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The North Carolina Jew, unlike the large majority of America's Jews, lacks access to a great range of Jewish activities, facilities, and institutions. At the same time there exists a limited number of co-religionists among whom he can choose as friends and neighbors. This relative isolation of the North Carolina Jew from fellow Jews and organized Jewish life may prove difficult for many of the state's Jews. It was predicted that a significant proportion of North Carolina's Jewish population would feel dissatisfaction with their life as Jews in their community.

It was hypothesized that those Jews who were "Jewish community dissatisfied" would be more likely than the "Jewish community satisfied" to (a) reside in the communities in the state with the smallest absolute number of Jews and (b) be characterized by stronger Jewish identification as defined by the three dimensions of religiosity, ethnicity, and strength of endogamous feelings.

A multi-stage sample stratified on the basis of Jewish town size and geographic region of the state was drawn. A mail-back questionnaire was sent to 349 males of the household selected from 21 North Carolina communities in the sample. A total of 166 usable responses (a 48 percent return rate) was the basis of the data.

The chi square test of significance was used to determine the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. As hypothesized, the Jewish community dissatisfied were significantly more likely to (a) reside in the smallest Jewish town size communities and (b) have strong endogamous feelings. However, the Jewish community dissatisfied and

satisfied did not differ significantly on the measures of religiosity and ethnicity. The chief source of Jewish community dissatisfaction was related not to the respondent's Jewish life but rather to his concern with the Jewish life and identity of his children.

In addition to the investigation of the defined problem a profile was drawn to provide descriptive information regarding basic demographic, religious, and ethnic characteristics of the North Carolina Jewish sample.

JEW'S IN NORTH CAROLINA: IDENTIFICATION
AND COMMUNITY SATISFACTION

by

Edward Jay Fleishman

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the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
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Approved by

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APPROVAL PAGE

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CHAPTER I

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN AMERICA: AN INTRODUCTION

Jewish immigrants to the United States--from the small group to arrive from Portugal in 1654 to the mass movement of Eastern European's in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries--have been offered opportunities rarely realized elsewhere: relative freedom from oppression, the right to religious freedom, and a chance for economic prosperity. However, the freedom to be Jewish has presented a paradox for American Jews. With this freedom has come other freedoms: the freedom of unlimited exposure to non-Jews and non-Jewish institutions; the opportunity to mingle freely in the "alien" American culture while remaining vulnerable to the absorption of American values and ideals.

It has been from these almost unlimited opportunities of contact and access to American society that the Jewish paradox has presented itself. With increased contact has come the enticing chance for assimilation, often a blessing in disguise. Could not the fruits of American society be more easily attained if one were to discard the old ways and become American? Or, could one choose to rigidly maintain his ethnic and religious culture, refuse assimilation, and at the same time find fulfillment in the new country?

In viewing the history of Jews in America* it can be seen that a choice between these two possibilities was often made. Some Jews decided

*Sources for this overview of Jewish history in America include the following: Finkelstein 1960; Glazer 1957; Herberg 1955; Sherman 1965; Sklare 1958, 1971; Wirth 1928.

to assimilate and in so doing rejected their Jewish identity. Others clung to the Orthodoxy of the East European shtetl and boldly resisted the temptations of an open society. More often, however, a response which fell somewhere between these two polar possibilities became the pattern. Sklare (1955) has argued that the very dilemma presented by a choice between full assimilation with full participation, as against maintenance of former identity with minimal participation, created what has become the largest of the three religious branches of Judaism in America, Conservative Judaism. Conservative Judaism was an adaptive compromise between the demands of secular American society and the Orthodoxy of the East European immigrants of the late nineteenth century. For many second and third generation Jews Conservative Judaism did not prove adaptive enough and defectors from these ranks joined the earliest American Jewish movement--Reform Judaism--which in both ritual and liturgy was most like the pattern prevalent in Christian churches in America.

All American Jews, regardless of which branch of Judaism (if any) they came to embrace, were faced with other common problems which created similar responses. One was always a Jew regardless of how wealthy or educated he was, how gradiose he lived, or how extensive his denial of Jewish ways. There were features common to the American Jew's experience which served to set apart this American religious minority. But in adjusting to American society itself Jewish traditions were often strained and began to undergo change. Therefore, a pattern evolved in which many of the old ways, especially those found mal-adaptive, were dropped and those Jewish religious features which were retained were gradually modified in a peculiarly American way (Herberg 1955).

No insight into the Jewish experience in America is possible unless that experience is seen as one of a minority group in a society of many minority groups. An analysis of American society, therefore, whether it be historical, political, economic, or sociological, must take into account the multiplicity of groups which have come together to create the total fabric.

Sociologists, more often than not, have assumed the task of exploring the distinguishing characteristics of each national, racial, religious, and cultural group which forms the totality of American society. In pursuing this end they have asked such questions as: To what extent have these various groups retained their earlier characteristics and identities? How and why have some group members strayed and others clung tenaciously to traditional group patterns and identities? What factors can be identified to explain the patterns of relationships which have evolved between the different groups?

The purpose of this research is to attempt to answer some of these questions about America's Jewish minority group. More specifically, this research will focus upon a specific segment of American Jewry, the North Carolina Jew. Before addressing the specific problem of the thesis, however, it is necessary to discuss some general demographic facts regarding the Jewish population of the United States.

Numerically, American Jews are a small minority in American society. It was estimated that they numbered 6,059,730 in 1970, or 3.0 percent of the total U.S. population (American Jewish Yearbook 1972:386-87). This proportion would seem insignificant were it not for the fact that of all the Jews in the world today between one-third and one-half live in the United States. The greater metropolitan area of New York City alone

contains over two and one-half million Jews, which accounts for over one-sixth of the world's Jewish population and close to one-half of America's Jewish population.

Of the world's estimated 13,875,500 Jews 4,070,500 reside in Europe and 2,436,000 live in Israel (Encyclopedia Judaica Vol. 13:894-895). The Soviet Union claims 2,650,000, or the majority of Europe's Jewish population (1.11 percent of the total Soviet population); France and Great Britain are second and third with 535,000 (1.07 percent of the total population) and 410,000 (0.75 percent of the total population) Jews respectively (Encyclopedia Judaica Vol. 13:894-895). Thus, the United States shares with Israel the distinction of being the cultural and religious center of world Jewry. In fact, the New York City metropolitan area alone has a larger number of Jews than does the state of Israel. These facts suggest that, although American Jews are only a relatively small minority among minorities, they do constitute the largest community of their kind in the world.

As one examines the demographic data on American Jews the most obvious characteristic is their concentration in the large urban areas. Approximately eleven out of every twelve American Jews lives in twenty-five metropolitan American cities ranging in total population size from New Haven, Connecticut, the smallest with 152,000 people (20,000 are Jewish), to the New York City area, the largest with 7,882,000 people (2,520,000 are Jewish) (Encyclopedia Judaica Vol. 13:900). In 1959 it was estimated that nine out of every ten Jews in the United States lived in urban areas of 250,000 or more, with 70 percent of the Jewish population residing in the Northeast alone (American Jewish Yearbook 1959: 78). Both of these figures are based on estimates from non-governmental

sources. The only national survey source available is the U.S. Bureau of the Census. However, because of pressure from various groups, including Jewish organizations in the United States, the U.S. Bureau of Census no longer asks questions pertaining to a citizen's religion. The last United States Census to collect systematic data on religious affiliation was the preliminary census of 1957. This survey found that of all American Jews 14 years old or older 87 percent lived in metropolitan areas (over 50,000 population), which contrasted with about one out of every three persons in the general population (U.S. Bureau of Census 1957:Table #3). More recent United States Census figures with a metropolitan/non-metropolitan breakdown are non-existent.

Additional private studies have corroborated census findings by showing that, if American cities are grouped into categories based on total population, the percentage of Jews increases as one moves from the smallest size urban center to the largest size urban center. For example, working with a sample of 239 American cities broken down into six categories based on absolute town size, John Dean found that 65 percent of the cities in his sample with populations of from 10,000 to 25,000 were less than one percent Jewish, whereas of the 18 cities with over 500,000 population 69 percent were over five percent Jewish (in Sklare 1958:304-320).

The Jews of North Carolina also evidence some interesting demographic characteristics. Several sources, including the private census consulted for the sample drawn for this research (Unpublished Private Census of the North Carolina Jewish Population. 1972. Clemmons, North Carolina: The North Carolina Jewish Home for the Aged), estimated the population of North Carolina Jews to be approximately 10,000 (American

Jewish Yearbook 1972:386; Encyclopedia Judaica 1971:1217). This figure amounts to 0.2 percent of the total population of North Carolina (or one out of every 500 North Carolinians). Since Jews make up roughly three percent of the national population it can be seen that Jewish citizens are underrepresented in North Carolina. Only ten states have a small total proportion of Jews, and only eight states--California, Connecticut, Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania--are above the national figure of 3.0 percent (American Jewish Yearbook 1972:386-87). In fact, these eight states account for almost five-sixths (4,959,800 out of 6,059,730) of the nation's total Jewish population (American Jewish Yearbook 1972:386-87). It is true, of course, that these eight states are relatively metropolitan in character.

Although North Carolina has fewer Jews than the national average, it is fairly characteristic of the national pattern in the urban concentration of its Jewish population. Employing the U.S. Census definition of a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) (see Chapter III for census definition) we find that over 80 percent of North Carolina's Jewish population resides within the seven defined SMSA's. Table 1-1 gives the breakdown for these SMSA's by total population and by Jewish family population. Because the Jewish population data for North Carolina is available only by families, whereas the general census is by individual count, comparisons are difficult.

Although the large urban concentration of North Carolina's Jews is typical of the nation as a whole, it is argued that the 20 percent of North Carolina's Jews who reside outside the state's metropolitan areas (defined as SMSA's) should not be ignored. In fact it is this group of small town Jews which will be one of the focal concerns of this research.

TABLE 1-1

STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS IN NORTH CAROLINA:
 TOTAL POPULATION AND JEWISH POPULATION
 BY NUMBER OF FAMILIES*

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA)	Total Population**	Jewish Population By Families***	Estimated Total Jewish Population#
(1) Charlotte	409,370	711	2,026
(2) Greensboro/Winston-Salem/High Point	603,895	894	1,704
(3) Raleigh	228,453	301	858
(4) Durham (includes Orange County)	190,388	394	761
(5) Asheville	145,056	264	752
(6) Wilmington	107,219	147	419
(7) Fayetteville	<u>212,042</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>274</u>
Totals	1,896,423	2,807	6,794

*Total (Estimated) Jewish Population of North Carolina = 10,000. Total Number of Jewish Families in North Carolina = 3,503.

**U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970. Population Reports - North Carolina, p. 35.

***Private file maintained by the North Carolina Association of Jewish Women.

#Mean family size of North Carolina Jewish population = 2.85 (determined by dividing the total Jewish population--10,000--by the total number of Jewish families--3,503); the figures in this column were determined by multiplying the mean family size of the Jewish population--2.85--by the number of Jewish families in each SMSA.

The evolution of the definition of a sociological problem is best left for an exercise in the sociology of knowledge; however, the specific research to be pursued was triggered by an incident which illustrates, anecdotally, the general nature of this study. The author, born and raised in a small North Carolina town as a Jew, gradually became aware that few Jews live in towns almost devoid of their co-religionists, but rather most of them lived in neighborhoods and went to schools with a significant number of other American Jews. Growing up as a Jew in a small Southern town was never perceived as being "odd" or atypical by the author until he engaged a New York City Jewish woman in conversation while traveling in Europe. Astounded at meeting a Jew with a Southern accent the woman asked, almost incredulously, "Well, how do you Jews live down there? How can you live down there? Are there other Jews in North Carolina? What's it like? Are you really Jewish?" The questions, rather surprising at the time, brought a brief chuckle, but when I later analyzed the conversation I realized that some Jews might indeed find it "strange" or even undesirable to live in North Carolina, given the relative absence of fellow Jews. Implicit in her comments was the notion that Jews as an historically minority people can feel secure and comfortable only in life situations which offer, both quantitatively and qualitatively, a certain minimal Jewish environment. Without such an environment Jews cannot feel secure nor comfortable and will therefore, be basically unhappy. Certainly, the demographic facts of American Jewish life tend to confirm the fact that the overwhelming majority of America's Jews do choose to live in communities with a significantly large Jewish population.

The possibility that some North Carolina Jews, especially that 20 percent residing outside the SMSA's, might find their lives as Jews unsatisfactory thus provided the main focus of research. More specifically, were a significant number of North Carolina Jews actually dissatisfied with their life situation as Jews and the Jewish opportunities available to them? If so, what factors might explain why some North Carolina Jews were relatively satisfied and others dissatisfied living in an area sparsely populated by their fellow religionists? How does a minority group respond to a life situation of relative isolation from other members of their own minority group?

The existence of community dissatisfaction as related to one's life as a Jew, was defined as the major dependent variable of the research. Immediately, explanatory or causal variables began to suggest themselves. First, implicit in the definition of the problem was the assumption that the degree of community satisfaction among a group of Jews is related to opportunities available for access to fellow Jews and Jewish cultural, religious, and educational facilities. Specifically, it was felt that the stronger a person's Judaism, regardless of how it was manifest, the greater the relative disenchantment in an environment which was overwhelmingly non-Jewish, i.e., one that failed to provide the scope of Jewish religious, cultural, educational, or social and associative opportunities which were available. Jewish identity, therefore, was established as the major independent variable of the study; Jewish community dissatisfaction became the major dependent variable of the study.

Jewish identity is by no means a simple phenomenon; it requires proper conceptualization and operationalization. Religious identity, like other identities which involve the feeling of "group-belongingness"

(e.g., national, linguistic, and racial or ethnic identities) has generally been conceived as uni-dimensional. The author felt, however, that Jewish identity is something more than religious identity and should be regarded as a multi-dimensional phenomena. Accordingly, it will be defined as having three, although not necessarily inclusive, dimensions--religiosity, ethnicity, and strength of endogamous feelings. Each of these is treated as a separate variable with the understanding that together they constitute the essential, if not the total aspect of Jewish identity.

Religiosity refers to the cognitive and behavioral components of the Jewish religion itself. Ethnicity, on the other hand, relates to the manifest expressions of the sense of peoplehood as it pervades the lives of many Jews. Strength of endogamous feelings, which cannot always be conceptually divorced from either ethnicity or religiosity, embodies the sense of "we-ness" as realized in the strength of restrictions placed on out-marriage.

Although Jewish identity is defined as the major independent variable there are other possible related factors of community dissatisfaction which were also considered. It was felt that one of these, absolute number of Jewish families in a community, held potential explanatory significance and should be taken into account in the selection of the sample. This was achieved by developing three categories of communities defined on the basis of absolute number of Jewish families in the community. It was then hypothesized that Jewish community dissatisfaction would be greater in communities with the fewest absolute number of Jews because it was assumed that, as a rule, these communities would offer less in the form of Jewish religious, cultural, educational opportunities,

and choices of co-religionists for associative purposes. This will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter II.

Other independent variables which were tested, and will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter IV, included: social class, length of residence in state, length of residence in South, length of residence in community, generation in America, age, educational level, occupational rank, access to various Jewish opportunities, and branch of Judaism followed.

The methodological technique used was the sample survey. A mail-back four page questionnaire was sent to 349 male heads of households of Jewish families in 21 towns and cities in North Carolina. Although personal interviews would have been the more desirable research technique they were not used because the selection of North Carolina as the sample universe necessitated gathering of information from several communities to satisfy requirements of sample representativeness. Given time and monetary limitations of the study it was apparent that the author would be unable to interview the entire sample. Thus, given the nature of the sample and the temporal and monetary restrictions, the mail-back questionnaire seemed the most feasible means of carrying out the study.

Having defined North Carolina as the universe for the study, it was felt that by first using a random sample of cities with Jewish residents and secondly a random sample of Jewish families from within these cities it would be legitimate to generalize the findings to the whole state. As will be seen this was later limited by the theoretical requirements of the research. As mentioned above the sample was stratified by number of Jewish families in the town in order to correspond to the study's theoretical orientations. The sampling of cities was also stratified on the

basis of geographical region of the state to insure the inclusion of the three basic geographic areas of the state: the coastal plain, the piedmont, and the mountains.

Another major impetus for this study was the obvious gap which existed in the sociological research on small-town American Jewry. The overwhelming metropolitan concentration of America's Jewish population has meant that most literature focuses on Jews in the metropolitan areas of the nation. In fact, of the many empirical studies which have examined Jews in the United States only a handful have considered the non-metropolitan or small-town Jew; and of these even fewer have investigated the life of non-metropolitan Jews in the South (see Rose 1955:Chapter I; Killian 1970:80; Hero 1965:363; A. Gordon 1959:xix). There have been, nevertheless, several excellent community studies of relatively small Jewish communities in America (see Sklare and Greenblum 1967; Sklare and Vosk 1957; Kramer and Leventman 1961; Lowi 1964; Ringer 1967; Warner and Srole 1945; and Dean 1958). However, these studies have rarely attempted a comparison of the experience of non-metropolitan Jews with that of metropolitan Jews in a bounded geographical setting. Finally, to the knowledge of this researcher there has never been, other than demographic descriptions, a systematic investigation of a single Jewish community in North Carolina, or of North Carolina Jews as a whole.

It should be pointed out that a major goal of this research is to reach beyond the merely descriptive level and to seek out explanatory factors for the defined problem. This does not, however, completely overshadow the interest which exists in a description of the patterns of Jewish behavior. Such an inclusion is especially relevant because of the general need for a basic profile of North Carolina Jewry. More

importantly, there is the broader sociological concern to examine basic internal differences within one American minority and to attempt to offer, through systematic analysis, explanations for these differences. To this end it is hypothesized that a certain component of the North Carolina Jewish population experiences dissatisfaction with the quality of Jewish life available in the community. This Jewish related dissatisfaction stems from a life situation atypical for American Jews in that large Jewish communities with a range of Jewish institutions do not exist in the state. Furthermore, it is postulated that the Jewish dissatisfied component of the population will be characterized by an overall stronger Jewish identity and by definition, least assimilated. At the same time, the dissatisfied will more likely live in the smallest Jewish communities.

Chapter II of this thesis will explore the theoretical, conceptual, and operational aspects of the research; Chapter III will discuss the research design and sampling. Chapter IV will be the descriptive presentation of the data; while Chapter V will be devoted to an analysis of the hypotheses and the theoretical implications of such an analysis. A brief summary of the research and conclusions will make up Chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

SOME HISTORICAL, THEORETICAL, AND
CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONSIntergroup Relations in the United States

In examining North Carolina Jewry it must be realized that it cannot be divorced from the whole of American Jewry. Nor can a consideration of North Carolina or American Jewry be undertaken apart from the societal milieu in which it thrives. American Jews are but one of the multifarious groups who form the fabric of American society. No analysis of our society would be complete without attention to this mosaic of racial, religious, nationality, and cultural groups which provides the United States with its distinctive character.

The sociologist, in an attempt to gain insight into group behavior in general and American society in particular, has developed a set of conceptual and theoretical tools for the analysis of such groups. It is with the aid of such tools that plural societies, such as the United States (and individual groups within such societies), have been analyzed most fruitfully.

The Jew in the American perspective. In order to establish the social location of Jews in American society the mechanisms of social differentiation which operate must be briefly explored.

Historically, race (or color) has been the most important criterion of social differentiation and for admission into the upper echelons of the society. More specifically, the criterion used has been a white/

non-white dichotomy. Non-whites have generally included Black-Americans, Indian or Native-Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Rican-Americans, and a sprinkling of others. The subordination of these groups has, for the most part, meant not only unequal access to the greater rewards of the society, but also unequal access to the skills and values necessary to compete effectively for these rewards (Yetman and Steele 1971:14).

Therefore, the relative position of any one group in the American social hierarchy depends upon their definition by the majority as white or non-white. This basic fact of American life puts Jews in initial perspective. That is, from the outset they have been defined as white and their position on the social hierarchy has, correspondingly, been above that of the non-white groups.

A second factor regarding group life in America is time of immigration. It has been argued that the earlier the arrival of groups defined as white in the United States the higher their rank (Liebertson 1961). This tends to be true, not only between groups, but within groups as well. More precisely, given a specific ethnic or racial group it is generally found that the longer families in that group have been in America the higher their socio-economic status. Among white groups, for example, it would be expected that Jews and Italians would be approximately equal in rank because their respective large scale migrations coincided historically.

The predominance of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants among the founders and early settlers of the United States insured that the character of the basic institutions would be defined by this group. The forced subordination of the indigenous Indians and the imported black slaves, coupled

with a largely Protestant and Western European immigration pattern through the mid-1800's, left the country's basic institutional structure unchallenged. It wasn't until the second half of the nineteenth century that large scale migrations of Eastern and Southern Europeans began. And it was the presence of these groups which inhibited the development of a relatively homogeneous white America.

The migrants were unlike earlier ones in several significant respects: (1) a majority were Catholic; (2) they included the first large-scale contingent of Jews to come to America (so many as to make the United States the nation with the world's largest Jewish community by the time of World War I); and (3) they came from the lower rungs of their native societies, being thrust from a feudal-like, agrarian background of relative poverty into the midst of a rapidly industrializing and urbanizing society.

The shift to a migrant peasant profile served as an initial impediment to progress and as a justification for the majority's contempt and discrimination, but was gradually erased with passage of a few generations on American soil. The Catholic and Jewish characteristics were not obliterated, however, but were retained with such strength that they provided a genuine basis of difference within the prevailing white majority. These religious differences became the foundation of separate identities among the formerly homogeneous whites. Initially, those with the same religion were further distinguished on the basis of country of national origin. However, as the second and third generations appeared on the scene the emphasis moved from a "national background" or "ethnic" identification to a largely religious identification. This basic theme, that white American society can be analyzed as a "triple-melting pot"

along religious lines, is the central thesis of Will Herberg's Protestant-Catholic-Jew (1955), and although not the specific issue addressed, is the underlying assumption of Gerhard Lenski's The Religious Factor (1961). It is the "triple-melting pot" perspective that has provided one overview of the Jew's place in the American social structure. And it is a perspective worth examination.

The "triple-melting pot" thesis. The "triple-melting pot" thesis* has not been severely challenged as it related to American Jewry. It has been frequently noted that the initial distinctions drawn among Jews (between German Jews, Polish Jews, and Russian Jews, for example) had by the third generation been largely erased. Research by Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy (1952) has tended to support this interpretation for all three major U.S. religious groups. Using a longitudinal analysis of inter-marriage in New Haven, Connecticut, she uncovered a pattern of ethnic (defined "national background") exogamy with religious endogamy. Kennedy's basic argument is that ethnicity is dying a slow death through the frequency of inter-ethnic, yet intro-religious marriages.

Although little dispute has accompanied the above argument as it pertains to America's Jews, there has been significant objection to the "Herberg thesis" as it relates to America's Catholics. Nathan Glazer and Patrick Moynihan (1963) in a comparative, but largely descriptive, analysis of the five major ethnic groups of New York City, argue that the three of these who are Catholic--the Irish, Italians, and Puerto Ricans--have not, as the above analysis would imply, merged into one Catholic ethnic group. Each retains some separate ethnic identity. In a more

*Also referred to as the "Herberg thesis."

recent work on the issue of ethnic variation among Catholic Americans, Harold Abramson (1973) provides empirical evidence which also tends to refute the "triple-melting pot" thesis. Using a national sample of white Catholics classified into ten separate ethnic groups, Abramson (1973: Chapter 5) documents the great diversity in religious behavior among these Catholic communities. Data are presented which tend to contradict Kennedy's analysis of intermarriage patterns. It was found that more than sixty percent of all Mexican, Puerto Rican, and French-Canadian marriages were ethnically endogamous and that even the Irish and German Catholics, most of whom are at least third generation Americans, married within their ethnic group forty percent of the time (Abramson 1973:66). It might be argued, however, by looking at these figures differently, that a 40 percent exogamous rate among the most ethnically endogamous Catholic groups will, with the passage of a few more generations, seriously dilute the ethnicity of America's Catholic ethnic groups. Not only is there the question of what absolute rate of exogamy threatens the maintenance of the ethnic group but also a more important question, to which Abramson did not address himself, i.e., "what aspects of ethnic identity are retained in inter-ethnic marriages within American Catholicism?"

Historically, then, American Jews, like Catholics, did attach significance to national background with the earlier German arrivals (mid-1800's) not only snubbing but sometimes even disclaiming ties to the later arriving East European Jews (late 1800's and early 1900's) (Weinryb 1958:4-22). With the passage of time, however, these nationality differences have tended to disappear. Even more significantly, the internal differences among American Jews have been largely ignored by the

non-Jewish majority. As is frequently the pattern in majority-minority contact situations the majority's determination of the minority's identity did not extend beyond the basic differentiating characteristic (Shibutani and Kwan 1965:200-208).

In summary, the Jews in America have not suffered the disability of race which many American minorities have encountered. With the majority of American Jews arriving in the United States between 1880 and 1910, a period coinciding with the arrival of a majority of America's Catholics, there appeared on the American scene two white groups who, despite their individual goals, would not be merged into the mainstream white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant majority. They would occupy a place somewhere between the majority and the non-white minorities. At the same time, the evolution of American society into a religious trichotomy created a legitimate niche into which the Jew could comfortably fit.

American Jews in a Minority Group Framework

The broad overview of ethnic stratification in the United States provides only the preliminary basis for a conceptual framework from which to view an American minority group. In order to understand what a Jew is it is necessary to define a minority/ethnic group in terms of the boarder social system. At the same time, these conceptual distinctions, along with the more specific questions regarding the definition of a Jew, will establish the key issues surrounding Jewish identity--the major focus of this discussion.

The concepts of minority group/ethnic group. "Minority group" usually refers to any group, regardless of its numerical size, which does not exert significant control in the political and economic sectors of the

society and has been denied equal access to the rewards of the society (Yetman and Steele 1971:4; Gittler 1956:vii). The concept "minority group," therefore, is usually employed in a power or conflict framework. Although "minority group" has become the most inclusive term it does not take into account distinctive cultural or physical features. Groups differentiated on the basis of cultural criteria are generally defined as ethnic groups; whereas groups distinguished by physical criteria are referred to as racial groups. From this perspective ethnic or racial groups may or may not be minority groups.

Newman (1973:35), in an attempt to reduce this confusion, has developed a threefold typology of minority groups based on the nature of the group's variance from archetypes or norms. A physical minority group, according to Newman, would vary from other groups in appearance; a cognitive group would vary in beliefs; and a behavioral group would vary in conduct. Newman maintains that Jews would be a cognitive minority in this typology.

Newman's typology is instructive but it ignores significant variables. The crucial notions of "consciousness of kind" and an "interdependence of fate" are absent. Note the following definitions of an "ethnic group" which appear in the literature:

- (1) "A collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood." (Schermerhorn 1970:12)
- (2) "Individuals who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of common ancestry, real or fictitious, and are so regarded by others." (Shibutani and Kwan 1965:47)
- (3) "A group with a shared feeling of peoplehood." (M. Gordon 1964:25)

(4) "An ethnic group is similar to Tonnies' *gemeinschaft* in that it is a community based on emotional bonds, a homogeneous cultural heritage, and a common desire for preservation of the group." (Francis 1947:395)

The ideas of "sharing of an historical past," "focusing on a set of symbolic elements," "conceiving of themselves as being alike," "a shared feeling," "emotional bonds. . .and a common desire," all contain the implicit concept of a "consciousness of kind." The principle of "interdependence of fate" is apparent in the phrase "preservation of the group" and in the very word "peoplehood."

This component of an ethnic group, "interdependence of fate," is stressed by Peter Rose (1964:12) and by Milton Gordon (1964:53) who refers to this concept as historical identification. Gordon (1964:53) defines another aspect of ethnic group identity--participational identification--which refers to an associational phenomenon in which one can feel at home with others and participate with them in various activities. From this he develops his concept of ethclass which refers to individuals who share both a common ethnic group and a common social class. It is only within the ethclass, Gordon (1964:51-54) argues, that participational identification occurs.

Three specific components of an ethnic group have been defined: "consciousness of kind"; "interdependence of fate"; and "ease of association." All of these notions are contained in Robin Williams' (1964:18) definition of a "people," as "a fully developed collectivity having the following characteristics: (1) a distinctive culture; (2) tests or criteria of membership; (3) a set of constitutive norms regulating social relations both within the collectivity and with outsiders; (4) an awareness of a distinct identity by both members and non-members; (5) obligations of solidarity, such as enforced requirements to help members in

need to resist derogation by outsiders; (6) a high capacity for continued action by the collectivity on behalf of its members or of itself as a unit." Williams' features of a "people" correspond roughly to the definitive components of Jewish ethnicity as developed (both conceptually and operationally) in Chapter IV. It is in reference to Williams' definition of a "people" that the essentials of Jewish identity can be understood.

To summarize, Jews in the United States are both a minority group (they do not exert significant control in the political and economic sectors of the society) and an ethnic group (they are differentiated on the basis of distinctive cultural differences).

The definition of a Jew. To more clearly delineate the specific components of Jewish identity it is necessary to examine a more basic and complex question of "What is a Jew?" By investigation of the issues which surround Jewish definition we hope to illustrate the complexities of these issues and, at the same time, provide necessary background for the conceptualization of Jewish identification to follow in Chapter IV.

It is argued that a Jew cannot be defined simply as one who practices the Jewish religion. The major case against such a definition is that, for Jews, unlike other religious groups, there is tied up within the religion itself a sense of peoplehood or nation (Glazer 1957:3; Sklare 1971:26). Glazer (1957:48), for example, maintains that Jewish ethnic elements have become essential ingredients of the Jewish religion. He argues that the Jewish Bible is also the history of the Jewish people and that within the Jewish religion numerous ceremonies are devoted to the celebration of that history. Glazer (1957:7) also notes the anti-religious tendencies of Zionism and the anti-nationalist tendencies of

Reform Judaism which, in their respective failure to gain significant Jewish support, document the inextricable bond in Judaism between religion and peoplehood. Finally, Glazer (1957:4-5) argues that although the ethnic component is present in other religious bodies its demise does not significantly affect the religious nature of these bodies. For example, the gradual disappearance of Norwegian, Swedish, or Danish churches in the American Lutheran Church did not appreciably alter the basic nature of the Lutheran Church.

Another issue is raised by Sklare (1971:26) who has shown that only in modern Jewry, with the increasing threat of acculturation, has the Bar or Bat Mitzvah taken on the meaning of an official induction ceremony. Traditionally, at the age of thirteen a Jewish youth automatically became an official adult member of the group. By discounting the significance of male circumcision, Sklare argues that it is only with this new importance attached to the Bar Mitzvah, and with the relatively recent development of confirmation ceremonies, that Judaism has created a ceremony which officially confirms identity and establishes membership. In fact, the importance attached to official confirmation of Jewish identity is illustrated by the scattered cases of Jewish men who, not having had a Bar Mitzvah at the age of thirteen, have insisted upon and received such a ceremony during adulthood.*

The importance of the circumcision as an identificational ceremony also highlights the religious/ethnic overlap. For example, the process of conversion to Judaism by a non-Jew is specifically defined by Haluchah

*It could be argued that Sklare, by refusing to examine the ceremonial and ritual aspects of male circumcision, has overlooked a key religious component of the Jewish identification process.

(Jewish law) and followed faithfully by the Orthodoxy and with less rigidity by Conservative Judaism. Halachic law requires a male convert to Judaism to undergo circumcision in the same general manner as would a boy born of Jewish parents at the age of eight days. If the male in question has already been circumcised a ritual process simulating circumcision in which an incision is made into the male's genitals must be undertaken. This is mentioned only to argue that there is, at least for males, an identity ritual similar to a "rite de passage" in which membership in the group is collectively carried out. It is a collective act in that the eight day-old boy is circumcised with the full participation of the boy's closest blood relatives, frequently a rabbi, and often in the home. The fact that the circumcision is punctuated with religious ritual and is defined strictly as a religious act does not hide the obvious ethnic overtones of the ritual. Rather it highlights the confusion surrounding the religious vis-a-vis ethnic definition of Judaism. Perhaps it bears out Durkheim's contention that the roots of religion are to be found in the very nature of group life itself.

The issue regarding the definition of a Jew has arisen recently in Israel due to that country's immigration policy, which guarantees admittance to Israel and Israeli citizenship to any Jew in the world. This policy, known as "The Right of Return," has encountered problems because there have been questions raised regarding who is and is not considered a Jew, and by what criteria this is determined. To date the Israeli government has followed Halachic law, which defines a Jew as one born of Jewish parents (Sklare 1971:26). In cases in which only one parent is Jewish the Halachic legal system has maintained that unless the mother is Jewish the child or children are not considered Jewish. The question

then arises to what extent the social scientist should use the Halachic definition of a Jew when that definition is unacceptable to several million people calling themselves Jews, American Reformed Jews, for example. Yet, Orthodox rabbis, at least in the United States, do not refuse to recognize Reform Jews as Jews; rather, the general consensus is that they are Jews, but lesser Jews. It is only in Israel that the issue has had to be faced directly as a socio-political matter.

Nor is the confusion necessarily resolved by using a nominalist definition: "a Jew is one who identifies himself as being a Jew and is so identified by others." Because only nominalist criteria are employed in this definition the issue regarding strength of identity is never posed. By implying such a definition, Sklare (1971:27) argues that a crucial feature in American society is the individual's refusal to accept membership in a competing group. Because the United States government in no way imposes Jewish or other religious membership on its citizens such matters are left to individual decision or private sentiment (Sklare 1971:28). As noted earlier, Herberg (1955) argues that this private sentiment has created a situation in which Americans are encouraged to identify themselves as either Protestant, Catholic, or Jew. In America, therefore, one who was born Jewish, regardless of whether he practices Judaism or identifies ethnically with Jews, is defined as being Jewish by the very fact that he chooses not to practice Protestantism or Catholicism.

There appears to be no simple solution to the issue of the religious vis-a-vis the ethnic component in the definition of a Jew. In the discussion of dimensions of Jewish identification to follow, it will be seen that two of the three defined dimensions of Jewishness are religiosity

and ethnicity. Therefore, although the question of their separation regarding minimal Jewish identity is not addressed, their conceptualization as two separate manifestations of Jewishness assumes a central position in the research.

Assimilation or pluralism: the American pattern and the Jewish response.

To further understand the Jewish identification process in American society it is necessary to examine the process of assimilation. This will require a brief consideration of the American assimilation pattern along with conceptual clarifications of assimilation--both with special reference to the Jewish case.

A penetrating analysis of the phenomenon of assimilation in the United States is provided by Milton Gordon (1964). Gordon (1964:84-159) isolates three dominant ideological tendencies* which have been manifest at one time or another throughout American history: "Anglo-conformity"; "the melting-pot"; and "cultural pluralism." "Anglo-conformity" required a repudiation of the immigrant group's former values and behavior in favor of the adoption of the core group's (Anglo-Saxon) culture. In the "melting-pot" the immigrant group and core culture group simply merge to form a new third group which retains essential features of both groups. "Cultural pluralism" provides for the maintenance of key cultural components by each ethnic group with a certain minimum level of integration in the economic and political sectors of the society.

Some factors which must be taken into consideration when examining the presence of these processes are the goals of the majority, or core culture group, and the goals of the minority groups. Yetman and Steele

*Gordon (1964:85) also calls these "philosophies" or "goal-systems of assimilation."

(1971:255) have argued that contrasting goals between the two groups enhances the possibilities of conflict between them. It is also maintained that students of intergroup relations have been myopic in their emphasis on the features of the minority group rather than focusing upon the majority group and its methods of institutional control through which entrance into and acceptance within the core society is realized (Bierstedt 1948:700-710; Yetman and Steele 1971:6-8, 255). The importance of this reminder become apparent in Gordon's (1964:84-159) general discussion of the shifting goals of the majority vis-a-vis the minority and the consequences of these shifts for the minority and its position in the social structure. Other studies have also documented the decisive influence of prevailing majority policy on the life of various minorities (Higham 1963; Osofsky, in Yetman and Steele 1971:192-206; Lurie, in Yetman and Steele 1971:207-229; Yuan, in Barron 1967:263-267). This suggests that an explanation of the American Jews' position and their degree of assimilation in American society must take into account, not only the goals of the Jewish groups themselves, but of the majority's existing stance vis-a-vis minorities in general and Jews in particular.

We must also consider the relatively late arrival of the overwhelming majority of Jews to the United States which, according to Lieberman (1961), would facilitate their assimilation. He would argue that because the basic institutional structures had become solidified by the time of most Jews' arrival it would be less likely that they could insulate themselves from these pervasive institutions and create their own structures. This would be especially true if these institutions were relatively open to the group, the group entered freely into them, and did not attempt to create a set of parallel structures. This appears to have been the case with American Jews.

This generalization does not suggest that all of American institutions were completely open to Jews. Baltzell (1964:209-212), for example, has shown that before World War II many American universities placed restrictions on both the number of Jewish faculty and Jewish students, and significant economic and political doors were closed to Jewish citizens. Although full entrance was denied, limited entry was provided, and as the country moved into the second half of the twentieth century many of the former barriers fell. In fact, because most of the society's public institutions were relatively open to American Jews it was in those arenas defined as private that Jews were most excluded. They, therefore, created their own organizational structures to secure certain unmet needs. The most prominent examples were the creation of Jewish welfare agencies, leisure facilities, and homes for the aged and disabled. Economically, Jews were concentrated into a relatively narrow range of occupations, but within the structural framework of the larger society. However, it should be noted that Jewish penetration of America's basic institutions did not, for the most part, extend beyond the middle range positions. Effective control was maintained by factions of the dominant, non-Jewish core culture.

Assimilation as a multi-dimensional phenomenon. This brief analysis of the assimilation of Jews into American society leaves a number of questions unanswered. One of the major reasons is the very vagueness of the term "assimilation." Even a cursory review of the literature in majority-minority relations reveals both a lack of consensus in defining this concept and a general looseness with which it is defined. Therefore, to better understand the phenomenon of Jewish identity--a crucial component

of our research--it is necessary to consider the mechanisms of assimilation.

M. Gordon (1964:60-84) addresses himself to this problem by first noting that most research has conceptualized assimilation as a uni-dimensional phenomenon. He argues (1964:71) that it is multi-dimensional and defines seven types ranging on a continuum from lowest level of assimilation to the greatest level or ultimate assimilation: cultural assimilation, structural assimilation, marital assimilation, identificational assimilation, attitude receptional assimilation, behavior receptional assimilation, and civic assimilation.

Gordon's basic hypothesis is: for any minority group, the assimilation process will always proceed in stages from the lowest level indicated to the greatest level and the process may stabilize indefinitely at any given level of assimilation (M. Gordon 1964:77). He is careful to point out that there may be varying degrees of assimilation within each level or stage in the process (M. Gordon 1964:71). Assimilation, therefore, should not be conceived of as an attribute but rather as a variable.

Gordon's scheme provides the student of intergroup relations with a type of compass in which the location of a minority group in general, or an individual minority group member in particular, can be roughly determined. Gordon's typology provides a useful conceptual device for dealing with levels of ethnic group assimilation.

However, we do not explore assimilation per se in this research. Rather, it is addressed only indirectly through the measurement of degrees of religiosity, ethnicity, and strength of endogamous feelings, i.e., the three defined dimensions of Jewish identification. Just as individual Jews vary in their degrees of assimilation there is likewise

much variation in degrees of ethnicity, religiosity, and strength of endogamous feelings. It is these latter components of Jewish identification which, rather than assimilation, are the focus of our research.

The Conceptual and Operational Framework

In Chapter I the chief dependent variable and the major independent variables in this research were briefly discussed. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a more extensive examination of these concepts, their use in the relevant sociological literature, and the process by which they became operationalized for use in this study. Also, the major hypotheses which are generated for testing in this research will be examined.

Jewish community dissatisfaction - the dependent variable. The term community dissatisfaction derives from a study by Sklare and Greenblum (in Sklare 1958:288-303) in which data from a 1953 nation-wide survey of small-town Jews was used. Before examining the Sklare and Greenblum study and their use of the concept of community dissatisfaction it is necessary to define more clearly the present usage of Jewish community dissatisfaction.

Dissatisfaction with community life may exist for any number of reasons. However, it is not general dissatisfaction with community life which we are attempting to tap. Rather, it is disenchantment with the community which derives directly from one's inability to be fulfilled as a Jew. A respondent could very well be satisfied with that sphere of his life upon which his Judaism does not bear yet at the same time unhappy with the Jewish sphere of his community life. Likewise, one community will be perceived as providing fulfillment for certain Jews yet not for

others. Thus we are measuring a subjective, rather than an objective component of Jewish community dissatisfaction. Moreover, given the freedom of geographical mobility which exists in American society, it must be assumed that whatever dissatisfaction exists has not reached crisis proportions given the respondents' current residence in North Carolina.

The source of Jewish community dissatisfaction is not to be found in such formal mechanisms as institutional discrimination and forced segregation which, for the most part, do not exist. It may derive from the nuances of prejudice and the occasional manifestations of discrimination which occur, but this has not been directly tested in our research. It is hypothesized that the less strongly identified Jew will be less effective in dealing with his predominantly gentile environment and will, in turn, be less able and probably less willing than his more strongly identified counterpart to camouflage what are real differences between Jew and gentile. Again, the specific mechanisms of everyday life which create Jewish community dissatisfaction are not explored here. It is assumed that these mechanisms do operate and affect all Jews; yet, it is hypothesized that the most vulnerable Jews are those who are most Jewish.

To provide a proper framework from which to conceptualize and then operationalize Jewish community dissatisfaction, it was necessary to examine the works of Sklare and Greenblum (1958) and Peter I. Rose (1959)--the only two studies known to have employed this concept.

Limiting itself to communities with 100,000 population or less and fewer than 1,000 Jews, the Sklare-Greenblum research focused upon community dissatisfaction and attempted to disclose factors which would

explain the 28 percent dissatisfaction rate which they found. In examining various independent variables the authors present percentages and proceed to draw inferences from the noted variations. Regrettably, they did no statistical tests of significance and, although a secondary analysis of the data could proceed with such tests, it was felt that our research would be better served by noting carefully the nature of the explanatory variables employed.

Only demographic variables such as size of Jewish population and community, proximity to a large Jewish center, and degree of community organization were considered by Sklare and Greenblum. We felt that these demographic variables, although of some explanatory value, to be insufficient to explain the rather complex phenomenon of Jewish community dissatisfaction. The Sklare-Greenblum work does, however, act as a kind of springboard for the present study.

Specifically, Sklare and Greenblum found the following factors to be related to Jewish community dissatisfaction: (a) older people were more dissatisfied than younger ones; (b) lower income respondents were more dissatisfied than higher income ones; (c) in-migrants were slightly more dissatisfied than natives; and (d) respondents in the intermediate size Jewish communities (100 to 499 families) were the most dissatisfied, in contrast to those in the largest Jewish communities (500-999 families) or the smallest Jewish communities (less than 100 families). However, the rate of dissatisfaction was only slightly greater among the intermediate size Jewish cities than among the smallest Jewish communities (Sklare 1958:293). They also found that a smaller rate of Jewish community dissatisfaction existed in communities with a higher level of Jewish community organization.

Peter I. Rose (1959), in a study of small-town Jewish families in New York State, also looked at community dissatisfaction. With a sample of 190 respondents, and limited to towns with ten Jewish families or less and 5,000 residents or less, Rose found only a 14 percent dissatisfaction rate. It should be noted, however, that the question used to measure dissatisfaction, unlike that used in the Sklare-Greenblum study and in our research, referred specifically to general community dissatisfaction with no distinction made for community dissatisfaction as related to one's being a Jew.

Interestingly, Rose found no relationship between community dissatisfaction and levels of religiosity (Rose 1959:183), although he did find dissatisfaction to be directly related to the degree of disapproval of social intercourse with non-Jews (Rose 1959:193). As would be expected, the less religious the Jew the more likely he was to socialize with gentiles (Rose 1959:166). In general, Rose's data support the hypothesis that as the isolation of the Jew increases in-group consciousness also increases (Rose 1959:165). This particular finding is in direct contrast to one of the major propositions of this thesis: relative to metropolitan Jews small-town Jews, because of the relative scarcity of fellow Jews, will find it difficult to limit their social lives to other Jews. Further, because of the inevitability of occasional discomfort in everyday social interaction, which results from being Jewish and therefore different, they will experience a greater degree of overall dissatisfaction with their life situation. Neither Jewish community dissatisfaction, nor community dissatisfaction among ethnic groups in general, have been used to any extent as major variables. This research, based in part on the works of Rose and Sklare-Greenblum, attempts, therefore, to explore

the ethnic group of one American minority from a relatively different angle.

Operationalization of Jewish community dissatisfaction. It should again be noted that community dissatisfaction, as defined here, does not refer to general community disenchantment. There are, of course, many people-- Jewish or non-Jewish--who are dissatisfied with the community in which they live. The concept of community dissatisfaction, as developed here, refers to a more specific form of disenchantment: that which arises from the respondent's degree of dissatisfaction or satisfaction with the kind of "Jewish life" he is able to live in his community. Operationally, this dependent variable was determined by the question, "To what extent are you satisfied with the kind of Jewish life you are able to live in your community?"

As mentioned earlier, this question is a refinement of one used by Sklare and Greenblum (in Sklare 1958:291) in which small-town Jewish respondents were asked, "If you were a young Jewish person just starting your career, would you remain here or move elsewhere?" It is, however, oblique, leaving unclear the distinction between general disenchantment and dissatisfaction as related to one's being a Jew. Hopefully, the operational modification employed in the present study makes this distinction clear. A series of questions was asked dealing with satisfaction levels on specific Jewish related activities in the community. In addition, the respondents answered a separate set of questions about satisfaction with specific, non-Jewish related features in the community. Also, a question offering a hypothetical choice of cities in which one would live if starting his career over again was asked. Two factors were

included in the question: (a) smaller, larger, or same size city; and (b) small or larger number of Jews or regardless of Jewish population. Respondents could include present city of residence as one of the choices. This question was used as a check of the single measure of Jewish community dissatisfaction.

Explanations of Jewish community dissatisfaction. Having defined Jewish community dissatisfaction as the study's major dependent variable it was necessary to seek explanations for various levels of dissatisfaction within the North Carolina Jewish community. As mentioned above, demographic variables alone seemed insufficient as causal explanations for variations in Jewish community dissatisfaction. Thus, explanatory factors were expanded to include varying levels of Jewish identification. The concept of Jewish identification, especially as it appeared in its American context, was conceived as a multi-dimensional, rather than a single dimensional, phenomenon.*

Jewish identification, or its obverse--assimilation into the core society--is very frequently defined as the major problem of investigation in studies of American Jews. Very seldom is Jewish identification defined as the causal or explanatory variable in the research. The usage employed here has, of course, benefited from conceptual and operational clarifications of the concept in the literature. We should note first, however, that much of the empirical work dealing with American Jews has directed its efforts toward those factors which help explain degrees of assimilation. For example, in a recent work by Goldstein and Goldschieder (1968) an attempt was made to account for differing patterns of Jewishness or

*See above discussion of multi-dimensionality of assimilation.

Jewish identification in the Jewish population of Providence, Rhode Island. Generation in America, which in turn corresponds to a relatively different life experience, is seen as the major explanation for these differences. The present study, on the other hand, is not seeking explanations for the modes of Jewish identity in America. Rather, it takes as a given these differences and seeks the effects of differing levels of Jewishness upon other aspects in American life: specifically, the relative degrees of Jewish community dissatisfaction in a relatively non-Jewish environment.

Conceptualization of Jewish identification. Viewing Jewish identification as a multi-dimensional phenomenon has been common in a number of studies. In fact, of the many scales which have been developed only one was found to be (Lazerwitz 1953) built around a single dimensional analysis. The range of dimensions has been rather extensive: two scales used seven dimensions (Geismar 1954; Massarik 1962); one scale defined six (Brenner 1960); and another employed five (Rinder 1953).

Scales employed by former studies were analyzed for the purposes of this research in order that the range of approaches to conceptualizing and operationalizing various dimensions of Jewish identification could be considered. The result has been the creation of a three dimensional framework for the broader concept of Jewish identity. In the following discussion these dimensions--religiosity, ethnicity, and strength of endogamous feelings--and the issues surrounding their conceptual validity will be addressed.

Religiosity. The above discussion has isolated some of the problems of defining the nature of Jewishness. It is true that there are some

people who define themselves as Jews, and are so defined by others, who disclaim any connection to a Jewish religion. The overwhelming majority of the world's people who define themselves as Jews and are so defined by others do, however, share a common set of religious beliefs, symbols, and behaviors.

One of the basic components of any definition of a Jew is a religious one. Although American Jews may share a set of non-religious behaviors which appear to be common to all Jews, by expanding one's geographic focus it is evident that Jews in other parts of the world do not share with American Jews these non-religious behavioral patterns. What Asian, European, Latin American, and other Jews do share with American Jews is a common set of religious symbols, beliefs, and behaviors. Therefore, religion and the manifest forms it assumes is the focus of the first defined dimension of Jewish identification, religiosity.

Several sociologists have argued that religiosity comprises not one, but several dimensions (Demerath 1965; Faulkner et al. 1966; Photidias and Biggar 1962; Glock and Stark 1965; Lazerwitz 1970; Litt 1961; Yinger 1970; and Lenski 1961). That is, the way in which one manifests his religious identity, regardless of which particular religion he professes, can assume many different forms. Church or synagogue attendance, for example, would be one indicator of one type of religiosity.

Of the several scales which have been developed Glock and Stark's (1965) formulation of five specific dimensions of religiosity has received the most attention in the literature. These five dimensions are: (1) the experiential which refers to feeling or emotion as related to religious experience; (2) the ritualistic which refers to religious behavior or practice of one's religion such as church attendance or

prayer; (3) the ideological which refers to the belief system or beliefs which accompany the religion; (4) the intellectual which refers to knowledge of various aspects or tenets of one's religion; (5) the consequential which, although unlike the other four, refers to the effects of one's religion on his behavior in the secular world.

Several studies have attempted to test the interdependence of these five dimensions using a Guttman scale and they have found low correlations between the variables, thereby confirming the separateness of each dimension (Faulkner et al. 1966; Clayton 1968; and Lenski 1953). In addition, a factor analysis of eight dimensions of religiosity by Maranell (1968) produced two unnamed factors* or dimensions of religiosity. Thus, there appears to be widespread agreement that religiosity is a multi-dimensional phenomenon, less agreement about which specific dimensions make up that phenomenon, and finally, the apparent need for further empirical and theoretical work with these dimensions. Therefore, it was decided to limit the conception of religiosity and its operationalization to Glock and Stark's ritualistic dimension. The frequency of such activities as prayer, synagogue attendance, observance of dietary laws, religious rituals, and religious instruction were analyzed.

Four subdivisions of the ritualistic dimension of religiosity were: (1) Observance of Dietary Laws - this was measured by such items as use or non-use of (a) pork, (b) non-kosher seafood, (c) kosher meats, (d) separate dishes and silverware when prescribed by Jewish law, and (e) other dietary proscriptions; (2) General Ritual Observance - this was measured by determining the existence and frequency of such ritual behaviors as (a) observing the Passover with a Seder, (b) having Kiddush and

*That is, Maranell did not give names to these two factors.

lighting Sabbath candles in the home, (c) saying the Ha-Motzi (blessing over the bread) before meals, (d) laying tephillin (morning prayer ritual), (e) observance of minor Jewish holidays, (f) lighting Chanukah candles, and (g) attending minyans (quorum necessary for any Jewish religious service); (3) Importance Attached to Religious Instruction of Children - this was conceived as a third aspect of religiosity and was measured first by directly asking the parent how important it was to him that his children received proper religious training and instruction, and secondly by determining what percentage of the males had been or were to be Bar Mitzvahed and what percentage of the females had been or were to be Bat Mitzvahed. In the first case the respondent is providing a subjective evaluation of the importance he has attached to his children's religious education. In the latter case an objective indication of such importance, the occurrence of the Bar Mitzvah, is ascertained. The assumption is that the Bar Mitzvah indicates a minimal level of Jewish religious education and achievement which in turn is an indicator of the importance attached by parents to their children's religious training;*

(4) Synagogue Attendance - this was measured by general Sabbath attendance and by Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashanah attendance. The specific questions on the questionnaire which correspond to these dimensions are found in Appendix B.

*Again, this is based on the debatable assumption that the Bar Mitzvah is primarily a religious event. As discussed earlier, the American Bar Mitzvah has become a rite encompassing more than its traditional religious purpose. Sklare (1971:195) maintains that it has become the event in which formal declaration of Jewish identity is publicly asserted, and is, therefore, more an ethnic than a religious act. I contend, however, that even if it appears to be an ethnic act it remains one which is performed through religious ritual and intensive religious preparation. It is for this reason that the Bar Mitzvah is included here as a measure of religiosity rather than ethnicity. The exact measure used was the percentage of the respondent's children having been or to be Bar or Bat Mitzvahed.

These four dimensions of religiosity were next correlated with levels of Jewish community dissatisfaction to determine if such dimensions could serve as explanations of such dissatisfaction among North Carolina Jews. These results will be examined in Chapter V.

No claim is made to having exhausted the scope of behaviors related to Jewish religiosity. Rather, an attempt was made to select the most significant items for this discussion. A further limitation exists in that the frequency or quantity of religious activity could be arrived at, but not the quality of such activity. American Jews manifest their religiousness in many ways. Different religious behavioral expectations have been institutionalized in the three separate branches of American Judaism: Orthodoxy, Conservatism, and Reformism. This poses an additional problem in that, almost by definition, an Orthodox Jew is considered more religious than a Reform Jew. This is not, however, necessarily the case and the measure of religiosity used here was structured in such a way as to make it theoretically possible for a Reform Jew to receive a higher religiosity score than an Orthodox Jew. Despite these limitations, many of which are inherent in the nature of the phenomenon under investigation, it is felt that a multiple dimensional conception of religiosity, corresponding to Glock and Stark's single dimension of ritualism, can serve as an appropriate and effective measure of Jewish religiousness. The more comprehensive measure of religiosity employed here should provide greater validity than single measures, such as church attendance, used in many studies.

Other arguments can be made for defining religiosity separately from ethnicity as a dimension of Jewish identity. Yinger (1970:503) argues that American society has historically discouraged ethnic group survival

yet allows religious differentiation. Therefore, the perpetuation of Jewish identity is most easily realized by emphasizing religious, as opposed to ethnic, factors. American society's traditional emphasis on religious identity, at the sacrifice of other identities, is a theme stressed by Herberg (1955) in his analysis of America's three major religious groupings. Both authors are suggesting ways in which the dominant group has permitted minority group identification in the religious arena at the expense of other arenas. Despite this, Yinger (1970: 503-504) argues, the ethnic and cultural components of American Judaism are more salient for American Jews than the religious components. Yinger has in mind the strengthening of Jewish identification which resulted from the Nazi holocaust and the persistent threats posed to the existence of the first Jewish nation, Israel. These are both factors which command the Jew's attention, not so much as a follower of the Jewish faith, but as a member of a particular group of people. This leads to the focus on ethnicity, our second dimension of Jewish identity.

Ethnicity. Two interesting theories regarding the relative salience of religiosity vis-a-vis ethnicity should be mentioned. Sklare (1971: 32-33) and M. Gordon (1964:24-25) have both suggested that the alienation characteristic of urban life has created a need for community which in turn, is best filled by creation of ethnic contacts and loyalties. By this interpretation ethnicity, rather than religiosity, would become the focus of a Jew's identification. A comparable argument is made by Gans (1956:422-430) who maintains that the "dejudaization" process has made it more difficult for a Jew to identify religiously and therefore he must emphasize Jewish cultural or ethnic patterns to reassert his Jewish identity. The religio-ethnic debate continues; however, it was felt that

they are two separate dimensions and were so conceptualized for this research.

An ethnic group was defined earlier as a collectivity which conceives of itself as a "people" and therefore as different from others and is conceived of as both a people and different from others regardless of the basis of that difference. Ethnicity, then, is comprised of the behavioral manifestations as related to one's membership in an ethnic group. Williams' definition of a people, discussed above, includes the enumeration of many of the expectations which correspond to membership in an ethnic group. These expectations, as defined by Williams, provided the general framework for the operationalization of ethnicity. Of course, it was necessary to designate specific behaviors which would act as indicators of the more general phenomenon, namely (see Appendix B): (a) Belong to Jewish clubs; (b) Subscribing to Jewish magazines; (c) Voting for political candidates because they are sympathetic to Jewish needs; (d) Attitudes toward Israel, including monetary contributions and Israeli visits; (e) Sending children to a Jewish camp; (f) Extent of actual social interaction with non-Jews; (g) The preference for interaction with non-Jews, regardless of such actual interaction.

The distinction between actual and preferred interaction with non-Jews was made to allow for situations in which the virtual absence of fellow Jews would render the interactional pattern as predominantly gentile regardless of the respondent's preferences. For many small-town North Carolina Jews the almost complete absence of other Jews means that there can be no Jewish social affairs and Jewish cliques in which to participate. Without this operational safeguard Jews who had high ethnicity but lived in environments in which it was difficult for them to

realize this ethnicity would, according to the index, receive a low or moderate ethnicity score. It may be argued, of course, that a Jew with high ethnicity would not choose to live in a small North Carolina town in which co-religionists were few. However, studies have shown that many Jews of relatively high ethnicity do live in such towns and, although forced to have a minimal degree of social interaction with non-Jews by their very circumstances, do tend to limit this interaction to business or professional matters and to seek out fellow Jews for social matters whenever possible (Rose 1959; John P. Dean in Sklare 1958:304-320). The basic hypothesis of this research proposes that such small-town Jews with high ethnicity will, because of the lack of desired interaction with fellow Jews and the inevitable discomfort of interaction with non-Jews, find their community life dissatisfying as a Jew.

If the seven items chosen to measure ethnicity are carefully examined it will be found that all of them related specifically to behaviors or attitudes which have to do with Jews as a people rather than as a religion. Giving support to Israel, sending one's children to a Jewish camp, subscribing to Jewish magazines, and belonging to Jewish clubs, although possibly tainted with religious overtones, are mainly ethnic acts. The Jewish mother who sends her children to a Jewish camp is primarily concerned that her children mix with other Jewish youngsters in a Jewish environment. The fact that the camp may also include Hebrew classes and the singing of Hebrew songs is secondary in importance.*

*It should not be assumed that the distinction between an ethnic and a religious activity is clear-cut. Some of the items selected as indicators of ethnicity could conceivably be defined as religious. For example, the Biblical injunction which is cited every year at Passover, "Next year in Jerusalem," may be taken literally rather than spiritually by many Jews and, in turn, may act as a major impetus for a trip to Israel. They may feel greater solidarity with non-Jewish Americans than with Jewish

It was hypothesized that the higher the level of ethnicity the greater the likelihood for respondent dissatisfaction. The desire to interact with what one defines as one's people, if thwarted by the lack of access, will generate a dissatisfaction with the life situation. Inherent in this hypothesis is the assumption that foreign environments in which one's people are scarce create a sense of disenchantment, if that individual's life experience has oriented him to an environment determined and populated largely by "his people."

Strength of endogamous feelings. The survival of any group of people is dependent upon its ability to produce new members to replace the loss of old members through death or group rejection. This may take the form of open recruitment of non-members, or through reproduction and the careful socialization of its youth into the group's ways. Both methods are used by most groups to insure survival. American Jewry, by not encouraging proselytizing activity among its members, has had to depend largely on the latter method to insure group maintenance. The socialization of American Jewish youth, therefore, becomes an important matter and it is in this socialization process that the evils of out-marriage are continually stressed. High exogamy rates pose a threat to any group; especially vulnerable are groups who disdain missionary methods of recruitment. Regardless of whether American Jews regard themselves as a religious or an ethnic group, the failure to maintain a

Israelis by viewing their trip as a completely religious event rather than an ethnic action as interpreted here. Overall, however, care was taken to rid the ethnic items of religious components as much as possible. For example, in the list of magazines selected religious magazines were left out in favor of ethnically oriented ones. The same procedure was followed with the selection of clubs which were placed on the questionnaire.

high level of endogamy poses a threat. Strength of endogamous feeling, therefore, becomes a third dimension of Jewish identity which, although conceptually related to both religiosity and ethnicity can be theoretically isolated. Strength of endogamous feelings as regards one's children was the dimension of Jewish identity which was actually measured; rather than the actual rate of exogamy among a specific group or subgroup of Jews or its occurrence in a single family. It is true that the parents' attitudes affect the actions of their children but there are certainly situations in which endogamous feelings are ignored by children.

The importance American Jews attach to endogamy is evidenced by their maintenance of the highest intra-faith marriage rate among the United States' three major religious groups. The 1957 preliminary census (the last census to examine rates of endogamy by religion) showed Jews to have a rate of over 92 percent (U.S. Bureau of Census 1958:6). Although lower rates have turned up in some recent studies, Kennedy (1952: 59) found an incredibly high rate of 96 percent for the New Haven, Connecticut, Jewish community between 1870-1950.

It is almost axiomatic that Jews who find themselves in an environment in which their children have little or no opportunity for contact with other Jews will feel intermarriage as a greater threat than will Jews in a metropolitan area where such opportunities do exist. In fact, the available statistics on intermarriage show that Indiana and Iowa, the only two states which currently collect religious marriage data, have Jewish intermarriage rates of 42 percent and 49 percent respectively. Both states resemble North Carolina demographically in that the populations are less than one percent Jewish, and there is a relative absence

of large metropolitan areas. The extremely high intermarriage rate in these two states indicates that the potential threat of loss of Jewish identity is more than just perceived; it is real.

The crucial point to be made, however, is that there will be variations in strength of endogamous feelings among North Carolina Jews. It is hypothesized that the greater the absolute number of Jews in the environment the less likely will threats of intermarriage be perceived, which in turn will create the less likelihood of Jewish community dissatisfaction. How does the American Jew most vulnerable to this problem, the Jew in a relatively non-Jewish environment, respond to what Sklare (1971:193) calls, "the quintessential dilemma for the American Jew - intermarriage?"

Additional independent variables. Other than town size* and Jewish identification other independent variables were examined as possible explanations of Jewish community dissatisfaction. These included many demographic variables and several variables related to access to Jewish facilities.

The additional independent variables which were examined and tested against the dependent variable were, in the order of their appearance on the questionnaire: generation in America; length of residence in community, in North Carolina, and in the South; age; occupation and educational level (defined as social class); presence or absence of a synagogue and distance to nearest synagogue; frequency of synagogue services; presence of a rabbi in the community and if present whether he is a full-time or part-time; frequency in which religious instruction is offered

*Defined as absolute number of Jewish families in the town.

for children; frequency in which adult religious or Jewish educational classes are offered; branch of Judaism in which respondent places himself and his parents; direction of movement from parent's branch of Judaism to respondent's branch; reporting having experienced prejudice or discrimination in their community because they were Jewish and if so degree to which it was felt.

The major hypotheses. The purpose of this thesis is to test a set of logically interrelated hypotheses. Implicit in the discussion to this point has been the notion that the various defined hypotheses are indeed interrelated. Attempts have been made to illustrate the logic which supports their interrelatedness. At this point, however, each of the major hypotheses will again be defined and numbered to permit easy reference:

HYPOTHESIS #1: The fewer the absolute number of Jewish families in the community the greater the Jewish Community Dissatisfaction.

HYPOTHESIS #2: The greater the degree of Jewish religiosity the greater the likelihood of Jewish Community Dissatisfaction.

HYPOTHESIS #3: The greater the degree of Jewish ethnicity the greater the likelihood of Jewish Community Dissatisfaction.

HYPOTHESIS #4: The greater the strength of endogamous feelings the greater the likelihood of Jewish Community Dissatisfaction.

Summary. We have presented a brief overview of intergroup relations in the United States in order to locate Jews in the American social structure. Herberg's (1955) "triple-melting pot" thesis was examined as an explanation for the system of ethnic stratification which prevails in American society. It was suggested that American Jews could be most fruitfully examined from a minority group framework. American patterns of assimilation were briefly discussed along with a special reference to

Gordon's (1964) delineation of the several stages in the assimilation process.

In order to arrive at the primary conceptual features of Jewish identification several of the issues regarding the definition of a Jew were examined. At the same time, conceptual clarifications of Jewish community dissatisfaction--the dependent variable--were made to prevent confusion with general community disenchantment. Jewish identification was defined into three dimensions--religiosity, ethnicity, and strength of endogamous feelings. Religiosity was further defined into four separate dimensions: observance of dietary laws, general ritual observance, importance attached to religious instruction of children, and synagogue attendance. Ethnicity was defined by seven separate components including, among others, extent of inter-religious interaction and preference for inter-religious interaction, participation in Jewish clubs, and affinity toward Israel. Strength of endogamous feelings was measured by the importance attached to the children's marrying within the religion. A set of additional independent variables were enumerated to determine if factors other than strength of Jewish identity could explain Jewish community dissatisfaction. Finally, the major hypothesis of the research postulated that respondents who were found to be Jewish community dissatisfied were more likely to have high religiosity, high ethnicity, and strong endogamous feelings.

CHAPTER III
IN SEARCH OF THE NORTH CAROLINA JEWISH COMMUNITY

An Overview of the North Carolina
Jewish Population Structure

North Carolina is the twelfth largest state in the nation with a population of 5,082,000 (U.S. Bureau of Census 1970:Part I, 48). A majority of the state's population (62.7 percent) is concentrated in seven Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's).^{*} Of these, only two, Wilmington and Asheville, lie outside the most populous piedmont region of the state. Wilmington and Asheville are in the coastal plain and mountains respectively, the other two major geographic areas of the state. The other five SMSA's in the piedmont area are: Fayetteville-Cumberland County; Charlotte-Mecklenburg County; Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Point; Durham-Orange County; and Raleigh-Wake County. Although Jews in the state do form significant Jewish communities in towns outside the SMSA's, they are overwhelmingly distributed among these seven SMSA's.

Three major industries--tobacco, furniture, and textiles--dominate the economy of the state. Historically, the North Carolina Jew has with notable exceptions operated on the periphery of these major industries, and has occupied a middle ground in the state's economy as businessman/

^{*}Defined by the U.S. Census as "a county or group of counties containing at least one city (or twin cities) having a population of 50,000 or more plus adjacent counties which are metropolitan in character and are economically and socially integrated with central city" (1970 Census Users Guide, 1970. Part I. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 83-85).

merchant. Sprinkled throughout the state are the small Jewish businesses, many established by first generation East European immigrants who began by peddling their wares throughout the state shortly after arriving on American shores. Even in the remotest farming town in North Carolina there will usually be at least one Jewish merchant serving the community, a phenomenon common throughout the South.

Since World War II the Jewish population structure of the state has shifted away from a merchant orientation to include a significant number of Jewish professionals and industrialists. This period coincided with the rapid rise of industrialization and urbanization in much of the South. As industries from the North began relocating or expanding in the South (often in search of cheaper labor) they frequently brought with them former personnel which included a number of Jews. At the same time Jewish professionals--doctors, lawyers, and professors--began moving into the state and, most frequently, settled in the larger urban areas. Today, the occupational distribution of North Carolina Jewry appears to be similar to that of their co-religionists throughout the country. A few have become successful industrialists (e.g., textiles), but the majority are distributed in the merchant, sales, or professional categories.

Most of the existing sources on North Carolina Jews, as with Southern Jews more generally, are based upon highly personal or impressionistic accounts.* The absence of systematic social scientific research on this community has created a significant void in the total

*Characteristic of this type of work are the writings of Harry Golden (see for example the former periodical Carolina Israelite) and the recent work of Eli Evans, The Provincials. New York: Atheneum, 1973.

picture of American Jewry. This research, as an attempt to begin filling that void, provides a general profile of the state's Jewish population, while testing the hypotheses previously discussed. What follows is a detailed discussion of the methodological techniques employed in the research.

Selection of the Universe and Sample

The universe was defined as the resident Jewish families of North Carolina in late 1972 and the sample survey was the research tool selected. The definition of family was broadened to include any household in which at least one individual identified himself as Jewish. A single Jewish person living alone would be classified as one Jewish family as would a nuclear family with husband, wife, and children. In extended families, for example in cases of couples with a parent or parents living with them, families were counted as cases in the universe. This procedure corresponded with that used by compilers of the master list of Jewish families to which this researcher was given access.

Because all North Carolina Jewish families were defined as the universe of the study as complete a listing as possible of these families was required. Information was received that the North Carolina Association of Jewish Women (NCAJW) maintained an active census which was constantly updated by one of its permanent officers. Contact was made and access to the census was permitted provided no names were taken, in violation of rules. The NCAJW census provided the name of the towns and cities in North Carolina with at least one Jewish family, along with the total number of Jewish families in each of the towns. According to their data 101 North Carolina towns had one or more Jewish families in September, 1972. Although the NCAJW attempts to keep accurate records of North

Carolina's Jewish population, it is likely that these data reflect some underestimation. It is, however, the most complete census of North Carolina Jews.

The next step in the sampling procedure was the categorization of North Carolina towns on the basis of the total number of Jewish families residing in each. This was done to provide a direct test of one of the major hypotheses of the study--Jewish community dissatisfaction varies inversely with the absolute number of Jews in a community. The communities were divided into three categories: cities with 100 or more Jewish families were placed in Category I; towns with from 30 to 99 Jewish families were placed in Category II; and towns with less than 30 Jewish families were placed in Category III. Table 3-1 presents a distribution of total number of towns in each category by total Jewish families and total percentage of the state Jewish population.

A second census of North Carolina Jews was located at the North Carolina Jewish Home for the Aged in Clemmons, North Carolina, and access to names and addresses was provided. The final sample size was limited to approximately 350 due to budget and related research considerations.

The three geographical regions of the state were included in the sample. This was done by separating, within each Jewish population size category, the communities which were in the coastal plain, the piedmont, and the mountains. A rough ratio of 5:3:1 of piedmont-to-coastal plain-to-mountains was set in order to correspond somewhat to the general state population's regional lines, with some special modification in the highly Jewish populated piedmont. The separation of the communities into three geographical divisions was carried out only for the medium and small-sized communities, Categories II and II. It was not done for the largest

TABLE 3-1

NUMBER OF JEWISH FAMILIES IN NORTH CAROLINA TOWNS BY
TOWN SIZE (DETERMINED ON BASIS OF ABSOLUTE
NUMBER OF JEWISH FAMILIES)

Jewish Population Size	Total Number of Towns	Total Jewish Population of Families	Mean Jewish Population of Families	Category Population as a Percentage of the North Carolina Jewish Population of Families
Category I (100 or more families)	9	2,711	301.2	77.4%
Category II (30-99 families)	7	357	51.0	10.2%
Category III (less than 30 families)	85	435	5.1	12.4%
Total	101	3,503	34.6*	100.0%

*Determined by dividing the total family population by the total number of towns in the state having at least one Jewish family.

Jewish population category, Category I. In this category only two of the nine cities, Asheville and Wilmington, fell outside the piedmont region of the state. Because the majority of cities in this Category I were in the piedmont and because this research was being undertaken as a Master's thesis at a state university in the second largest city of the piedmont and the state, it was decided to select this city, Greensboro, as the one city to be sampled in the large Jewish population category. It was also felt that research carrying the letterhead of the local university would possibly generate a higher rate of return from a mailback questionnaire than would be expected if one or more of the other largest cities in the state of lesser proximity were chosen.

Although the North Carolina Jewish Home for the Aged did maintain a list of families for Greensboro, information was received that a possibly more comprehensive and up-to-date census was available locally. The individual responsible for this census was contacted and access to the census was granted. It did not appear that the local census was, in general, more up-to-date than that maintained by the Jewish Home for the Aged, but the separate Greensboro census became the source for the Greensboro sample.

Fifteen towns were selected for Category III (less than 30 Jewish families) including six from the coastal plain, seven from the piedmont, and two from the mountains. Five towns were chosen for Category II (30 to 99 Jewish families) with two each from the piedmont and coastal plain and one from the mountains. The exact breakdown, including number of respondents sampled from each town and the total from each category, is available in Table 3-2 and Table 3-3. An attempt was made to be

TABLE 3-2

FINAL SELECTED SAMPLE - CATEGORY III
(TOWNS OF LESS THAN 30 FAMILIES)

Coastal Plain	Piedmont	Mountains
Ahoskie (4)	Asheboro (4)	Morganton (3)
Dunn (5)	Burlington (15)	<u>Waynesville (1)</u>
Enfield (8)	Eden (4)	
Oxford (10)	Hickory (24)	Total 4
Weldon (6)	Mt. Airy (4)	
<u>Wilson (18)</u>	Statesville (18)	
	<u>Sanford (4)</u>	
Total 51	Total 73	
	Grand Total = 128	

TABLE 3-3

FINAL SELECTED SAMPLE - CATEGORY II
(TOWNS OF 30 TO 99 FAMILIES)

Coastal Plain	Piedmont	Mountains
Goldsboro (14)	Gastonia (44)	<u>Hendersonville (15)</u>
<u>Kinston (21)</u>	<u>Salisbury (17)</u>	
	Total 61	Total 15
Total 35		
	Grand Total = 111	

consistent in the percentage sampled from each town within a town size category. This was done by taking 80 to 100 percent of the families in Category III and from one-half to two-thirds of the families in Category II. It was necessary to take a relatively larger percentage of names from the towns with the fewest Jewish families, Category III, in order to insure a total sample size somewhat equal to that of the other two size categories.

For Greensboro, the only city chosen for the large town size category (Category I), the final selected sample was 110. A grand total for the three town size categories was 349. It will be noticed that the total sample was somewhat larger for the smallest town size category (Category III) than for Category I or Category II. This was prearranged because it was felt a lower percentage response rate would characterize the category with the smallest Jewish population. As the returned results show this hunch was proven to be correct.

One aspect of the sampling procedure should be mentioned because it bears directly upon the interpretation of the data. The sample was not drawn so as to insure equal chances for selection of all the Jews in the state. Jews living in Categories II and II were oversampled in relation to their total percentage of the population; whereas Jews in Category I were undersampled in relation to their total percentage of the population. This is explained by the fact that a relatively equal number of responses was desired from each of these Jewish population categories. Because Category I contains 77 percent of the state's Jewish population but only 31.5 percent of the selected sample it is apparent that this category is highly underrepresented in the final sample. Table 3-4

TABLE 3-4

THE THREE JEWISH TOWN SIZE CATEGORIES BY PERCENTAGE OF
THE TOTAL JEWISH POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE
OF THE SAMPLE SELECTED

Jewish Town Size Categories	Total Percentage of the Jewish Population	Total Percentage of the Selected Sample (Absolute Number)	Number of Final Responses Received (Percentage of Total Number)
Category I (Jewish population 100 or more)	77.4%	31.5% (110)	55 (33.1%)
Category II (Jewish population 30 to 99)	10.2%	32.0% (111)	54 (32.5%)
Category III (Jewish population 29 or less)	12.4%	36.5% (128)	57 (34.4%)
Total Sample Size = 349	Total Responses = 166	Percentage Response = 47.5% (Response Rate)	

should illustrate this more clearly.*

A mail-back, four page questionnaire with a cover letter was sent to 349 male heads-of-household chosen in the sampling. Ideally, separate questionnaires could have been constructed and sent to both the male and female of the household. However, financial considerations prevented this.**

Questionnaires were not identifiable in terms of individual respondents to insure anonymity and, hopefully, a higher return rate. The problem of determining from which town the returned envelope came still had to be solved. Recent postmark practices by the U.S. Postal Service in which city origin was no longer printed on the letter created a problem. The only solution available was to use three different stamp issues on the return envelopes to correspond to the three town size categories. This proved successful but it was not possible to determine from which specific town the envelope came nor from which geographic region of the state it came. Therefore, no analysis of rates of return by specific city or specific geographical region could be made.

*All of this should be kept in mind especially in a descriptive analysis of the data. For example, it might be found that a certain proportion of the respondents keep kosher homes. In attempting to generalize this to the total population of North Carolina Jews it should be remembered that a large segment of North Carolina's Jews, those residing in the largest cities, were undersampled, and a small segment of the state's Jews, those living in communities with less than 100 Jewish families, were oversampled.

**In order to justify this decision we contend that, because the Jewish religion prescribes a larger role for the male than for the female in most spheres of Jewish religious activity, measures of religiosity are more applicable to the male than to the female. From another point of view it could be argued that the male is in a better position than the female to report on the total range of Jewish religious activities which are performed.

Table 3-4 gives the figures on returns and return rates. There were a total of 166 usable returns, representing a 47.5 percent return rate. A follow-up contact might have appreciably improved the rate of response, but again financial considerations mitigated against a second mailing.

The response rate for Category III proved to be the lowest, but the oversampling of this group resulted in an absolute return slightly larger than that of the other two categories. Fifty-five responses were returned from Category I for a 50 percent response rate. Category II had 54 responses for a 49 percent response rate. Category III had 57 responses but because of the somewhat larger number sampled from this category it had, as was predicted, the lowest percentage return rate of 41 percent.

Summary

In examining the population structure of North Carolina we find that 63 percent of the state's total population reside in seven SMSA's whereas over 77 percent of the state's Jewish population live in these metropolitan centers. However, the universe was defined to include all the resident Jewish families in North Carolina in 1972. From this universe a multi-stage sample of the state's Jewish families was drawn. The sample was stratified on the basis of town size as determined by the number of Jewish families living in each town and by geographic region of the state. Jews from the town with the fewest number of Jewish families were oversampled and those living in the largest cities were under-sampled. This policy was made in the decision to give highest priority to the theoretical orientation of the research. A response rate of just less than 50 percent did not approach expectations but it was not felt to

be so low as to invalidate the findings. The theoretical objective of obtaining a relatively equal absolute return for the three Jewish town size categories was realized.

CHAPTER IV

A PROFILE OF THE NORTH CAROLINA JEWISH COMMUNITY

Introduction

We have shown that North Carolina Jews are demographically atypical of American Jews. They occupy the Jewish hinterland, while most of their co-religionists have clung to the relative security of America's large urban centers where Jewish neighborhoods and synagogues abound. The inner-city ghettos, serving as a grim reminder of the past, have been replaced by Jewish or mixed neighborhoods in suburban metropolitan areas. For these people the Jewish flavor is available regardless of whether one's taste is religious, ethnic, linguistic, or culinary.

In North Carolina, however, there is no such thing as a Jewish neighborhood. There may be scattered blocks in some of the state's largest cities in which the number of Jewish families equals the number of gentile families, but their total is insignificant. Nor are there Jewish community centers, or schools which are forced to close on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur because of the absence of many faculty and students. Jews in North Carolina live in a world which is dominated by gentiles. The only Jewish institution is the synagogue.

In many ways the experiences of the North Carolina Jew are unlike that of the majority of his co-religionists. What effects do these experiences have upon him? Does it make him more or less religious? Is he more or less likely to seek out fellow Jews as companions? To what extent does he retain or modify his Jewish identity?

We shall attempt to answer some of these questions through a descriptive analysis of the sample. Comparisons of our data with those of other related studies will be made, for such comparisons serve to highlight both similarities and differences which mark modern American Jewry.

General Demographic Factors

Age. The 1957 preliminary census, which included persons 14 years of age and older, showed the median age of Jewish respondents in the nation to be 44.5 years (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1957). Table 4-1 shows the median age of the North Carolina Jewish sample to be 50.5 years. This difference might be significant were it not for certain biases in the North Carolina sample: (1) The universe was defined as "all adult Jewish males in the state of North Carolina," but enumerations excluded many young adults who have not yet established their own home; (2) Some single adult males, living in households separate from their parents, were counted as part of their parents' household. Therefore, most of the difference between the North Carolina and national census is explained by variations in age-range of samples.

However, data from other studies indicate a community of "older Jews" relative to other communities in the nation. Seligman (1958:54-55) compared Jewish samples from fourteen major U.S. cities and found a range of median ages from 28.4 to 39.8. A more recent study (Sklare and Greenblum 1967:22) shows a median age for men of 43.1. The same study (Sklare and Greenblum 1967:22) found three percent sixty years old or older which, as Table 4-1 shows, is considerably less than the 27 percent of the North Carolina sample.

TABLE 4-1

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA JEWISH SAMPLE
(ADULT MALES 20 YEARS OLD AND OVER),
BY PERCENTAGE

Age Category*	Absolute percentages (Absolute number in parentheses)	Cumulative Percentage
20-24	2 (4)	2
25-29	2 (3)	4
30-34	5 (9)	10
35-39	8 (14)	18
40-44	13 (22)	31
45-49	17 (28)	48
50-54	13 (22)	61
55-59	11 (18)	71
60-64	12 (20)	83
65-69	5 (9)	89
70-74	5 (8)	94
75-79	3 (5)	97
80 and over	<u>2 (3)</u>	98**
Total	98** (165)	

*North Carolina Jewish Sample: Mean Age = 51.7 Median Age = 50.5;
North Carolina Male Population 20 Years Old and Older 1970: Median
Age = 49 (U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1970. Population Reports - North
Carolina.)

**Less than 100 percent due to rounding off for each category.

Generation in America. That Jews are a relatively new group in our society is illustrated by the fact that only a small minority of them can claim great-grandparents who were American. In the North Carolina sample only ten percent of the respondents could claim American ancestry to their great-grandparents, or beyond. Thus, most American Jews are first, second, or third generation American. Among other studies of Jewish communities only Sklare and Greenblum (1967:32) found as many as nineteen percent of their sample to be fourth generation.

In most communities second generation Jews outnumber the first and third generations. For example, Axelrod et al. (1967:36) report that 50 percent of the Jews in their Boston sample were second generation and Sklare and Greenblum (1967:22) report 39 percent of Lakeville's Jews to be second generation. In the North Carolina sample this pattern holds, with 53 percent reporting second generation status.*

It has been argued that the foreign born Jews--the first generation Americans--are found in disproportionate numbers in cities. Sklare (1971:47-48) cites the following foreign born statistics for four large American cities: Providence, Rhode Island--26 percent; Milwaukee--28 percent; Boston--22 percent; and New York City--37 percent. This compares with Sklare and Greenblum's (1967:32) Lakeville--a mid-Western suburb of a large metropolitan center--in which only 8 percent are foreign born, and with North Carolina where only 11 percent of the Jewish population was found to be foreign born.

Table 4-2 provides generational data for North Carolina, Lakeville and Boston. From these data it can be seen that the third generation

*Defined here as both parents or one parent and one grandparent having immigrated to America.

TABLE 4-2

GENERATION IN AMERICA OF AMERICAN JEWS
(IN PERCENTAGES)

	North Carolina sample	Lakeville*	Boston**
First Generation	11	8.0	22.0
Second Generation	53	39.0	50.0
Third Generation	26	31.0	26.0
Fourth Generation	10	19.0	-

*Lakeville - from Sklare and Greenblum (1967:32)

**Boston - from Axelrod et al. (1967:36)

will shortly eclipse the second generation as the largest group in the Jewish population, and a sizeable fourth generation will emerge. The fact that there has been no significant inflow of Jews into this country since World War II, and that the majority now choose to migrate to Israel rather than the United States has ramifications, not only for the demographic composition of American Jewry, but for the modes of Jewish identity which they will develop in the future.

Geographic Origins. A somewhat related phenomenon is the geographic origins of the respondents. Only 23 percent (38 out of 166) of the sample were natives of the community they were currently residing in. A majority of the respondents (54 percent) had come to North Carolina from a state outside the South as opposed to 19 percent who had left another Southern community for their present residence in North Carolina. Only four percent of the sample had come directly to North Carolina from a

foreign country. Therefore, only 42 percent of those sampled were native Southerners. Moreover, fifty percent of the respondents had lived in the state less than 25 years, and 67 percent less than 36 years.

Also of interest is the size of city the respondents resided in prior to moving to North Carolina. Approximately 82 percent had moved to a smaller city by coming to North Carolina. In contrast, only six percent of the in-migrants had moved to a larger city.

The high percentage of in-migrants among the state's Jewish population causes one to question the possibility that a solidly entrenched Jewish community could have established itself in such a short time. At the same time it could be argued that these relative newcomers have had less time to establish a set of adaptive mechanisms to the largely gentile environment. The important point to remember, when examining patterns of Jewish behavior among North Carolina's Jews, is that a small majority of this group has roots in the larger Jewish centers of the nation. Their response to the North Carolina situation has been colored, not only by North Carolina residence, but by past experiences as well. Accompanied by past referents which reach beyond the state's boundaries these in-migrants may view their situation from a different perspective than native North Carolina Jews.

Education. Historically, Jews have placed a cultural premium on education. Two reasons are ordinarily cited for this emphasis. First, the Jewish religion has always maintained the primacy of Talmudic study. The most sacred of all religious possessions is the Talmud; the most revered individual is the Talmudic scholar. The very word rabbi means teacher and connotes the traditional role played by the rabbi. With all Jewish

men theoretically trained and capable of performing the ritual services, it was traditionally left to the rabbi to handle the more important duties of scholarship and teaching. Therefore, Jews who migrated to America were able to transfer their skills in religious study to secular education. It was the latter which the general society rewarded.

A second explanation for the emphasis on learning issues from the history of Jewish persecution. The reality of the diaspora, in which Jews were without a homeland until Israel nationhood in 1948, created a physical instability in which material possessions were more often a burden than an asset. This fact, coupled with the persistent threat of destruction of these possessions by the prevailing majority, encouraged an emphasis on non-material possessions, specifically education. Not even the bloodiest pogrom could liquidate the knowledge and learning skills carried by "the people of the Book."

Whether or not one accepts these explanations there is no doubt that in American society Jews achieve a higher level of education than do most other groups. Seligman (in Sklare 1958:84-85), in an analysis of educational data from ten American cities* shows that, without exception, Jews obtain a much higher educational level than the general population.

As Tables 4-3 and 4-4 indicate, the data from the North Carolina Jewish sample corroborates these findings. Table 4-3 gives the percentage of Jews who have graduated from college in various communities and, when available, the comparable figures for the general population. In communities for which comparative data are available the Jewish population shows a significantly higher proportion of college graduates than the

*Los Angeles, Newark, Atlanta, New Orleans, Trenton, Camden, Indianapolis, Miami, Gary-Indiana, Port Chester-New York.

TABLE 4-3

PERCENTAGE COLLEGE GRADUATE IN THE JEWISH AND GENERAL
POPULATION OF SELECTED COMMUNITIES

City or Community	Percentage College Graduates	
	Jewish Population	General Population
North Carolina respondents' sample (1972)	50.6	7.5***
Park Forest (Gans 1955:207)	57.0	**
Providence (Goldstein and Goldscheider 1968:65)	33.8	8.6 males 6.5 both sexes
New York City (Elinson <u>et al.</u> 1967)	27.4	**
Lake City (Kramer and Leventman 1961:137)	63.2*	**
Lakeville (Sklare and Leventman 1967:27)	53.0	**
Upper State New York (Rose 1959:Chapter 6)	70.0	**
United States Male population 25 years old and over (U.S. Census 1970)	**	13.5

*Third generation Jews only; 14.4 percent of second generation Jews.

**Figures not available.

***North Carolina male population 14 years old and over (1970).

TABLE 4-4

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA
JEWISH SAMPLE,*** BY PERCENTAGE

Highest Education Achieved	North Carolina Jewish Sample	North Carolina male population** (14 years or older)	U.S. Male population** (25 or over)
Completed less than seven years of school	2 (101*)	17	12
Completed seventh, eighth, or ninth grades	3 (99)	27	17
Completed tenth or eleventh grade but not high school	4 (96)	18	18
Completed high school	14 (92)	21	28
At least one year of college (up to all but graduation)	27 (78)	8	11
College graduate	31 (51)	5	7
Graduate or professional training beyond the B.A. degree	20 (20)	3	7
	101*	99*	100

() = Denotes cumulative percentages.

*Due to rounding off.

**U.S. Census of the Population. 1970. United States Summary.

***A stratified, random sample.

host community. For example, our data show that whereas college graduates comprised over 50 percent of the North Carolina Jewish sample they were less than eight percent of the total North Carolina male population and less than fourteen percent of the total United States male population. Table 4-4, which provides a percentage breakdown for each level of educational achievement, again illustrates that North Carolina's Jews fare well educationally when compared with the general North Carolina and United States populations. For example, only 25 percent of the general U.S. male population and less than 16 percent of the North Carolina male population has had at least one year of college compared to 77 percent of the North Carolina Jewish sample (U.S. Census 1970). Furthermore, in studies which examined educational achievement by generation among American Jews it was found that as the number of generations in the country increases the level of educational attainment also increases, sometimes dramatically. As Kramer and Leventman (1961:137) illustrate 63 percent of the third generation Jews in Lakeville had completed college compared with only 14 percent of the second generation.

Interestingly, as Table 4-3 reveals, the larger the Jewish community the smaller the overall percentage of college graduates. For example, New York City reports the lowest percentage of Jewish college graduates of the communities examined. The highest percentage of college graduates is found in Peter Rose's study of small town Jews in upper New York State. This reflects, among other possible factors, the greater percentage of the foreign born residing in the largest cities. It is this group of Jews who have, as previously mentioned, the lowest level of educational achievement.

Social Class. There is evidence that American Jews, when compared to the general population, are distributed disproportionately in the higher socio-economic strata (Westoff 1964:43-53; Chenkin 1963:65-68). Most studies show a majority of Jews to be white collar. Rose (1959:Chapter 6), using the self-placement method of measuring social class, found that 74 percent of his sample of small town Jews in upper New York State placed themselves in the upper-middle class. Only twelve percent felt they were upper class and the same percentage designated themselves as lower middle class (Rose 1959:Chapter 6). Glazer and Moynihan (1963:144) point out that New York City is the only major community with a significant Jewish working class. They also maintain, however, that a high rate of upward social mobility is slowly depleting the ranks of New York's Jewish working class.

Although no hard data are available, it is generally believed that the fewer the absolute number of Jews in a community the lower the percentage of Jews in the working class. If one accepts the self-placement method of measuring social class as legitimate then Rose's (1959: Chapter 6) data support this view. The objective measure employed in the North Carolina sample likewise produce data supportive of this argument. Using Hollingshead's (1965) two-factor (education and occupation) index of social class (ISP = Index of Social Position) only two percent of the North Carolina sample could be placed in Class IV and none could be placed in Class V. If occupation alone is examined, no respondent in the North Carolina sample falls into one of the three lowest occupational levels in Hollingshead's scheme, i.e., skilled manual employees and small farmers; machine operators and semi-skilled employees and tenant farmers; and unskilled employees, persons on relief, and the unemployed (see

Hollingshead 1965:6-8). Rather, almost 34 percent of those sampled fall into the highest occupational level and 90 percent are in the top three occupational categories.* Thus, the North Carolina sample follows the national pattern in the disproportionate placement of Jews in the middle and higher social classes. As shown by Table 4-5, 91 percent of the North Carolina sample falls into one of the first three of Hollingshead's five social classes.

The fact that American and North Carolina Jews are heavily concentrated in the middle and higher levels of the social stratum should not blind one to the significance of social class differences within the Jewish community. In their study of "North City" Kramer and Leventman (1961:77) distinguish between the "clubniks," who are lower-upper class and upper-middle class, and the "lodgniks," who are middle and lower-middle class. Their general conclusions, based on second generation Jews, are that the higher class "clubniks" have a much higher level of interaction and assimilation into the core community than the "lodgniks." More specifically, the "clubniks" are more likely to be Reform; to inter-marry; to belong to non-Jewish organizations; be active in non-Jewish causes; live in non-Jewish neighborhoods; have gentile friends; attend synagogue infrequently; and observe the Jewish dietary laws infrequently (Kramer and Leventman 1961:70-120).

The important conclusion to be drawn from Kramer and Leventman's research is that social class proved to be one important, if not the most important, determinant of variations in Jewish identification and assimilation. Although they were not interested in Jewish identification per

*Level 1 = executives and proprietors of large concerns, and major professionals; Level 2 = managers and proprietors of medium-sized businesses and less professional; Level 3 = administrative personnel of large concerns, owners of small independent businesses, and semiprofessionals.

TABLE 4-5

SOCIAL CLASS* OF THE NORTH CAROLINA JEWISH SAMPLE
(IN PERCENTAGES)

Social Class (I through V is highest to lowest social class)	Percent of Total (Absolute number in parentheses)	Cumulative percentages
Class I	22 (35)	93**
Class II	38 (60)	71
Class III	31 (48)	33
Class IV	2 (3)	2
Class V	0 (0)	0
Retired (Note: does not fit into Hollingshead's scheme)	<u>7</u> (11)	
Total	100	

*Based on Hollingshead's (1965) two-factor (education and occupation) Index of Social Position.

**Excludes retired.

se, the importance of social class should be kept in mind. Specifically, does one who has achieved a high status position in the general community feel the pressure to define his Judaism in a way that is more compatible with the values and life style of the higher status gentiles? If so, does the relative success or failure in such adaptation provide explanations for the variations in Jewish community dissatisfaction?

Availability of community religious facilities. Before examining religious practices among the North Carolina sample let us consider the availability of religious facilities and related activities. First, it

is of interest that although one-third of the sample is from towns with less than 30 Jewish families--a category which includes eleven towns with ten Jewish families or less--only 12 percent of the respondents report no synagogue in their community. However, over half of this latter group lives within 25 miles of a synagogue, leaving approximately five percent of the total respondents who have to travel 26 miles or more to reach a synagogue. Furthermore, 85 percent of the sample report that their community is served by a rabbi, although a significant proportion of these communities (37 percent) have to settle for a part-time rabbi. Many small North Carolina towns were once served by a circuit riding rabbi who travelled from town to town, spending one or two days a month in each town on the route. This system has given way to one in which a rabbi is hired by several communities in which he divides his time.

The frequency of community synagogue services is also significant. Nationally, the number of synagogue services may range from two services each day to a few selected Sabbaths and holidays each year. Although only 13 percent of the North Carolina sample report the availability of services more than once a week, 86 percent state that services are held three or more times a month. Therefore, synagogue services are available at least once a week for a large majority of the state's Jewish population.

Two other religious activities--the availability of adult education classes and religious instruction for children--were examined. Sklare's (1971:114-117) contention that American Jews, especially those most removed from Europe, practice a child-oriented Judaism is supported by the data from the North Carolina sample. Almost 86 percent of our respondents report that religious classes are offered for their children

at least once a week. In fact, children's instruction is available more than twice weekly for almost 36 percent of the respondents. Only six percent report that no religious instruction was available for their children. This figure compares with almost 27 percent of the respondents who report that no adult education classes are offered. However, about 39 percent do have access to adult classes at least once every two weeks. Almost ten percent of those sampled are offered adult classes two or more times a week.

In conclusion, it can be said that a majority of the North Carolina sample has access to a synagogue, a rabbi, religious instruction for their children and adult education classes if they choose. So the facilities offered the opportunity for formal religious activities.* At this point we move beyond the mere description of the available facilities in order to examine the manifestations of religious identity among the North Carolina Jewish sample.

Religious Characteristics of the North Carolina Jewish Community

Religious branch affiliation. Although American Jews have had to face the problems of a religious minority in a Christian nation, their responses have varied. This variation is evident in the three distinct movements or branches of Judaism which have emerged in American society-- Orthodoxy, Reformism, and Conservatism.

Because of its strict adherence to Talmudic teachings, Orthodoxy, the traditional Judaism of the Eastern European immigrants, proved

*The availability of formal Jewish religious activities does not provide a measure of the quality of such activities, a question which will be touched upon more specifically in Chapter V.

mal-adaptative to the highly secularized American society. As Table 4-6 and other data illustrate,* only a small minority of American Jews have retained this highly inclusive form of Judaism. The large majority has chosen either Conservative or Reform Judaism.

Reform Judaism, which emerged out of the assimilative milieu of nineteenth century Germany, was quickly transplanted to American shores by German Jewish immigrants in the mid-1800's. As the first significant community of Jews in America, these German Jews further adapted Reformism to resemble the religious patterns prevalent in the Christian churches of the host society. By defining a form of Judaism rather similar to the dominant modes of Christian worship these German Jews found religion to be little, if any, detriment in their quest for Americanization.

Conservative Judaism, a uniquely American movement, was created in the early twentieth century by Jews who had rejected both Orthodoxy and Reformism: Orthodoxy because of its rigidity and the burden it created in their quest for relatively secular lives; Reformism because of its betrayal of basic Judaism with its "large-scale" secularization and, in some cases, Christianization of the Jewish religion (Sklare 1955).

Therefore, specific patterns of branch affiliation are apparent among America's Jews. First, Orthodox Jews are most likely to be immigrants to America. Few, if any, second or third generation Jews are Orthodox (Sklare and Vosk 1957:16; Goldstein and Goldscheider 1968:177; Kramer and Leventman 1961:155; Rose 1959:Chapter 6). Secondly, second generation Jews are more likely to be Conservative than Reform, whereas by the third generation this gap narrows considerably and the proportion

*Simpson and Yinger (1972:544), citing statistics for 1958, show the following estimates for American synagogue affiliation by religious branch: Orthodox, 204,815; Conservative, 1.2 million; and Reform 1.0 million.

TABLE 4-6

RELIGIOUS BRANCH AFFILIATION, IN SIX COMMUNITY STUDIES,
BY PERCENTAGE

Community Study	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Other	Total
North Carolina sample	2	48	46	4	100.0
Small towns in Upstate New York (Rose 1955:Chapter 6)	6.0	41.0	39.0	0.0	86.0
Greater Boston (Axelrod, <u>et al.</u> 1967:119)	14.0	44.0	27.0	0.0	85.0
Providence, Rhode Island* (Goldstein and Goldscheider 1968:117)	6.3	49.0	35.3	9.4	100.0
North City (Kramer and Leventman** 1961:155)	1.2	58.3	16.7	23.8	100.0
Sklare and Vosk*** (1957:16)	9.0	42.0	31.0	18.0	100.0

*Includes third generation only.

**Refers to the youngest generation, the sons.

***Refers to the youngest generation, the children.

of Reform members approaches that of the Conservative (Goldstein and Goldscheider 1968:177). All of which suggests movement out of Conservative ranks into Reform ranks from second to third generation.

The North Carolina data permitted us to examine branch movement from respondent's parents to respondents. The respective proportions for each branch were: Orthodox--32 percent for parents to 2.0 percent for respondents; Conservative--42 percent for parents to 48 percent for respondents; Reform--21 percent for parents to 46 percent for respondents. If inter-generational movement* is analyzed it is found that 23 percent of the movement was from Orthodox to Conservative, 11 percent from Orthodox to Reform, and 18 percent from Conservative to Reform. Therefore, for 53 percent of the respondents there was movement from a more traditional to a more liberal branch of Judaism. This contrasts with only a one percent movement toward a more traditional branch, i.e., Reform to Conservative or Conservative to Orthodox. There was no inter-generational movement in 46 percent of the cases, with 25 percent remaining Conservative and 20 percent maintaining their parents' Reformism. Only one respondent was raised by Orthodox parents and remains Orthodox.

It can be concluded that North Carolina Jewry fits the national pattern in both the distribution among the three branches of Judaism and in the general pattern of movement by generation from one branch to another.

Jewish ritual behavior. Judaism calls for the performance of a host of religious rituals, among which are a specific set of dietary prescriptions and proscriptions. Adherence to these rules varies widely, as does the

*Comparing respondents branch affiliation to that of their parents.

degree of importance attached to them. As one observes the three branches there is an obvious difference in the importance attached to these rules and rituals; the frequency in which they are observed varies with Orthodoxy highest and Reform lowest (Goldstein and Goldscheider 1968:200). Likewise, as the number of generations on American soil increases observance of these ritual behaviors decreases (Goldstein and Goldscheider 1968:196-201; Rose 1955:Chapter 6).

The process of ritual adherence does not derive from an encyclical passed down by rabbinical authorities of the various branches of Judaism. There is no supra-family unit which makes this decision (Sklare 1967:49). Rather, each family determines for itself which dietary and ritual practices to follow. There is, therefore, great variety in specific rituals followed. Yet, despite this variety, a set of definite patterns does emerge. As one examines the many Jewish rituals and dietary laws it becomes apparent that some have been all but deleted from the repertoire of religious behavior, others are diminishing in frequency of practice, and some are emphasized more today than in the past.

Sklare (1971:117) has discussed selective retention of Jewish religious rituals and has defined five criteria which attempt to explain why some rituals retain their importance and others do not. Retention is most likely to occur, Sklare argues (1971:114-117) when the ritual in question: (1) can be effectively redefined in terms of the secular society; (2) does not create social isolation; (3) is compatible with the majority's religious culture; (4) is child oriented; (5) is performed annually or infrequently. For example, the Jewish holiday of Chanukah has been elevated from minor to major status and been given entirely new dimensions. The obvious reason is that Chanukah coincides with Christmas and

gives many Jewish families a Jewish alternative to a major holiday of the dominant group.

The survival of certain religious rituals and the demise of others among the North Carolina Jewish population is of interest here. However, it is not only difficult, but beyond the range of this inquiry, to generate empirical explanations for these phenomena. Sklare's criteria of selective ritual retention, although speculative, do provide a useful scheme with which to consider the existing patterns and will provide a very general explanatory backdrop for the analysis of Jewish ritual practice in North Carolina.

Jewish dietary laws. Respondents in the North Carolina sample were questioned regarding their observance of specific dietary practices. The results are shown in Table 4-7 along with the limited findings of comparable studies. In general it can be said that there is minimal adherence to the dietary laws among the respondents. None of the specific dietary practices is followed by a majority of the respondents. The greatest adherence is to the proscription regarding the eating of pork, which is honored by roughly 40 percent of the sample. The only other dietary law which had more than minimal adherence is the prohibition against eating meat and milk products together. Just over 22 percent of the respondents respect this proscription. For each of the other specific dietary practices there is less than fifteen percent adherence rate.

We found North Carolina Jews to be somewhat less observant of dietary laws than the Jews in Providence, Lakeville, or Upper New York State. However, the paucity of comparative data on Jewish dietary

TABLE 4-7

JEWISH DIETARY PRACTICES IN THE HOME IN SELECTED
COMMUNITY STUDIES, BY PERCENTAGE

Dietary Practice (Arranged and numbered in Guttman Scale order)	North Carolina sample	Lakeville (Sklare and Greenblum 1967:52)	Providence (Goldstein and Goldscheider 1968:201)	Upper State New York (Rose 1959: Chapter 6)
(1) Pork is not served in the home	40	9		
(2) Do not eat milk and meat together	22			
(3.5) Non-kosher seafood is not served	15			
(3.5) Use separate dishes for Passover	15			
(5.5) Separate dishes used for milk and meat meals	10		32.6**	
(5.5) Kosher meats are bought	10	5	45.4**	17
(7) Keep kosher during Passover	6	22*		

*Defined as "Do not eat bread on Passover."

**Derived by combining the author's frequency for the categories "Always" and "Usually."

NOTE: "Kosher practices observed only when family or friends are in the home" was omitted to create a Guttman scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of greater than 0.9000 (Nie 1970:196-207). Response was 6 percent for the North Carolina sample.

Guttman Scale: Coefficient of Reproducibility = 0.9277.

practices makes conclusions suspect.

It was predicted that analysis of adherence to dietary laws would evidence a pattern allowing us to use dietary law practice as one dimension of the total phenomenon of religiosity. The emergence of a Guttman scale on dietary practice items permits the treatment of all items on that scale as one dimension.*

The eight items defined as components of Jewish dietary laws were tested to determine if they did indeed form one dimension of Jewish religiosity. With the elimination of one item in the scale, "kosher practices are observed only when family or friends are guests in our home," a valid Guttman scale was found to exist. A coefficient of reproducibility of .9000 is considered necessary to provide a good Guttman scale (Nie et al. 1970:201) and with a .9277 score for Jewish dietary law observance it can be argued that these seven items comprise one dimension. Table 4-7 arranges the scale items of Jewish dietary law observance in Guttman scale order.

General ritual practices. A series of other items related to general religious behavior were also examined. Overall, a much higher percentage of respondents participate in these general ritual practices than observe the dietary laws. Over 90 percent of the sample report that they observe

*The presence of a Guttman scale statistically establishes an internal consistency of response. This internal consistency of response justifies the treatment of all items on that scale as one dimension. For example, Table 4-7 would show, given the existence of a Guttman scale, that a respondent answering "yes" to "Do not eat milk and meat together" would also very likely answer "yes" to each of the items below it on the scale (i.e., "Non-kosher seafood is not served," "Use separate dishes for Passover," "Kosher meats are bought," "Separate dishes used for milk and meat meals," and "Keep kosher during Passover.") Likewise, one answering "no" to the last item on the scale, "Keep kosher during Passover," is very likely to answer "no" to all the other items in the scale.

a Passover Seder and over 80 percent light candles at Chanukah. Such religious activities as having a Friday night Kiddush at home, lighting Sabbath candles, honoring the Sabbath with a special Friday evening meal, attending minyans, and celebrating minor Jewish holidays were observed by from 44 percent to 53 percent of the sample. The one item with negligible participation was laying tephillin which less than four percent of the respondents observe.

From the available comparative data it does not appear that the North Carolina sample varies significantly from other communities. If anything, the North Carolina sample is somewhat more observant of these general ritual practices. Table 4-8 compares the proportion of the North Carolina sample participation with other community studies.

An attempt was made to determine, by Guttman scale analysis, if the nine items of general observance create a single dimension of Jewish religiosity. With the deletion of one item, "attendance at minyans," a coefficient of reproducibility of 0.88 is achieved. Although this is below the 0.9000 necessary for a good Guttman scale it is felt to be close enough to claim that an adequate scale of general ritual observance is obtained. Also, the coefficient of scalability of 0.61 is above the 0.60 requirement for a legitimate scale (Nie et al. 1970:201). Table 4-8 lists the general ritual items in Guttman scale order as determined by the North Carolina sample data.

Importance attached to religious instruction of children. Another dimension of Jewish religiosity is the emphasis parents place on the religious instruction of children. Nearly 86 percent of the North Carolina respondents' sons had received or were to receive a Bar Mitzvah, 64 percent of

TABLE 4-8

GENERAL JEWISH RITUAL PRACTICES (IN PERCENTAGES)

General Ritual Practice (Arranged in Guttman Scale order as determined by the North Carolina sample data)*	North Carolina sample	Upper State New York (Rose 1959: Chapter 6)	Lakeville (Sklare and Greenblum 1967:52)	Providence (Goldstein and Goldscheider 1968:201)
Attend or have a Passover Seder	91	52.0	60.0	92.3**
Light Chanukah candles	81		68.0	82.1**
Light Sabbath candles	53			
Have Friday night Kiddush at home	47	16.0	16.0	
Minor Jewish holidays are observed	46			
Friday evening meal is a special occasion to honor the Sabbath	44		30.0	
Hamotzi is said at meals	30			
Lay tephillin	4			

*Guttman Scale: Coefficient of Reproducibility = 0.8796; Coefficient of Scalability = 0.6090.

**Derived by combining the author's frequency for the categories "always" and "usually."

NOTE: "Minyans are attended" was omitted to create a Guttman scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of greater than 0.9000 (Nie 1970:196-207). Response was 52 percent for the North Carolina sample.

the daughters had been or were to be Bat Mitzvahed. Sklare and Greenblum's (1967:62) Lakeville study provided the only comparable data on Bar Mitzvahs with a 47 percent rate for that community.

The importance parents attach to their children's receipt of religious instruction was examined for the North Carolina sample. Only eleven percent feel it to be unimportant; twenty-six percent respond moderately important; and sixty-four percent think it is very important.

Synagogue attendance. A fourth dimension of Jewish religiosity was frequency of synagogue attendance. Table 4-9 provides this information for the North Carolina sample along with comparable statistics from other Jewish community studies. Surprisingly, they attend synagogue as frequently and in some cases more frequently than Jews in the five other community studies from which data were available. Another aspect of synagogue attendance is related to Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur services. The sine qua non of American Judaism, High Holiday synagogue attendance attracts the overwhelming majority of the Jewish population, including the least religious Jews. The North Carolina data bear this out with 90 percent of the Jews in the sample attending Rosh Hashanah services every year and 91 percent in attendance at Yom Kippur services. In fact, as Table 4-9 illustrates, twenty-two percent of the sample attend synagogue only during the High Holiday services.

Thus, it was found that Jewish religious behavior among the North Carolina sample is less likely to be expressed in honoring dietary laws and more likely to be manifest in general ritual observance and the importance attached to children's receipt of religious instruction. The North Carolina sample, when compared to samples from other communities, appears to be as, if not more, religious on three of the four dimensions

TABLE 4-9

SYNAGOGUE ATTENDANCE* (GIVEN IN PERCENTAGES)

	At least once a week	At least once a month	Only High Holidays	Very Seldom	Never	Total
North Carolina sample	15	33	22	29	1	100
North City** (Kramer and Leventman 1961:157)	4.8	8.3	41.7	-	20.2	75.0
Park Forest (Gans 1958:221)	0.0	11.0	30.0	-	59.0	100.0
Lakeville (Sklare and Greenblum 1967:52)	16.0	13.0		36.0*	35.0	100.0
Boston (Axelrod <u>et al.</u> 1967:139)	17.0	21.0	39.0		23.0*	100.0
Providence, Rhode Island (Goldstein and Goldscheider 1968:189)	17.8	7.4		62.1*	11.8	99.1

*In some cases liberties had to be taken in making similar but somewhat unlike scale items conform to the specific scale items used in this study.

**Refers only to the third generation or the sons.

of Jewish religiosity. It is only with adherence to the Jewish dietary laws that the sample is less religious than other communities.

Ethnicity Among the North Carolina Jewish Community

Actual and preferred social interaction. The nature of ethnicity, and the ways in which it can be manifest, were discussed in Chapter II. One indicator of this phenomenon is the extent of actual or preferred interaction one has with members of the same ethnic group. Table 4-10 presents the data from our sample for these two components of inter-religious interaction. Respondents were asked to designate their preferences and their actual behavior with regard to inter-religious interaction for five levels of social interaction. The items for the levels of social interaction were arranged on a social distance scale. The results were tested by Guttman scale analysis to determine if a social distance scale existed for actual as well as preferred interaction. With coefficients of reproducibility of 0.9389 and 0.9553 respectively for the scales of actual and preferred interaction, it was determined that two legitimate social distance scales had been derived.

Some interesting conclusions can be drawn from Table 4-10. First, only a negligible proportion of the Jewish sample preferred "mainly gentiles" in the five levels of social interaction. Yet, the actual interaction patterns reveal that even for the two most intimate levels of social interaction approximately one-fifth of the respondents reported "mainly gentile." For the least intimate level of social interaction on the scale, "as neighbors," less than six percent of the respondents preferred "mainly gentile" while almost 59 percent reported their actual neighbors to be "mainly gentile." This gap between preference for

TABLE 4-10

INTER-RELIGIOUS INTERACTION AND INTERACTION PREFERENCES
 AMONG THE NORTH CAROLINA JEWISH SAMPLE
 (IN PERCENTAGES)

Social Distance*	Mainly Jewish		Mixed		Mainly Gentile	
	Actual Interaction	Preferred Interaction	Actual Interaction	Preferred Interaction	Actual Interaction	Preferred Interaction
(1) As closest friends	48	43	35	54	17	2
(2) As social company when going out for the evening	39	34	41	63	20	2
(3) At social affairs	32	32	42	64	26	3
(4) Clubs and organizations belonged to	16	20	46	77	39	2
(5) As neighbors	5	15	36	78	59	6

*From least social distance (1 = as closest friends) to greatest social distance (5 = as neighbors).

NOTE: Guttman scale for actual interaction - Coefficient of reproducibility = 0.9389.
 Guttman scale for preference in interaction - Coefficient of reproducibility = 0.9553.

interaction and the actual life situation should provide some clues for explanations of Jewish community dissatisfaction.

By analyzing another one of the response choices, "mainly Jewish," some additional conclusions can be drawn. For all five levels of interaction the gap between actual and preferred interaction ("mainly Jewish") is rather small. In fact, for the two most intimate levels of social interaction, "as closest friends" and "as social company when going out for the evening," the actual interaction exceeds the preferred interaction. It is only with the least intimate level of interaction, "as neighbors," in which the preference is significantly greater than the actual behavior. From this it appears that in no case do a majority of the Jews in the sample either have or prefer mainly other Jews in any one of the five levels of interaction. In fact, for all five levels the preference is to interact with a mixed group.

From the above, it can be said that North Carolina's Jews have "come out of the ghetto." At the same time, there is a reluctance to exclude their fellow Jews from their lives. The only clue to causes of Jewish community dissatisfaction lies in the much lower percentage of preferences for a "mainly gentile" milieu than respondents actually experience. In other words, some dissatisfaction may be generated by the disenchantment with an overwhelmingly gentile environment.

Compared to other Jewish communities for which data are available (all outside the South), North Carolina's Jews report a higher interaction level with gentiles. For example, Kramer and Leventman (1961:170) found that 47.6 percent of the second generation and 17.9 percent of the third generation in North City live in predominantly Jewish neighborhoods. This compares with only five percent of the North Carolina respondents.

North Carolina Jews are also less desirous of living in a predominantly Jewish neighborhood (fifteen percent) than are Kramer and Leventman's (1961:170) third generation sample (36.4 percent). Sklare and Greenblum's (1967:272) data show that 89 percent of the Jews in Lakeville choose other Jews as their closest friends. Again, this contrasts with roughly half (48 percent) of the North Carolina respondents who report that their closest friends are mainly Jewish.

Rose (1959:178) argues that the fewer the absolute number of Jews in a community the more likely these Jews are to socialize with one another than with non-Jews. We did not test Rose's hypothesis. However, the fact that North City and Lakeville report higher rates of Jewish interaction than found in North Carolina would serve to refute Rose's hypothesis.*

Ethnic affinity toward Israel. Another component of ethnicity, relating to the phenomenon of Jews as a people, is the attitude and behavior of the individual Jew vis-a-vis Israel. Several questions examined this aspect of ethnicity. Respondents were asked to assess their feelings

*Gans (1958) has explored several interesting aspects of the interaction situation which, although not examined among the North Carolina Jews, should provide future avenues of investigation. First of all, Gans (1958:226) discovered a day/night pattern of association among the Park Forest community. Inter-ethnic contact was the rule during the day but at night and on weekends social interaction was limited largely to one's co-religionists. Gans (1958:227), by distinguishing between the quality of interaction and the quantity of interaction, shows that for the most part "neighboring" crossed ethnic and religious lines but "friendship" did not. Also, segregation was the rule for leisure activities with the exception of organized, all-male events such as bowling, baseball, and poker playing (Gans 1958:227). These findings should alert the researcher of inter-ethnic behavior to give closer scrutiny to the quality of the social interaction as well as the nature of the interactional setting.

toward Israel in contrast to their feelings toward the United States. Nearly 61 percent felt more strongly toward the United States, only three percent declared greater attachment to Israel. Interestingly, however, thirty-six percent felt equally attached to Israel and the United States. There are no data to show how this compares with attitudes of other American ethnic groups regarding their "native" land, however, such emotional ties are an indication of ethnic identification.

Feelings toward Israel measure only the attitudinal dimension of identification. In order to assess it behaviorally respondents were asked if they had visited and/or given money to Israel. One-fourth of the sample had actually traveled to Israel and over 91 percent had provided financial aid. Of those having given money, 64 percent report their gift-giving to be "very generous." A high level of affinity toward Israel is further illustrated by the fact that 35 percent of the sample--given the hypothetical situation of having to leave the United States--would choose to emigrate to Israel first. Although almost 40 percent answered "don't know," only one percent selected a country other than Israel.*

Sklare and Greenblum (1967:255) provided the only other research in which specific attitudes toward Israel were investigated. Their Lakeville Jews were asked "if they would raise money for Israel?" Although their hypothetical question differs from the direct behavioral approach ("have you given money to Israel") used in this project the results were the same. Carrying their analysis somewhat further than is done here, Sklare and Greenblum (1967:226) found high religiosity positively

*It should be pointed out that the questionnaires were administered over five years after the June "Six-Day" war and less than one year before the 1973 Yom Kippur war.

correlated with pro-Israeli attitudes. Lakeville Jews with pro-Israeli sentiments are more likely to be Conservative or Orthodox than Reform, attend religious services frequently, have greater involvement in synagogue life, and practice religious rituals in the home frequently (Sklare and Greenblum 1967:226).

Ethnicity and political perceptions. In order to measure another aspect of Jewish ethnicity respondents were asked the degree of agreement or disagreement with the question, "Is the major factor which influences your choice in voting whether the candidate will be good for the Jews?" Again, a high level of ethnicity is manifest, in that 65 percent of the respondents agreed or agreed strongly with the question. Only 27 percent of the sample either disagree or strongly disagree.

The Jewish ethnicity is further manifest in their reported voting behavior in the 1972 election. The fact that neither of the Presidential candidates were perceived as inimical to American Jews is attested to by the split in the North Carolina Jewish vote between Nixon (51.5 percent) and McGovern (48.5 percent). Such was not the case in the North Carolina Senatorial election in which only ten percent of the respondents favored the Republican candidate Helms as opposed to 90 percent for the Democrat Galifanikas. The perception of candidate Helms as incompatible with the interests of the state's Jews was evident in the campaign waged against his selection by the largest Jewish organization in the state, the North Carolina Association of Jewish Men. This reaction to a candidate perceived as anti-Semitic highlights the sense of ethnic solidarity which on occasion is manifest among North Carolina Jews.

Ethnicity and children. Another behavioral manifestation of Jewish ethnicity concerns the religious orientation of camps attended by the respondents' children. Three-fourths of the sample sent their children to camp, and a majority of these (almost 59 percent) selected a Jewish camp.

It seems that a significant proportion of the North Carolina sample attempts to provide, when possible, a greater Jewish milieu for their children, prefers a less gentile dominated social arena, has a high level of attachment to Israel, and names as a major criterion for their voting behavior the candidate's concern for the welfare of the Jews--all of which may suggest specific sources of Jewish community dissatisfaction.

Ethnicity as reflected in reading habits and organizational affiliation.

Two final components of ethnicity were examined, subscriptions to Jewish magazines and membership in Jewish organizations. Over 70 percent of the respondents received between one and three Jewish related magazines. Over twelve percent subscribe to more than three magazines. Only 16 percent of the sample have no such subscriptions. The mean number of subscriptions was two. Since religiously oriented magazines were not included on the list the response to this item can be defined as an indicator of ethnicity.

The greatest degree of organizational participation among the North Carolina Jewish sample is found in B'nai B'rith; almost 20 percent of the respondents pay dues and just over ten percent report both attendance at meetings and having held offices in the organization. One other Jewish organization which commands some involvement for the Jews in North Carolina, the Anti-Defamation League, claimed membership of fifteen percent of the sample but a negligible participation level. The Anti-Defamation League, as a separate division of B'nai B'rith, is organized

specifically for fighting prejudice and discrimination especially as it affects Jews. The National Jewish Welfare Board and the Zionist Organization of America have only minimal participation levels among the respondents, claiming as members six and seven percent respectively of the North Carolina Jewish sample. Negligible rates of membership and participation were found for all other Jewish organizations.* Organizational involvement reflects rather minimal ethnicity when compared with our other measures.

Given the above data we see that ethnicity is manifest in a number of ways among the North Carolina Jewish respondents. Residing in a largely gentile environment, they seek neither total social integration nor total social segregation. They prefer a somewhat more Jewish milieu than currently exists and in a variety of ways they do attempt to provide more Jewish flavor for both themselves and their children.

Strength of Endogamous Feelings

The third defined aspect of Jewish identification is strength of endogamous feelings. This dimension is measured by examining the importance parents attach to their children's inter-religious interaction. The respondents were asked to evaluate the importance of three levels of social distance--their children's marrying Jewish, dating Jewish, and having Jewish friends. Table 4-11 summarizes these data. Nearly 47 percent of the sample feel that it is moderately important or very important that their children date only other Jews; approximately 37 percent feel this does not matter. Almost 45 percent of the sample think it

*An error was made in choices of organizations given to the respondents in that the North Carolina Association of Jewish Men, the largest Jewish organization in the state, was inadvertently omitted.

TABLE 4-11
STRENGTH OF ENDOGAMOUS FEELINGS (IN PERCENTAGES)

Importance Attached to Children's Inter-religious Interaction Among the North Carolina Respondents				
	Very Important	Moderately Important	Do Not Like But Would Accept	Does Not Matter
Marrying Jewish	59	22	11	8
Dating Jewish	12	35	17	37
Having Jewish Friends	12	33	8	47
Guttman Scale Coefficient of Reproducibility = 0.9111				

moderately important or very important that their children's friends are Jewish; whereas over 47 percent state that it does not matter. Interestingly, although dating is a more intimate form of social interaction than friendship there is an almost equal level of tolerance for the two. However, it is on intermarriage of their children that the sample feels most strongly. Over 81 percent of the respondents feel that it is important that their children marry Jewish. Just over eight percent state that it does not matter. Perhaps the high rate of endogamous feelings expressed here was to be expected given the fact that Jews are the most endogamous of America's major religious groups (see Chapter II). It also reflects a possible sense of threat regarding the realities of assimilation and amalgamation in American society.

Comparative data from Sklare and Greenblum's work (1967:307) shows 29 percent of their sample as "very unhappy" and 43 percent as "somewhat

unhappy" about the hypothetical intermarriage of one of their children. Lakeville Jews appear to be as strongly opposed to exogamy as do North Carolina Jews. However, with almost 59 percent of the North Carolina sample stating it to be "very important" that their children marry Jewish as opposed to only 29 percent of the Lakeville community would be "very unhappy," we might infer that the North Carolina community is more strongly pro-endogamy.

Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter we have provided a descriptive profile of the North Carolina Jewish respondents. A summarization of the significant data follows.

With a median age of 50.5 the respondents in the sample of heads-of-households appear to comprise a community of older citizens relative to the total Jewish population in the state. A majority are second generation and over one-fourth are third generation Americans. At the same time, only eleven percent of the respondents are foreign born and only ten percent can claim four generations on American soil. No respondents are fifth generation American. When geographic origins are examined we find a majority of the respondents are neither native North Carolinians nor native Southerners and have moved to a smaller city by coming to the state.

Educationally, over one-half of the respondents were college graduates and only eight percent failed to complete high school--figures which compare favorably with educational levels for other Jewish communities and again attest to the much higher educational achievement level among American Jews when compared to the general population. In terms of social class the respondents fell into the top three of Hollingshead's

(1965) five class scheme.

Respondents' access to community religious facilities was also examined. Only twelve percent of the respondents had no synagogue in their community and only six percent report that religious instruction was not available for their children. Overall, most of those sampled do have access to a synagogue, a rabbi, religious instruction for their children and adult education classes.

The North Carolina respondents approach the national pattern of Jewish religious branch affiliation with an approximately equal distribution among the Conservative and Reform and less than three percent Orthodox. At the same time, the national pattern of a general movement by generation away from Orthodoxy toward a more liberal branch was also true for the North Carolina respondents.

Jewish identification was defined via the three dimensions of religiosity, ethnicity, and strength of endogamous feelings. Each of these was examined separately in this chapter to determine the prevailing patterns of Jewish identification among the North Carolina respondents.

Religiosity was defined by using four dimensions: Jewish dietary laws, general ritual practices, importance attached to religious instruction of children, and synagogue attendance. There was minimal adherence to Jewish dietary laws with only one item, the proscription regarding the eating of pork, able to claim over a 25 percent observance rate among the respondents. A much larger percentage of the respondents were likely to carry out general ritual practices than to observe the dietary laws. For example, Passover and Chanukah were celebrated by over four-fifths of the respondents and items such as lighting Sabbath candles, having Kiddush on Friday night and observing minor Jewish holidays were performed by at

least forty percent of the respondents. There was general consensus that the children's religious training was important. However, less than fifty percent of the sample attended synagogue at least once a month. Only the High Holidays commanded close to universal synagogue attendance from the respondents. This pattern is, however, similar to that found throughout the American Jewish community.

Ethnicity, like religiosity, was defined into several components. These included, among others, respondents' inter-religious interaction, attitudes and behavior toward Israel, and ethnic political behavior. In general, the respondents preferred a somewhat more Jewish social milieu than currently existed. At the same time, there was a majority preference for a religiously mixed rather than a mainly Jewish social environment. Attachment to Israel was strong as indicated by the extent of financial assistance provided Israel by the respondents. Other measures of support also revealed a high level of affinity toward Israel. Politically, ethnicity was indicated by a 65 percent agreement with the statement that one's voting behavior is significantly affected by whether the candidate is considered to be good for the Jews.

The final dimension of Jewish identification--strength of endogamous feelings--was measured by the importance respondents placed on their children's inter-religious interaction. Over four-fifths of the parents felt it to be important that their children marry Jewish. There was less concern with inter-religious interaction at the dating and friendship levels.

In conclusion, Jewish identification is manifest most strongly among the North Carolina Jewish respondents in their observance of selected

Jewish holidays, attachment of importance to children's religious training, strong sentiments toward Israel, and opposition to marriage outside the religion.

CHAPTER V

EXPLANATIONS FOR JEWISH COMMUNITY DISSATISFACTION

Introduction

The conceptualization and operationalization of Jewish community dissatisfaction was discussed in Chapter II. In this chapter the data from the North Carolina Jewish sample will be examined in an attempt to uncover, by statistical tests of significance, explanations for the defined problem.

Jewish Community Dissatisfaction Among the North Carolina Jewish Community

It was postulated that a comparative analysis of the dissatisfied with the satisfied respondents would yield differences that would explain the phenomenon of Jewish community dissatisfaction (see Chapter II). Of the total sample, 67 percent were moderately or very satisfied, 22 percent were dissatisfied with the kind of Jewish lives they were able to lead. When the "undecideds" are eliminated (Table 5-1) we find that 25 percent (36 out of 146) were dissatisfied. It should be noted that of the dissatisfied, one-fourth were very dissatisfied and three-fourths moderately dissatisfied. On the other hand, of the 75 percent who were satisfied with the kind of Jewish life they were able to live only one-third were very satisfied. It is perhaps significant that two-thirds of the satisfied and three-fourth of the dissatisfied expressed moderate rather than extreme sentiments. But our chief concern is with that portion of the sample who evidence Jewish community dissatisfaction.

TABLE 5-1

JEWISH COMMUNITY DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE SAMPLE
OF NORTH CAROLINA JEWS

Very Satisfied	36 (22 percent)		
Moderately Satisfied	74 (45 percent)	=	Total Satisfied 62 percent*
Undecided	18 (11 percent)		
Moderately Dissatisfied	27 (17 percent)		
Very Dissatisfied	<u>9</u> (6 percent)	=	Total Dissatisfied 22 percent*
Total	164 (102 percent**)		

* If the undecided category is excluded the percentages become:

Total Satisfied = 75 percent (110 out of 164 respondents)
Total Dissatisfied = 25 percent (36 out of 164 respondents)

** Due to rounding off of percentages.

Correlates of Jewish Community Dissatisfaction: Specific
Jewish and non-Jewish (General) Community Features

Although a single question was used to determine the respondents' Jewish community dissatisfaction, two sets of additional questions relating to specific aspects of the community were included: (1) Jewish Community Features--satisfaction with specific Jewish opportunities and (2) General Community Features--satisfaction with specific secular elements of the community (non-Jewish factors). The former were examined to provide both a built-in reliability check for the measurement of Jewish community dissatisfaction and a delineation of specific Jewish factors which caused dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction with non-Jewish factors in the community was investigated in an attempt to insure that Jewish community dissatisfaction was not reflecting sentiments of general

community dissatisfaction.

Specific Jewish community features. In looking at the proportion of responses for the Jewish community items we find the greatest source of specific Jewish dissatisfaction is the opportunity to marry within the faith (see Table 5-2). Almost 70 percent of the respondents rate such opportunities "fair" or "poor" whereas only 13 percent feel they are satisfactory. The quality of Jewish education was the second factor most likely to cause dissatisfaction with the quality of Jewish life in the community. However, only 49 percent of the respondents answered "fair" or "poor" to this item as opposed to 28 percent who responded "very good" or "good." On the other hand, roughly three-fourths find satisfaction with three specific Jewish community factors: chances of feeling comfortable as a Jew; chances of a Jew obtaining a position of prestige; and chances of a young Jewish person realizing economic aspirations. On only one item relating to specific Jewish community features, quality of Jewish religious facilities, are the respondents almost equally divided in their assessment.

It appears that the threat of exogamy posed by the predominantly gentile milieu is the most frequently cited source of specific Jewish dissatisfaction. The only other factor in which there is a majority dissatisfaction--Jewish education--is largely determined by the Jewish community itself. This fact is perhaps more significant when we realize that the three highest satisfaction Jewish factors, although specifically Jewish problems, are outside Jewish community control. Economic success, attainment of prestige, and feeling comfortable as a Jew are matters which not only involve the non-Jewish community but which, it might be

TABLE 5-2

PERCENTAGE OF NORTH CAROLINA SAMPLE SHOWING "SATISFACTION"
OR "DISSATISFACTION" WITH SPECIFIC
JEWISH COMMUNITY FEATURES

Specific Jewish Related Community Features	("Satisfaction") Very Good or Good	Average	("Dissatisfaction") Fair or Poor	Total
Quality of Jewish Education	28	23	49	100
Opportunity to Marry Within the Faith	13	18	69	100
Chances of Feeling Comfortable as a Jew	75	14	10	99*
Chances of a Jew Obtaining a Position of Prestige	73	14	13	100
Chances of a Young Jewish Person Realizing Economic Aspirations	78	13	9	100
Quality of Jewish Religious Facilities	42	20	38	100

*Due to rounding off of percentages.

argued, are conferred by the majority upon the minority. If these inferences can be drawn it then appears that any perceived Jewish dissatisfaction stems from something other than a belief that prejudice or discrimination is operating to deny access to society's reward system.

To further determine the causes of specific Jewish dissatisfaction we compared (see Table 5-3) the percentage of dissatisfied with satisfied respondents answering favorably ("very good" or "good") to the specific Jewish community items. As explained above, in order for the concept of general Jewish community dissatisfaction to claim internal validity the satisfied respondents should be significantly more likely to rate these items favorably than the dissatisfied respondents. Table 5-3 shows this to be the case for all of the items; and only one of these, "chances of a young Jewish person realizing economic aspirations," fails to achieve a chi square significance level of .05.* This may be explained by the relationship of this item to the general economic community rather than a specifically Jewish related feature. It is interesting to note that the most significant difference between the satisfied and dissatisfied was in the evaluation of "quality of Jewish education" (a chi square significance level of .001) followed closely by the rating of "Jewish religious facilities" and "chances of a Jew obtaining a position of prestige" (a chi square significance level of .01). The strength of the difference in response between the satisfactory and dissatisfactory

*This one item, with a chi square significance level of .10, does not meet the .05 level necessary to meet the generally accepted minimal level. It is possible that a chi square level would have been obtained if the categories could have been collapsed. However, collapsing could not be carried out with this item because the minimum number of items per box in the matrix necessary to perform a chi square test was not achieved. It should be noted that it was only through the collapse of categories that the .05 level was achieved for several of the other items.

TABLE 5-3

PERCENTAGE OF JEWISH COMMUNITY SATISFIED AND DISSATISFIED
 JEWS ANSWERING "VERY GOOD" OR "GOOD" ON SPECIFIC
 JEWISH COMMUNITY FEATURES

	Jewish Community Dissatisfaction Groups ^a	
	Satisfied ^b	Dissatisfied ^c
Quality of Jewish Education	31#	12#
Opportunity to Marry Within the Faith	16**	6**
Chances of Feeling Comfortable as a Jew	81**	69**
Chances of a Young Jewish Person Realizing Economic Aspirations	79*	37*
Quality of Jewish Religious Facilities	50***	14***
Chances of a Jew Obtaining a Position of Prestige	80***	63***

*Chi square significance at .10 level - not significant.

**Chi square significance at .05 level - significant.

***Chi square significance at .01 level - significant.

#Chi square significance at .001 level - significant.

^aDirection of significance: Cases in which significance is shown indicates that respondents who are Jewish community dissatisfied are significantly more likely to evaluate negatively (not designate "very good" or "good") the items in the specific Jewish related community features category than are their satisfied counterparts.

^bMean sample size for the "Satisfied group" = 108.

^cMean sample size for the "Dissatisfied group" = 35.

groups to two of the above three items suggests a disenchantment with the quality of available Jewish institutional structures as a major cause of Jewish community dissatisfaction. The fact that all of the items did show the predicted differences in variation between the satisfaction and dissatisfaction groups attests to the validity of our measurement of the concept of Jewish community dissatisfaction.

Specific non-Jewish (general) community features. Responses covering general community features are given in Table 5-4. In no case did a majority of respondents register dissatisfaction with a specific general community feature. The respondents are almost equally divided, however, in their assessment of "opportunities to satisfy entertainment interests." The only other item on which there is a significant minority dissatisfied--"opportunity to satisfy intellectual and artistic interests"--finds 33 percent evidencing dissatisfaction. Assessment of health services, public schools, and chances of having a satisfactory social life achieve a majority or near-majority satisfaction rate. The relative depreciation of opportunities available for intellectual, artistic, and entertainment pursuits can perhaps be attributed in part to the high proportion of respondents who once lived in larger communities offering more of such opportunities.

It thus appears that dissatisfaction among a majority of the respondents is related to selected Jewish community components. However, we compared the response of Jewish dissatisfied and satisfied respondents to the specific general community items (see Table 5-5) in order to determine if significant differences between the two groups existed. Table 5-5 indicates that such differences do exist. The Jewish community

TABLE 5-4

PERCENTAGE OF NORTH CAROLINA SAMPLE SHOWING "SATISFACTION"
OR "DISSATISFACTION" WITH SPECIFIC GENERAL
COMMUNITY FEATURES

Specific General Community Features	("Satisfaction") Very Good or Good	Average	("Dissatisfaction") Fair or Poor	Total
Quality of Public Schools	47	26	27	100
Quality of Health Services	75	15	11	101*
Chances of Having a Satisfactory Social Life	67	18	15	100
Opportunities to Satisfy Intellectual and Artistic Interests	42	25	33	100
Opportunities to Satisfy Entertainment Interests	38	22	41	101*

*Due to rounding off of percentages.

TABLE 5-5

PERCENTAGE OF JEWISH COMMUNITY SATISFIED AND DISSATISFIED
 JEWS ANSWERING "VERY GOOD" OR "GOOD" ON
 SPECIFIC GENERAL COMMUNITY FEATURES^a

	Jewish Community Dissatisfaction Groups	
	Satisfied ^b	Dissatisfied ^c
Quality of Public Schools	53*	37*
Quality of Health Services	83***	48***
Chances of Having a Satisfactory Social Life	74***	39***
Opportunities to Satisfy Intellectual and Artistic Interests	47***	22***
Opportunities to Satisfy Entertainment Interests	47**	12**

*Chi square significance at .05 level - significant.

**Chi square significance at .01 level - significant.

***Chi square significance at .001 level - significant.

^aDirection of significance: Cases in which significance is shown indicates that respondents who are Jewish community dissatisfied are significantly more likely to evaluate negatively (not designate "very good" or "good") the items in the specific non-Jewish related community features category than are their satisfied counterparts.

^bMean sample size for the "Satisfied group" = 106.

^cMean sample size for the "Dissatisfied group" = 33.

dissatisfied group is less likely than the satisfied group to evaluate favorably (answer "very good" or "good") each of the general community items. Although this revelation does not, by itself, render invalid Jewish community dissatisfaction as a separate phenomenon, it does suggest that those who are Jewish community dissatisfied are also those who are dissatisfied with non-Jewish aspects of the community as well.

Demographic Correlates of Jewish Community Dissatisfaction

One of the basic hypotheses of this research (see Chapter II) is that as the absolute number of Jews in a community decreases there is an increase in the level of Jewish community dissatisfaction. Table 5-4 shows the data from this sample supports the hypothesis. Jews in the smallest Jewish communities are more likely to be Jewish community dissatisfied than are the Jews in the largest Jewish communities.

Two factors which are probably a consequence of the small number of Jewish families in a community--frequency in which synagogue services and in which religious instruction is offered--are also related to Jewish community dissatisfaction. As might be expected from the finding on size of community, the less frequently these two are offered in a community the more likely will Jews in that community be Jewish community dissatisfied. However, several other factors which are perhaps also related to Jewish size of the community, did not explain the dissatisfaction. The presence or absence of a synagogue* and a rabbi and the frequency of Jewish adult classes in a community did not account for significant variations with Jewish community dissatisfaction.

*This variable was significant at .10 with Jewish community dissatisfaction in this direction: Respondents in communities without a synagogue were more likely to be Jewish community dissatisfied.

The most significant finding appears to be the influence of the absolute number of Jews in the community; for the greater the number the more likely will respondents be Jewish community satisfied. It can thus be argued that dissatisfaction with one's life as a Jew is much less likely to occur given a certain minimal Jewish milieu--a minimal absolute number of Jews in the community, the availability of a synagogue and religious instruction for children. Without this there is more likely to be disenchantment with the type of Jewish life one is able to lead.

No other demographic variables were found to be significantly related to Jewish community dissatisfaction. Factors such as age, generation in America, years of residence in North Carolina and the South, educational and occupational levels, and social class position did not explain the variations in Jewish community dissatisfaction and satisfaction.

Religiosity, Ethnicity, and Strength of Endogamous
Feelings as Correlates of Jewish Community
Dissatisfaction*

The preceding discussion showed that Jewish community dissatisfaction was directly related to the absence of religious services and instruction for children. These are, however, considered features of the community and should be kept conceptually separate from individual religiosity. The community need not offer either religious services or instruction for children in order for a Jewish family to have high religiosity. There are many cases in which religious Jews inhabit communities with minimal religious facilities and opportunities and,

*It should be remembered that when the Jewish community dissatisfied respondents are being discussed only one-fourth of the total respondents are represented.

conversely, many non-religious Jews who reside in communities with an abundance of Jewish religious opportunities. The relationship between an individual's level of religiosity and the incidence of Jewish community dissatisfaction is thus explored.

Contrary to our hypothesis none of the aspects of religiosity varied significantly with Jewish community dissatisfaction. This was true for each of the four specifically defined dimensions of religiosity--general ritual observance, observance of dietary laws, importance attached to religious instruction of children, and synagogue attendance. That is, it was not found that the Jewish dissatisfied respondents were more likely to be characterized by higher levels of religiosity than the satisfied respondents. Rose (1959:182) also found the absence of a relationship between community dissatisfaction and religiosity among his sample of small-town Jews in upper New York State.

Likewise, with one interesting exception, the predicted relationship between the respondent's ethnicity and Jewish community dissatisfaction also does not hold. The one aspect of ethnicity which was related to dissatisfaction deals not with the respondent's own ethnic life style but rather that of his children. Respondents who send their children to a Jewish camp are more likely to be Jewish community dissatisfied* than are respondents whose children attend a mixed or mainly gentile camp. None of the other ethnic components of the respondent's life situation were significantly related to Jewish community dissatisfaction, i.e., religious preference in social interaction, actual inter-religious interaction, Jewish ethnic criterion in voting, sentiment toward Israel relative to the United States, attitude toward hypothetical emigration to

*A chi square significance level of .05.

Israel, having visited or given money to Israel, membership and participation in Jewish organizations, and subscription to Jewish ethnic magazines.

It was only with the third defined component of Jewish identification, strength of endogamous feelings, that significant variation with Jewish community dissatisfaction is found. Respondents who showed strong feelings of endogamy, as manifest by their concern for the inter-religious interaction of their children, were significantly more likely to be dissatisfied.* In regard to the third component of strength of endogamous feelings, importance attached to children's marrying Jewish, there was no significant difference between the satisfied and dissatisfied groups. This is explained by the fact that there was little overall variation of response to this endogamous component. That is, there are not enough Jews in the sample who approve of their children's intermarriage to result in statistically significant differences between the Jewish community dissatisfied and Jewish community satisfied. Eighty-three percent of the total sample placed either moderate or high importance on the restriction of their children's marriage to only other Jews.

In summary, the religious Jew in North Carolina is not more likely to be Jewish community dissatisfied than the non-religious Jew. Likewise, the Jew with high ethnicity is no more likely to be dissatisfied, with one exception, than the Jew with low ethnicity. It is only with strength of endogamous feelings that a significant difference between the dissatisfied and satisfied appears. More specifically, the data suggest that it is parental concern over their children's patterns of inter-religious interaction which contributes to Jewish community dissatisfaction.

*A chi square significance level of .05.

It appears then that Jewish community dissatisfaction is a response to: (1) a predominantly gentile environment to the extent that such a milieu threatens the Jewish identity of one's children because of the greater likelihood of sustained interaction with gentiles and the limited opportunities available for interaction with one's co-religionists; (2) a Jewish population size which is too small to offer access for one's children to what is felt to be a minimal level of religious instruction and synagogue services. Interestingly, the Jewish community dissatisfaction which is manifest among this sample of North Carolina Jews reflects a concern for the prevailing threats to one's children's Jewish identity rather than to oneself. Speculation would suggest that those who are Jewish community dissatisfied, although maybe not totally happy with the Jewish situation in their community, have come to adjust to that situation and feel secure, if maybe not fulfilled, in their Jewish identity. Yet, at the same time, they fear the threats to Jewish identity which prevail, although successfully withstood by Jewish adults such as themselves, could very easily penetrate the less stabilized defenses of the more impressionable youth.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Findings

We have argued that the North Carolina Jew is demographically atypical of American Jews in that there does not exist a large Jewish community in the state. It was shown that the overwhelming majority of America's Jews are concentrated in large metropolitan cities which provide a great range of Jewish activities, facilities, and institutions.

From the above it was concluded that Jewish existence outside these large American Jewish communities with its concomitant dearth of Jewish institutions might very well prove difficult for some Jews. In addition, it was maintained that certain North Carolina Jews, regardless of their level of general satisfaction with their community, would be dissatisfied with the kind of Jewish life their community provided. It was hypothesized that the Jewish community dissatisfied respondents would be characterized by high levels of Jewish identity and more likely to reside in the smallest Jewish communities. Jewish identification was defined into three dimensions--religiosity, ethnicity, and strength of endogamous feelings.

The results of a stratified, random sample survey of North Carolina's Jewish heads of households showed that about one-fourth of the respondents were Jewish community dissatisfied. Not only were the dissatisfied more likely than the satisfied to show disfavor with specific Jewish features of the community but they were also more likely to rate unfavorably non-Jewish community aspects. Also, as predicted, the Jewish dissatisfied

were more likely to live in the smallest Jewish communities. Only one of the components--strength of endogamous feelings--explained Jewish satisfaction and dissatisfaction differences. Respondents showing the greatest concern for their children's inter-religious interaction were the Jewish community dissatisfied. Differences in levels of Jewish ethnicity and religiosity which did exist, did not explain the variations in Jewish community dissatisfaction.

In addition to the investigation of the specific research problem we also provided a general profile of the North Carolina Jewish population. This included specific demographic features of the population along with the patterns of religious and ethnic behavior. When possible these were compared to patterns prevalent in other Jewish communities throughout the United States.

Demographically, the sample was characterized by the following: (1) the vast majority were second or third generation American; (2) a slight majority of the respondents had been in-migrants to the state from either outside the South or outside the country; (3) educational achievement levels were very high with over half the respondents possessing college degrees and less than ten percent having failed to finish high school; (4) social class standing, based on occupation and education, found the state's Jews concentrated in the top three of Hollingshead's (1965) five class scheme; (5) finally, most of the Jews sampled had access to a synagogue, rabbi, and religious instruction for their children.

Religiously, the following features were found: (1) Respondents were almost equally represented in the Reformed and Conservative branches of Judaism with less than three percent Orthodox. At the same time, inter-generational branch movement was away from Orthodoxy and toward

Reform; (2) With regard to religious practice the sample was least faithful to the Jewish dietary laws while most likely to observe home rituals related to selected Jewish holidays and the Sabbath; (3) The large majority of the parents in the sample attached at least moderate importance to their children's religious instruction; likewise, there was an 85 percent Bar Mitzvah rate of respondents' sons and a 64 percent Bat Mitzvah rate for daughters; (4) As is true for American Jews as a group, the North Carolina sample showed infrequent attendance at synagogue services with the exception of High Holiday services.

Ethnically, the following patterns prevailed: (1) The preference in inter-religious interaction was for a somewhat more Jewish social milieu than currently existed, yet there was little sentiment for an exclusively Jewish situation; (2) Attachment toward Israel was relatively high. Although the United States claimed greater affinity from a majority of the respondents than did Israel a significant minority, 36 percent, felt equally attached to the two nations. At the same time, almost one-fourth of the sample had visited Israel and over ninety percent had given money to the Israeli cause.

The third component of Jewish identification examined--strength of endogamous feelings--elicited a response in which general consensus prevailed regarding the evils of outmarriage. In contrast there was greater diversity of view in the sample regarding less intimate forms of inter-religious interaction such as dating and friendship selection.

Conclusions

In the research presented here we have attempted to explore selected features of Jewish life in North Carolina. Our focus has been upon a specifically defined problem along with a general profile of the state's

Jewish population. At this point we will offer a brief interpretive analysis of the significant findings of the research. From this we hope to suggest the future problems of and possibilities for Jewish life in North Carolina.

Our data disclose that very few of the North Carolina Jews are more than three generations removed from the Jewish ghettos of Eastern Europe. But there are few similarities in the life styles of the shtetl community of the late nineteenth century and the integrated suburbia of the 1970's. Whereas in the former the Jewish religion was dominant in the community, in the latter the focus is largely upon secular concerns. Certainly, the evidence provided by our data suggests that both ethnically and religiously Judaism does not assume a central place in the lives of most North Carolina Jews. This is not to argue that Judaism is by any means absent from their lives. However, it does suggest, along with the findings that 75 percent of our sample is satisfied with Jewish life in their community, that an attenuated form of Judaism has evolved in which Jewish identity is reinforced by something other than a fervent commitment to religious traditions.

Consider the following facts uncovered by our research. The majority of North Carolina Jews (1) evidence minimal adherence to Jewish dietary laws; (2) attend synagogue only a few times each year; (3) interact at all social distance levels with either mixed or mainly gentile groups; and (4) voice satisfaction with their lives as Jews in communities which do not provide the range of Jewish institutions and Jewish related activities available to the overwhelming majority of America's Jews. This raises two basic questions. What are the implications of these findings for the future of Judaism in North Carolina? What is the

essence of Jewish identity among North Carolina's Jews?

First of all, it cannot be argued that North Carolina's Jews have forsaken traditional Judaism. Although they are more likely to identify ethnically than religiously a large majority do observe Passover, Chanukah, and the High Holidays. Ethnically, although there is no great demand for a return to Jewish social enclaves characteristic of the urban ghettos, there is a desire for a somewhat more Jewish social environment than currently exists. Likewise, there is profound support and attachment to the nation of Israel.

Interestingly, however, it is the respondent's concern for his children's Jewish identification which proves to be the most revealing component of Jewish life in North Carolina. Note the following data generated by our research: (1) The respondents, although divided in the importance they place on their children's inter-religious dating and friendship patterns, were solidly opposed (over 80 percent) to inter-marriage; (2) Over 85 percent of the respondents' sons and 64 percent of their daughters had been or were to be Bar or Bat Mitzvahed; (3) Over 90 percent of the respondents attached moderate or great importance to their children's receipt of religious education; (4) Of the children attending camp close to 60 percent went to a Jewish camp; (5) The significant features which characterize the Jewish community dissatisfied respondents and separate them from the satisfied respondents are related to the former's concern, not with the shortcomings of their Jewish environment as it affects them, but rather with their children's lack of access to fellow Jews and Jewish institutions.

We can conclude that the North Carolina Jew does not appear concerned with the quality of his Jewish life as it currently exists. What does

concern him is that life in North Carolina may not contain sufficient Jewish elements to insure that his children's Jewish identity is properly molded and frequently reinforced. Why does the parent's attachment to Judaism for his children supersede his own declared demands for Judaism? Certainly, there are no easy answers for it involves the most complex questions surrounding the nature of Jewish identity in contemporary American society.

I would suggest the following. The North Carolina Jew, like his co-religionists throughout America, has moved away from an all-encompassing brand of Judaism to adopt a life style compatible with his position in the middle and upper strata of a modern, secularized American society. With the widespread adoption by American Jews of Conservative and Reform Judaism, one's Jewishness no longer has to conspicuously set him apart from gentile Americans. No longer does the ethnic community have to exist in order to provide a protective shield from the "alien" and sometimes "hostile" outside world. One's friends no longer have to be limited to the ethnic in-group, but can easily be extended to include professional and business acquaintances along with neighbors, few of whom may be Jewish. The world one lives in has come to be mixed--Jew and gentile interact frequently and at almost all levels.

But to what extent does this new life form threaten Jewish identity? Again, the answer is complex. However, I would suggest that the small minority of American Jews who, like the North Carolina Jew, live away from the core of Jewish institutional life in America, find the "mixed" environment a greater threat to Jewish identity than do those living in the large Jewish centers of the country. The North Carolina Jewish parent realizes that, unlike his parents' or grandparents' home, his home is not

one in which Judaism plays a central part. They attend synagogue only occasionally. Only Passover, Chanukah, and the High Holidays are observed in the home. The son's religious training is limited to the minimum necessary for a Bar Mitzvah after which it ceases completely.

In total, there is both a qualitative and quantitative difference in the Jewishness of the home in which the parent was raised and in which his children are now being raised. These facts, coupled with the knowledge that few, if any, of his children's friends and classmates are Jewish, creates concern for the strength of his children's Jewish identity. The parent, attuned to the many problems faced by a small Jewish minority in a largely gentile society, is well aware of the many threats to Jewish identity which exist for his children. The parent's Jewish identity has, for the most part, crystallized; the children's Jewish identity has not. The parent is relatively secure in his Jewish identity; his major concern as a Jew is for his children's Jewish identity.

Yet, a paradox remains. If the parent has chosen a form of Judaism less pervasive than that practiced by his parents and grandparents why is he suddenly concerned that this pattern has continued with his own children. It may be that the parent perceives the assimilation process to have advanced to a point in which Jewish identity is no longer just evolving new forms but is on the verge of being erased. It is possible that although Judaism has not assumed a central role in his life that he now perceives it as providing a symbolic link between himself and posterity. Therefore, he must insure that his children and, in turn, his grandchildren identify strongly with Judaism.

Certainly, the fact that one-fourth of the respondents were dissatisfied with their lives as Jews in their communities attests to the problematic nature of Jewish existence in contemporary North Carolina. Is it possible for the North Carolina Jew to find fulfillment as a Jew in a state removed from the mainstream of modern American Jewish life? Again, there is no easy answer. If our data can serve as a guide, it is suggested that his chances will be greater if he (1) chooses to reside in the largest cities of the state and (2) insures that his children have access to other Jewish children as well as Jewish religious, educational, and cultural activities.

The life of the North Carolina Jew has proved interesting for several reasons. He has been largely isolated from both the mainstream of organized Jewish life in America and the inquiring eye of the social science researcher. This investigation, through the systematic exploration of selected features of North Carolina Jewish life, has attempted to shed light upon the processes of Jewish identification along with the delineation of factors contributing to Jewish fulfillment and lack of fulfillment in modern American life. Our focus has, by design, been narrow; and there is much about North Carolina Jewry which remains to be explored. It is only by thorough examination and careful analysis of the American Jewish community through which the complexities of Jewish life and identity in modern America can be addressed.

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APPENDIX A

THE COVER LETTER AND RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear _____,

[Handwritten Signature]

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT GREENSBORO

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

November 27, 1972

Dear Sir:

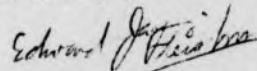
This is a study of the Jewish citizenry of North Carolina. Assisting me, although not a formal sponsor, is the North Carolina Jewish Home for the Aged. As you know, scholars have generally described Jewish life in the large urban centers of America. Those living in smaller communities have usually been overlooked. Therefore, this research should provide a more complete picture of American Jewry; hopefully the findings will be of assistance to North Carolina Jewish organizations, such as the Home for the Aged, in better meeting the needs of our Jewish population. That is why I'm asking for your assistance.

Your name is one of a number selected in the state for participation in this project which is being undertaken as a graduate thesis at the University. I would like to talk with you personally but time and budget do not permit this. Thus I am enclosing a list of questions I would like to ask you. It will take only a few minutes to check the answers and return them in the enclosed envelope.

There are no right or wrong answers. Please respond exactly as you see fit, for your responses will be completely confidential. Do not put your name on the questionnaire. Information will be reported in terms of statistical responses only (for example: "Sixty-five percent of Jews living in North Carolina cities of less than 35,000 population are self-employed"). Remember: the focus of the study is upon our state's Jewish citizenry as a whole, not upon individuals.

Thank you for giving of your time to make this study successful. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,



Edward Jay Fleishman

EJF:t

Enclosures

A STUDY OF NORTH CAROLINA JEWISH LIFE

1. How long has your family been in America? That is, did you, your parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, etc., immigrate to America? _____
2. How long have you lived in your community? _____ years
3. How long have you lived in North Carolina? _____ years
4. How long have you lived in the South? _____ years
5. If you have not lived in your present community all your life what other city have you spent the most years of your life?
_____ (city); _____ (state); _____ (years lived there)
6. What is your age? _____ years
7. For each of the following statements about your community indicate whether it is very good, good, average, fair, or poor. (Check one).

	(1) Very Good	(2) Good	(3) Average	(4) Fair	(5) Poor
(a) Quality of Jewish education	—	—	—	—	—
(b) Opportunity to marry within the faith	—	—	—	—	—
(c) Chances of feeling comfortable as a Jew	—	—	—	—	—
(d) Chances of a Jew obtaining a position of prestige in the community	—	—	—	—	—
(e) Chances of a young Jewish person to achieve economic aspirations	—	—	—	—	—
(f) Quality of Jewish religious facilities	—	—	—	—	—
(g) Quality of public schools	—	—	—	—	—
(h) Quality of health services and facilities	—	—	—	—	—
(i) Chances of having a satisfactory social life	—	—	—	—	—
(j) Opportunities to satisfy intellectual and artistic interests	—	—	—	—	—
(k) Opportunities for types of entertainment which interest you	—	—	—	—	—

8. Are you self-employed? _____ Yes; _____ No
9. How many people work at the firm or agency at which you work or own? _____
10. What work do you do and what is your position? Be as specific as you can. (NOTE: We are not interested in the particular name of the company or firm for which you work.) _____
11. Check the highest level of education which you have received:
- _____ (a) Completed less than seven years of school.
 _____ (b) Completed either seventh, eighth, or ninth grades.
 _____ (c) Completed tenth or eleventh grade but did not finish high school.
 _____ (d) Completed high school.
 _____ (e) Completion of at least one year of college but have not graduated.
 _____ (f) Graduation from college.
 _____ (g) Graduate or professional training beyond the Bachelor's degree.
12. If you were starting your career over again, assuming job opportunities were equal in any city you were to choose, which one of the following types of cities would you choose to live: (Check one)
- _____ (a) The city you now live in.
 _____ (b) A smaller city than you live in which had fewer Jews.
 _____ (c) A larger city than you now live in which had more Jews.
 _____ (d) A larger city regardless of the Jewish population.
 _____ (e) A smaller city regardless of the Jewish population.
 _____ (f) Other. Please specify: _____
13. Is there a temple or synagogue in your community? __ Yes; __ No; __ Other
14. If not, how far away is the closest one? _____ Miles away
15. If your community has a temple or synagogue, how often are services held? _____
16. Is there a rabbi serving your community? _____ Yes; _____ No
17. If so, is he _____ part-time or _____ full-time? (Check one)
18. How often is religious instruction offered for the children in your community? (Check one) _____ Once a month or less; _____ At least once every two weeks; _____ At least once a week; _____ Two or more times a week.

19. How often are adult classes (either religious or educational) offered? (Check one) _____ Never; _____ Once a month or less; _____ At least every two weeks; _____ At least once a week; _____ Two or more times a week.
20. To what extent are you satisfied with the kind of Jewish life you are able to live in your community. (Check one) _____ Very Satisfied; _____ Moderately satisfied; _____ Undecided; _____ Moderately dissatisfied; _____ Very dissatisfied.
21. How important is it to you that your children do (or did) the following mainly with other Jews. (For each category check one)

	(1) Very Important	(2) Moderately Important	(3) Would not like it but would accept it	(4) Doesn't Matter
--	-----------------------	-----------------------------	---	-----------------------

- | | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| (a) Marry Jewish | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (b) Date only other Jews | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (c) Have other Jews as their
closest friends | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
22. How important is it to you, or has it been to you, that your children receive (received) proper religious training and instruction. (Check one) _____ Very important; _____ Moderately important; _____ Not particularly important.
23. Check the following practices which are observed regularly in your home:
- _____ (a) Pork is not served.
- _____ (b) Non-kosher seafood is not served.
- _____ (c) Kosher practices are observed only when family or friends are guests in our home.
- _____ (d) Only kosher meats are bought for Passover.
- _____ (e) Milk and meat are not eaten together.
- _____ (f) Separate dishes and silverware are used for Passover.
- _____ (g) Separate dishes and silverware are provided for milk and meat meals.
- _____ (h) Only kosher meats are bought.

24. For each of the following statements answer how frequently the practice is observed. (Check one for each statement)

(1) Always	(2) Sometimes	(3) Seldom	(4) Never

- | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | (a) We light the Chanukah candles at our home. |
| | | | | (b) We have a Passover Seder at our home or we attend one somewhere else. |
| | | | | (c) We have Kiddush at our home on Friday night. |
| | | | | (d) My wife lights the Sabbath candles on Friday night. |
| | | | | (e) The Friday evening meal is a special occasion in our family as we honor the Sabbath. |
| | | | | (f) The Ha-Motzi is said before meals in our home. |
| | | | | (g) Jewish holidays other than the High Holidays, Passover, and Chanukah are generally celebrated in our home. |
| | | | | (h) I attend minyans other than Sabbath services and major holidays. |
| | | | | (i) I lay tephillin. |
25. How many sons do you have? _____; Of these, how many (total) were either Bar Mitzvahed or will be Bar Mitzvahed? _____
How many daughters do you have? _____; How many of these (total number) were or will be either Bat Mitzvahed or confirmed? _____.
26. Check the division of Judaism in which you would place yourself:
_____ Orthodox; _____ Conservative; _____ Reform; _____ None of these.
In which one would you place your parents: _____ Orthodox; _____ Conservative; _____ Reform; _____ None of these.
27. How often do you attend synagogue services: _____ At least once a week; _____ At least once a month; _____ Only on high holidays; _____ Only very seldom; _____ Never.
28. How religious a Jew do you consider yourself to be. (Check one)
_____ Very religious; _____ Moderately religious; _____ Slightly religious; _____ Not religious at all.
29. How often do you attend Rosh Hashanah services. (Check one)
_____ Every year; _____ At least every other year; _____ Very seldom; _____ Never.
- How often do you attend Yom Kippur services. (Check one) _____ Every year; _____ At least every other year; _____ Very seldom; _____ Never.

30. Which of the following do you engage in mainly with other Jews, mainly mixed groups, or mainly gentiles. (Check one for each of the five statements listed)

(1) Mainly Jewish	(2) Mixed	(3) Mainly Gentile

- | | | | |
|--|--|--|---|
| | | | (a) Most of the clubs and organizations to which you belong. |
| | | | (b) The social affairs which you attend. |
| | | | (c) Your closest friends. |
| | | | (d) Going out for the evening, to parties, to eat out, to movies, or other entertainment. |
| | | | (e) Casual neighborhood contacts. |

31. Regardless of how often you do mix with Jews or gentiles this question is interested in finding out how often you would prefer to mix with Jews or gentiles. (Check one for each of the five statements listed below)

(1) Prefer Mainly other Jews	(2) Prefer Mainly mixed	(3) Prefer Mainly gentile

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|--|--|
| (a) In clubs and organizations | | | |
| (b) Social affairs | | | |
| (c) As closest friends | | | |
| (d) Going out for the evening | | | |
| (e) As neighbors | | | |

32. When you decide for whom to vote, the one factor which probably influences you more than any other is whether the particular candidate will be good for the Jews. (Check one) _____ Strongly agree; _____ Agree; _____ Don't know; _____ Disagree; _____ Strongly disagree.
33. How positively do you feel towards Israel in comparison with your feelings to the United States. (Check one) _____ As strongly toward Israel as toward the U.S.; _____ More strongly toward Israel than toward the U.S.; _____ Less strongly toward Israel than toward the United States.

34. If for some reason you decided to leave the United States would you emigrate to Israel before you would emigrate to any other country?
 Yes; No; Don't know; Other, specify _____.
35. Have you ever contributed money to Israel? Yes; No.
 If so, how generous do you feel you have been considering your income and wealth. (Check one) Very generous; Generous;
 Not generous.
36. Have you ever been to Israel? Yes; No. If so, how many times have you been _____. If not, if you had the time and money to travel outside the U.S. would Israel be your first choice as a country to visit? Yes; No; Don't know.
37. Have you ever helped finance a trip to Israel for members of your immediate family? Yes; No.
38. Do, or did, your children attend summer camp? Yes; No.
 If so, was it: Primarily a Jewish camp; Non-sectarian and mixed; or Primarily a gentile camp.
39. Check each of the following Jewish related magazines and newspapers which you either take or read regularly. List any additional ones which are not listed under the "Other" category.
- (a) The American Jewish-Times Outlook.
 (b) American Zionist.
 (c) Israel Magazine.
 (d) The Hadassah Magazine.
 (e) Jewish Heritage.
 (f) The National Jewish Monthly.
 (g) The American Examiner-Jewish Week.
 (h) The Jewish Post and Opinion.

OTHERS: Please list below:

40. Who did you vote for in the 1972 Presidential Primary in North Carolina: Wallace; Sanford; Nixon; Chisholm; Other.
41. Who did you vote for in the 1972 Presidential election: Nixon; McGovern; Other, please specify.
42. Who did you vote for in the North Carolina race for Senate in 1972: Helms; Galifanikas; Other.

43. In your community have you ever felt prejudice or discrimination because you were Jewish? _____ Yes; _____ No.

If so, how much have you felt it: _____ Very much; _____ Somewhat; _____ Not at all.

44. Of which political party are you a registered member: (Check one)
 _____ Republican; _____ Democrat; _____ Other; _____ Not a registered party member.

45. The following is a partial list of Jewish organizations and clubs. For each one listed check if (1) you are a member; (2) pay dues; (3) attend meetings; (4) have held or hold office. (Check all that apply)

(1) Are a member	(2) Pay dues	(3) Attend meetings	(4) Have held or hold office	
—	—	—	—	B'nai B'rith
—	—	—	—	Anti-Defamation League
—	—	—	—	National Jewish Welfare Board
—	—	—	—	Zionist Organization of America
—	—	—	—	American Jewish Committee
—	—	—	—	American Council of Judaism
—	—	—	—	American Jewish Congress
—	—	—	—	Others, please list and check below
—	—	—	—	_____

46. Circle each of the organizations in the above question to which you give money (not including paying dues).
47. Please use the remaining space on this page and on the back of the questionnaire to make any additional comments you may have. Again, thank you very much for your cooperation.

These questionnaires are administered to the subject and are to be administered to the subject in the order indicated in the instructions.

(A) Questionnaire of History Laws

Check the following practices which are observed regularly in your home:

- (1) We do not observe
- (2) The mother arrives in our house
- (3) Mother's activities are observed only when family or friends are guests in our home
- (4) Only heavy work is brought in from work
- (5) Milk and eggs are not eaten together
- (6) Separate dishes and silverware are used for everyone
- (7) Separate dishes and silverware are provided for milk and meat meals
- (8) Only heavy work is brought in

(B) General History Laws

Check each of the following statements which are frequently observed in your home for each statement:

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS CORRESPONDING TO RELIGIOSITY

AND ETHNICITY

- (1) We light the Chanukah candles at our home
- (2) We have a Passover Seder at our home at or around the appropriate time
- (3) We have Kabbalah at our home on Friday night
- (4) We have lighting the Chanukah candles at Friday night
- (5) The Friday evening meal is a special occasion for our family or we observe the Sabbath
- (6) The Kabbalah is said before meals in our home
- (7) Jewish holidays other than the High Holidays, Passover, and Chanukah are generally celebrated in our home
- (8) I attend synagogue other than Sabbath services and major holidays
- (9) I say Kabbalah

(C) Systematic Attitudes or Religious Instruction of Children

Check the way you do the following: (1) Do these law many stories with either you or yourself or will be the subject? (2) Do you laugh at you have? (3) How many of these stories? (4) Do you or will be either not observed or modified?

I. Items corresponding to Religiosity (Item number corresponds to questionnaire number--see Appendix A--for easy reference)

(A) Observance of Dietary Laws

23. Check the following practices which are observed regularly in your home:

- ___ (A) Pork is not served
 ___ (B) Non-kosher seafood is not served
 ___ (C) Kosher practices are observed only when family or friends are guests in our home
 ___ (D) Only kosher meats are bought for Passover
 ___ (E) Milk and meat are not eaten together
 ___ (F) Separate dishes and silverware are used for Passover
 ___ (G) Separate dishes and silverware are provided for milk and meat meals
 ___ (H) Only kosher meats are bought

(B) General Ritual Observance

24. For each of the following statements answer how frequently the practice is observed. (Check one for each statement)

- | (1)
Always | (2)
Sometimes | (3)
Seldom | (4)
Never | |
|---------------|------------------|---------------|--------------|---|
| | | | | (a) We light the Chanukah candles at our home |
| | | | | (b) We have a Passover Seder at our home or we attend one somewhere else |
| | | | | (c) We have Kiddush at our home on Friday night |
| | | | | (d) My wife lights the Sabbath candles on Friday night |
| | | | | (e) The Friday evening meal is a special occasion in our family as we honor the Sabbath |
| | | | | (f) The Ha-Motzi is said before meals in our home |
| | | | | (g) Jewish holidays other than the High Holidays, Passover, and Chanukah are generally celebrated in our home |
| | | | | (h) I attend minyans other than Sabbath services and major holidays |
| | | | | (i) I lay tephillin |

(C) Importance Attached to Religious Instruction of Children

25. How many sons do you have? ___; Of these how many (total) were either Bar Mitzvahed or will be Bar Mitzvahed? ___.
 How many daughters do you have? ___; How many of these (total number) were or will be either Bat Mitzvahed or confirmed? ___.

22. How important is it to you, or has it been to you, that your children receive (received) proper religious training and instruction. (Check one)
 ___ Very important; ___ Moderately important; ___ Not particularly important.

(D) Synagogue Attendance

27. How often do you attend synagogue services: ___ at least once a week; ___ at least once a month; ___ only on High Holidays; ___ only very seldom; ___ Never.
29. How often do you attend Rosh Hashanah services. (Check one)
 ___ Every year; ___ At least every other year; ___ Very seldom; ___ Never.
- How often do you attend Yom Kippur services. (Check one)
 ___ Every year; ___ At least every other year; ___ Very seldom; ___ Never.

II. Items corresponding to Ethnicity

(A) Extent of Actual Inter-religious Social Interaction

30. Which of the following do you engage in mainly with other Jews, mainly mixed groups, or mainly gentiles. (Check one for each of the five statements listed)

(1) Mainly Jewish	(2) Mixed	(3) Mainly Gentile	
—	—	—	(a) Most of the clubs and organizations to which you belong
—	—	—	(b) The social affairs which you attend
—	—	—	(c) Your closest friends
—	—	—	(d) Going out for the evening, to parties, to eat out, to movies, or other entertainment
—	—	—	(e) Casual neighborhood contacts

(B) Preference for Inter-religious Social Interaction

31. Regardless of how often you do mix with Jews or gentiles this question is interested in finding out how often you would prefer to mix with Jews or gentiles. (Check one for each of the five statements listed below)

- (a) In clubs and organizations
 (b) Social affairs
 (c) As closest friends
 (d) Going out for the evening
 (e) As neighbors

(1) Prefer Mainly Other Jews	(2) Prefer Mainly Mixed	(3) Prefer Mainly Gentile
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

(C) Voting for Political Candidates Because They are Sympathetic to Jews

32. When you decide for whom to vote, the one factor which probably influences you more than any other is whether the particular candidate will be good for the Jews. (Check one)
 ___ Strongly agree; ___ Agree; ___ Don't know; ___ Disagree;
 ___ Strongly disagree.

(D) Affinity Toward Israel

33. How positively do you feel towards Israel in comparison with your feelings to the United States. (Check one)
 ___ As strongly toward Israel as toward the U.S.; ___ More strongly toward Israel than toward the U.S.; ___ Less strongly toward Israel than toward the United States.
34. If for some reason you decided to leave the United States would you emigrate to Israel before you would emigrate to any other country? ___ Yes; ___ No; ___ Don't know;
 ___ Other, specify _____
35. Have you ever contributed money to Israel? ___ Yes; ___ No.
36. Have you ever been to Israel? ___ Yes; ___ No. If so, how many times have you been _____. If not, if you had the time and money to travel outside the U.S. would Israel be your first choice as a country to visit? ___ Yes; ___ No;
 ___ Don't know.
37. Have you ever helped finance a trip to Israel for members of your immediate family? ___ Yes; ___ No.

(E) Sending Children to a Jewish Camp

38. Do, or did, your children attend summer camp? ___ Yes; ___ No.
 If so, was it: ___ Primarily a Jewish camp; ___ Non-sectarian and mixed; or ___ Primarily a gentile camp.

(F) Subscribing to Jewish Periodicals

39. Check each of the following Jewish related magazines and newspapers which you either take or read regularly. List any additional ones which are not listed under the "Other" category.

- (a) The American Jewish-Times Outlook
 (b) American Zionist
 (c) Israel Magazine
 (d) The Hadassah Magazine
 (e) Jewish Heritage
 (f) The National Jewish Monthly
 (g) The American Examiner-Jewish Week
 (h) The Jewish Post and Opinion

(G) Participation in Jewish Organizations

45. The following is a partial list of Jewish organizations and clubs. For each one listed check if (1) you are a member; (2) Pay dues; (3) Attend meetings; (4) Have held or hold office. (Check all that apply)

(1) Are a member	(2) Pay Dues	(3) Attend Meetings	(4) Have Held or Hold Office	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	B'nai B'rith
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Anti-Defamation League
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	National Jewish Welfare Board
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Zionist Organization of America
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	American Jewish Committee
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	American Council of Judaism
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	American Jewish Congress
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Others, Please list and check below
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

TABLE C-1

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES FOR WHICH STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE
 (CHI SQUARE AT .05 LEVEL) WAS NOT ACHIEVED
 AMONG JEWISH COMMUNITY DISSATISFIED
 AND UNSATISFIED RESPONDENTS

	Percentage of Jewish commu- nity dissatisfied and dissatis- fied Jews according to religious observance
	Dissatisfied - Dissatisfied
<hr/>	
PERSONALITY VARIABLES	
<hr/>	

APPENDIX C

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WITHOUT STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

WITH JEWISH COMMUNITY DISSATISFACTION

1) Frequency of dietary laws	21	21
2) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
3) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
4) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
5) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
6) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
7) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
8) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
9) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
10) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
11) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
12) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
13) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
14) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
15) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
16) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
17) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
18) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
19) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
20) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
21) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
22) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
23) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
24) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
25) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
26) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
27) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
28) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
29) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
30) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
31) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
32) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
33) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
34) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
35) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
36) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
37) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
38) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
39) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
40) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
41) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
42) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
43) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
44) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
45) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
46) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
47) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
48) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
49) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
50) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
51) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
52) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
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58) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
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60) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
61) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
62) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
63) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
64) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
65) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
66) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
67) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
68) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
69) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
70) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
71) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
72) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
73) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
74) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
75) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
76) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
77) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
78) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
79) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
80) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
81) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
82) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
83) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
84) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
85) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
86) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
87) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
88) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
89) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
90) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
91) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
92) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
93) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
94) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
95) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
96) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
97) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
98) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
99) Frequency of kosher food	21	21
100) Frequency of kosher food	21	21

TABLE C-1

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES FOR WHICH STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE
(CHI SQUARE AT .05 LEVEL) WAS NOT ACHIEVED
BETWEEN JEWISH COMMUNITY SATISFIED
AND DISSATISFIED RESPONDENTS

	Percentage of Jewish community satisfied and dissatisfied Jews adhering to religious practices	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
RELIGIOSITY VARIABLES:		
(A) Observance of Dietary Laws		
(1) Pork not served in the home	40	42
(2) Non-kosher seafood not served	13	19
(3) Kosher meats are served	9	8
(4) Kosher for Passover	10	6
(5) Milk and meat dishes not eaten together	22	17
(6) Use of separate dishes for Passover	13	11
(7) Separate dishes for milk and meat	11	3
(B) General Ritual Observance		
(1) Observing Passover with a Seder	90	89
(2) Having Kiddush on Friday night	49	45
(3) Light Sabbath candles	53	53
(4) Friday evening meal as a special occasion to honor the Sabbath	43	49
(5) Hamotzi said at meals	31	31
(6) Observance of minor Jewish holidays	44	44
(7) Attend minyans	53	42
(8) Lay tephillin	4	3
(C) Importance Attached to Religious Instruction of Children		
(1) Sons have been or will be Bar Mitzvahed	88	77
(2) Daughters have been or will be Bat Mitzvahed	70	60
(3) Moderate or great importance attached to child's receipt of proper religious instruction	91	83

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
<hr/>		
(D) Synagogue Attendance		
(1) At least monthly	47	56
(2) High Holiday attendance		
(a) Attend Rosh Hashanah services annually	94	86
(b) Attend Yom Kippur services annually	94	89
<hr/>		
	Percentage of Jewish community satisfied and dissatisfied Jews adhering to ethnic practices and endogamous feelings	
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
<hr/>		

ETHNICITY VARIABLES:

(A) Affinity toward Israel

(1) Feelings toward Israel are "stronger" or "equal" relative to one's feelings toward the United States	34	51
(2) If decision was made to emigrate Israel would be country of first choice	54	73
(3) Have given money to Israel	93	88
(4) Have visited Israel	26	31
(B) Subscribing to one or more Jewish magazines	20	14
(C) Parents selecting an exclusively Jewish camp for their children to attend	54	76
(D) Voting choice based on perception of candidate's sympathy for Jews	71	76
(E) Social interaction mainly with Jews	28	31

STRENGTH OF ENDOGAMOUS FEELINGS:

(A) Great or moderate importance attached to children's marrying Jewish	83	84
---	----	----

Percentage of Jewish Community satisfied and dissatisfied Jews with stated characteristics

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
ADDITIONAL INDEPENDENT VARIABLES:		
(A) Respondents who were first or second generation American	61	80
(B) Respondents who have lived in their present community for 24 years or less	52	58
(C) Respondents who have lived in North Carolina for 24 years or less	47	50
(D) Respondents who have lived in the South for 36 years or less	56	75
(E) Respondents 44 years old and younger	34	25
(F) Respondents who were in the top two of Hollingshead's (1965) five social classes	63	53
(G) Presence of a synagogue in the community	91	78
(H) Presence of a rabbi in the community	87	75
(I) Respondents reporting they have felt prejudice or discrimination	49	53
(J) Respondents who were Conservative or Orthodox Jews	47	63
(K) Voting Behavior in 1972 elections		
(1) Voted for McGovern rather than Nixon	45	53
(2) Voted for Helms rather than Galafanikis in North Carolina Senatorial election	11	3