



# **TOWARD THE YEAR 2000: QUAD CITIES JEWISH LIFE**

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## **Introduction**

The purpose of this study is to identify those factors that enhance as well as those that work against the maintenance of a vital Jewish communal life in the Quad Cities. While it is intended to be largely descriptive, serving as a tool for future decision making, we do conclude with some assessments about both the strengths and weaknesses in the community as well as a few indications of potential for various programmatic options.

This study, commissioned by the Jewish Federation of the Quad Cities, is designed to provide a detailed description of the community served by this agency. Included in this report is a demographic profile, as well as analyses of the following: components of Jewish identity as defined by local residents, political views, religious attitudes and practices, modes of communal affiliation, patterns of interpersonal relations, and evaluations of existing services and programs that are provided by the three Jewish institutions that constitute the centers of communal life (the Tri-City Jewish Center, Temple Emanuel, and the Jewish Federation).

The data utilized in this project derive principally from two sources: responses to a questionnaire that was mailed to every Jewish household in the Quad Cities, and in-depth interviews with a select number of leaders in the community. The questionnaire contained 45 questions that addressed all of the issues identified above. It was sent to each of the 588 Jewish households that are contained in the Federation's mailing list. In order to obtain a proportional representation of males and females, we identified who in each household was to complete the questionnaire. We had a very high response rate: 74.0% The

response rate of unaffiliated Jews was virtually identical to that of synagogue members. As a result, we are confident that the data obtained are representative, although it may be the case that those who did not respond are in some important ways different from those who did.

The data that were derived from the mail survey form the core of this study. They were complemented, however, by a series of ten in-depth interviews with various Jewish leaders who, collectively, provided the researchers with a fuller, richer portrait of the community, as well as offering assessments about various issues, such as those involving leadership and finances. Those selected to be interviewed included the rabbis at the Center and the Temple, the director of the Federation, and the current board presidents of these three institutions. The remaining four individuals were identified as influential members of the community by the initial six individuals interviewed. There are clearly a number of people whom we did not interview but who are important leaders. However, the purpose of this aspect of the study was not to identify the ten most important leaders, but to select from a larger group of influentials people who would provide us with a broad and varied portrait of Quad Cities Jewry. The wealth of information derived from these interviews is not reported on separately, but is woven into the analyses of the survey results.

We have also examined the historical background of Jews in the Quad Cities in sufficient detail to place in historic context our contemporary portrait of the local Jewish community. Furthermore, we have reviewed the results of recent research on American Jewry, including both national-level data and various community studies. Throughout the report pertinent comparisons are made in order to

identify similarities and differences between this particular community and Jews in the rest of the country.

The report is divided into the following eight sections: (1) Historical Background; (2) A Demographic Profile; (3) Jewish Identity and Political Views; (4) Religious Orientation, Education, and Observance; (5) Communal Affiliation; (6) Interpersonal Relations; (7) Evaluations of Services and Programs; and (8) Conclusions.

### **Historical Background**

From the formative period of the Quad Cities in the nineteenth century up to the present, a relatively small but nonetheless significant Jewish community has existed, and has played a role in the development of this urban center. While still frontier settlements along the Mississippi, the communities that constitute this metropolitan area witnessed varied efforts on the part of a relative handful of Jewish settlers to establish a variety of communal and religious institutions. For example, prior to the Civil War, the Davenport Jewish Cemetary Association and the Young Men's Hebrew Literary Association were founded, while in 1861 the first religious congregation was formed when eighteen individuals banded together to create Congregation B'nai Israel in Davenport--later renamed Temple Emanuel. A similar venture in Rock Island during the same period resulted in failure as the Sons of Israel lasted for little more than a year (Tri-City Jewish Center 1981, pp. 4-5). Nonetheless, in the postbellum period, the Jewish community grew numerically and gave rise to a number of institutions, both religious and secular.

The earlier settlers in Davenport tended to be German-Jews and, given the

fact that it was among this sector of the Jewish population nationwide that Reform Judaism developed, it is not surprising that from an early period in its history, B'nai Israel's members debated whether it was preferable to be an Orthodox or a Reform congregation. By the 1870s, a number of steps were undertaken that reflected a growing embracement of the Reform movement: in 1879, the congregation became a member of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and a decade later women were included among the ten persons required to have a *minyan*. Those who did not accept these changes became the core of the founding members of B'nai Emet Synagogue (also know as the Warren Street Shul) in Davenport (Temple Emanuel 1961, pp. 3-5).

While B'nai Israel also served Reform Jews on the Illinois side of the river, a majority of their members resided in Davenport. After 1880, the Jewish community grew steadily as an increased number of Eastern European Jews moved to the area. This continued, with interruptions due to World War I, until the early 1920s. A majority of these new arrivals settled in Rock Island. They tended to be Orthodox, and thus they established neighborhood synagogues in the West End of Rock Island, including B'nai Jacob on Ninth Street and Beth Israel at the corner of Third Avenue and Twenty-second Street. Rabbi Simon Glazer, visiting Rock Island at the turn of the century described a "unique little Jewish community" that practiced Judaism "in a most Orthodox way" (Tri-City Jewish Center 1981, p. 7).

The Jewish population rose from less than 100 in 1880 to about 600 in 1900. This figure increased to approximately 1,400 in 1920 and peaked between 1930 and 1950 at approximately 2,000.

From about 1930, the formative phase ended and a new stage in the history

of the local Jewish community began. Initially, the population continued to grow. This second period, when the second and third generations came of age, was characterized by a number of changes, which in many ways paralleled changes in Jewish American communities nationwide. For example, Jews increasingly began to move out of ethnic enclaves, often to the suburbs (Sklare and Greenblum 1967). In the case of the Quad Cities, many Jews in Rock Island moved to other parts of the city, while others--primarily from Davenport, but also from the Illinois side of the river--moved to Bettendorf. This pattern is reflected by the fact that at present approximately 40% of Jewish households are located in Rock Island while nearly 25% are in Bettendorf.

Secondly, Jewish families became smaller. Nationally, this has meant that the Jewish community is below zero population growth. From the mid-1950s to 1970, the Jewish birthrate was 2.1, a figure lower than that of both Protestants and Catholics. By 1988, the birthrate for Jews had dropped to 1.6. While this trend is typical of members of an upwardly mobile middle class, it does not reflect overall demographic changes in America, as some groups (such as Hispanics) have continued to expand. The outcome of this is that Jews constitute a smaller percentage of the U.S. population today than they did a generation or two ago. In 1940, Jews constituted 3.65% of the nation's total population, the largest percentage in the history of Judaism in the United States. Today, the figure is 2.61%.

In the case of the Quad Cities, Jews have always been a very small proportion of the overall population. This is a reflection of the fact that they have tended to locate most heavily in the nation's largest metropolitan centers. Thus, while 78.3% reside in metropolitan areas of two million or more residents, only

5.9% live in areas whose populations are between 50,000 and 499,000 (Kosmin 1988, p. 16). Nonetheless, the declining fertility rate is one of the factors that has contributed to a situation in which at present Jews represent no more than .50% of the Quad Cities Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area's (SMSA's) total population.

Third, as the children and grandchildren of immigrants began to attain college educations, they also began to enter into the ranks of white collar occupations. This not only meant that fewer and fewer Jews were to be found in blue collar work, but that professions based on educational credentials began to replace work in businesses (Waxman 1983, p. 142). This has had a definite impact on the Quad Cities, as many Jewish-owned enterprises have either ceased to exist or have been sold to non-Jews because children have declined to continue in the businesses. Linked to this move from business to professions has been an increased propensity to be geographically mobile. White collar employment not only permits mobility, it sometimes demands a willingness to relocate. Thus, the change in occupational structure can be seen as another contributing factor to the reduction in the size of the local Jewish community.

A fourth important change that has occurred during this period is part of a larger trend that involves the movement from Orthodox Judaism to Conservative and Reform Judaism (Goldscheider 198, pp. 153-157). The establishment of the Tri-City Jewish Center in 1935 was a reflection of a need felt by some to have an umbrella organization that could unite Jews. But it also indicated a growing interest in Conservative Judaism by many in the Quad Cities. The Center grew steadily, particularly as many young adults raised in Orthodox synagogues moved

to Conservative Judaism. This shift meant that the three existing centers of Orthodoxy declined in numbers and, as their members got older and died, the lack of new recruits made them individually unviable. A merger with the Center was thus inevitable. Between 1950 and 1968, these mergers took place, the result being that for the past two decades, Orthodoxy has not had an institutional presence in the Quad Cities. Furthermore, in contrast to the current revival of Orthodoxy in some larger cities, nothing comparable is occurring here (Danzger 1989; Mayer 1979).

These and other factors have shaped the present Quad Cities Jewish community, but it is obvious that forces in the larger community have also played significant roles in effecting change. Of particular importance during the recent past is the depressed state of the local economy. This situation has served as an additional stimulus to migrate from the area. While those who have left the area are often young adults leaving for employment opportunities elsewhere, older residents have also departed, generally retirees moving to the Sunbelt.

Circumstances may be such in the immediate future that these types of out-migration will continue apace. However, there are a number of intangibles that might materialize to produce the conditions for a counterbalancing in-migration. For instance, some hope that the advent of riverboat gambling might have such an impact. Should new industries locate in the area or existing ones expand significantly, stabilization or growth in the Jewish population might occur. It is far beyond the scope of this study to assess the probabilities that such changes will transpire.

## **A Demographic Profile of Quad Cities Jews**

In this section, a number of demographic variables are reviewed, including the following: size of the population, residency patterns, family size, age distribution, marital status, educational attainment, occupational status, and generational status.

### **a. Population Size**

The Quad Cities is located in two states in which the Jewish segment of their respective total populations is quite small. Jews comprise only 2% to 3% of the population of Illinois, and less than 1% of Iowa's population. Furthermore, both states have experienced a significant decline in their Jewish populations over the last half century. Illinois has witnessed a loss of 20% to 50%, while Iowa's loss exceeds 50% (Ritterband 1986). Thus, the decline in the number of Jews in the Quad Cities must be seen as part of a larger regional change that has been underway for several decades. According to the population estimate in the *American Jewish Yearbook 1988*, there are currently 1,650 Jews in this community (Kosmin, Ritterband, and Scheckner 1988, p. 230). Discussions with various leaders and extrapolations from the survey findings on household size convince us that that estimate is somewhat high, and we would place the figure closer to 1,350.

### **b. Residency Patterns**

Quad Cities Jews reside in significant numbers on both sides of the river, with 52.5% living in Illinois and 47.5% residing in Iowa. Unlike the past, in 1989 Jews in the Quad Cities do not live in distinct ethnic neighborhoods. Nonetheless,

they continue to reside in large numbers in a city that was home to a sizeable percentage of their ancestors: Rock Island. As was noted earlier, at present, Rock Island has 39.6% of the population, while Bettendorf has the second largest concentration with 24.1%. Nineteen per cent reside in Davenport, 9.2% in Moline, with the remainder scattered in over fifteen other communities in the metropolitan region.

A small percentage of respondents, 7.5%, has a second home outside of the Quad Cities. These homes are mainly located in Sunbelt states. We did not ask, and thus do not know, how much time each year is spent at these second residences, nor do we know whether those owning second homes are involved in a process of gradual disengagement from the Quad Cities.

#### **c. Family Size**

As Table 1 indicates, family size is on average quite small. Over two-thirds of the households contain either one or two individuals. Not surprisingly, given the fact that women have a longer life expectancy than men, more women than men are living in single-person households. Approximately a quarter of all households have three or four members, while less than 7% have five or more members. The mean household size is 2.3, which is similar to the size of Jewish households in cities elsewhere (Tobin and Chenkin, 1985, p. 160).

#### **d. Age Distribution**

Turning to the age distribution of the community, a portrait has been derived of all Jews currently residing in the Quad Cities (thus, children residing

Table 1

Number of People in Respondent's Household (%)

<u>Number</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Combined</u>
1	20.9	35.4	29.0
2	41.8	35.5	39.4
3	13.2	11.6	12.3
4	16.5	9.9	12.8
5	6.0	4.3	5.1
6	1.6	1.3	1.4
No. of cases	(181)	(225)	(406)

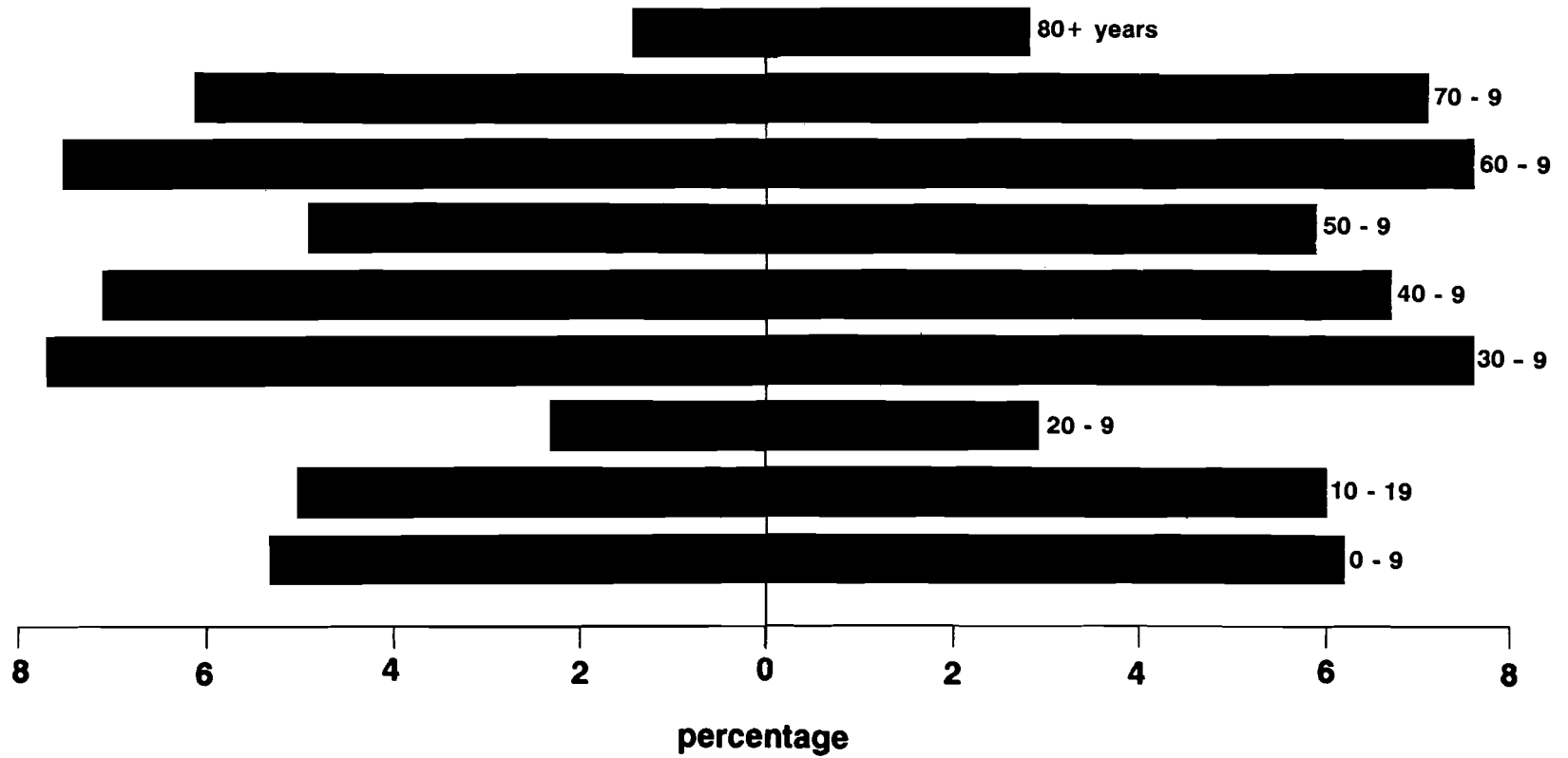
Table 2

Marital Status of Respondent (%)

<u>Status</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Combined</u>
Married	73.1	56.6	63.8
Widowed	7.0	26.6	18.0
Divorced	5.9	4.6	5.2
Separated	1.1	2.1	1.7
Never married	12.9	10.1	11.3
No. of cases	(186)	(237)	(423)

Figure 1

Males **Age Distribution of Study Sample** Females



outside of the area are not included). The population pyramid in Figure 1 provides graphic evidence of the fact that the community is not an expanding one. If it were, the pyramid should be larger at the base than at the top. However, it is not so clear whether this community should be construed as being a stationary or a constricting population. The size of the 30-39 year old sector as well as the size of the population under 20 years old would seem to suggest a community that might be maintaining its current size.

Eighty-nine households reported a total of 152 school-aged children. This figure excludes pre-school children. Thus, the average number of school-aged children in households with school-aged children is 1.7. If we extrapolate to the entire Quad Cities Jewish population, we estimate that there are 206 school-aged children.

In contrast to the 30-39 age bracket and the category under 20 years of age, the 20-29 year old category is quite small. What cannot be discerned from the data is whether this age group is signalling a pattern which subsequent age cohorts will follow, or whether this group is an anomaly. If the former is the case, the population is constricting, but if the latter is the case, the population may be relatively stationary.

#### **e. Marital Status**

Table 2 reports on the marital status of respondents. Nearly 64% of the respondents are married, while 18% are widowed. Reinforcing the observations regarding household size, over a quarter of the female respondents reported that they are widows, while only 7% of the males are widowers. At the present time,

7.9% of respondents are either divorced or separated. Since we did not ask whether respondents have at some earlier point in time been divorced or separated, and since we cannot determine how many people have been remarried, there are limits as to what these data can reveal. Nonetheless, the following conclusions can be made: (1) The percentage of divorced and separated is lower than that of the general population (Cherlin and Celebuski 1983); (2) it is similar to that reported in other Jewish communities (Cohen 1988, p. 121); and (3) the highest reported level of divorce/separation occurs among the 40-49 year old group.

#### **f. Educational Attainment**

The educational attainment level of Jews nationwide is higher than that of the general population (Kosmin, 1988: 21). For Quad Cities Jews it is high, reflected by the fact that over half of the respondents and their spouses have B.A. or equivalent college degrees, and slightly over a fifth have graduate degrees. In addition, over a quarter of the respondents and their spouses attended but did not graduate from college. As Table 3 indicates, while the educational attainment profiles for males and females is quite similar, women are somewhat less likely to have completed degrees than their male counterparts.

Table 4 compares the Quad Cities to six other cities. The Quad Cities appears to be rather typical. It is, for example, quite similar to Chicago. The cities with the most significant differences are Miami and Washington, D.C. The former has the lowest educational attainment level, due in no small part to the fact that the population in Miami includes many older retirees who could be expected to have lower levels of educational attainment than younger Jews. Conversely,

Table 3

Educational Attainment Level of Respondents and Spouses (%)

<u>Educational Attainment</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Combined</u>
No formal education	0.0	0.3	0.1
Grades 1-6	0.6	0.3	0.4
Grades 7-11	2.7	3.1	2.9
Completed high school	13.8	16.3	15.1
Some college	25.2	31.3	28.5
Completed college	24.8	22.2	23.4
Some graduate work	9.2	8.5	8.8
Graduate degree	23.1	18.1	20.6
No. of cases	(186)	(233)	(419)

Table 4

Comparison of Educational Attainment with Jewish Populations in Six Metropolitan Areas (%)

<u>Educational Attainment</u>	<u>QC</u>	<u>NYC</u>	<u>Chi</u>	<u>Miami</u>	<u>Phila</u>	<u>Wash</u>	<u>Boston</u>
Some graduate school	29	20	26	12	--	48	20
College degree	23	31	25	24	45	24	32
No college degree	48	40	49	64	55	31	48

Modified from Cohen, 1988

Table 5

Occupational Status of Respondents and Spouses (%)

<u>Employment Status</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Combined</u>
Employed full-time	65.6	29.6	46.7
Employed part-time	5.6	18.3	12.3
Student	0.9	1.7	1.3
Retired	24.7	18.0	21.2
Homemaker	0.3	30.1	16.0
Unemployed, laid off	0.9	0.6	0.7
Other	1.9	1.7	1.8
No. of cases	(184)	(221)	(405)

Washington, D.C. has the highest level of educational attainment. As the seat of the Federal government, it is a distinctly white collar city and jobs there disproportionately demand graduate degrees.

**g. Occupations**

Related to educational attainment is occupational status. Table 5 summarizes the occupational status of respondents and their spouses. More than twice as many males than females are employed full time; 30.1% of females list their occupation as "homemaker." Slightly over a fifth of the total is retired, mirroring the discussion above about the age of the population. Less than 1% reported that

either they or their spouse was currently unemployed or laid off. Table 6 details the kinds of occupations held by respondents and their spouses. A sizeable majority are identified as being higher executives, managers, proprietors, administrators, or small business persons. This is especially the case for males, 83.8% of whom fall into one of these categories. Women are twice as likely as men to work in clerical or sales jobs, and while only 1.5% of men are found in unskilled occupations, 21.6% of women are reported as having unskilled jobs.

While these data do not provide information about changes in the occupational structure of the Jewish community, various local Jewish leaders whom we interviewed have suggested that there has been a gradual shift away from business ownership and toward the professions. Lacking longitudinal data, we cannot assess this claim as adequately as might be desired. However, we are able to correlate occupations and age. Table 7 reports on male occupations by age category. While it is the case that younger cohorts are less likely to be business owners than the 60+ category, it is not clear from the data that this is the simple result of a shift to professions on the part of the former group.

#### **h. Generational Status**

Tables 8, 9, and 10 provide data on the generational status of respondents and their spouses, both in terms of the number of generations that their families have lived in the United States and the number of generations which have resided in the Quad Cities. Not surprisingly, given the fact that mass immigration to the United States ended with the imposition of the Immigration Quota Act of 1924, as well as the fact that the number of post-Holocaust immigrants is relatively small,

Table 6

Occupations of Respondents and Spouses (%)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Combined</u>
Higher executives	25.6	6.2	16.5
Business managers, profs.	31.7	31.0	31.4
Administrators, small bus.	26.5	21.2	24.0
Clerical, sales	9.9	18.6	14.0
Skilled manual	3.2	1.0	2.2
Semi-skilled	1.7	0.3	1.1
Unskilled	1.5	21.6	10.9
No. of cases	(180)	(222)	(402)

Table 7

Male Occupations by Age (%)

	<u>Below 40</u>	<u>40 - 59</u>	<u>60+</u>
Professional	47.9	60.4	41.9
Business Owner	8.5	7.3	21.8
Other	43.7	32.3	36.3
No. of cases	(71)	(96)	(124)

the percentage of foreign-born is only 13.3%. In contrast, 57.9% of the population are third or later generation ethnics. A vast majority of ancestors came from Eastern Europe, with only about 10% being of German origin. Slightly over half of the respondents and spouses are second generation residents of the Quad Cities. This would suggest that for many, ancestors moved to the Quad Cities from somewhere else in the country in a process of chain migration.

## **Jewish Identity and Political Views**

Jewish identity combines both a religious and an ethnic component. This section seeks to determine how these two components intersect. A series of questions was designed to address issues concerning Judaism as a component of an individual's identity, and related to this, the relevance of this identity in shaping attitudes regarding a variety of political and social issues, both domestic and international.

### **a. Jewish Identity**

Table 11 reports responses by synagogue membership (the options were Center, Temple, both, or neither) to the question concerning the importance attached to being Jewish. While in all instances only a very small minority consider being Jewish to be either "unimportant" or "very unimportant," there are interesting differences depending upon affiliation. More Center members or members of both the Center and the Temple recorded "very important" or "important" than was the case for Temple members. In turn, a somewhat higher proportion of Temple members selected these two options than did individuals who

Table 8

Jewish-American Generation of Respondents and Spouses (%)

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Combined</u>
First	13.4	13.2	13.3
Second	30.7	27.0	28.9
Third	45.0	47.5	46.3
Fourth +	10.9	12.3	11.6
No. of cases	(180)	(222)	(402)

Table 9

Ancestry of Respondents and Spouses (%)

	<u>Respondent</u>		<u>Spouse</u>	
	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>
Germany	10.0	10.1	9.3	10.9
Eastern Europe	70.6	73.0	64.4	60.5
Other	19.4	16.9	26.3	28.6
No. of cases	(406)	(404)	(282)	(287)

Table 10

Number of Generations that Respondents' and Spouses' Families Have Resided in the Quad Cities (%)

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Respondent</u>		<u>Spouse</u>	
	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>
0	53.3	55.1	51.5	52.8
1	13.1	13.5	16.5	15.8
2	15.8	12.0	16.2	15.2
3	13.8	13.0	9.9	11.2
4+	3.9	6.3	6.0	4.9
No. of cases	(395)	(389)	(297)	(297)

Table 11

Importance of Being Jewish by Synagogue Membership (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>
Very important	70.7	48.4	58.3	31.9
Important	26.4	39.7	41.7	50.7
Unimportant	2.9	11.1	0.0	14.5
Very unimportant	0.0	0.8	0.0	2.9
No. of cases	(208)	(126)	(12)	(69)

were not members of either institution.

In defining the key elements of what it means to be a Jew, five questions were asked to determine the relative importance attached to religious definitions of Judaism versus ethnic definitions that do not necessarily entail religious belief or affiliation. Table 12 reports our findings. Over 90% of all respondents consider "a sense of shared history" and "a commitment to justice" to be either "very important" or "important." Slightly less than 90% include "belief in God" in what it means to be a Jew, indicating that only a small minority of respondents think that Judaism can be defined in strictly ethnic or, in other words, secular terms. Approximately 80% also see as "very important" or "important" both a "commitment to the Torah" and "temple or synagogue" membership. This indicates that for this sizeable majority not only religious belief, but a commitment to the particular character of the Jewish faith and an attendant belief that such commitment should manifest itself in institutional affiliation are important components of Jewish identity.

In these responses, it should be noted, there are differences depending on institutional affiliation: Center members placed a higher premium on the religious character of Jewish identity than did Temple members, who, in turn, placed greater emphasis on this than did those respondents not affiliated with either institution. These differences are presented in Table 13. Perhaps the most significant finding is that only a small minority of both Temple members and the unaffiliated consider a commitment to the Torah and synagogue membership to be "very important."

Related to this question, 71.7% of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement: "There is a bright future for Jewish life in America."

Table 12

Importance of Selected Characteristics in Determining What it  
Means to be a Jew (%)

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Unimportant</u>	<u>Very Unimportant</u>
A sense of shared history	54.8	40.0	4.4	0.7
A commitment to justice	58.6	37.4	3.4	0.5
Belief in God	57.7	31.8	9.3	1.2
Commitment to the Torah	33.8	47.6	16.0	2.5
Membership in Temple or Synagogue	36.1	43.0	16.9	4.0
No. of cases (435)				

Table 13

Percent Reporting "Very Important" for Selected  
Characteristics of Jewish Identity by Synagogue Membership

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>
A sense of shared history	62.4	47.2	70.0	47.1
A commitment to justice	64.5	55.4	90.9	43.5
Belief in God	64.2	50.0	66.7	52.1
Commitment to the Torah	45.6	19.8	45.5	23.9
Membership in Temple or Synagogue	49.7	32.0	33.3	4.5
No. of cases	(201)	(126)	(12)	(71)

This optimistic assessment is made despite the fact that many think that anti-Semitism in the United States remains a significant problem. Indeed, 34.3% regard it as "very serious" while 47.8% view the problem as "moderately serious."

**b. Attitudes Toward Soviet Jewry**

While the issue of anti-Semitism is a reflection of respondents' attitudes regarding the conditions confronting Jews in the United States, we also asked several questions about Jews outside of this country. While many questions focused on Israel, one addressed the issue of Soviet Jewry. Nearly 93% of respondents indicated they were either concerned or very concerned about Soviet Jewry. Precisely how respondents would like to respond to that concern is unknown since we did not ask any questions about the kinds of policies (governmental or by Jewish associations) that they would like to encourage. Of particular interest would be ascertaining the level of support for an active policy of settling refugees in the Quad Cities. If we were to witness a continuing infusion of Soviet Jews into this country, the potential for an in-migration of Jews would exist. If it were possible to encourage settlement here, would the benefits associated with such an undertaking be seen as worth the costs of attracting and integrating new members to the community? This is something about which we can only speculate.

**c. Attitudes Toward Israel**

A series of questions was devoted to ascertaining attitudes toward Israel. For a sizeable majority--83.6%--Israel is a source of strength and pride. The importance of Israel as a symbol of Jewish identity was reinforced during the interviews with

Jewish leaders. While we spoke to numerous people who have visited Israel, often more than once, and while we spoke to a few which have children who have moved to Israel, it is clear that for most Quad Cities Jews, America, and not Israel, is home. As Table 14 indicates, less than 10% of respondents think that all Jews should given serious thought to settling in Israel.

While 81.8% of respondents believe that Jews should not vote for political candidates who are perceived to be unfriendly to Israel, 58.4% disagreed with the statement that American Jews should refrain from publically criticizing Israel. It should be noted that this latter figure is higher than the finding reported by Cohen (1983, p. 158) in a study of Jews in Boston conducted during the mid-1970s. While a majority of respondents do not think that their devotion to Israel sometimes conflicts with their devotion to America, a surprisingly large minority--40.6%--felt that at times their loyalties were pulled in two different and competing directions.

In responding to a series of concrete questions about current Arab-Israeli relations, a slight majority (53.4%) agree that Israel is right not to engage in peace talks with the PLO. However, over three quarters of respondents believe that Israel should be willing to return to Arab control some of the territories occupied since 1967, if in so doing, Israel could be assured of peace. Thus, while respondents do not share the desire of hardliners in Israel to hold on to territories acquired two decades ago, they appear unclear about how to initiate a process that would lead to regional peace.

The community is divided over the question of whether peace talks would have to include the PLO. In our interviews with community leaders, we heard a range of opinions about the appropriate response of American Jews to the intifada.

Table 14

Attitudes Toward Israel (%)

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>
All Jews should give serious thought to settling in Israel.	0.9	9.0	51.4	38.7
Israel is a source of strength and pride for me.	28.9	54.7	13.6	2.9
American Jews should not criticize Israel's policies publically.	13.6	28.1	46.0	12.4
Jews should not vote for candidates who are unfriendly to Israel	33.7	48.1	15.6	2.6
There are times my devotion to Israel can conflict with my devotion to America.	8.2	32.4	36.7	22.7
Israel is right not to sit down with the PLO	21.1	32.3	37.5	9.2
If Israel could be assured of peace and secure borders, it should be willing to return to Arab control some of the territories occupied since 1967.	15.9	52.9	23.3	7.8
No. of cases	(209)	(127)	(12)	(71)

Table 15

Assessments of Israel's Arab Policies Compared to Boston's Jews (%)

	<u>Q.C.</u>	<u>Boston</u>
Too "hawkish"	37	24
About right	59	73
Too "dovish"	4	3

The most frequently voiced opinion was that Jews in this country have an obligation to support Israel, and though they might be critical of some Israeli governmental policies, they ought to realize that political leaders in Israel have a better understanding of the situation than do Americans. This view is also reflected in assessments of Israel's Arab policies derived from the questionnaire. While 59% think those policies are "about right," a sizeable minority--37%--view them as "too 'hawkish'." As Table 15 indicates, this differs from the results obtained in Boston over a decade ago, when the 1967 and 1973 wars, and not the recent intifada, was the most salient event shaping public opinion. Quite simply, the percentage of Quad Cities Jews today who believe that Israel's policies are "about right" is fourteen percentage points lower than the Boston study, while there are thirteen percent more Quad Cities Jews who view these policies as "too 'hawkish'" (Cohen 1983, p. 158). In this regard, Arthur Hertzberg (1989, p. 28) has noted that Jews nationally are not as supportive of Israel's political policies as they were in 1967.

#### **d. Political Party Preferences and Orientations**

Turning to political party preferences and orientations, Tables 16 and 17 provide comparisons of the local community and the results of the 1981 National Survey of American Jews (NSAJ). Nationally, Jews have traditionally affiliated with the Democratic Party (Fisher 1979, p. 115). Our results indicate that a majority of Quad Cities Jews view themselves as Democrats, but the percentage identifying themselves as Republican is more than twice than of the NSAJ findings (Cohen 1983, p. 140). Related to this, Quad Cities Jews are somewhat more inclined to describe themselves as conservative than Jews nationwide, and somewhat less inclined to describe themselves as liberal (Cohen 1983, p. 140). Since the NSAJ data are almost a decade old, and since this decade has been portrayed as a conservative one, it is important to ask whether our findings reflect part of a larger, national pattern, or whether local Jews do differ from the national profile. Two long time residents whom we interviewed tended to think that local Jews are and have been somewhat distinct: less inclined to see themselves as liberal and more inclined toward the Republican Party. However, it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions about this from the evidence.

#### **Religious Orientation, Education, and Observance**

This section examines the following topics: the self-described religious orientations of respondents; their religious educational backgrounds; and variations in ritual practices. A central issue that we seek to address concerns the level of religious observance that characterizes this community in comparison to Jewish

Table 16

Respondent's Political Party Preference Compared to  
National Survey of American Jews, 1981 (%)

	<u>Q.C.</u>	<u>NSAJ</u>
Democratic	54	65
Republican	28	12
Independent	18	24

Adapted from Cohen, 1983

Table 17

Respondent's Political Orientation (Self-Described)  
Compared to National Survey of American Jews, 1981 (%)

	<u>Q.C.</u>	<u>NSAJ</u>
Liberal	25	33
Moderate	45	48
Conservative	27	19
Other	3	--

Adapted from Cohen, 1983

communities elsewhere. In order to assess the level of religious observance, this report makes use of a "ritual observance index" to summarize the findings, thereby making possible comparisons with other Jewish communities.

**a. Religious Orientation**

Table 18 reports on the religious orientation of respondents and their families. The most obvious finding here is the move from Orthodoxy that took place across generations. While over a quarter of respondents reported that their families were Orthodox, only 2.4% would describe themselves as Orthodox. Both Reform and Conservative Judaism appear to have benefitted from this shift, as their respective percentages across generations have increased, while there has been no appreciable change in those reporting no affiliation. Given the very small number characterizing themselves as Orthodox, as well as the lack of institutional supports for Orthodoxy (e.g., an Orthodox synagogue, kosher markets, etc.), it would not be surprising to discover that a number of religious observances associated with Orthodoxy--including a kosher home--are not practiced here to the extent that they are in cities with substantially larger Jewish populations.

The denominational preferences of local Jews differ from the national pattern. For instance, 9% of Jews nationwide describe themselves as Orthodox, in contrast to the 2.4% locally who do so (Kosmin, 1988: 24). This latter figure is lower than that of most large cities with larger Jewish populations. For example, New York is 13% Orthodox, while Chicago is 6% (Tobin and Chenkin, 1985, p. 171). However, it is similar to that of smaller Jewish communities such as Sarasota, with 2% Orthodox, and Oklahoma City, with 3% (Tobin 1985, p. 8). On

Table 18

Religious Orientation of Respondent and Respondent's Family (%)

	<u>Respondent</u>	<u>Parents</u>
Orthodox	2.4	26.8
Conservative	52.7	40.6
Reform	39.9	24.9
Other	1.7	4.4
None	3.4	3.3
No. of cases	(435)	(435)

Table 19

Religious Education Measured by Select Variables (%)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Attended religious school as child	63.9	36.1
Graduated from religious school	54.5	45.5
Learned enough Hebrew to follow services	59.9	40.1
Attended confirmation classes	40.4	59.6
Had Bar-Mitzvah or Bat-Mitzvah	48.8	51.2
Attend Jewish adult education classes	11.5	88.5
No. of cases (435)		

the other hand, in comparison to Jews nationally, far fewer Quad Cities Jews identify their denominational affiliation as "Other" or "None": the local percentage is 5.1%, while that for Jews as a whole is 26.6% (Kosmin 1988, p. 24).

**b. Religious Education**

As reported in Table 19, we discovered that a majority of respondents had attended religious schools as children, had graduated from religious school, and had learned enough Hebrew to follow services. However, majorities reported that they had neither attended confirmation classes nor had they participated in Bar-Mitzvah or Bat-Mitzvah ceremonies. Furthermore, only 11.5% attend adult Jewish education classes. If we compare Center and Temple members on some of these items, by a difference of 18.3%, more members from the Center reported attending religious schools, while by a 12.7% margin, Center members were more likely to have graduated from religious school. Furthermore, there was a considerable difference between the two institutions regarding the level of Hebrew knowledge their respective members possessed. While 58.8% of Center members said they knew enough Hebrew to follow services, only 24.3% of Temple members reported a similar knowledge of the language. On the other hand, slightly more Temple members attend adult education classes than do their Center counterparts.

**c. Religious Observance**

Turning from religious orientation and education, Tables 20, 21, 22, and 23 and Figure 2 examine the issue of religious observance. Tables 20 and 21 provide evidence of a rather wide range in the types of practices local Jews do and do not

Table 20

Selected Measures of Jewish Religious Observance (%)

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Usually</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
Attend a Passover Seder	57.0	16.4	20.2	6.3
Observe special Passover dietary rules	23.8	21.2	22.8	32.2
Light candles on Chanukah	48.7	19.5	10.7	21.1
Light candles on Friday night	11.7	8.4	25.8	54.1
Refrain from Sabbath shopping	3.3	6.2	11.2	79.2
Attend high holiday services	65.3	11.8	17.2	5.7
Fast on Yom Kipper	42.9	11.4	16.8	28.9
Attend Purim services	9.9	9.1	39.2	41.8
Attend Sabbath services once a month or more	12.8	11.8	33.0	42.4
Find comfort in Jewish prayers when troubled	19.7	20.6	29.7	30.0
Feel moved by the sound of the Shofar	46.1	24.3	17.2	12.4
Find the Jewish faith to be a source of strength	45.3	22.2	23.1	9.4
No. of cases (426)				

Table 21

Percent Reporting "Always" on Selected Measures of Jewish  
Religious Observance by Synagogue Membership

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>
Attend a Passover Seder	70.7	56.6	75.0	16.4
Observe special Passover dietary rules	36.8	10.9	20.0	9.5
Light candles on Chanukah	53.7	50.4	33.3	34.2
Light candles on Friday night	17.8	7.8	0.0	4.1
Refrain from Sabbath shopping	4.4	0.8	9.1	4.1
Attend high holiday services	82.0	69.8	75.0	10.8
Fast on Yom Kipper	59.4	26.6	54.5	22.2
Attend Purim services	13.9	8.7	10.0	1.4
Attend Sabbath services once a month or more	17.6	10.2	37.5	1.4
Find comfort in Jewish prayers when troubled	27.9	11.9	25.0	8.1
Feel moved by the sound of the Shofar	56.9	37.8	25.0	31.9
Find the Jewish faith to be a source of strength	55.9	36.5	50.0	30.1
No. of cases	(209)	(129)	(12)	(74)

Table 22

Selected Measures of Ritual Practice (%)

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Has a mezzuzah on the door	68.5	31.5
Keeps a kosher home	11.3	88.7
Observes Yahrzeit	74.0	26.0
Follows mourning rituals	48.3	51.7
Has a Christmas tree	13.8	86.2
No. of cases (428)		

engage in with regularity; the former reports on overall patterns, while the latter examines practices by synagogue membership. Clearly the Passover Seder is the most important ritual observance for a majority of Jews, as slightly under three quarters said that they "always" or "usually" attend a Seder (with 45% indicating that they observe special dietary rules with the same frequency). At the other extreme, less than 10% of respondents reported that they "always" or "usually" refrained from shopping on the Sabbath. Among those observances that are widely practiced are the lighting of candles on Chanukah, attending high holiday services, and fasting on Yom Kippur. In addition, 70.4% report that they "always" or "usually" feel moved by the sound of the Shofar. Slightly over two thirds of respondents "always" or "usually" find the Jewish faith to be a source of strength. Only one in five "always" or "usually" lights candles on the Sabbath, and slightly less than that attend Purim services with the same regularity. Approximately one

in four "always" or "usually" attends Sabbath services once a month or more. Two out of five "always" or "usually" find comfort in Jewish prayer when troubled.

Tables 22 and 23 provide results on five other ritual practices, four Jewish and one Christian. More than two thirds of respondents have a mezzuzah on their door and nearly three quarters observe Yahrzeit. On the other hand, slightly less than half follow mourning rituals. An overwhelming majority do not keep a kosher home, while an almost equally large percentage report that they do not have a Christmas tree. As a whole, these findings would suggest that while religious rituals most closely associated with Orthodoxy are practiced by very few residents, there is nonetheless considerable interest in and involvement with a variety of observances, specifically those associated with certain high holidays. Table 23 indicates that Center members are more likely to report "yes" on these four types of Jewish ritual practice than Temple members.

Unlike Jews in small towns, where the critical mass is lacking that is necessary for preserving distinctly Jewish forms of religious ritual observance, the fact that only 13.8% of local Jews have Christmas trees would suggest that this is not the case here (Schoenfeld 1977). Given the fact that the percentage who do have Christmas trees is similar to the percentage of intermarrieds, we examined exogamous and endogamous marrieds, and determined that while 53.8% of the intermarried have Christmas trees, this is the case for only 6.4% of Jews married to Jews.

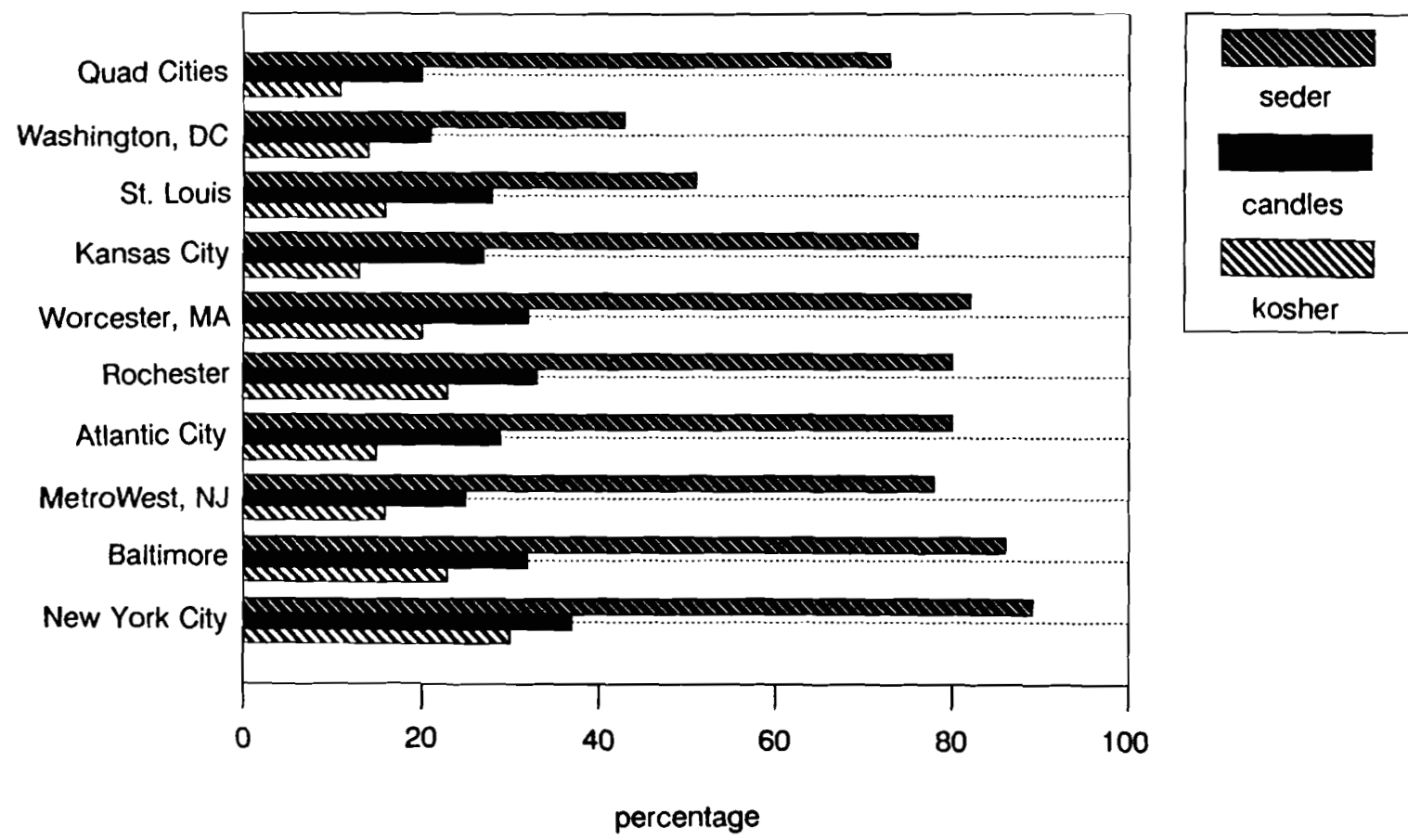
Figure 2 compares the Quad Cities with nine other cities, looking at the percentages of households who report "always" or "usually" engaging in three selected religious practices: having a Passover Seder, lighting Sabbath candles, and

Table 23

Percent Reporting "Yes" for Selected Measures of  
Ritual Practice by Synagogue Membership

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>
Has a mezzuzah on the door	83.8	62.5	83.3	33.8
Keeps a kosher home	19.1	1.6	27.3	4.1
Observes Yahrzeit	84.7	70.3	90.9	47.9
Follows mourning rituals	60.9	37.6	72.7	27.8
Has a Christmas tree	3.8	14.0	9.1	40.5
No. of cases	(210)	(129)	(12)	(74)

**Figure 2**  
**Households Observing Selected Religious Practices "Always" or "Usually"**



( Adapted from Cohen, 1988 and Fishman, 1987 )

keeping a kosher home. For each of these, the Quad Cities ranks as the least observant, and this is particularly the case for the last two of the above-mentioned practices. Given the small Orthodox presence, this is not particularly surprising. The move from Orthodoxy that has been documented herein may also signal what Sklare and Greenblum (1967, p. 87) have referred to as a "shift from sacramentalism."

#### **d. Ritual Observance Index**

In order to summarize the data on religious observance, we have made use of an index created by Steven M. Cohen (1988, pp. 130-131). His "ritual observance index" provides a summary score based on the extent to which individuals practice six rituals: attending Passover Seders, lighting Chanuka candles, fasting on Yom Kippur, lighting candles on Friday night, keeping a kosher home, and refraining from carrying money on the Sabbath. We adapted his index to reflect local practice. With the advice of our advisory committee, we did not include a question about carrying money on the Sabbath in our questionnaire. Whereas Cohen divided his sample into four groups--the highly observant, the moderately observant, low observant, and the nonobservant--we divided ours into three. Since the highly observant scored high on all six indices in the Cohen index, and since we have assumed that local Jews would not score thusly because they do not refrain from carrying money on the Sabbath, we have eliminated this type from Table 24. In addition, we have used the term "observant" to describe those whom Cohen identifies as "moderately observant."

Table 24 summarizes our findings. Center members and members of both

Table 24

Index of Jewish Ritual Observance by Synagogue Membership (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>	<u>All</u>
Observant	55.9	30.8	58.3	20.3	42.2
Low observant	36.5	55.4	33.3	45.9	43.8
Nonobservant	7.6	13.8	8.3	33.8	14.1
No. of cases	(211)	(130)	(12)	(74)	(427)

the Center and the Temple have the highest percentages of observant individuals, 55.9% and 58.3% respectively. In contrast, 55.4% of the Temple members rank as low observant and more Temple than Center members rank as nonobservant. Not surprisingly, respondents who are members of neither synagogue have the lowest level of observant Jews and a markedly higher percentage of nonobservant: 33.8%.

In his study of Greater New York City, Cohen (1988: 130-131) categorized 10% of his sample as highly observant, 28% as moderately observant, 47% as low observant, and 16% as nonobservant. In comparison, we found that 42.2% were observant, 43.8% low observant, and 14.1% nonobservant. In our view, this indicates that there are some remarkable parallels in these two profiles of what are in many respects very different Jewish communities. The major difference is that New York has 10% highly observant, a reflection of the impact of a significant Orthodox minority in that metropolitan area. The percent of observant in the Quad Cities is very similar to the sum of New York's highly observant and moderately observant. The percent of both low observant and nonobservant in both locales is remarkably similar.

### **Communal Affiliation**

This section explores various facets of communal affiliation, including an analysis of synagogue membership, memberships in both Jewish and non-Jewish organizations, monetary giving to various institutions, and an interest in Jewish issues as reflected in reading habits and trips to Israel.

Table 25

Synagogue Membership

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Tri-City Jewish Center	211	49.4
Temple Emanuel	130	30.4
Both	12	2.8
Neither	74	17.3

Table 26

Religious Orientation by Synagogue Membership (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>
Orthodox	2.5	1.6	0.0	4.5
Conservative	91.6	3.9	58.3	28.4
Reform	4.4	92.2	41.7	46.3
Other	1.0	2.3	0.0	3.0
None	0.5	0.0	0.0	17.9
No. of cases	(203)	(128)	(12)	(67)

### a. Synagogue Membership

As Table 25 indicates, if we incorporate people with dual memberships, slightly more than half of our respondents are members of the Tri-City Jewish Center, while one third are members of Temple Emanuel. Only 17.3%, or 74 respondents, are not members of either institution. This figure is considerably lower than that found in most larger cities. For example, the percentage of Jews who are not members of synagogues in a select number of cities is as follows: Chicago, 56%; Los Angeles, 74%; Miami, 62%; New York, 59%; Phoenix, 67%; and Washington, D.C., 61%. The National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) last asked a question about this in 1970, and at that time found that 53% of Jews nationwide were not members of any synagogue (Tobin and Chenkin, 1985, p. 172).

Table 26 reports on the religious orientations of respondents predicated on their respective synagogue affiliations. Not surprisingly, over 90% of the Center members view themselves as Conservative, while a similar percentage of Temple members define themselves as Reform. What is interesting is that a large plurality of those who are not affiliated--46.3%--see themselves as Reform. Furthermore, 28.4% define themselves as Conservative, while only 17.9% contend they have no religious orientation.

According to the results depicted in Table 27, a majority of respondents who contribute to either the Center or the Temple give in the range of \$100-\$999. A fifth give less than that, while one in four give between \$1,000 and \$4,999. Only 2.8% give \$5,000 or more. There are no significant differences in giving patterns between professionals and business owners.

If we compare the giving patterns of the Center and the Temple, we discover

Table 27

Annual Contributions to Center or Temple  
by Occupation (%)

	<u>Professionals</u>	<u>Business Owners</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>All</u>
Less than \$100	16.5	18.4	25.7	20.2
\$100 - \$999	49.6	44.7	58.1	52.1
\$1,000 - \$4,999	30.2	34.2	14.3	24.8
\$5,000 and up	3.6	2.6	1.9	2.8
No. of cases	(139)	(38)	(105)	(282)

Table 28

Annual Contributions to Synagogue by Membership (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>
Less than \$100	12.4	4.0	8.3	83.8
\$100 - \$999	58.7	69.6	50.0	16.2
\$1,000 - \$4,999	24.9	24.8	41.7	0.0
\$5,000 and up	4.0	1.6	0.0	0.0
No. of cases	(201)	(125)	(12)	(68)

that 12.4% of the former's members give less than \$100 per year while 4.0% of Temple members give in this range. Table 28 indicates that 58.7% of Center members give between \$100 and \$999, while the Temple figure for this category is 69.6%. In both cases, approximately one in four members gives between \$1,000 and \$4,999. Four percent of Center members given \$5,000 or more, while 1.6% of Temple members give in this range. It is interesting to note that 16.2% of respondents who claim to be members of neither the Center nor the Temple give between \$100 and \$999.

**b. Jewish Organizations**

Turning to the Jewish Federation of the Quad Cities, we did not ask a question about affiliation since it is not per se a membership organization. However, we did ask about the level of annual monetary contributions made to the

Table 29

Annual Contributions to the Jewish Federation by Membership (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>	<u>All</u>
Nothing	18.9	25.8	9.1	42.3	24.9
Less than \$100	35.7	30.6	9.1	46.5	35.3
\$100 - \$499	24.5	21.8	27.3	8.5	20.9
\$500 - \$999	10.2	12.1	0.0	1.4	9.0
\$1,000 - \$4,999	8.2	8.1	54.5	1.4	8.2
\$5,000 and up	2.6	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.7
No. of cases	(196)	(124)	(11)	(71)	(402)

Table 30

Annual Contribution to the Jewish Federation  
by Male Occupations (%)

	<u>Professionals</u>	<u>Business Owners</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>All</u>
Nothing	27.3	12.8	27.9	25.5
Less than \$100	24.5	33.3	46.2	33.6
\$100 - \$499	22.4	15.4	16.3	19.2
\$500 - \$999	10.5	20.5	4.8	9.8
\$1,000 - \$4,999	13.3	12.8	3.8	9.8
\$5,000 and up	2.1	5.1	1.0	2.1
No. of cases	(143)	(39)	(104)	(286)

Federation. Those levels are recorded in Tables 29 and 30. Nearly a quarter of all respondents gave nothing to the Federation, and over a third gave less than \$100. Approximately a fifth gave between \$100 and \$499, with 9% giving between \$500 and \$999. While 8.2% gave between \$1,000 and \$4,999, 1.7% gave \$5,000 or more. Table 30 indicates that there are differences in giving patterns between professionals and business owners. Perhaps most important is that over one quarter of professionals give nothing to the Federation.

Individuals who are not affiliated with either synagogue are inclined to give little or nothing to the Federation. Indeed, 42.3% of the religiously nonaffiliated give nothing to the Federation, while 46.5% give less than \$100. This would suggest that the Federation does not serve as an alternative way of participating in the Jewish community for religiously non-practicing Jews. On the contrary, it would appear that those who give to the Federation are most likely to be members of the synagogues, thereby serving as an additional mode of communal affiliation. This finding supports the conclusion of York and Lazerwitz (1987) that religious involvement serves as the "main gateway" to involvement in and support for Jewish voluntary associations.

Table 31 provides information about membership levels and levels of monetary contributions to a select number of Jewish organizations or agencies. The levels vary from a high of 48.6% reporting membership in Hadassah to a low of 5.5% indicating that they are members of the American Jewish Committee. One interesting finding is that there is consistently a higher percentage reporting that they contribute to organizations than the level indicating membership in the respective organizations.

Table 31

Membership in and Contributor to Select Jewish Organizations  
or Agencies (%)

	<u>Member</u>	<u>Contributor</u>
B'nai Brith	44.2	47.2
Hadassah	48.6	53.6
American Jewish Committee	5.5	9.3
Pioneer Women (Na'Amat)	18.6	29.4
Other	45.7	55.1
No. of cases	(375)	(361)

Table 32

Number of Memberships in Non-Jewish Organization  
by Synagogue Membership (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>	<u>All</u>
0-1	55.0	32.3	16.7	37.8	44.0
2-3	21.8	32.3	33.3	39.2	28.3
4-5	11.8	19.2	0.0	10.8	13.6
6-up	11.4	16.2	50.0	12.2	14.1
No. of cases	(164)	(101)	(7)	(62)	(334)

**c. Non-Jewish Organizations**

Shifting from involvement in Jewish organizations to involvements in non-Jewish organizations, Table 32 reports on the number of such memberships, providing information of the overall level of involvement as well as involvement by synagogue membership. On the basis of these data, it appears that Temple members have a wider network of non-Jewish organizational attachments than their counterparts at the Center.

**d. Reading Habits**

Another measure of involvement in Jewish communal life that has been used by other researchers has to do with the extent to which individuals read various Jewish publications, including books, magazines, or newspapers. Table 33 reports our findings. Slightly less than one in three respondents said that they read such publications "very frequently" or "frequently." One half read them "sometimes," while 17.8% "never" read them.

**e. Visits to Israel**

We reported earlier that a large majority of respondents do not think that American Jews should seriously consider moving to Israel. While this is the case, nonetheless, many have visited Israel. Table 34 indicates that one in five has visited once, while 10.4% have visited Israel two or more times. We do not know to what extent the 68.9% who have not traveled to Israel would like to, nor, obviously, can we speculate about the likelihood of visits by these individuals in the future. Overall, the percentage of Quad Cities Jews who have visited Israel once

Table 33

How Frequently Do You Read Any Jewish Books, Magazines,  
or Newspapers by Synagogue Membership (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>	<u>All</u>
Very frequently	17.2	10.9	25.0	4.1	13.3
Frequently	23.4	14.1	41.7	11.0	19.0
Sometimes	45.0	56.3	33.3	56.2	50.0
Never	14.4	18.8	0.0	28.8	17.8
No. of cases	(209)	(128)	(12)	(73)	(422)

Table 34

Number of Times Visited Israel by Synagogue Memberhip (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>	<u>All</u>
0	61.1	74.4	25.0	88.9	68.9
1	23.1	20.2	50.0	9.7	20.7
2	9.6	3.1	8.3	0.0	5.9
3 +	6.3	2.4	16.6	1.4	4.5
No. of cases	(208)	(129)	(12)	(72)	(421)

or more is similar to figures reported in other cities (Tobin and Chenkin, 1985, p. 176).

**f. Index of Communal Affiliation**

Utilizing the data obtained by the various measures reported in this section of the report, we have combined them to create an "index of communal affiliation." The results are presented in Table 35. We again used, with slight modification, an index created by Cohen (1988, p. 131), which accords various points to memberships, levels of annual contributions, reading Jewish publications, and traveling to Israel. Cohen's index had a range of 0-13 points, and he divided his sample into three groups: the widely affiliated, the affiliated, and the unaffiliated. In New York, 23% of the sample was categorized as widely affiliated, 49% as affiliated, and 28% as unaffiliated. Surprisingly, in our sample, everyone fell into only two of these categories--the widely affiliated and the affiliated. Overall, slightly less than a third fell into the former category, and somewhat more than two thirds into the latter.

There were noticeable differences depending on synagogue membership. Center members were more likely to be widely affiliated than Temple members, while members of neither institution were the least widely affiliated. In contrast to the findings obtained from the ritual index, Quad Cities Jews differ appreciable from New York Jews: Local Jews appear similar to New York Jews on the ritual index, while ranking significantly higher on the communal affiliation index.

Table 35

Index of Communal Affiliation by Synagogue Membership (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>	<u>All</u>
Widely Affiliated	36.0	25.4	50.0	23.0	30.9
Affiliated	64.0	74.6	50.0	77.0	69.1
No. of cases	(211)	(130)	(12)	(74)	(427)

Table 36

Jewish Friendships by Synagogue Membership (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>	<u>All</u>
0	9.3	27.0	0.0	35.3	19.0
1	13.4	19.0	9.1	32.4	18.3
2	22.2	18.3	27.3	19.1	20.6
3	55.2	35.7	63.6	13.2	42.1
No. of cases	(194)	(126)	(11)	(68)	(399)

## **Interpersonal Relations**

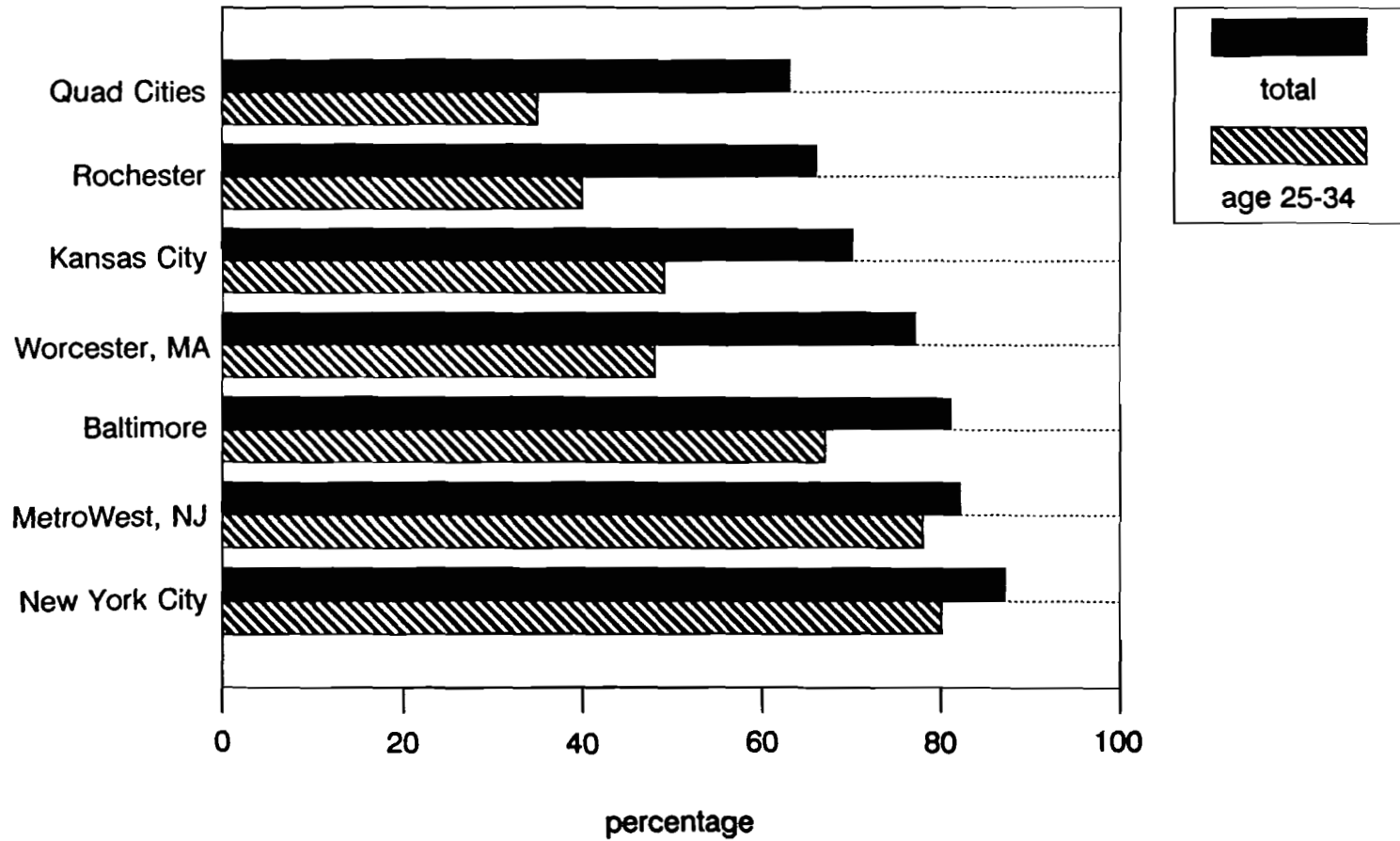
In this section we focus on patterns of interpersonal relations, paying particular attention to two key facets of this topic--friendship and marriage. Specifically, this section explores the issue of whether, in the intimate spheres of friendships and marriage, local Jews are more inclined to look within or outside of the Jewish community.

### **a. Friendship Patterns**

In terms of friendship, we asked respondents how many of their three closest friends were Jewish. As Table 36 illustrates, 62.7% of all respondents report that at least two of their best friends are Jewish, while less than one in five said that none of their best friends is Jewish. However, there are significant differences depending upon synagogue membership. Center members are more likely than Temple members to report that two or three of their closest friends are Jewish. Indeed, for over half of Center members, their three closest friends are Jewish. By contrast, for individuals who are not members of either synagogue, over a third report that none of their closest friends is Jewish, and nearly a third say that only one of their closest friends is Jewish.

As Figure 3 illustrates, the age of a respondent is an important factor in determining friendship patterns, for far fewer respondents between the ages of 25 and 34 indicate that two or three of their closest friends are Jewish than do their older counterparts. Furthermore, the comparisons between the Quad Cities and a select number of cities show that for local Jews, both in general and in the case of 25-34 year olds, non-Jewish friendships are more common than elsewhere.

**Figure 3**  
**Respondents Reporting**  
**At Least Two Jewish Best Friends**



( Adapted from Cohen, 1988 and Fishman, 1987 )

**b. Marital Patterns**

The other important--and often conflict-ridden--aspect of interpersonal relations involves the issue of intermarriage. According to Marshall Sklare (1971, p. 191), intermarriage did not become a particular topic of concern for Jews until the 1960s. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, there was an increase in the intermarriage rate of Jews from 3.7% to 11.8% (Glenn 1982, p. 557). Evidence from a number of community studies suggests that this trend has increased since the 1970s, and one study has argued that a "sharply rising incidence of intermarriage among Jews" is particularly pronounced in the Midwest and the West (Sandberg 1986, p. 7).

A series of questions was posed for this study that was intended to provide a portrait of the current level of intermarriage in the Quad Cities. Table 37 reports on the religious affiliation of a respondent's spouse, categorized by the age of the respondent. Over a third of respondents at the present time are not married (widows, widowers, divorced, never-married). If we look only at those respondents who are currently married, 75.2% are married to Jews, while 24.8% are married to non-Jews. This figure compares to 14% intermarried in Boston in the mid-1970s (Cohen 1983, pp. 122-124) and 20.2% in Los Angeles during the past decade (Sandberg 1986, p. 53). Quad Cities Jews in the 30-39 age category have the highest percentage of intermarried, followed by the 40-49 category. Comparatively, the 20-29 group has a lower level of intermarriage, in contrast, for example to the situation in Denver, where 52% of marrieds in this age bracket have non-Jewish spouses.

The percentage of local Jews marrying non-Jews is certainly higher today

Table 37

Religion of Respondent's Mate by Age (%)

	<u>29 and Below</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>	<u>60-69</u>	<u>70+</u>	<u>All</u>
Jewish	43.8	41.8	47.8	65.3	61.6	34.5	47.8
Non-Jewish	18.8	29.1	25.4	12.2	10.5	7.1	16.1
Not Married	37.5	29.1	26.9	22.4	27.9	58.4	36.1
No. of cases	(16)	(79)	(67)	(49)	(86)	(113)	(410)

Table 38

Frequency of Dating Jews When Young by Sex (%)

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Both</u>
Very frequently	34.4	45.2	40.5
Frequently	23.9	16.5	19.8
Sometimes	30.0	22.2	25.6
Never	11.7	16.1	14.1
No. of cases	(180)	(230)	(410)

Table 39

Approval of Child Dating and Marrying Non-Jews (%)

	<u>Dating</u>	<u>Marrying</u>
Strongly approve	3.4	3.7
Approve	58.7	40.7
Disapprove	31.8	34.6
Strongly disapprove	6.1	21.1
No. of cases	(402)	(401)

than it was one or two generations ago. Our interviews with leaders in the community led us to conclude that the figures are likely to rise in the future; certainly, we heard no indication of a concrete plan for curtailing this trend. Instead, most of the people we spoke to had an essentially fatalistic attitude. Individuals with grown children who have married Jews were asked what, if anything, they had done to encourage endogamous marriages. None suggested they had forbidden their children from dating non-Jews, but they had encouraged friendships with Jewish children earlier in life and they had verbalized their hope that their children would choose Jewish marriage partners.

Tables 38 and 39 report on respondents' dating habits when young and on their attitudes regarding their children's dating practices and marital choices. The former table indicates that a majority of respondents dated, at least occasionally, non-Jews when they were growing up, and, in fact, somewhat more than a third appear to have dated non-Jews more frequently than Jews. Thus, it is not entirely

surprising that 62.1% either "approve" or "strongly approve" of their children dating non-Jews. Perhaps somewhat surprising, 44.4% "approve" or "strongly approve" of their children marrying non-Jews. Jewish parents have traditionally been more opposed to their children dating or marrying Gentiles than Gentile parents have been opposed to their children dating or marrying Jews. However, Egon Mayer (1980, p. 516) has argued that this opposition by Jewish parents has waned considerably, and he attributes, in part, the rise in intermarriage to what he refers to as "Jewish default." Certainly, from the evidence derived from the survey, for a sizeable sector of the Quad Cities Jewish community, there are few social controls being imposed that would serve to deter young people from marrying non-Jews.

One consequence of this can be seen in the marital choices being made by the children of respondents. The survey included questions about the marital status of respondents' children and about whether or not the spouse was Jewish. Of the 404 married children reported, some residing in the Quad Cities and others elsewhere, 53.2% are married to Jews and 46.5% are married to non-Jews.

### **c. Interpersonal Index**

Utilizing the data obtained about friendships and marriage, we again summarized this by making use of an index designed by Cohen (1988, p. 131): the "interpersonal index." He categorized his New York sample into three groups. The first, those with all Jewish interpersonal ties, included individuals reporting all three friends being Jewish and not married to a non-Jew. Those with mostly Jewish interpersonal ties had either two Jewish friends and were not mixed

Table 40

Index of Interpersonal Ties by Synagogue Membership (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>	<u>All</u>
All Jewish	53.9	34.7	60.0	12.3	41.1
Mostly Jewish	18.7	17.7	30.0	12.3	17.6
Mostly Non-Jewish	27.5	47.6	10.0	75.4	41.3
No. of cases	(193)	(124)	(10)	(65)	(392)

married or who had three Jewish friends and a non-Jewish spouse. All others were described as having mostly non-Jewish interpersonal relations. In his New York study, he found 68% all; 19% mostly; and 14% non-Jewish. Table 40 reveals a rather different portrait of the Quad Cities, where far fewer Jews have all Jewish interpersonal ties and far more have mostly non-Jewish ties. Interestingly, our results are bimodal, with less than half as many people reporting mostly Jewish ties in contrast to both of the other categories. Furthermore, if we look at differences depending on synagogue membership, there are some rather marked contrasts. A majority of Center members have all Jewish ties, while nearly half of Temple members have mostly non-Jewish ties. Three fourths of the unaffiliated have mostly non-Jewish ties.

### **Evaluations of Services and Programs**

This section reports on the assessments respondents made of the overall effectiveness of the community's three main institutions in addressing the needs of members. People were asked to evaluate the existing programs provided by the two synagogues as well as those run by the Federation. In addition, two questions were asked to determine opinions regarding the establishment of programs specifically targeting the unaffiliated and the intermarried.

Table 41 summarizes our findings of the assessments of Temple and Center programs. They are decidedly positive, as less than 10% had negative opinions, characterizing the programs as either "poor" or "very poor." Nearly three fourths characterized the programs as "good" and 16.3% found them to be "excellent." Looking at these evaluations by synagogue membership, there is very little

Table 41

Program Evaluation of the Center or Temple by Synagogue Member (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>	<u>All</u>
Excellent	15.8	16.2	10.0	21.2	16.3
Good	75.4	75.7	90.0	63.6	74.8
Poor	7.7	5.4	0.0	6.1	6.5
Very poor	1.1	2.7	0.0	9.1	2.4
No. of cases	(183)	(111)	(10)	(33)	(337)

Table 42

Program Evaluation of the Federation by Synagogue Member (%)

	<u>Center</u>	<u>Temple</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>	<u>All</u>
Excellent	32.7	14.1	22.2	30.3	27.0
Good	59.4	78.2	77.8	66.7	66.0
Poor	7.9	6.4	0.0	0.0	6.3
Very poor	0.0	1.3	0.0	3.0	0.7
No. of cases	(165)	(78)	(9)	(33)	(285)

Table 43

Good to Design Programs for the Intermarried and Unaffiliated (%)

	<u>Intermarried</u>	<u>Unaffiliated</u>
Strongly agree	51.1	43.1
Agree	43.1	47.4
Disagree	4.3	6.7
Strongly disagree	1.5	2.8
No. of cases	(389)	(322)

difference between the assessments of Center and Temple members. Surprisingly, those who are members of neither institution have very favorable assessments; in fact, more non-members score the programs as "excellent" than do either Center or Temple members.

Turning to assessments of the Federation, they are slightly more positive than those of the synagogues. As Table 42 shows, fully 93% describe the programs as either "good" or "excellent." A higher percentage assesses the programs as "excellent" than is the case for the synagogues. However, it should be noted that 73 respondents said they did not know enough about Federation programs to assess them. Finally, there is one difference predicated upon synagogue membership that should be noted: Temple members were the least inclined to rate the programs as "excellent;" by the same token, a smaller percentage of Center members, in contrast to Temple members, rated the programs as "good."

Finally, as Table 43 indicates, there was widespread support for the

development of programs designed to target two particular populations: the intermarried and the unaffiliated. In both instances, over 90% of respondents either "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the idea of implementing such programs. It should be observed that there are some efforts underway to address these groups, but the questionnaire did not specifically ask individuals to evaluate these efforts, or even to indicate if they were aware of the existence of such undertakings.

## **Conclusion**

Given this detailed portrait of the Jewish community in the Quad Cities, what can be said about the future of a vital Jewish communal life? Furthermore, what can be said about concrete measures that can be taken to encourage the positive and prevent or at least mitigate the negative?

The comparative analyses made throughout this report indicate that in many respects the Jewish community in the Quad Cities is quite similar to Jewish communities elsewhere. In particular, it bears a close resemblance to communities of comparable size. Thus, many of the problems that this community faces are the same as those confronting Jews in other localities.

Nonetheless, it is possible to single out a few areas that need to be considered in planning for the future. First, there are some strengths to build upon. Quad Cities Jews have a relatively high level of synagogue membership and a generally high level of communal affiliation. Although we have not made comparisons with other cities about levels of monetary support, it is clear to us that a large cross section of synagogue members provides financial contributions to

these two institutions. Based on the evaluations of programs and services, there appears to be a rather high level of good will and support for all three institutions--Center, Temple, and Federation.

Countering these are some areas of weakness. First, the size of the community is an obvious concern. As this report documents, there are a number of variables contributing to the fact that the community is smaller today than it was in the recent past, and some of the factors that have combined to yield this situation are not likely to change. Nonetheless, it is not entirely clear if the community is capable of stabilizing itself at roughly its current size.

Second, the leadership of the community is not unified. Rather than a community-wide leadership, we discovered (largely through our interviews with leaders) that leadership is far more divided according to synagogue affiliation than we had heretofore realized. Furthermore, there appears to be a considerable amount of actual and potential conflict. Compounding this, there is some evidence of generational conflict within these institutions.

The Federation's appropriate role is a matter of debate. It has been able to serve as a bridge between congregations only to a limited extent. Some leaders contend that it should do more in this regard, while others either think that this is not realistic or that it would be inappropriate to attempt to do so.

While this study did not assess the financial condition of the three Jewish institutions, it did ask various leaders to provide assessments of the situation. There was far more concern about the financial viability of all of these institutions than we had anticipated. For example, questions were raised about the size of the Temple congregation and the implications this has for its future ability to meet

budgets. In the case of the Center, the size of its mortgage and the age of its congregation were seen by some as troublesome. While these impressions do not provide hard evidence about the respective financial circumstances of the two synagogues, there is more solid evidence about the situation at the Federation. Specifically, 25% of the community does not contribute financially to the Federation, while another third gives less than \$100 per year. We had the impression from our interviews that the Federation's position was the most precarious. For instance, if either synagogue found it necessary to engage in a major fund drive or in an emergency appeal, some leaders felt that those who would contribute might do so by cutting back on their Federation support.

Finally, at the level of interpersonal relations, the evidence suggests that younger Jews increasingly look outside of the community for friends and marital partners. The impact of this on religious observance and communal affiliation is not entirely clear at present, but the probable outcome is a decline in both.

Given this brief review of strengths and weakness, what types of programmatic efforts might be undertaken to sustain a viable communal life? While this is a question that the community will have to address, we will conclude with the following suggestions:

- (1) Efforts should be undertaken or expanded to reach out to the unaffiliated and the intermarried. A relatively small number of newly activated or reactivated members in any of the three institutions can have a pronounced positive impact.

- (2) Attention should be given to finding ways to encourage young Jews to remain in the community. Further investigation should be made about the reasons

for the small size of the 20-29 year old age group, and some thought should be given to establishing incentives for this cohort and for younger members of the community to remain here.

(3) Given the report's findings about friendship and marital patterns, especially among younger Jews, increased opportunities for youth to meet and interact with other Jews, locally and regionally, should be made available.

(4) Increased cooperation between the Center and the Temple is essential. The current cooperative educational venture is an important first step, and similar undertakings should be explored. However, there are a number of important differences between these two institutions that, to our mind, makes moot at the present time the topic of merger. Significant theological differences differentiate the two congregations. Compounding these differences are powerful emotional attachments to each institution, as well as considerable tension between respective leaderships.

(5) The Federation produces a valuable newsletter that informs its readers of important programs and events. However, given the fact that 73 respondents were not able to evaluate the Federation's programs, a greater effort should be made to inform people of the programs and services provided through the Federation.

(6) Attention should be paid to the financial condition of the Federation. In particular, ways of appealing to those who do not contribute or who contribute small amounts should be explored.

(7) A dialogue should be entered into about the role of the Federation as a link between the Center and Temple. The evidence does not appear to support

the idea that the Federation can serve as an alternative mode of communal affiliation for religiously non-practicing Jews. Those who are involved in the work of the Federation are largely those also involved in their respective congregations. Thus, we believe that the Federation can serve best by facilitating cooperative ventures between Center and Temple, and expanded opportunities to do so should be investigated.

While this list does not exhaust the number of possible programmatic options available to the community, it does address a number of issues culled from the data presented in this report. However, as we stated at the outset, this report is not intended to provide a detailed program of action. Rather, its purpose is to be a tool that provides decision-makers with a sufficiently detailed portrait of the Quad Cities Jewish community to make informed choices about the future.

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## Appendix

To begin with, we are interested in knowing something about your religious beliefs and practices.

1. How often do you (circle number):

	Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never
attend a Passover Seder?	1	2	3	4
observe special Passover dietary rules?	1	2	3	4
light candles on Chanukah?	1	2	3	4
light candles on Friday night?	1	2	3	4
refrain from shopping on the Sabbath?	1	2	3	4
attend high holiday services?	1	2	3	4
fast on Yom Kippur?	1	2	3	4
attend Purim services?	1	2	3	4
attend Sabbath services once a month or more?	1	2	3	4
find comfort in Jewish prayer when troubled?	1	2	3	4
feel moved by the sound of the Shofar?	1	2	3	4
find the Jewish faith to be a source of strength?	1	2	3	4

2. Do you (circle number):

	Yes	No
have a mezzuzah on the door?	1	2
keep a kosher home?	1	2
observe Yahrzeit?	1	2
follow mourning rituals?	1	2
have a Christmas tree?	1	2
attend a Jewish adult education classes?	1	2

3. Did you (circle number):

	Yes	No
attend religious school?	1	2
graduate from religious school?	1	2

	Yes	No
learn enough Hebrew to follow services?	1	2
attend confirmation classes?	1	2
have Bar-Mitzvah or Bat-Mitzvah?	1	2
<b>4. Considering religious orientation (circle number):</b>		
	Are You?	Was Your Family?
Orthodox	1	1
Conservative	2	2
Reform	3	3
Other	4	4
None	5	5
<b>5. Are you a member of (circle one or more):</b>		
1 Tri-City Jewish Center		
2 Temple Emanuel		
3 Neither		
<b>6. How much per year do you contribute financially to the Center or Temple? (circle number)</b>		
1 less than \$100		
2 \$100-\$999		
3 \$1,000-\$4,999		
4 \$5,000 +		
<b>7. How would you evaluate the programs and services provided by the Temple or Center? (circle number)</b>		
1 Excellent		
2 Good		
3 Poor		
4 Very Poor		
5 Don't Know		

8. It is a good idea for the Center or Temple to design programs to target the intermarried and the unaffiliated (circle number).

	<u>The Intermarried</u>	<u>The Unaffiliated</u>
Strongly Agree	1	1
Agree	2	2
Disagree	3	3
Strongly Disagree	4	4

The Jewish community is more than its religious institutions. We would like to turn now to consider your involvement with or attitudes toward other organizations or associations.

9. How much per year do you contribute financially to the Federation? (circle number)

- 1 Nothing
- 2 Less than \$100
- 3 \$100-\$499
- 4 \$500-\$999
- 5 \$1,000-\$4,999
- 6 \$5,000+

10. How would you evaluate the programs and services provided by the Federation? (circle number)

- 1 Excellent
- 2 Good
- 3 Poor
- 4 Very Poor
- 5 Don't Know

11. What is your relationship to the following Jewish organizations or agencies? (circle numbers)

	<u>Member</u>		<u>Contributor</u>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
B'nai Brith	1	2	1	2
Hadassah	1	2	1	2
American Jewish Committee	1	2	1	2
Pioneer Women (Na'Amat)	1	2	1	2

	<u>Member</u>		<u>Contributor</u>	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Other	1	2	1	2

12. Within each of the following categories, how many non-Jewish organizations do you belong to? (circle number)

Fraternal Groups	1	2	3	4+
Service Clubs	1	2	3	4+
Veterans Groups	1	2	3	4+
Political Groups	1	2	3	4+
Country Clubs	1	2	3	4+
Professional or Academic Societies	1	2	3	4+
Other Organizations	1	2	3	4+

13. How important is being Jewish to you? (circle number)

- 1 Very Important
- 2 Important
- 3 Unimportant
- 4 Very Unimportant

14. How many of your three closest friends are Jews? \_\_\_\_\_

15. How frequently did you date Jews when you were a teenager and young adult? (circle number)

- 1 Very Frequently
- 2 Frequently
- 3 Sometimes
- 4 Never

16. How would you respond to the following? (circle number)

	Strongly Approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove
Child dating non-Jews	1	2	3	4
Child marrying non-Jew	1	2	3	4

17. How frequently do you read any Jewish books, magazines or newspapers?  
(circle number)

- 1 Very Frequently
- 2 Frequently
- 3 Occasionally
- 4 Never

If you read any, please identify the publication(s) \_\_\_\_\_

---

Now we would like to turn to a consideration of your general political orientation as well as your attitudes regarding several specific social or political issues.

18. How would you describe yourself politically? (circle number)

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Moderate
- 3 Conservative
- 4 Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

19. What is your party preference? (circle number)

- 1 Democratic
- 2 Republican
- 3 Independent

20. How serious is the problem of anti-Semitism in America today? (circle number)

- 1 Very Serious
- 2 Moderately Serious
- 3 Slightly Serious
- 4 Not Serious

21. What is your reaction to the following statement: There is a bright future for Jewish life in America? (circle number)

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Agree
- 3 Disagree
- 4 Strongly Disagree

22. How concerned are you about the situation of Soviet Jews? (circle number)

- 1 Very Concerned
- 2 Concerned
- 3 Unconcerned

The state of Israel, from its founding 40 years ago, has loomed large in the minds of many Jewish-Americans. We would like to turn now to a consideration of your beliefs and actions related to Israel.

23. How many times have you visited Israel? \_\_\_\_\_ times

24. Have you considered moving to Israel? (circle number)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

25. How would you respond to the following statements? (circle number)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
All Jews should give serious thought to settling in Israel.	1	2	3	4
Israel is a source of strength and pride for me.	1	2	3	4
American Jews should not criticize Israel's policies publically.	1	2	3	4
Jews should not vote for candidates who are unfriendly to Israel.	1	2	3	4
There are times when my devotion to Israel can conflict with my devotion to America.	1	2	3	4
Israel is right not to sit down with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).	1	2	3	4
If Israel could be assured of peace and secure borders, it should be willing to return to Arab control some of the territories occupied since 1967.	1	2	3	4

26. In general, how would you characterize your feelings about Israel?  
(circle number)

- 1 Pro-Israel
- 2 Neutral
- 3 Anti-Israel

27. In general, Israel's policies in disputes with the Arabs are:

- 1 Too "hawkish"
- 2 About right
- 3 Too "dovish"

Next, we would like to obtain some information about you and your family.

28. Including yourself, how many people live in your household? \_\_\_\_\_

29. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_ years

If married, how old is your spouse? \_\_\_\_\_ years

30. Are you (circle one):

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

31. Are you currently (circle number):

- 1 Married
- 2 Widowed
- 3 Divorced
- 4 Separated
- 5 Never Married

32. What are the highest levels of education that you and, if married, your spouse have completed? (circle numbers)

	You	Your Spouse
No formal education	1	1
Grades 1-6	2	2
Grades 7-9	3	3
Grades 10-11	4	4
Completed high school	5	5
Some college	6	6
Completed college	7	7

	You	Your Spouse
Some graduate work	8	8
Graduate degree	9	9

33. What are the current occupational statuses of you and, if married, your spouse? (circle numbers)

	You	Your Spouse
Employed full-time	1	1
Employed part-time	2	2
Student	3	3
Retired	4	4
Homemaker	5	5
Unemployed, laid off, or on strike	6	6
Other	7	7

34. Please describe your occupation. (If retired, describe your usual occupation before retirement.)

Job title: \_\_\_\_\_

Kind of work you do: \_\_\_\_\_

Kind of organization: \_\_\_\_\_

35. Please describe your spouse's occupation. (If retired or deceased, describe spouse's occupation before retirement or death.)

Job title: \_\_\_\_\_

Kind of work your spouse does: \_\_\_\_\_

Kind of organization: \_\_\_\_\_

36. What generation of Jewish-American are you and your spouse (i.e., if you are an immigrant you are first generation; if your grandparents were immigrants, you are third generation; etc.; circle numbers):

	You	Your spouse
First	1	1
Second	2	2
Third	3	3
Fourth	4	4
Fifth - more	5	5

37. Where are your ancestors and your spouse's ancestors from? (circle number)

	<u>You</u>		<u>Your spouse</u>	
	Mother's Family	Father's Family	Mother's Family	Father's Family
Germany	1	1	1	1
Eastern Europe	2	2	2	2
Other	3	3	3	3

38. How many generations of your and your spouse's families have resided in the Quad Cities? (circle numbers)

	<u>You</u>		<u>Your spouse</u>	
	Mother's Family	Father's Family	Mother's Family	Father's Family
None	0	0	0	0
One	1	1	1	1
Two	2	2	2	2
Three	3	3	3	3
Four	4	4	4	4
Five - more	5	5	5	5

39. Do you maintain a residence outside of the Quad Cities? (circle number)

1 Yes

2 No

If yes, where:

City: \_\_\_\_\_

State: \_\_\_\_\_

Country: \_\_\_\_\_

40. How important to you are each of the following characteristics in determining what it means to be a Jew? (circle numbers)

	Very Important	Important	Unimportant	Very Unimportant
A sense of shared history	1	2	3	4
A commitment to justice	1	2	3	4
Belief in God	1	2	3	4
Commitment to the Torah	1	2	3	4

- |                                      | Very<br>Important | Important | Unimportant | Very<br>Unimportant |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|
| Membership in Temple<br>or Synagogue | 1                 | 2         | 3           | 4                   |
41. According to how you define what it means to be a Jew, is everyone in your household Jewish? (circle number)
- 1    Yes
- 2    No
- If no, who is not (e.g., husband): \_\_\_\_\_
42. Was everyone in your household born Jewish? (circle number)
- 1    Yes
- 2    No
- If no, who was not: \_\_\_\_\_
43. Was everyone in your household raised Jewish?
- 1    Yes
- 2    No
- If no, who was not: \_\_\_\_\_
44. Please complete the following information regarding your children (if none, go to the following question).
- | Child | Age | Sex | Married |    | Living at<br>Home |    | Spouse<br>Jewish |    | Reside<br>in Q.C. |    |
|-------|-----|-----|---------|----|-------------------|----|------------------|----|-------------------|----|
| 1     | ___ | M F | Yes     | No | Yes               | No | Yes              | No | Yes               | No |
| 2     | ___ | M F | Yes     | No | Yes               | No | Yes              | No | Yes               | No |
| 3     | ___ | M F | Yes     | No | Yes               | No | Yes              | No | Yes               | No |
| 4     | ___ | M F | Yes     | No | Yes               | No | Yes              | No | Yes               | No |
| 5     | ___ | M F | Yes     | No | Yes               | No | Yes              | No | Yes               | No |
| 6     | ___ | M F | Yes     | No | Yes               | No | Yes              | No | Yes               | No |
45. Finally, we would like to hear any comments you want to provide regarding the Quad Cities Jewish community and the institutions that serve it. This might include suggestions about existing services or the lack of programs for various need areas.