

1981 JCRC SURVEY: PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

"THE FOREBODING SYNDROME"

Periodically the JCRC measures the opinions of a broad spectrum of those Jews in San Francisco, Marin and the Peninsula who are most interested in the public affairs which affect Jews. These are the preliminary results of the 1981 survey.

The general purpose of these surveys is to get some systematic sense of what the constituency of the JCRC and the Federation is thinking about, on JCRC subjects, and to discover material which might be helpful in the conduct of a community relations program.

Apart from a number of general questions, the concentration this year was on Jewish feelings of security or insecurity - about both anti-semitism in America and American support of Israel.

WHOSE OPINIONS?

This population starts with the roughly 12 thousand families in the West Bay who are members of the Jewish Welfare Federation or subscribers to the *Bulletin*. A random sample of those families (one out of three) was solicited, and responses were received from more than one quarter of those solicited (about a thousand) or (the number that professional pollsters use to measure opinion in the whole of the California population).

In short, this "universe" directly reflects the opinions of at least the one quarter of the West Bay Area Jewish population (over 3000 families) which is most interested in Jewish affairs. This is the "Jewish public affairs constituency"- the "moving" part of the Jewish community- that part which acts the most, joins the most, cares the most, counts the most in terms of public affairs.

INSECURITY ABOUT ANTI-SEMITISM AND JEWISH STATUS IN THE U.S.

Is concern rising about anti-semitism and Jewish status in the U.S.? About 9 out of 10 of these Jews agree that "anti-semitic acts are increasing in the U.S." (About 5 of those 10 agree *strongly*). Almost as many believe that "anti-semitic organizations are growing in the U.S." About 6 out of 10 agree that "the Neo-Nazi movement in America is a major threat to Jews;" and as many feel the same way about the Ku Klux Klan. And almost half believe that "Americans are feeling more and more negative about Jews," although a significantly *small* percentage (7%) agree *strongly*. (Table A-1)

Using a point system which takes into account the *strength* of feeling on each of these issues, a scale was devised which indicated that about a quarter of the population rated "very high" on insecurity and another half rated "somewhat high." (Table A-2)

However, as high as the level of insecurity seems to be, it does not seem to be substantially higher than it was in 1978, even though the last several years have seen dramatic attention to the matter in the media. In 1978 a little more than three quarters of the respondents thought that "a serious rise in anti-semitism" was "likely," about the same percentage who rate high on the insecurity scale in 1981. And about the same percentage in 1978 as in 1981 (about half) agreed that the Nazi Party should be outlawed in the U.S.

The basic fact emerging is that the Jewish sense of insecurity about anti-semitism in America remains constantly high. That sense of insecurity does not just respond to current events or front page headlines; it is present even in periods of relative tranquility.

In addition, there are some curious twists and contradictions in the survey results which throw more light on the nature of this sense of insecurity. For example, 6 out of 10 of these Jews agree that the American Nazis are a "major threat" to American Jews today. Now what does a highly-educated and highly-informed population mean when it calls the present Nazi groups in America a "major threat?" Most of them know that the Nazi groups in this country today are small, scrappy, fragmented, losing membership (often to the KKK), and are explicitly reviled by almost every public official, public figure and newspaper in the country.

Beyond that, while 3 out of 10 say they believe *strongly* that the organized Neo-Nazis are a major threat, only 1 out of 10 believes strongly that the anti-semitism taking place is perpetrated by organizing groups. (Table G, #27). How does one reconcile those two views held by the same people?

There are other evidences of this kind of apparent internal contradiction. Almost half of these Jews believe that Americans are feeling more negative about Jews, while all the objective evidence points in the opposite direction.* This may be partly a cognitive matter of not knowing better, but it is significant that almost none of those who believe that Americans are becoming more negative, believe so *strongly*. That is a sharp departure from the pattern in other "security" questions. For example, while 1 out of 3 say that they *strongly* believe the American Nazis to be a major threat now, only 1 out of 10 strongly believe that Americans are becoming more negative towards Jews. How can these kinds of discrepancies be reconciled?

On the face of it, there is the simple and convincing proposition that the Jewish consciousness is so impregnated with the Nazi German experience that it just cannot tolerate equanimity about the possibility and dangers of anti-semitism, especially that stamped with a swastika. The Nazi garb in particular is so offensive to Jews that most Jews simply cannot downgrade the importance of a group wearing it, however scrappy or ineffectual that group may be. It is not just a matter of clear and present danger but also of symbolic weight. That impulse is, in itself, convincing and understandable.

*All of the polls of Gallup, Yankelovich, et al, which show that anti-Jewish sentiment is at a 50 year low in the U.S. and still dropping, have been reported in the general and Jewish press.

THE FOREBODING SYNDROME

However, something more is suggested by the evidence. *Jews tend to express themselves in the most pessimistic terms possible when it comes to anti-semitism and Jewish security.* This proposition does not raise the question of whether they should or should not do so, but merely states the apparent fact. In any impressionistic assessment of what's going on in the world, there is always a range of reasonable possibilities. If, for example, you are about to swim out to a raft lying off the ocean front, there are a number of calculations involved. You calculate the distance and your swimming prowess, the possibility of great waves coming up, the possibility of your getting a cramp at the distance, and so forth. Most of those calculations are made instantaneously on the basis of your past experience with swimming, the ocean, cramps, and so forth. There is always a range of reasonable possibilities. One person will choose the optimistic end of that range and plunge in. Another, with the same desire and swimming prowess, will choose the pessimistic end, and refrain. Differential experience in swimming and in other endeavors, will usually shape the different responses.

In that sense, out of their experience, the Jews apparently tend to choose the most pessimistic end of the spectrum of possibilities relative to anti-semitism. It can be called a "Foreboding Syndrome." The word, "foreboding," is itself neutral. A prisoner who has been beaten up by his captors every day, would be a fool not to be filled with foreboding when he hears his cell door unlock. But if a well-protected warden feels a sense of foreboding every time his door opened, he might be fairly charged with paranoia.

What is the nature of the *Jewish* foreboding? It is, of course, of a mixed nature. There are those American Jews who, out of their first-hand personal experience feel strongly and internally that anti-semitism is always about to strike. That could include up to 1 or 2 out of 10 of our Jews, as measured by the most consistently strong responses to the questions about anti-semitism in current American circumstances. And there are 1 or 2 out of the 10 who consistently insist that there is almost *nothing* to worry about at the present time. In between these two poles are the bulk of the Jews, who exhibit the *Foreboding Syndrome*, which means that they are ambivalent, but that they have insistently chosen the pessimistic end of the range of possibilities. They are over-expressing their real and actual concern about anti-semitism.

In sum, the Jewish Foreboding Syndrome might be defined in this way: the strong tendency of Jews to choose the most pessimistic appraisal of the state of anti-semitism which is reasonably possible at any given time--and even to overstate to themselves and to others their real and actual fears about imminent anti-semitism. This syndrome may have its own function and validity -other than making an accurate assessment of the situation, -and may have varied sources.

It may be a sophisticated reading of history rather than a literal assessment of things as they are. It may be a sensible prudence, out of that reading of history; a natural *anticipatory* defense. There may be some continuing element of guilt about the Holocaust. In the over-expression of their real and actual concern about imminent anti-semitism, there may be an element of shame, or even superstition; the need not to downgrade anti-semitism in any way.

But the fact remains that the Foreboding Syndrome is there, in one form or another, as an overwhelming, palpable phenomenon in the Jewish community. Given the Jewish experience, it would be foolish and foolhardy to dismiss this syndrome with pejorative words such as "paranoid" or "over-sensitive." If nothing else, some form of the Foreboding Syndrome would be an appropriate symbolic response to Jewish history, and indeed to human history. And, for the bulk of these Jews, it *is*, in part, a symbolic response, at the same time that it is a natural defensive crouch.

A symbolic response, in this sense, is a poetic response, a metaphorical response. It is not as though these 6-or-7-out-of-10 Jews really believe that anti-semitic catastrophe is around the corner in America -- but, out of respect for their history, they insist on keeping the possibility up front -- in order not to under-value their past or underestimate the danger in their future. Tekel Upharsin, Caveat Judea.

Some rabbis and other Jews might well be concerned that if this Foreboding Syndrome overwhelms the Jewish consciousness, it will distort the substantive and symbolic meaning of Judaism and of Jewish life. But that is another matter. In a community relations context, the concern might be that a rampant Foreboding Syndrome could distort reality, and actually interfere with the effective fight against anti-semitism.

However, our survey suggests not just the extent of the Foreboding Syndrome, but the extent to which it is *symbolic*. Many of the 6 or 7 out of 10 who fall roughly into that middle category do tend to pull back from inappropriate responses (e.g., when they pull back from any strong misbelief in the growing hostility of Americans; or in the desirability of breaking up Nazi meetings).

The implications of all this for Jewish community relations are two-fold. First, it would be futile and wrong-headed to dismiss or attack the Foreboding Syndrome as such. It is a fact of Jewish life as well as a metaphor of Jewish life. The job is to work with it rather than to get rid of it -- just as the job is to work with it rather than to play to it theatrically. The Foreboding Syndrome is something different than paranoia or over-sensitivity. And, in order to curb its natural tendencies to slip over into the latter two qualities, the further job is to keep it constantly bedded in cognitive reality, in the unembellished facts as they exist.

SOME DEMOGRAPHIC NOTES

Jews aged 65 and over are more insecure on this scale than younger Jews -- although there seems to be little difference among the younger groups. The more educated the Jews, the lower the sense of insecurity, but even the most highly educated are still substantially insecure. There is no substantial difference in insecurity among those who attend synagogue more or less -- and only slightly less insecurity among those who don't attend synagogue at all. There is slightly more insecurity among those who don't belong to any Jewish organizations, but a significantly lower sense of insecurity among those who are identified as "leadership" (currently on organizational boards, etc.) -- although it should be noted that the "leadership" still registers more insecure than not. (Tables A-3 to A-8)

"CIVIL LIBERTARIANISM"

The term "civil libertarianism" is used here to denote *constraint* with respect to curbing the expression of anti-semitism or the activity of anti-semitic groups; that constraint exercised out of general concern with the constitutional rights of free speech and assembly. (Table B-1)

There is obviously a tension within the Jewish community -- and indeed within many individual Jews -- on this score. Some feel that the best protection against organized anti-semitism is the strength of the general constitutional guarantees in this country. But that impulse is at war constantly, with the antipathy to and concern about anti-semitism and anti-semitic groups expressed above; at war with the Foreboding Syndrome.

Almost all Jews (more than 9 out of 10) agree with the abstract proposition that "it is good for the Jews that the Constitution protects *everyone's* right to free speech, *whether we like what they say or not.*" (Most agree *strongly.*) However, when the emotional key words, "anti-semitism" or "Nazi" are brought into the equation, there is a radical deviation from that commitment.

Actually, the pattern does *not* shift so radically when Jews are asked whether Nazi and KKK meetings "should be broken up by private citizens." More than 8 out of 10 disagree with that proposition (most disagree *strongly*), even though the bulk of them agree that these organizations are a serious threat to the Jews. This suggests again the nature of the "Foreboding Syndrome." If Jews *really* believed that the Nazis were a serious threat at this time, fewer would be so strongly opposed to breaking up their meetings. Jews engaged rather freely in breaking up Nazi meetings in the U.S. in the 1930's, when of course they *were* fully perceived as a real and present danger.

However, almost a half of the Jews believe that "the Neo-Nazi movement should be outlawed" and that "the Nazis and KKK should be prevented by the authorities from holding meetings in public places." About 4 out of 10 believe that "there should be a law against the public expression of anti-semitism."

In other words, on the symbolic level of law and legislation almost half of the Jews break away from their abstract position on free speech, when the subjects of Nazis or anti-semitism are introduced. This may also be seen within the framework of the Foreboding Syndrome. About the same percentage who express belief that these groups are dangerous, agree that they should be outlawed. But given the tension, and the symbolic nature of the syndrome, one should not be too sure of the *practical* reaction of the Jews to any given specific legislative proposal.

The "civil libertarian" constraint does exist as an independent factor; and the constant tension is seen on the scales, when 7 out of 10 measure insecure, but about 7 out of 10 also register as high in their related "civil libertarian" tendencies. (Table B-2) There is the expected strong correlation between educational level and "civil libertarian" impulse.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ISRAELI FOREIGN POLICY

The JCRC does not itself directly address questions of Israeli foreign policy. The business of American Jews is with *American* foreign policy. However, as a background matter, the survey did measure some Jewish attitudes about Israeli foreign policy. The Jewish community was fairly split on most such questions (Table C-1). By a 6-4 ratio these Jews are uneasy about more settlements on the West Bank. The split was more even than that on other questions: whether "Israel should give up none of the West Bank because it historically belongs to the Jews:" whether the PLO should be allowed to join the peace negotiations if it recognized Israel; whether Israel should annex the Golan Heights; whether Israel should make more concessions in the peace negotiations (64 per cent agreed that "Israel should give up as much of the 'West Bank' (excluding Jerusalem) as it does not need for security").

Measuring a number of these questions appropriately, including strength of feeling, a "toughness" scale on Israeli foreign policy was established, with the Jewish respondents split almost exactly between "high" and "low"* (Table C-2). However, it should be noted that the poles of this scale were uniformly low, less than 1 out of 10 being "very high" on the toughness scale, and less than one out of 10 being "very low."

Age did not make a great difference in "toughness." But the less educated were significantly "tougher;" and there was a startling drop in "toughness" for those who did not attend synagogue at all, and for those who did not belong to Jewish organizations. On the other hand, the "leadership" was, if anything, a little "tougher" than the others (Tables C-3, C-6 and C-8).

"WORRY" ABOUT AMERICAN SUPPORT OF ISRAEL

Although about 6 out of 10 Jews believe that "anti-Israel feeling is growing in America," and almost that many believe that Americans would cut off aid to Israel in exchange for Arab oil, only about 3 out of 10 Jews believe that American newspapers are biased against Israel (almost none of them agreeing *strongly*) and only about that number are so worried that they think that American Jews should *not* "feel free to publicly criticize Israel" (Table D-1).

Those figures suggest some version of the "Foreboding Syndrome." With respect to the abstract and hypothetical questions, the respondents are worried; with respect to the specific and practical questions, they do not exhibit that much worry.

Or, to put it another way, there is a familiar discrepancy between 6 out of 10 believing that anti-Israel feeling is growing, but only 3 out of 10 (weakly) acknowledging that they see such growing bias in the newspapers, where such deterioration would normally be found. There are signs of the *over-expression* of concern, if only for symbolic reasons, which mark the Foreboding Syndrome.

The young, the leadership, the more educated, the non-synagogue-attending tend to be less worried than the others.

"Toughness" meaning a belief that Israel should not be hesitant about more settlements, should give up none of the West Bank, should not recognize the PLO under any circumstances, should annex the Golan Heights, should not make more concessions.

INTER-RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE "TWO INSECURITIES"

Another dimension is added when we combine those who are insecure about Jewish status in the U.S. (about 70 per cent), with those who are "worried" or insecure about American support of Israel (about 40 per cent). Only about 2 out of 10 are totally *secure*, free of *both* insecurities. About 3 out of 10 are *insecure* on *both* counts. About 4 out of 10 are insecure about Jewish status in the U.S., but *not* about American support of Israel (almost no one who is secure about Jewish status in the U.S. is worried about American support of Israel) (Table E).

There are some *national/ethnic identity* items which seem to distinguish those people who are worried about American support of Israel from those who are not. Those who are worried about American support of Israel tend to be more supportive of Aliyah, more desirous that Jewish children should attend Jewish schools, "tougher" in their attitudes on Israel foreign policy, and more likely to believe that Jewish organizations spend too much time on non-Jewish causes (Table E). *Those who are not worried about Israel do not differ much on these items, whether they feel secure in America or not.* These national/ethnic identity items do not affect feelings of security in America.

There are different items, of a generally "foreboding" nature which seem to distinguish those who feel secure in the U.S. from those who do not. For example, those who are insecure in America tend to more often believe that anti-semitic acts are committed by organized groups rather than by individuals; and they are more fearful of the Moral Majority. These kinds of items do not make much difference for worry about American support of Israel.

In addition, those who are insecure in America tend to be somewhat less well educated, more frequent synagogue-attenders and a little older. Worry or lack of worry about American support of Israel tend not to exhibit much difference in these items.

In other words, the 7 out of 10 who state that they feel insecure in the U.S. display the Foreboding Syndrome in one form or another. In addition, the more than 3 out of those 7 who *also* worry about American support of Israel, tend to have a special layer of national/ethnic identity.

Again, the community relations field is not in the business of inspiring a sense of security at all costs; or of inspiring an overwrought sense of insecurity. Just as the Foreboding Syndrome is a *given* with which we must work, so are the various states of national/ethnic identity. The job is to harness and work within the context of both variable phenomena and to bed them both in as much cognitive realism and sophistication as possible.

SATISFACTION WITH THE JEWISH "ESTABLISHMENT"

A little over half of these Jews agree that "the organized Jewish community is not doing enough to fight anti-semitism." (Again, less than 2 out of ten *strongly* agree.) This would be in keeping with the Foreboding Syndrome pattern. Somewhat

under half agree that the organized Jewish community is doing too little lobbying on behalf of Israel. (Very few agree that the organized Jewish community is doing too *much* lobbying) (Table F-1).

The cognitive element may be one factor here, the state of knowledge about what is actually being done. The "leadership" element, those actively engaged in running the organized Jewish community, are much more satisfied (Table F-8). Of course, they may be more satisfied partly because they have a personal investment in what the organized Jewish community is doing. But, by the same token, a little more than one-third of this leadership itself does not feel that the organized Jewish community is doing enough on anti-semitism, and about one-third believe that the organized Jewish community is doing too little lobbying on behalf of Israel -- *despite* their greater knowledge *and* personal investment.

The Foreboding Syndrome, in which the leadership participates, places a natural boundary on how satisfied the Jews can *allow* themselves to be with the level of any remedial activity. If we cannot allow ourselves to be too sanguine about conditions for Jews, even if they seem to be pretty good, then we cannot allow ourselves to be too expressively satisfied with remedial activity, even if it seems to be pretty good.

But the point is that the Foreboding Syndrome among Jews is not normally a pathological condition -- although it can become so. It is a normative part of Jewish life which can be harnessed effectively, flexibly, and healthfully for public affairs goals, if it is recognized for what it is.

NOTE ON OTHER ISSUES

This Jewish population continued to register strong feeling on traditional church and state matters, in the following manner:

	<u>Percentage Ratio of Those Strongly Against To Those Strongly in Favor</u>
Government funds for private religious schools	70 to 6 against
Religious clubs & groups on public school premises	64 to 6 against
Voluntary non-sectarian prayers in schools	59 to 10 against
Tuition tax credits	45 to 14 against
Released time	39 to 11 against

It is interesting that, on a scale of commitment to church-state separation as measured by these questions, variable synagogue attendance does not make a significant difference. [82% of those who attend synagogue every week are high on this scale, as against 86% of those who attend about once a month, 85% of those who attend only several times a year, and 86% of those who don't attend at all.]

There was, however, more of a split on the question of either Christmas carols or Chanukah songs in the public schools. Both were opposed by a small and indecisive margin.

There was continuing conceptual support of public schools, with 6 per cent agreeing strongly that Jewish children should go to religious rather than public schools, and 64 per cent disagreeing strongly.

The Jews registered a continuing cultural tolerance and anti-discriminatory impulse by an 84 to 16 belief that homosexuals should be allowed to serve on the police force; and an 83 to 17 belief that they should be allowed to teach in the public schools. They also registered a traditional concern about the growth of evangelical groups in the country. However, it is noteworthy that the Jews split just about evenly on the question of whether there should be stronger laws to restrict pornography.

TABLES

A. INSECURITY ABOUT JEWISH STATUS IN U.S. (Percentages)

Table A-1 <u>Individual Questions about Insecurity</u>	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	[Combined Agree]	Strongly Disagree	Somewhat Disagree
a. Anti-Semitic Acts are Increasing in U.S.	51	39	[90]	9	1
b. Americans are Feeling more & more Negative About Jews	7	41	[48]	41	11
c. The Neo-Nazi Movement in America is a Major Threat to Jews	28	31	[59]	29	12
d. Anti-Semitic Organizations are Growing in U.S.	36	48	[84]	14	2
e. The KKK is a Major Threat to the Jews	31	32	[63]	27	10

Table A-2 <u>Scale on Insecurity</u>	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
Insecurity:	22	50	[72]	26	2

Table A-3 <u>Age and Insecurity</u>	<u>INSECURITY:</u>				
<u>AGE:</u>	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
29 & Less (65)	22*	57	[79]	21	0
30-39 (175)	10	58	[68]	31	1
40-49 (131)	20	49	[69]	30	1
50-64 (283)	20	49	[69]	29	2
65 & Over (211)	35	46	[81]	18	1

*e.g. -- 22% of those "29 & Less" are very high on insecurity scale

Table A-4 <u>Education and Insecurity</u>	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
High School (83)	36	46	[82]	16	2
College (312)	25	55	[80]	19	1
Post-Graduate (448)	16	48	[64]	34	2

2.

INSECURITY

	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
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Table A-5

Area of Residence & Insecurity

San Francisco (417)	26	47	[73]	26	1
Marin (95)	19	48	[67]	32	1
No. Peninsula (183)	25	53	[78]	20	2
So. Peninsula (169)	9	57	[66]	32	2

Table A-6

Synagogue Attendance & Insecurity

Every Week (82)	23	54	[77]	23	0
Once a Month (106)	23	51	[74]	25	1
Several Times a Year (487)	22	51	[73]	26	1
Not At All (182)	19	48	[67]	30	3

Table A-7

Jewish Affiliation & Insecurity

Belong to Jewish Organization (762)	22	50	[72]	27	1
Do Not Belong to Jewish Org. (104)	18	57	[75]	22	3

Table A-8

Leadership and Insecurity

Leadership	13	47	[60]	37	3
Non-Leadership	24	51	[75]	24	1

B. CIVIL LIBERTIES AND HATE GROUPS (Percentages)

Table B-1 <u>Individual Questions on Libertarian Attitudes</u>	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	[<i>Combined Agree</i>]	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. It is Good for the Jews that the Constitution Protects Everyone's Right to Free Speech, Whether We Like What They Say or Not	72	21	[93]	5	2
b. The Neo-Nazis & KKK Should Be Prevented by the Authorities From Holding Meetings in Public Places	32	20	[52]	24	24
c. The Neo-Nazi Movement Should be Outlawed	32	20	[52]	24	24
d. There Should Be a Law Against the Public Expression of Anti-Semitism	20	20	[40]	29	31
e. When the Neo-Nazis and KKK Hold a Meeting, That Meeting Should Be Broken Up by Private Citizens	8	10	[18]	26	56

LIBERTARIANISM:

Table B-2 <u>Libertarian Scale</u>	Very High	Somewhat High	[<i>Combined High</i>]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
	23	46	[69]	28	3

Table B-3
Age & Libertarianism

29 & Less (65)	28	38	[66]	29	5
30-39 (175)	27	51	[78]	21	1
40-49 (131)	24	47	[71]	28	1
50-64 (283)	24	45	[70]	27	4
65 & Over (211)	14	45	[59]	38	3

Table B-4
Education & Libertarianism

High School (83)	13	29	[42]	51	7
College (312)	18	46	[64]	33	3
Post-Graduate (448)	29	49	[78]	21	1

LIBERTARIANISM:

Table B-5

Area of Residence & Libertarianism

	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
San Francisco (417)	22	43	[65]	31	4
Marin (95)	20	41	[61]	36	3
No. Peninsula (183)	29	54	[73]	26	1
So. Peninsula (169)	30	49	[79]	20	1

Table B-6

Synagogue Attendance & Libertarianism

	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
Every Week (82)	20	46	[66]	30	4
Once a Month (106)	20	48	[68]	31	1
Several Times a Year (487)	22	48	[70]	28	2
Not At All (182)	28	43	[71]	26	3

Table B-7

Jewish Affiliation & Libertarianism

	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
Belong to Jewish Organization (762)	23	47	[70]	28	2
Do Not Belong to Jewish Org. (104)	23	41	[64]	33	3

Table B-8

Leadership & Libertarianism

	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
Leadership	33	47	[80]	19	1
Non-Leadership	20	46	[66]	31	3

C. "TOUGHNESS" OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS ISRAELI FOREIGN POLICY

Table C-1 Individual Questions on "Toughness"	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	[Combined Agree]	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. Israel Should Give Up None of West Bank Because It Historically Belongs to Jews	22	24	[46]	36	18
b. By Allowing More Jewish Settle- ments on the West Bank, the Israeli Gov't is Making It Almost Impossible to Get a Peace Settlement	21	41	[62]	22	16
c. If the PLO Would Recognize the Right of Israel to Exist, Then They Should Be Able to Join the Peace Negotiations	15	42	[57]	19	24
d. Israel Should Annex the Golan Heights	18	36	[54]	34	12
e. The Israeli Gov't Has Already Made More Concessions Than It Should Have Made in the Peace Negotiations	18	26	[44]	42	14
	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low

Table C-2

Scale on Supporting "Tough" Israeli
Policy

Toughness Scale

9 42 [51] 42 7

"TOUGHNESS":Table C-3
Age and ToughnessAGE:

29 & Less (65)	3	39	[42]	43	15
30-39 (172)	6	40	[46]	50	4
40-49 (130)	6	43	[49]	47	4
50-64 (283)	10	44	[54]	39	7
65 & Over (211)	12	42	[54]	39	6

	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
<u>Table C-4</u> <u>Education & "Toughness"</u>					
High School (83)	18	45	[63]	31	6
College (310)	9	46	[55]	38	7
Post-Graduate (476)	7	38	[45]	48	7

	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
<u>Table C-5</u> <u>Area of Residence & "Toughness"</u>					
San Francisco (414)	9	43	[52]	43	5
Marin (95)	12	44	[56]	38	6
No. Peninsula (182)	8	44	[52]	42	6
So. Peninsula (169)	5	39	[44]	46	10

	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
<u>Table C-6</u> <u>Synagogue Attendance & "Toughness"</u>					
Every Week (82)	12	50	[62]	32	6
Once a Month (105)	12	52	[64]	35	1
Several Times a Year (485)	8	43	[51]	43	6
Not At All (181)	7	30	[37]	51	12

	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
<u>Table C-7</u> <u>Jewish Affiliation & "Toughness"</u>					
Belong to Jewish Organization (759)	9	44	[53]	42	5
Do not Belong to Jewish Org. (103)	6	28	[34]	50	16

	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
<u>Table C-8</u> <u>Leadership & "Toughness"</u>					
Leadership (156)	8	45	[53]	42	5
Non-Leadership (710)	9	41	[50]	43	7

D. "WORRY" ABOUT AMERICAN SUPPORT OF ISRAEL

Table D-1 Individual Questions on "Worry" About American Support of Israel	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	[Combined Agree]	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. American Jews should feel free to Publicly Criticize Israel	33	33	[66]	21	13
b. Anti-Israel Feeling is Growing in America	21	44	[65]	29	6
c. On the Whole, American Newspapers are Biased Against Israel	6	24	[30]	50	20
d. The Majority of Americans Would Want to Cut Off Aid to Israel if They Thought That Was the Only Way to Get Enough Arab Oil at Lower Prices	24	34	[58]	29	13

"WORRY":

Table D-2 Scale of "worry" about American Support of Israel	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
"Worry" about American Support	3	34	[37]	56	7

Table D-3 Leadership & "Worry"					
Leadership	2	25	[27]	64	9
Non-Leadership	3	36	[39]	54	7

TABLE E. INTERRELATIONSHIPS

<u>Statement</u>	Total	Insecure, U.S.,** Worried, Israel (33%)	Insecure, U.S. Not worried, Israel (39%)	Secure U.S., Not worried, Israel (24%)
The American Jewish community should do more to support Aliyah.	28*	39	23	21
Most Jewish children should go to religious day schools rather than to public schools.	13	22	7	8
High on "Toughness" scale. (Israel foreign policy)	51	67	43	41
Jewish organizations spend too much time on non-Jewish causes.	27	37	24	21
Anti-semitic acts taking place are individual, not organized.	61	51	55	83
The "Moral Majority" is dangerous for Jews.	76	87	79	58

* 28% of total sample agree with statement; 39% of those both "Insecure, U.S. and Worried, Israel" agrees with statement, etc.

** "Insecure, U.S." = Insecure about anti-semitism and Jewish status in U.S.
"Worried, Israel" = worried about American support of Israel (33% of total fall in this category)

NOTE: Only 4% of total are "Secure, U.S., Worried, Israel" -- too small a group to analyze reliably

SATISFACTION WITH JEWISH ESTABLISHMENT (PUBLIC AFFAIRS)

Table F-1 Individual Questions About Satisfaction	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	[Combined Agree]	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
a. The Organized Jewish Community is Not Doing Enough to Fight Anti-Semitism	18	36	[54]	34	12
b. Jewish Organizations Spend Too Much Time on Non-Jewish Causes	10	17	[27]	42	31
c. Organized American Jewish Community is Doing Too Much Lobby on Behalf of Israel	2	9	[11]	36	53
d. Organized American Jewish Community is Doing Too Little Lobbying on Behalf of Israel	16	28	[44]	40	16

Table F-2 Satisfaction Scale	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
Satisfaction Level	8	58	[66]	32	1

SATISFACTION:

Table F-3 Age & Satisfaction					
AGE:					
29 & Less (65)	3	62	[65]	35	0
30-39 (175)	8	66	[74]	26	0
40-49 (130)	8	63	[71]	28	1
50-64 (283)	7	60	[67]	33	0
65 & Over (211)	11	43	[54]	43	3

Table F-4 Education and Satisfaction					
High School (83)	7	44	[51]	43	6
College (311)	8	54	[62]	38	0
Post-Graduate (448)	8	64	[72]	27	1

SATISFACTION:

Table F-5

Area of Residence & Satisfaction

	Very High	Somewhat High	[Combined High]	Somewhat Low	Very Low
San Francisco (416)	10	52	[62]	36	2
Marin (95)	5	61	[66]	33	1
No. Peninsula (183)	4	59	[63]	36	1
So. Peninsula (169)	9	67	[76]	23	1

Table F-6

Synagogue Attendance & Satisfaction

Every Week (82)	9	40	[49]	49	2
Once a Month (106)	4	54	[58]	41	1
Several Times a Year (486)	9	58	[67]	32	1
Not At All (182)	8	65	[73]	26	1

Table F-7

Jewish Affiliation & Satisfaction

Belong to Jewish Organization (761)	9	56	[65]	34	1
Do Not Belong to Jewish Org. (104)	4	65	[69]	30	1

Table F-8

Leadership & Satisfaction

Leadership	17	62	[79]	20	1
Non-Leadership	6	57	[63]	36	1

TOTAL RESPONSES

		STRONGLY AGREE	SOMEWHAT AGREE	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1. Evangelical groups, such as born-again Christians, are gaining too much power in America.	1.	49	39	10	2
Israel should give up none of the "West Bank" (Judea and Samaria), because the "West Bank" historically belongs to the Jews.	2.	22	24	36	18
3. Anti-Semitic acts are increasing in America.	3.	51	39	9	1
4. Voluntary, non-sectarian prayers should be allowed in public schools.	4.	10	17	14	59
5. American Jews should feel free to publicly criticize Israel.	5.	33	33	21	13
6. Americans are feeling more and more negative about Jews.	6.	7	41	41	11
7. Private religious schools should receive funds from the government.	7.	6	7	17	70
8. By allowing more Jewish settlements on the West Bank, the Israeli government is making it almost impossible to get a peace settlement.	8.	21	41	22	16
9. The neo-Nazi movement in America is a major threat to the Jews of this country.	9.	28	31	29	12
10. Homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in public schools.	10.	7	10	23	60
11. If the PLO would recognize the right of Israel to exist, then they should be able to join the peace negotiations.	11.	15	42	19	24
The organized Jewish community is not doing enough to fight anti-Semitism.	12.	18	36	34	12
13. There should be stronger laws to restrict pornography.	13.	22	25	26	27
14. The American Jewish community should do more to persuade American Jews to go on aliyah (to emigrate) to Israel.	14.	8	20	36	36
15. It is good for the Jews that the Constitution protects everyone's right to free speech, whether we like what they say or not.	15.	72	21	5	2
16. Christmas carols should be allowed in the public schools.	16.	14	32	24	30
17. Israel should give up none of the "West Bank" (Judea and Samaria), because Israel needs the "West Bank" for security.	17.	28	25	32	15
18. Anti-Semitic organizations are growing in America.	18.	36	48	14	2
19. Tax exemption should be taken away from churches or synagogues which support or oppose political candidates.	19.	39	23	18	20
20. Israel should annex the Golan Heights.	20.	31	33	23	13
21. The neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan should be prevented by the authorities from holding meetings in public places.	21.	32	20	24	24
The Jewish community should be friendly towards evangelical groups, such as born-again Christians, because of their support of Israel.	22.	8	40	33	19
23. Jewish organizations spend too much time on non-Jewish causes.	23.	10	17	42	31

(over)

		STRONGLY AGREE	SOMEWHAT AGREE	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
24.	The Ku Klux Klan is a major threat to the Jews of this country.	31	32	27	10
25.	"Release time" (allowing public school students to leave school for some religious training) is a good idea.	11	23	27	39
26.	Anti-Israel feeling is growing in America.	21	44	29	6
27.	Most of the anti-Semitic incidents taking place are individual acts, not committed by organized anti-Semitic movements.	13	48	27	12
28.	Homosexuals should be allowed to serve on the police force.	50	34	8	8
29.	On the whole, American newspapers are biased against Israel.	6	24	50	20
30.	The neo-Nazi movement should be outlawed.	32	20	24	24
31.	Families who pay tuition to send their children to religious day schools should get a tax credit.	14	21	20	45
32.	Chanukah songs should be allowed in the public schools.	20	29	22	29
33.	The Israeli government has already made more concessions than it should have made in the peace negotiations.	18	26	42	14
34.	There should be a law against the public expression of anti-Semitism.	20	20	29	31
35.	Tax exemption should be taken away from churches or synagogues which support or oppose political issues.	26	21	27	26
36.	On the whole, the "Moral Majority" is dangerous for the Jews.	36	40	20	4
37.	Israel should give up as much of the "West Bank" (excluding Jerusalem) as it does not need for security.	25	39	17	19
38.	The majority of the American people would want to cut off aid to Israel if they thought that was the only way to get enough Arab oil at lower prices.	24	34	29	13
39.	The organized American Jewish community is doing too much lobbying on behalf of American support for Israel.	2	9	36	53
40.	When the neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan hold a public meeting, that meeting should be broken up by private citizens.	8	10	26	56
41.	Most Jewish children should attend religious day schools rather than public schools.	5	8	23	64
42.	The United States should give Saudi Arabia enough arms to ensure that the current regime stays in power.	7	29	32	32
43.	Religious clubs and groups should be kept off public school premises while school is in session.	64	18	12	6
44.	The Reagan administration will be more supportive of Israel than the Carter administration was.	15	49	29	7
45.	The organized American Jewish community is doing too little lobbying on behalf of American support of Israel.	16	28	40	16
46.	Medicare should cover all requested abortions.	46	20	16	18