American Judaism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 178.

> The immediate reaction of American Jewry to the crisis was far more intense and widespread than anyone could have foreseen. Many Jews would never have believed that the grave danger to Israel would dominate their thoughts and emotions to the exclusion of all else.[175]

In terms of financial contributions, the Jewish community of the United States (numbering under six million) raised $432 million for Israel ($242 million donations and $190 million in Israel Bonds) which was the greatest flood of financial contributions in American Jewish history.[176]

Sklare postulated that American Jews so intensely supported Israel because "while Israel's destruction might have endangered their physical security, the psychological effect would have been devastating."[177] He stressed that the events of 1967 demonstrated that, in actuality, not only was Israel dependent on American Jewry for funds, but also that American Jewry was psychologically and emotionally dependent on Israel.[178]

Another result of the 1967 War was the dramatic

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[175]Arthur Hertzberg in Glazer, American Judaism, p. 170.

[176]Glazer, American Judaism, p. 178.

[177]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 218.

[178]Ibid.

increase in American Jewish immigration to Israel. In fact by 1970, the United States, for the first time in Israel's history, became the major source of immigration (9,200 immigrants in 1970).[179] Yet, surprisingly enough, "the data from the survey of American olim (immigrants to Israel) show that about half of the American olim were not members of any Zionist organization before aliyah."[180] This would seem to indicate that Zionist organizational membership is not necessarily a precondition to aliyah, and, in fact, could be a "consequence rather than a causal factor in the chain of aliyah determinants."[181]

Also, after the Six Day War, American Jewish tourism to Israel skyrocketed. In addition, thousands of American Jewish youth began going to Israel to study, work on kibbutzim, etc.. This was in striking contrast to the pre-1967 War period when only those with an ardent Zionist commitment visited Israel.

While Israel's decisive military triumph gave

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[179]Glazer, American Judaism, p. 179.

[180]Calvin Goldscheider, "American Aliyah--Sociological and Demographic Perspectives," in The Jew in American Society, ed. Marshall Sklare (New York: Behrman House, 1974), p. 376.

[181]Ibid., p. 377.

American Jews a renewed sense of pride and virility, it also had both historical and spiritual implications:

> The results of the war seemed to indicate that although the Jewish people had been forced to endure the agony of the death camps just a few brief years before, it was nevertheless fated to triumph over those who would destroy the one ray of hope in its recent tragic history. Furthermore, to both secular as well as religious Jews, the results seemed to suggest a suprasocial dimension: in addition to the lightning victory, there was the reunification of Jerusalem, and especially the new access to the Western Wall.[182]

The Yom Kippur War of 1973 even further solidified the emotional bond between Israel and the American Jewish community. As stated by Arnulf M. Pins, "Jews in the diaspora were not close enough to the war to lose their lives or limbs, but, for many, their innermost parts were scrambled by the terrible explosion."[183]

In other words, American Jews were shocked and frightened by the Yom Kippur War, shocked that the strong Israelis whom they identified with might lose the war, and frightened of what would happen to world Jewry if Israel was defeated. Moreover, even with public declarations of solidarity and financial support for Israel, many American

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[182]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 218.

[183]Arnulf M. Pins, "The Crisis in Jewish Life--the Aftermath of the Yom Kippur War," Journal of Jewish Communal Service 51 (I 11 1974): 9.

Jews still felt a sense of hopelessness and despair. This was compounded by the fact that a number of them had friends or family who fought and, in some cases, died in the war.

Thus the Yom Kippur War clearly demonstrated to the American Jewish community that Israel "was not fully the master of its own fate,"[184] and that even with the support of the world Jewish community, it could be wiped out. This triggered fears of another impending Holocaust, severely damaged the heroic image of the Israeli soldier, and confirmed, to the dismay of many American Jews, that the Soviet Union and the United States might control the destiny of Israel.

After the Yom Kippur War, the American Jewish community began to re-evaluate its relationship to Israel. Jewish educators and communal leaders started to define the connection between American Jewry and Israel in terms of "mutuality rather than dependence."[185] According to Charles Zibbell:

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[184]Ibid., p. 13.

[185]Ted Kanner, "Comment on the Crisis in Jewish Life," Journal of Jewish Communal Service 51 (Fall 1974): 28.

> It seems to me that if we accept the fact that there is a Jewish community spread throughout the globe, then we must conclude that the strength and vitality of the whole Jewish community is dependent on the strength and vitality of each part, very much like links in a chain. That means to me that the Jewish communities outside of Israel are critical links in the survival of the Jewish people. An integral part of the same concept is that Israel is a vital link in the survival of the Jewish people.[186]

What Zibbell is suggesting is that American Jewry, without breaking its commitment to Israel, come to the realization that too much dependence on Israel will interfere with the growth and development of its own institutions.

However, no matter how the American Jewish community defines its relationship to Israel, it can not sever some very fundamental ties. Ideologically, American Zionists still have a strong intellectual and cultural attachment to Israel. Socially and emotionally, many American Jews have either visited Israel or have relatives or friends who live there. Culturally, a number of Jewish youth and adults either speak Hebrew or know Israeli songs and dances. Spiritually, many religious Jewish Americans have a special linkage with Jerusalem. Finally, when Israel is physically threatened by Arab belligerency,

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[186]Charles Zibbell in Ibid.

American Jews seem to be psychologically endangered.

In this section, literature on the dimensions of Zionist-Israel identification and ethnic-national involvement was examined. This facilitated the development of the following questions for the interview schedule: Numbers 22, 26,28,30,36,43,58,66 (see Appendix A).

Jewish Socio-Economic Status and Culture

> Like educational mobility, occupational mobility has brought great benefits to the Jewish group. It has also brought severe problems of group adjustment and survival. Occupational mobility entails class mobility. In the process of shifting from the working class to the middle class and the upper class, Jews have made drastic changes in their culture. The new cultural patterns that they adopted were not generally Jewish patterns--they were patterns from the larger culture. True, Jews adopted and relinquished cultural patterns selectively, with the consequence that the culture of middle-class Jews is not identical with that of their opposite numbers among Gentiles. Nevertheless, continuity between old and new cultural patterns is weak.[187]

Extensively college educated, American Jews have assumed a remarkable degree of prominence in the professions and business. "In most cities, proportionately twice as many Jews are professionals as in the population at

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[187]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 66.

large."[188] Of the 15,000 doctors in New York City in 1960, more than half were Jewish.[189] Of the nation's top seventy intellectuals, half, according to the quarterly Public Interest, are Jewish.[190] Jews, such as Henry Kissinger, Edward Levi, and Arthur Burns, have top level United States Government positions.[191] There are proportionately three to four times as many Jewish managers and proprietors as in the population at large.[192] In Detroit, 42 percent of the male Jewish family heads ages twenty to thirty-four are professional men.[193]

In addition, American Jews have been active in the cultural arts arena. In music, George Gershwin, Beverly Sills, Gregor Piatigorsky, and Artur Rubinstein have made names for themselves. In literature, authors such as Norman Mailer, Saul Bellow and Philip Roth have focused on

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[188]Ibid., p. 65.

[189]New York Federation Report in James Yaffe, The American Jews (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 224.

[190]"The Range of American Jewry," Time, March 10, 1975, p. 24.

[191]Ibid.

[192]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 65.

[193]Ibid., p. 66.

contemporary Jewish themes. Many television and movie actors, comedians, directors, designers and producers are Jewish. In the business aspect of the arts, 60 percent of the art dealers and just under 50 percent of the major American book publishers are Jewish. Also, a number of the leading concert managers are Jewish.[194]

In terms of education, for the Jews are known as "the people of the book," more than 50 percent of the Jews over twnety-five have gone to college. This is in contrast to the general population where only 25 percent of those over twenty-five have received some college training.[195] Also, many of the American university professors are Jewish. Finally, using education as a means of achieving occupational and economic success, American Jews have a median income of $12,630 compared to $10,285 for the rest of the population (14 percent of Jewish American families earn over $25,000).[196]

Yet, even with all of this socio-economic success, the American Jew still faces an identity crisis. Have his

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[194]Yaffe, The American Jews, pp. 224-226.

[195]"The Range of American Jewry," Time, p. 24.

[196]Ibid.

Jewish cultural values been integrated into his American way of life, or have they been consumed by his unrelenting desire to realize the "American dream?" According to Sklare, in what sense can this middle-class, culturally sophisticated American still Jewish, and in what sense can his children, with so little contact with Jewish culture, retain a sense of Jewish identity?[197]

It seems that the American Jew is fighting a never-ending battle to reconcile his Jewish beliefs with the American way of life. In the case of Passover and Hanukah, while 75 percent of the third generation still attend Passover seders (meals) and light Hanukah candles,[198] Goldstein and Goldscheider suggest that the Jewish component of these holidays has been replaced by a secularized or Christianized way of thinking:

> The increased and sustained popularity of Hanukah and Passover may stem from the emphasis given to these practices in both the Jewish educational system and the community at large. In particular, the treatment of Hanukah along with the Christmas holiday in many public schools, as well as its use by some parents as a substitute for Christmas, accounts for the high proportion of families who adhere to this ritual. Similarly, sustained popularity of the Passover seder may be

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[197]Sklare, America's Jews, p. 66.

[198]Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans, p. 202.

> related to the increasing de-emphasis of its religious or historical significance and its use as an occasion for family reunions. At the same time, the much greater publicity given to the seder in recent years in the mass media, particularly television, and its co-incidence with Easter must be considered.[199]

In terms of an appreciation for the arts, rather than a direct professional involvement, the American Jew again faces the same dilemma. Should he be interested in Jewish books, plays, movies, museums and art exhibits, or should he, as an American, have a more universalistic perspective? According to James Yaffe, American Jews have, in fact, adopted the more global attitude:

> Jews are even more prominent among the patrons and consumers of the arts. They buy more books . . . Jews flock to concerts, operas, theaters, and nowadays, as soon as they can afford it, they buy paintings and sculpture. Not only do they enjoy the arts, they contribute money to them. One of the new buildings of the Los Angeles Music Center is the Mark Taper Forum, named after a Jewish builder who contributed $1.5 million. The president of the Los Angeles Art Museum is Jewish and . . .[200]

It must be mentioned, however, that certain Jewish movies and plays do have a special significance to American Jews. In the case of Fiddler on the Roof, for example, part of its tremendous appeal is based on its romantic

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[199]Ibid., pp. 202-203.

[200]Yaffe, The American Jews, p. 226.

portrayal of Eastern European Jewish life (most American Jewish families are originally from Eastern Europe).

There are other areas, as well, where American Jews still have distinctly Jewish cultural concerns. First of all, in the area of language, while Yiddish is quickly disappearing as a result of the Americanization process (except for popularized colorful words and expressions),[201] Hebrew is now going through its American renaissance period:

> A new linguistic phenomenon is appearing; the slight increase in the use of Hebrew among the third generation. Although the proportion is still very small, the combination of the use of Hebrew in Jewish religious schools, pride in the establishment of the state of Israel, and a greater amount of interchange between the United States and Israel has led to a greater number of persons learning Hebrew as both a written and spoken language.[202]

Concomitant with the increase in stature of the Hebrew language is the growing popularity of Israeli songs and singers and Israeli dancing and dance troupes amongst American Jewish youth and adults.

Secondly, in the area of food, "Jews love to

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[201]Goldstein and Goldscheider, Jewish Americans, p. 226.

[202]Ibid.

eat"[203] Jewish dishes. Even today, the chief expression of the Jewish family spirit is eating. "From the shtetl (ghetto) to the suburbs, food is still the traditional symbol of Jewish love and solidarity."[204] Moreover, "food has a way of arousing a sense of Jewishness in people long after everything else has lost its influence over them."[205]

In summation, the American experience has produced a uniquely American Jewish middle class with a combination of Jewish cultural values and the American love of "the good life." Moreover, according to Isador Chein, the American Jew can not be identified by a single model of cultural Jewishness:

> . . . there are the Yiddishists, Hebraists, and Englishists who advocate one or another aspect of secular Jewish culture, . . . there are the "out-of-pocket" Jews who feel they have lived Jewishly when they have contributed to some Jewish philanthropy; or the "gastronomic" Jews when they have dined on Jewish food, or the "cardiac" Jews when they have experienced in their heart that they are Jews; and there are many who, while identifying themselves as Jews, just do not care about anything Jewish. . .[206]

In this section, studies of Jewish socio-economic status and culture as part of the dimension of Jewish

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[204]Ibid., pp. 281-282. [205]Ibid.

[206]Isador Chein in Gordon, Jews in Suburbia, p. xviii.

cultural involvement was reviewed. As a result, the following questions for the interview schedule were developed: Numbers 9-19,78,94,95 (see Appendix A).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study was designed to explore the impact of Jewish population density on Jewish identity and identification, and to clarify existing assumptions regarding the nature of Jewish involvement in low density areas. Thus, to examine the whole relationship between concentration of Jews and use of Jewish services, two communities in Greater Los Angeles County were selected that differed with respect to density of Jewish population. Beverlywood, located in the City of Los Angeles, had 3000 Jewish family units out of a total of 4500 family units; in other words approximately 70 percent of the total population of 13,500 was Jewish.[207] Covina/West Covina, located in the eastern end of the suburban San Gabriel Valley, had 1000 Jewish family units out of a total of 33,000 family units; thus 3 percent

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[207]Massarik, Jewish Population Study, pp. 10-11.

of the total population of 100,000 was Jewish.[208]

A null hypothesis was established that there would be no difference between the two Jewish communities studied in terms of types of Jewish involvement and expression of Jewish identity. The researchers expected, however, that Jews in the low density community would have relatively low Jewish identity and would utilize relatively infrequently Jewish institutions and social agencies.

Based on a review of existing scales and indices of Jewish identity and identification,[209] the researchers developed a multi-dimensional index of Jewish identity to serve as the vehicle for testing their assumptions. As discussed in Chapter II, the index dealt with Jewish identification and involvement in terms of nine major dimensions: Jewish self-picture, Jewish cultural involvement, Jewish religious observances, Jewish ethnic-national concerns, Zionist-Israel orientation, interaction with the American Jewish community, Jewish community involvement,

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[208]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[209]Refer to chapter on "Jewish Identity and Identification."

use of social welfare institutions, and unmet needs.[210]

Each of these dimensions examines a specific aspect of Jewish identification. The Jewish self-picture dimension involves analysis of basic Jewish awareness and concern. The Jewish cultural involvement dimension represents extent of use of Jewish culture institutions (art, music, etc.). The Jewish religious observances dimension measures the extent Jews utilize ritualistic practices and have linkage to the synagogue. The Jewish ethnic-national concerns dimension focuses on extent of identification with Jewish peoplehood and the continuity of the Jewish nation in the face of anti-Semitism, oppression and war.

The Zionist-Israel dimension probes the extent of identification with and support of Israel and the Zionist movement. The American Jewish community dimension measures extent of interaction with the Jewish community as reflected in neighborhood choice, intermarriage, the seeking out of other Jews and holiday celebrations. The Jewish community involvement dimension examines extent of Jewish affiliation in the informal and formal educational, organizational and cultural spheres. The social welfare

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[210]See Appendix A for complete interview schedule.

institutions dimension examines the relationship between Jewish identification and preference for sectarian or non-sectarian medical and family counseling services. The researchers also hoped to identify some unmet needs in the two communities with respect to Jewish community involvement and expression.

A cross-sectional survey was utilized to collect data. From a listing of United Jewish Welfare Fund (UJWF) donors who contributed between $0 and $249 in 1974,[211] a random sample was chosen; every fourth or fifth person from a total of 700 names was selected until a sample of approximately 120 names of doctors, lawyers, educators, and other professionals was obtained from Beverlywood and Covina/West Covina. The researchers deliberately selected professionals from each community to keep the socio-economic class constant.

This computer listing of donors was obtained from the Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles. The Beverlywood donors included two zip-coded areas, 90034 and 90035; the Covina/West Covina donors 91790, 91791, and

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[211]This was the modal pattern of giving. Excluded were people who were exceptionally wealthy or so committed that they devoted a larger part of their income than they could afford.

91792. Since the borders of Beverlywood were not congruent with those of zip-coded areas 90034 and 90035, the researchers had to eliminate those on the list who did not reside in the neighborhood that defines itself as Beverlywood. Out of 250 names, approximately 100 people clearly residing beyond the borders of Beverlywood were excluded from the sample.[212]

Since unaffiliated non-committed Jews may never contribute to Jewish causes, it is possible that the sample is not representative of Jews generally. But the researchers did not have the manpower or resources to allow random selection of Jews from the overall Jewish population through use, for example, of surnames from a telephone directory.[213] (While this surname system is also used by the United States Census Bureau to classify Mexican-Americans,[214] it was not practical for the researchers to use this technique.)

Another limitation of the study was the small sample size. From a listing of 120 names, 43 families were

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[212]The boundaries of Beverlywood are discussed in the section on "Beverlywood."

[213]Massarik, Jewish Population Study, p. 2.

[214]Shryock and Siegel, Demography, p. 257.

interviewed. The researchers, however, felt that exploring the feelings and attitudes of a modest number of people was more appropriate than a mailed questionnaire that could have reached more individuals. Also, it seemed that extensive probing of the respondents' Jewish concerns would facilitate greater understanding of the effect of population density on Jewish identification. In contrast, it was felt that questionnaires tend to be based on superficial responses to the issues.

In two separate mailings, letters explaining the purpose of the study were sent out to the sample of 120 families.[215] Follow-up calls were made to answer any questions prospective subjects might have and to arrange appointments. Though the goal was to interview 30 families in each community (60 families in total), the researchers arranged to interview 43 families, 23 in Covina/West Covina and 20 in Beverlywood. The researchers were able to interview, then, approximately 30 percent of persons to whom the letters were mailed.

As indicated earlier, the interview schedule was based on a multi-dimensional index designed to contrast

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[215]See Appendix B for "Letter to Interviewees."

high and low density Jewish communities in terms of the way Jewish involvement is expressed within each community. In this way, the researchers hoped to establish profiles of Jews living in high and low density areas.[216]

Both closed and open-ended questions were used in the interview schedule. The majority of the questions required yes-no-undecided (closed-ended) responses, yet there were a sufficient number of open-ended questions where the interviewees were free to respond at length to important issues. The open-ended questions dealt with general orientations, whereas the yes-no type questions were more particularized and focused. For example, in terms of the Jewish cultural involvement dimension, an open-ended question was, "Is Jewish culture important to you?" The yes-no-undecided questions then examined specific aspects of this dimension (e.g., "Which of the following items are important expressions of being Jewish to you--listening to Jewish music/singing Jewish songs, doing Israeli dancing, etc.?"). In this way, the more focused responses supplemented the open-ended questions.

Before administering the interview schedule to the

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[216]Refer to chapter on "Comparison of Jewish Residents in High and Low Density Communities."

sample,[217] the researchers pretested it with Jewish professionals, social workers, and residents of Beverlywood and the San Gabriel Valley. The question, "What do you consider yourself, a Jewish American or an American Jew?" was discarded because it appeared unclear to respondents. The question, "Do you have a kosher home?" was changed to, "Do you keep kosher?"; some people only keep kosher at home, whereas others keep kosher both at work and at home.

The researchers administered the interview schedule during a personal interview at the homes of the families; (whenever possible both husband and wife were interviewed). Homes were chosen to make interviewees feel more comfortable. In some cases, however, the interviews took place at the offices of the husbands. The interviewing process took approximately one month to complete because Covina/West Covina required a 45 minute drive from Los Angeles, and many interviews in both communities lasted more than two hours.

Interviewees generally were helpful to the

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[217]Questions were randomly arranged except for demographic and open-ended questions placed at the beginning and demographic and unmet needs questions placed at the end of the interview schedule.

researchers. The researchers met a number of friendly and concerned people who candidly and compassionately shared their feelings and attitudes toward Jewish life. Such warmth was especially true of the Covina/West Covina respondents. Some families invited the researchers over for dinner or refreshments; there were attempts at match-making or arranging dates with the unmarried partner of the study, and many requested that the researchers share with them the results of the survey. Also, it should be noted that some perceived the researchers as "Jewish messengers" sent to tell them what programs and services were available in the Jewish community.

Responses from the interviews were marked on printed scoring sheets with ample space for open-ended data. Open-ended responses were then categorized, ranked and coded for the computer. The close-ended responses were easily coded as well.

The University of Southern California computer was used for data analysis. The first computer run supplied frequency distribution scores for the ninety-five variables and nine correlation matrices of all the questions in each of the nine dimensions. The correlation matrices were used to eliminate from indices items that did not correlate with

other individual items at a level of significance of less than .05. Items were also eliminated when more than 90 percent of respondents had precisely the same response; (such items were not useful for comparing the respondents). The following questions, then, were used to form the nine dimensions:

Jewish self-picture:	Q28-Jewish fate
	Q39-Acquaintances
	Q54-People at work
Jewish cultural involvement:	Q10-Music
	Q11-Israeli dancing
	Q13-Museums
	Q16-Hebrew
	Q17-Yiddish
Jewish religious observances:	Q40-Shabbat
	Q34-Temple involvement--preference
	Q29-High holidays
	Q56-Temple affiliation--action
Jewish ethnic-national concerns:	Q21-Ethnic continuity
	Q61-Soviet Union
Zionist-Israel identification:	Q43-Visiting Israel
	Q36-Help state of Israel
	Q30-Israel as homeland
	Q62-Zionist organization--preference
	Q66-Zionist organization--action
Interaction with American Jewish community:	Q7 -Why move to community
	Q23-Does Jewishness affect relationship

	Q89-Factors that cause you to stay in community
	Q91-Seeking out other Jews
	Q92-Frequenting other Jewish areas
Jewish community involvement:	Q57-Important--JFC or JCC
	Q64-Bar/Bat mitzva
	Q68-Informal Jewish education--preference
	Q69-Affiliation--JFC or JCC
	Q70-Youth groups or summer camps--preference
	Q42-Preference--active role in community
Use of social welfare services:	Q51-Family-marital counselling--action
	Q47-Family-marital counselling--preference
	Q48-Recreation--preference
	Q52-Recreation--action
	Q50-Medical--action
Unmet needs:	Q73-Cultural needs
	Q75-Ethnic-national needs[218]

The second computer run gave the frequency distribution of scores in each of the nine indices.[219] For the final computer run, dimensions were cross-tabulated by density (Beverlywood and Covina/West Covina respondents), age (Q3), years lived in community (Q5), husband's home Jewish experience (Q84), and husband's Jewish education

[218]Q means Question. Complete Questions can be found in Appendix A.

[219]The score in each index was a sum total of the scores of the designated questions. Highest score was given to persons with highest Jewish identity.

(Q14).[220] To facilitate the cross-tabulations, the variables and indices were divided into high and low categories. In the case of the variables, this division was based on the mean of the first run frequency distribution score for each of the questions. In the case of the indices (dimensions), high and low division was based on the mean of the frequency distribution of scores for each dimension.

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[220]Refer to copy of Interview Schedule in Appendix A.

CHAPTER IV

COMPARISON OF JEWISH RESIDENTS IN HIGH AND LOW DENSITY COMMUNITIES

Description of Sample

In examining the responses of forty-three residents of Beverlywood and Covina/West Covina the researchers found that with the exception of the nature of interaction with the American Jewish community and different levels of unmet needs, responses were similar. This chapter will include an overview of the responses of residents of both communities as well as a comparison of the attitudes of residents of Beverlywood and Covina/West Covina towards various dimensions of Jewish identity and identification.

Of those interviewed, 90.6 percent were between thirty and sixty years old. Ninety-five and three-tenths percent were married, with 97.6 percent of those married having at least one child. Sixteen and three-tenths

percent of the sample were intermarried.[221] Socio-economically, the sample was overwhelmingly middle class and above. All of the respondents had incomes of $15,000 or over. Ninety-two and six-tenths percent of the men and 47.3 percent of the women are professionals or are involved with business. Residents of both communities interviewed are middle aged, middle class, and family oriented.

Most of those interviewed have lived in California. Only 20.9 percent had moved to their present location from outside of the state, and an additional 7 percent had come from northern California. Nine and three-tenths percent of Covina/West Covina residents had moved to their present location from the San Gabriel Valley. Of those interviewed, 7 percent had moved from the San Fernando Valley, and 55.8 percent had moved from the city of Los Angeles to their present location. In response to the question of why they moved, 37.2 percent gave job related responses, 25.5 percent indicated housing as the reason, 23.3 percent answered, "I want to live in an urban environment," 7 percent said that they wanted to be near family, and 7

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[221]Massarik defines intermarriage as marriage in which one or the other partner was identified with a non-Jewish religious-cultural viewpoint at the time that he/she met his/her future spouse.

percent mentioned a desire to live in a Jewish neighborhood. Like other Americans, many residents sampled moved to an area either because of a desire to be closer to their jobs or because of the availability of good housing.

In evaluating feelings of respondents towards their Jewishness, most felt comfortable as Jews. Ninety and seven-tenths percent felt that their fate was linked to the fate of the Jewish people. An indication of comfort was that 93 percent of the sample readily let new acquaintances know that they were Jewish and 97.5 percent of those sampled let the people with whom they worked know that they were Jewish. When asked to categorize themselves as Jews, none labeled themselves as orthodox Jews,[222] 2.3 percent were Reconstructionists, 25.6 percent were Reform Jews, 37.2 percent regard themselves as secular Jews, and 4.7 percent of those interviewed labeled themselves as "minimally Jewish." Not only did respondents reflect comfort about being Jewish, but also a concern about continuity; 95 percent of those interviewed were planning to or already had raised their children with an awareness

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[222]It appears that there are many more orthodox Jews in Beverlywood than in Covina/West Covina. The only orthodox Jew in our original sample was unable to be interviewed as he was observing a period of mourning.

of their Jewishness.[223]

A concern for Jewish survival, as a distinct ethnic group was also reflected by 86 percent of respondents. Eighty-one percent of the sample were concerned about the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union, Arab lands, and South America. Ninety-five percent of those interviewed were concerned about the 1967 and Yom Kippur Wars in the Middle East; 25.6 percent were upset, 39 percent were outraged, and 30.3 percent were actively involved in activities such as attending or organizing meetings or donating funds.

While most of those sampled felt comfortable with their own Jewishness, and believed in Jewish survival, much insecurity was reflected with regard to anti-Semitism. While only 23.3 percent of the sample experienced any kind of discrimination because of their Jewishness, 100 percent of those interviewed were concerned about anti-Semitism in America. A further indicator of insecurity was that while 95.3 percent of the sample disagreed with General Brown when he indicated that Jews had an undue

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[223]Among intermarried couples varied patterns emerged with most committed to raising their children as Jews. In all cases parents indicated to children that they identified as Jews.

amount of influence in the United States, 48.8 percent of those sampled indicated, "General Brown verbalized what many Gentiles are thinking." There was also 100 percent agreement that Jews should be aware of the Holocaust. While few Jews in the United States have actually experienced discrimination because they are Jewish, their fear of anti-Semitism is based on memories of the Holocaust, as well as those of the Yom Kippur War and Arab oil blockade and business boycott.

Most respondents had positive feelings towards Zionism and Israel. Seventy-six and seven-tenths percent of the sample responded positively in answer to the question,"Where do you stand with relation to Zionism?" Eighty-eight and four-tenths percent of those interviewed viewed Israel as the homeland of the Jewish people. In addition, 88.4 percent of those interviewed felt that it was the obligation of American Jews to support Israel. In spite of strong feelings about Zionism and towards Israel, however, only 16.3 percent of those interviewed are involved in a Zionist organization, and only 12 percent had ever given serious thought to moving to Israel.

In addition to concerns about Israel and Zionism, a number of factors reflected Jewish cultural involvement.

Three aspects were: reading Jewish books, magazines and newspapers; eating Jewish foods; and celebrating Jewish holidays. Sixty-seven percent of those in the sample read Jewish magazines, books and newspapers, and also felt that eating Jewish food is an important part of being Jewish for them. Two additional forms of Jewish cultural involvement were the celebration of Passover and Hanukah. In Beverlywood and Covina/West Covina, 88 percent of those interviewed celebrated Passover, while 91 percent celebrated Hanukah.

While the vast majority of respondents celebrated Passover and Hanukah, only 67.4 percent celebrated the Jewish holidays of Rosh Ha Shana and Yom Kippur, which are considered by many to be holier than any other holidays. Only 37.2 percent of those interviewed celebrated the Sabbath in any form, while 18.6 percent of the sample observed the laws of kashrut in any form. Those sampled reflected a generational pattern of decline in religious observance.

In addition to religious observance, another area of concern was Jewish community involvement with Jewish community centers and/or Jewish federations, participation in Jewish life cycle ceremonies, and the use of Jewish

educational facilities. While 62.8 percent of those interviewed indicated that it was important to be involved with a Jewish community center or with a Jewish federation, only 46.5 percent of the respondents were affiliated either with a center or with a federation. Fifty-eight and one-tenth percent of those in the sample were synagogue members. Most respondents participated in Jewish life cycle ceremonies. Ninety and two-tenths percent of the respondents had been married according to Jewish tradition and 91.9 percent of their male children had had a bris (ritual circumcision). In addition, 78 percent of their children had or would have a Bar or Bat Mitzvah. Parental concern for Jewish education was reflected by the fact that 87 percent of their children had at least some minimal Sunday or Hebrew school education, and 73 percent had participated in Jewish camping or were members of a youth group.

The respondents indicated a high level of involvement with other Jews. Sixty and five-tenths percent of those interviewed said that in some way their Jewishness affected their relationship with non-Jews. One overriding concern was intermarriage; 81 percent of those in the sample indicated that they would be concerned if their children married non-Jews. One indication of this concern

was the fact that Covina/West Covina residents arranged numerous dates for the unmarried partner of the study, as a result of his interviews. Matchmaking seemed to be a way for these residents to deal with their anxiety about the fact that their children or relatives were dating and might possibly marry non-Jews.

Another area of interaction was Jewish friendship patterns. Only 20.9 percent of those interviewed indicated that they stayed in a community because of or in spite of its Jewishness. However, 61 percent of the sample said that they prefer to have Jewish friends, and 76.7 percent said that they had more Jewish than non-Jewish friends. Seventy-four and three-tenths percent found it easy to seek out other Jews in their community. In the case of Beverlywood, a few residents expressed a concern about the increased enrollment of black students at the local high school (Alexander Hamilton). This seems to reflect a preference of area residents to live among Jews. However, it has to be understood that many other Jews in the sample welcomed racial changes.

The use of Jewish versus non-sectarian social welfare agencies in both communities, was another area of interest. Seventy-six and seven-tenths percent of those

sampled had no preference about medical assistance, and 68.3 percent used both Jewish and non-Jewish doctors and hospitals for medical assistance. For vocational counseling, 90.5 percent had no preference and 81.8 percent of those sampled used the services of both Jewish and non-sectarian agencies. For family counseling, 52.4 percent preferred to use a Jewish agency, while only 38.5 percent actually used a Jewish agency. While 46.5 percent of those questioned preferred to use a Jewish facility for recreation and socializing, only 40.5 percent of those sampled used Jewish agencies. With the exception of family counseling, the fact that the agency had Jewish sponsorship did not seem to be a factor in agency choice. In the case of family counseling, respondents indicated that for them Jewish workers in a Jewish agency have more empathy than their Gentile counterparts. However, the overriding concern regarding social welfare services was for the quality of services available, rather than agency sponsorhip.

Finally, an attempt was made to determine what, if any, Jewish needs were or were not being met for residents of Beverlywood and Covian/West Covina. Eighty-three and three-tenths percent indicated that their religious needs

were being met. Ninety and seven-tenths percent of those interviewed were satisfied that there were places where their Zionist needs could be met. Fifty-three and eight-tenths percent of those surveyed indicated that their Jewish cultural needs were not being met. Residents of both communities indicated the need for more Jewish book-stores and museums. In addition, 56.3 percent of those interviewed indicated that agencies that dealt with ethnic-national needs were not meeting their needs. Respondents suggested that agencies dealing with anti-Semitism and Soviet Jewry related activities need greater visibility and more aggressive outreach efforts to the community.

In general, residents of both communities felt comfortable as Jews, reflecting almost total agreement in response to questions related to their Jewish self-picture. In addition, there was almost complete agreement regarding ethnic-national concerns. Most residents believed in Jewish survival and feared anti-Semitism.

Comparative Data

While the researchers initially thought that residents of a low density Jewish community would have a lower level of Jewish involvement and identification than

residents of a high density Jewish area, the findings unexpectedly showed that there were not significant differences between responses of members of the two communities with respect to a number of dimensions.

With respect to Zionist-Israel identification, while 56 percent of Jews in the low density neighborhood obtained a high index score, 44 percent of the respondents in the high density community also received a high score. In terms of Jewish cultural involvement, 55 percent of the sample of low density Jews as well as 45 percent of the residents of the high density area scored in the high category. Thus density was not an important factor in the determination of high index scores (reflecting high Jewish identity). Indeed, Jewish low density areas in the sample had higher scores than Jews in high density areas with respect to some dimensions.

Furthermore, even in the dimension of use of Jewish social welfare services, density was not associated at a significant level with the usage of these services (x^2 = 0.13752, d.f. 1, $p < .05$). As indicated in Table 1, 47.1 percent (8) of low density Jews scored high in the dimension of use of Jewish social welfare services, whereas 52.9 percent (9) of high density Jews obtained a high

score. This would seem to indicate that, regardless of population concentration, approximately 50 percent (17) of the sample received a high score for this dimension.

TABLE 1

USE OF JEWISH SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES
BY JEWISH POPULATION DENSITY

Use of Jewish social welfare services	Jewish population density		
	LO	HI	TOTAL
LO	(15) 57.7%	(11) 42.3%	(26) 100%
HI	(8) 47.1%	(9) 52.9%	(17) 100%

X^2 = 0.13752, d.f. 1, $p < .05$

In two dimensions, however, the relationship with density of Jewish population was found to be statistically significant. As can be seen in Table 2, there is a significant relationship between density (independent variable) and interaction with the American Jewish community (dependent variable) (X^2 = 3.99412, d.f. 1, $p < .05$). It was discovered that 71.4 percent (15) of those from the low density area have little interaction with the American Jewish community, while only 28.6 percent (6) of those from

the high density area have little interaction with the American Jewish community. Moreover, 63.6 percent (14) of those from the high density area have much interaction with the American Jewish community, while only 36.4 percent (8) of those from the low density area have much interaction with the American Jewish community.

TABLE 2

INTERACTION WITH THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY BY JEWISH POPULATION DENSITY

Interaction with the American Jewish community	Jewish population density		
	LO	HI	TOTAL
LO	(15) 71.4%	(6) 28.6%	(21) 100%
HI	(8) 36.4%	(14) 63.6%	(22) 100%

$x^2 = 3.99412$, d.f. 1, $p < .05$

Thus it would appear that persons from the low density area have relatively low interaction with the American Jewish community in contrast to persons from high density areas.

Finally, a significant relationship between the

independent variable density and the dependent variable unmet needs was discovered (see Table 3) (X^2 = 16.71664, d.f. 1, $p < .01$). It was found that while 86.4 percent (19) of those from the low density area have high unmet needs, only 13.6 percent (3) of those from the high density area have high unmet needs. In contrast, 83.3 percent (15) from the high density area have low unmet needs, while only 16.7 percent (3) of those from the low density area have low unmet needs.

TABLE 3

UNMET JEWISH NEEDS BY JEWISH POPULATION DENSITY

Unmet Jewish needs	Jewish population density		
	LO	HI	TOTAL
LO	(3) 16.7%	(15) 83.3%	(18) 100%
HI	(19) 86.4%	(3) 13.6%	(22) 100%

X^2 = 16.71664, d.f. 1, $p < .01$

The above finding suggests that persons from low density areas do, in fact, have relatively high unmet

Jewish needs, a finding that is not surprising in the context of the paucity of Jewish institutions in the Covina/West Covina area.

Also, there seems to be some indication that the existing Jewish services in the low density area do not quite meet the residents' expectations for cultural and social contact. While many of them belong to local synagogues, they feel that only a community center, as indicated by the following quotations, can effectively satisfy their Jewish cultural needs:

> We should have a community center like Westside J.C.C. for the older people and the kids.
>
> With a Jewish community center out here, my kids would have had more exposure to Judaism.
>
> A temple is not a J.C.C..
>
> We need a Jewish community center where my son can get together with Jewish girls.
>
> I helped finance the building of a temple out here because I wanted it to be a Jewish community center with a small sanctuary. But, instead, they created a monument to religion, and failed to develop the facilities that the community needed.
>
> We need a more visible Jewish presence here than a temple and an office on Peck Road.
>
> We need a J.C.C. like we had back east.

The implications of these unmet needs will be explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

JEWISH POPULATION DENSITY AND THE PLANNING OF SERVICES

In this study, the researchers were interested in the relationship between Jewish population density and Jewish identity and identification. In exploring this relationship, it was hypothesized that Jews in low density communities would have relatively low Jewish identity and would infrequently use services of Jewish institutions. The researchers based this hypothesis on the prevailing assumption of the American Jewish community that people who live in high density areas are most identified with Judaism and feel the strongest need for services.

A multi-dimensional index was developed to compare residents of high and low density Jewish communities in a number of areas of Jewish identity and identification. The researchers used an interview schedule to administer the index. The findings indicate that in seven of the nine dimensions, there are no statistically significant

relationships between population density and Jewish involvement and identification. In effect, there is no major difference between the high density urban and the low density suburban communities in terms of Zionist-Israel identification, religious observance, cultural involvement, and ethnic national concerns. Thus the null hypothesis that there would be no major difference between the two Jewish communities studied was not disproven.

However, density appears to be associated with two important variables, namely, unmet Jewish needs and interaction with the American Jewish community. Residents of low density communities appear more likely to have high unmet needs and low interaction with the American Jewish community, while residents of high density communities appear more likely to have low unmet needs and high interaction with the American Jewish community.

Yet more extensive data elaboration and the use of a larger sample are needed to explore in depth why the initial hypothesis that low density Jews would have a lower level of Jewish identification was found to be incorrect, and possibly to establish a causal relationship between unmet needs, interaction with the American Jewish community

and density.

Nevertheless, it would appear that on the basis of the data of this study, Jews in low density areas require more Jewish services and programs to deal with their high unmet cultural and ethnic-national needs.[224] Jews in high density areas, on the other hand, appear already to have a myriad of Jewish programming opportunities, and therefore have the option to join or not to join. This option is not available to Jews in low density areas.

Whereas there is a significant difference in association (interaction with the American Jewish community) between high and low density areas, the Jews of the low density community appear to have a strongly expressed need for greater association with other Jews.

The implications of these findings are quite clear. First of all, if the Jewish community does not provide enough services to deal with the unmet needs of low density suburban Jews, the problem of their low interaction with the American Jewish community will continue.

Secondly, as this study seems to refute the myth

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[224]Refer to chapter on "Research Design and Methodology." Questions on cultural and ethnic-national needs were the basis of the unmet needs dimensional score.

that low density suburban Jews are less Jewish than their urban counterparts, the planning agencies of the Jewish community might re-examine their priorities. It seems that services should be based on Jewish needs, rather than simply providing services to the largest concentrations of Jews. In addition, the study appears to show that Jews move to low density suburban areas for precisely the same reasons that they move to high density urban areas, namely for jobs and housing. The findings simply do not indicate that low density suburban Jews wish to move to escape from the more concentrated Jewish community.

Thirdly, many of the respondents from Covina/West Covina, as indicated in the section on Comparative Data seem to feel that only a Jewish community center can effectively satisfy their Jewish cultural and communal needs. There are a number of ways for the Jewish community to respond to this expressed need: 1) The San Gabriel Valley Jewish community can find indigenous funding sources to pay for the development of a Jewish community center that would serve the entire area; 2) The Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles can give seed money to facilitate the construction of a community center in the low density San Gabriel Valley; 3) Existing facilities in

Covina/West Covina, such as synagogues, can modify their existing structures to take on more of a community center, communal orientation; 4) More Jewish Federation-Council money can be allocated to strengthen outreach programming of the Jewish Centers' Association (Community Services Division), Jewish Family Service, and the Eastern Area Federation-Council in the San Gabriel Valley.

Of these four approaches to the need for a Jewish community center in the San Gabriel Valley, more Federation seed money to develop innovative outreach programming seems to be the most tenable. At present it would appear that there are not sufficient local funds to sustain a Jewish community center. Moreover, the Jewish Federation-Council would appear to be reluctant to provide seed money for a project that may not be locally self-sustaining. Also, because the Jewish population of the San Gabriel Valley is dispersed, it would seem to be difficult for its residents to collectively and effectively verbalize their need for a community center to the Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles.

The Federation-Council, however, should provide additional funds for outreach programming. It has already validated the need for these services by previously

allocating monies to the Community Services Division of the Jewish Centers' Association, Jewish Family Service, etc. The thrust of these existing programs has been appropriate. Therefore, additional funds are needed to support more innovative approaches, increased staff costs, etc.

The final implication of this study is that low density suburban Jewish leaders (rabbis, educators, laymen, and administrators) should have the opportunity to receive some additional training in Jewish communal service. Not only can this serve to facilitate their understanding of the unmet cultural and ethnic-national needs of their constituents, but also it can assist them in developing a strong and viable low density Jewish community.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Observe the home for Jewish ceremonial objects (i.e. mezuza, menorah, candlesticks).

2. What is your current marital status?

3. How old are you?

    1. 1-13 years
    2. 14-20 years
    3. 21-30 years
    4. 31-40 years
    5. 41-50 years
    6. 51-64 years
    7. 65+

4. Do you have any children?

5. How long have you lived in this community?

6. Where did you live previously?

7. Why did you move to this community?

8. We are interested in learning about the way people see themselves as Jews. What is your point of view?

9. What is your point of view on Jewish culture?

Which of the following cultural items are <u>important</u> expressions of being Jewish for you?

10. Listening to Jewish music/singing Jewish songs

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

11. Doing Israeli dancing

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

12. Watching Jewish movies and plays

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

13. Visiting Jewish museums and art exhibits on Jewish themes

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

14. Reading Jewish books, magazines, journals and newspapers

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

15. Eating Jewish foods

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

16. Knowing Hebrew

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

17. Knowing Yiddish

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

18. Celebrating Passover

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

19. Celebrating Hanukah

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

20. There are a range of religious observances within Judaism. Where do you stand?

21. How do you feel about the continuity of Jews as an ethnic group in America?

22. Where do you stand with relation to Zionism?

23. Do you feel that your Jewishness affects your relationship with the non-Jewish American community in any way?

24. Are there adequate opportunities for Jewish involvement in your community?

25. Do you prefer to use Jewish services for dealing with family problems, socializing, etc.?

26. What was your reaction to the 1967 and Yom Kippur Wars?

27. How do you feel about General Brown's statement with regard to the nature of Jewish influence in the United States?

YES-UNDECIDED-NO-NO RESPONSE QUESTIONS

28. Do you feel that your fate is linked to the fate of the Jewish people?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

29. Do you usually attend services on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

30. Do you view Israel as the homeland for the Jewish people?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

31. Do you prefer to live in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

32. Is it important to you that your children be exposed to a formal Jewish education (Hebrew, Day, Sunday schools)?

    1. YES

2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

33. Do you think that it is important for your children to be brought up Jewishly?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

34. Do you feel that it is important for you to be involved with a temple/synagogue?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

35. Do you feel that Jews should be aware of the Holocaust?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

36. Do you feel that it is the responsibility of American Jews to help the State of Israel?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

37. Would you marry or are you married to a non-Jew?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

38. Do you feel that making a financial contribution to the Jewish community is important?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

39. Do you let new acquaintances know that you are Jewish?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

40. Do you usually celebrate the Sabbath in your home?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

41. Do you keep kosher?
(open-ended response)

42. Do you feel that it is important for you to take an active role in the Jewish community?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

43. Do you feel that it is important for American Jews to visit Israel?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

44. Do you prefer to have Jewish friends?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

45. Did you/are you planning to be married according to Jewish tradition?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

In times when you have a problem, what type of agency (sectarian or non-sectarian) would you prefer to deal with: Jewish-non-Jewish-no preference-no answer?

46. Medical

    1. JEWISH
    2. NON-JEWISH
    3. NO PREFERENCE
    4. NO ANSWER

47. Family or marital

    1. JEWISH
    2. NON-JEWISH
    3. NO PREFERENCE
    4. NO ANSWER

48. Recreation and socializing

    1. JEWISH
    2. NON-JEWISH
    3. NO PREFERENCE
    4. NO ANSWER

49. Vocational

    1. JEWISH
    2. NON-JEWISH
    3. NO PREFERENCE
    4. NO ANSWER

In those instances where you have had a problem, what type of agency (sectarian or non-sectarian) have you dealt with: Jewish-non-Jewish-both-no answer?

50. Medical

1. JEWISH
2. NON-JEWISH
3. BOTH
4. NO ANSWER

51. Family or marital

1. JEWISH
2. NON-JEWISH
3. BOTH
4. NO ANSWER

52. Recreation and socializing

1. JEWISH
2. NON-JEWISH
3. BOTH
4. NO ANSWER

53. Vocational

1. JEWISH
2. NON-JEWISH
3. BOTH
4. NO ANSWER

YES-UNDECIDED-NO-NO RESPONSE QUESTIONS

54. Do people at work know that you are Jewish?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

55. Is adult Jewish education important to you?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

56. Are you affiliated with a temple/synagogue?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

57. Do you feel that it is important for you to be involved with a Jewish Community Center and/or Jewish Federation Council?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

58. Have you seriously considered moving to Israel permanently (making aliyah)?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

59. Do you celebrate Christmas?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

60. Do your children attend Sunday, Day, or Hebrew School?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

61. Are you concerned about the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union, Arab lands, and South America?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

62. Do you feel that it is important to you to be involved with a Zionist organization?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

63. Would you care if your children married non-Jews?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

64. Will your children have a Bar/Bat Mitzva?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

65. Are you concerned about anti-Semitism in America?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

66. Are you affiliated with a Zionist organization?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

67. Do you have more Jewish than non-Jewish friends?

1. YES
2. UNDECIDED
3. NO
4. NO RESPONSE

68. Is exposing your children to informal Jewish education important to you?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

69. Are you affiliated with a Jewish Community Center and/or Jewish Federation Council?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

70. Do your children belong to Jewish youth groups or attend Jewish summer camps?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

71. Have your male children had a bris (been ritually circumcized)?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

72. Do you or have you participated in Jewish weekend institutes, seminars, and/or lectures?

    1. YES
    2. UNDECIDED
    3. NO
    4. NO RESPONSE

73. In your community, are there places where you can satisfy your Jewish cultural needs (i.e. a place to buy Jewish food)?

    1. YES

2. SOME
3. NONE
4. NO ANSWER

If yes, what are they?

If some, what are they, yet what should exist?

If none, what should exist?

74. In your community, are there places where you can satisfy your religious needs (i.e. temples and synagogues)?

1. YES
2. SOME
3. NONE
4. NO ANSWER

If yes, what are they?

If some, what are they, yet what should exist?

If none, what should exist?

75. In your community, are there places where you can deal with your ethnic-national concerns (i.e. anti-Semitism, Soviet Jewry)?

1. YES
2. SOME
3. NONE
4. NO ANSWER

If yes, what are they?

If some, what are they, yet what should exist?

If none, what should exist?

76. In your community, are there places where you can deal with your Zionistic needs (i.e. Israel Tourist Center, Zionist organizations)?

1. YES

2. SOME
3. NONE
4. NO ANSWER

If yes, what are they?

If some, what are they, yet what should exist?

If none, what should exist?

77. In your community, are there places where you can obtain Jewish social welfare services (i.e. medical, family and vocational counselling, recreation and socializing, etc.)?

1. YES
2. SOME
3. NONE
4. NO ANSWER

If yes, what are they?

If some, what are they, yet what should exist?

If none, what should exist?

78. What is your gross income?

1. Less than $15,000.00
2. More than $15,000.00
3. No answer

79. Where were you born (male)?

80. Where were you born (female)?

81. Where was your mother born?

82. Where was your father born?

83. Are both of your parents Jewish?

84. What was your Jewish experience like at home (male)?

85. What was your Jewish experience like at home (female)?

86. Which of the following best describes your overall Jewish orientation?

    1. Conservative Jew
    2. Reconstructionist Jew
    3. Reform Jew
    4. Secular Jew
    5. Zionist Jew
    6. Conservative/Zionist Jew
    7. Minimal Jewish identification

87. What level of formal Jewish education have you completed, if any (male)?

88. What level of formal Jewish education have you completed, if any (female)?

89. What are the factors that cause you to stay in your community (have you considered leaving)?

90. What is it like living as a Jew in your community? Is density a concern?

91. Is it difficult or easy to seek out other Jews in your community?

92. Do you feel a need to frequent other Jewish areas?

93. Have you experienced any kind of discrimination because you are Jewish?

94. What is your occupation (male)?

95. What is your occupation (female)?

APPENDIX B

LETTER TO INTERVIEWEES

January 22, 1975

Dear

We are graduate students working on a master's thesis at the University of Southern California School of Social Work.

The purpose of our project is to try to gain some understanding about how you and other residents of your area feel about the Jewish community and its institutions. We are also interested in determining whether there are adequate provisions to meet Jewish and other social welfare needs in your community.

We would like to arrange a time to discuss the above topics with you. We anticipate that our interview will last no longer than an hours, and, of course, your responses will be kept confidential.

We will telephone you within a week to arrange a convenient meeting time.

Sincerely yours,

Jerry S. Jacobs

Danny Nathanson

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