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# NEWS

FROM THE

# COMMITTEE

**aje**

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE** Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

*MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations*

**FOR RELEASE AFTER 11 A.M.,  
TUESDAY, NOV. 13, 1984**

NEW YORK, Nov. 13 . . . American Jews, though they seem to shift with current political moods, are still more liberal than their fellow Americans.

This is the overall conclusion of a general poll of American Jews and of an analysis of how they voted in the 1984 Presidential election, both of them done by the American Jewish Committee and made public this morning at a news conference at AJC headquarters in New York.

Dr. Steven M. Cohen, who directed the 1984 version of the "National Survey of American Jews" for the AJC, the fourth he has done since 1981, was on hand to discuss his findings, based on questions directed to 959 Jews nationwide between April and August 1984. The purpose of the study, he explained, was to "discern attitudes on major public issues, and to understand how certain social and demographic characteristics influence political thinking." Dr. Cohen is Professor of Sociology at Queens College, N.Y., and Visiting Professor at Hebrew University.

With him at the news conference was Milton Himmelfarb, Director of AJC's Information and Research Services, and an editor of the American Jewish Year Book. Mr. Himmelfarb and Geraldine Rosenfield, of the AJC staff, helped to design Dr. Cohen's questionnaire.

Among American Jews, Dr. Cohen reported, he found that "self-defined liberals" outnumbered conservatives by more than 3 to 2, with "middle-of-the-road Jews" about as numerous as the liberals. Thus, he concluded, "many more Jews than other Americans are liberal, and far fewer call themselves conservative."

**NOTE:** For a review copy of "National Survey of American Jews," write to Morton Yarmon, American Jewish Committee, 165 E. 56th St., New York, NY 10022

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees.

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Dr. Cohen found further, in the period when he was polling, which was before the 1984 election but in the midst of the primary campaigns, that Jewish Democrats outnumbered Republicans by more than 4 to 1, but he added that the Democratic proportion had been shrinking in recent years in favor of Independents.

Mr. Himmelfarb, armed with figures that have just been released on how Jews actually voted in the 1984 election, reported that, on the basis of exit polls, Jewish voters apparently gave two-to-one support to Walter F. Mondale, the Democratic Presidential candidate, over President Ronald Reagan.

However, Mr. Himmelfarb stressed that other studies indicated a narrower division between the two, and Dr. David M. Gordis, AJC Executive Vice President who chaired the news conference, said that AJC was undertaking its own analysis of all available data "in order to establish accurate and definitive figures." He added: "The American Jewish Committee will interpret the significance of the Jewish community's participation in the election only after we are confident that accurate and definitive figures are available."

On specific public issues, Dr. Cohen found that a majority of American Jews held these views:

- \* Opposition to quotas in hiring minorities (by 64 to 22, with 14 not sure), but support for affirmative action in other forms (by 70 to 20, with 10 not sure).

- \* Support of the goals of social welfare (by 75 to 17, with 8 not sure), but split on their effectiveness and on maintaining financial support (by 64 to 23, with 13 not sure).

- \* Security oriented on crime: support for both gun control (by 90 to 7, with 3 not sure) and capital punishment (by 68 to 20, with 12 not sure).

- \* For "gay rights" (by 87 to 9, with 4 not sure), but troubled by the rise in homosexuality (by 43 to 49, with 8 not sure).

- \* For Church/State separation: in tuition tax credits (with 63 opposed and 29 in favor, and 8 not sure) and in silent meditation in public schools (with 70 opposed and 21 in favor, and 9 not sure).

- \* Support for "dovish" or "detentist" U.S. policies toward the Soviet Union. By 84 to 17, the respondents registered in favor of the U.S. agreeing to a nuclear freeze with the Soviet Union; they disagreed, by 55 to 29, with 17 not sure, to a question asking if the U.S. should be more forceful in dealings with the Soviet Union even if the risk of war were increased; by 66 to 25, with 9 not sure, they agreed that whether President Reagan was factually correct, he displayed poor judgment when he called the Soviet Union an "evil empire."

\* The respondents were generally for less military spending but also for a strong U.S. military to back up Israel. They agreed that military spending should be cut "to help reduce deficits and relieve world tensions," by 59 to 27, with 14 not sure. And on the question whether the U.S. should maintain a strong military capacity "to be a reliable military supplier of Israel," 61 approved, 24 disagreed, and 15 were not sure.

On other public issues, Dr. Cohen found that American Jews were split on protecting extremists' civil liberties, supported capitalism over socialism, were split on the use of U.S. military force, opposed nuclear power plants, and supported staying in the United Nations.

Dr. Cohen found American Jews to continue the sense of being a minority group, with most of them believing that American anti-Semitism continues to threaten them, that conservative groups were more anti-Semitic than liberal groups, and that other ethnic groups, particularly blacks, were more anti-Semitic.

In analyzing the political sentiments of American Jews, Dr. Cohen said that historically they had "shaded toward the left of the national center," disproportionately supporting the Democratic Party and liberal social movements and organizations.

In recent years, he pointed out further, American Jews have "confounded the logic" of those who anticipated a rightward shift because of their affluence, finding them still supporting liberal candidates and issues. He speculated that American Jews might have been influenced by their difference with blacks, by their differences with liberal anti-militarism and anti-interventionism because of support for Israel, and by their support of a hard line against the Soviet Union because of Soviet opposition to Jewish interests.

However, he added, recent exit polls and public opinion surveys still report disproportionate Jewish support for liberal candidates and issues. He commented:

"It seems the national political center has moved right over the last fifteen years or so...and Jews have moved accordingly. However, it still appears that the center of the Jewish political spectrum is as left of the national center as it has been for decades." He added:

"Why — and whether — Jews lean to the liberal side of the political spectrum remains a mystery, in part because of the limited research thus far on their political attitudes, values, and beliefs."

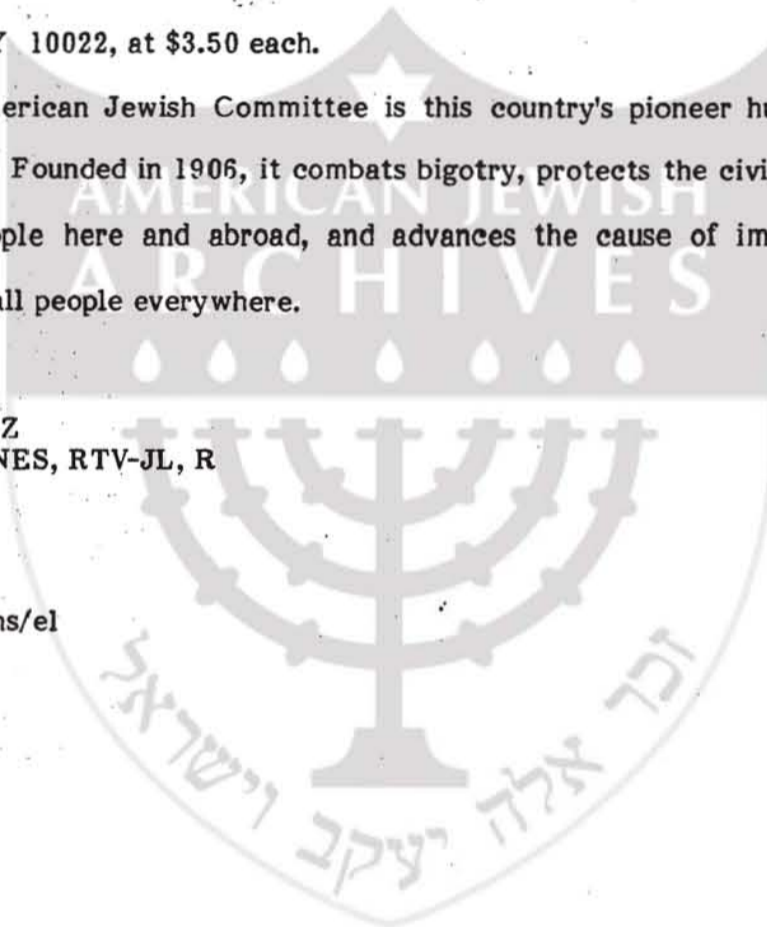
Dr. Cohen explained that his data were derived from 959 mail-back questionnaires returned by households with "distinctive Jewish names," as listed in the nation's telephone directories. He added that the characteristics of this sample were compared with data from a more costly data collection technique used in the 1981 Greater New York Jewish Population Study, conducted by himself and Dr. Paul Ritterband, pointing out that such comparisons revealed "few if any significant differences."

Copies of Dr. Cohen's study, when available, will be on sale at the Publications Service of the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York, NY 10022, at \$3.50 each.

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The Political Attitudes of American Jews, 1984

by Steven M. Cohen  
Queens College, CUNY

November, 1984

A National Survey Conducted for the American Jewish Committee



Milton Himmelfarb and Geraldine Rosenfield of the AJC helped design the questionnaire. They, along with Leonard Fein, Charles Siberman, and Susan Wall, offered many useful criticisms of an earlier draft of this report. The A.B. Data Corporation of Milwaukee conducted the sampling and data collection. Debbie Skolnick performed the word-processing.

## Executive Summary

This 1984 National Survey of American Jews, the fourth in an annual series, surveyed 996 Jews nationwide in April-August, 1984. The study's purpose was to discern Jews' attitudes on major public issues and to understand how certain social and demographic characteristics influence political thinking. Among the major findings are these:

1. Self-defined liberals outnumber conservatives by more than 3-2, but "Middle-of-the-road" Jews are about as numerous as the liberals. Thus, many more Jews than other Americans are liberal, and far fewer call themselves conservative.

2. Jewish Democrats outnumber Republicans by over 4-1, but the Democratic proportion has been shrinking (at least since 1981) in favor of Independents. Moreover, a slight majority now say they would have preferred a Reagan to a Carter victory in 1980.

3. On various public issues, the majority reports the following views:

a. Opposition to quotas in hiring minorities, but support for affirmative action in other forms.

b. Support of the goals of social welfare programs but split on their effectiveness and on maintaining financial support.

c. Security oriented on crime: support for both gun control and capital punishment.

d. For "gay rights," but troubled by the rise in homosexuality.

e. For Church/State separation in several areas (tuition tax credits, silent meditation in public schools), but split on the

centrality of religion in affecting public morality.

- f. Split on protecting extremists' civil liberties.
- g. Support for capitalism over socialism.
- h. Support for "dovish" or "detentist" U.S. policies toward the USSR.
- i. Split on the use of U.S. military force.
- j. Opposition to nuclear power plants.
- k. For less U.S. military spending, but also for a strong U.S. military to back up Israel.
- l. Support for staying in the U.N.

4. The sense of being a minority Jewish figures prominently in American Jews' political thinking. Most believe American anti-Semitism continues to threaten them. They see conservative groups as much more anti-Semitic than liberal groups, and they see other ethnic groups (especially blacks) as more anti-Semitic.

5. On most issues, the more liberal are those who: are less Jewishly involved (although not wholly uninvolved), have a post-graduate degree, read cultural or intellectual periodicals, and (to a lesser extent) are female. In most instances, income per se is unrelated to political views, although among the better-educated, the very affluent are somewhat more conservative.



In political life, American Jews historically have shaded toward the left of the national center. As activists and contributors, they have disproportionately supported the Democratic Party and many left-liberal social movements and organizations. As voters, they have favored Democratic Party candidates substantially more often than all other white ethnic or religious groups. And as respondents in public opinion surveys, they have identified more often than other Americans as liberals (and less often as conservatives), while taking liberal positions on major public issues.

However, for quite a few years, many observers have either predicted or advocated a rightward shift in Jewish political thinking. One reason for these expectations and exhortations is that a sizeable proportion of American Jews are extraordinarily affluent; as such, they have an economic interest in reducing taxes and in cutting the social services for which they personally have little need. Yet another consideration derives from the decade and a half of conflict between blacks and Jews over issues of high symbolic importance to both communities (affirmative action/quotas and Israel being the most prominent); as a result, Jews may no longer see themselves as allies of minorities or supporters of the latter's generally liberal political agenda. In the international arena, some have argued that Israel's security demands both a strong and well-financed American military as well as one which U.S. leaders are prepared to utilize to aid America's allies; if so, then pro-Israel Jews have ample reason to take issue with liberals' anti-militarism and anti-interventionism. Finally, the Soviet Union's opposition to Jewish interests in the USSR and in the Middle East could easily predispose concerned Jews to support a "hard-line" American posture in dealings with the Soviet

Union.

If all these factors were influencing Jews the way parallel developments seem to affect other Americans, then Jews should become less liberal and more conservative, and vote less Democratic and more Republican.

However, Jews continue to confound the logic of those who have anticipated a rightward shift in their politics. Recent exit polls and public opinion surveys still report disproportionate Jewish support for liberal candidates and issues. To cite one example, in the 1982 congressional elections, three quarters of Jewish voters cast their ballots for Democratic candidates, the same proportion who have done so for decades. Putting matters most succinctly, it seems the national political center has moved right over the last fifteen years or so, and Jews have moved accordingly. However, it still appears that the center of the Jewish political spectrum is as left of the national center as it has been for decades. Why--and whether--Jews lean to the liberal side of the political spectrum remains a mystery, in part because of the limited research thus far on their political attitudes, values, and beliefs.

While the national voting and public opinion studies have offered valuable Jewish-Gentile comparisons, by their very nature, they could not focus on issues or characteristics especially pertinent to the study of American Jewry. To help address the relative paucity of high-quality data on current American Jewish beliefs and attitudes, the American Jewish Committee has been sponsoring an annual National Survey of American Jews (NSAJ) since 1981. Last year's study explored American Jewish attitudes towards Israel and Israelis; this year's

NSAJ, conducted during a presidential election campaign, focused on attitudes toward major issues in American domestic and international affairs.

Since the study was directed only at Jewish respondents (N=959), it could concentrate on those issues particularly relevant for understanding current Jewish political thinking and could explore those issues in some detail. In particular, it explicitly investigated the possibility that large numbers of Jews may hold seemingly contradictory positions. Such apparent contradictions may reflect conflicts between Jews' historic liberal commitments and many of today's conservatizing influences cited above; or they may testify to the evolution of more complex constellations of political thinking. To search for seeming contradictions, the questionnaire often asked for reactions to two or three policy alternatives or viewpoints related to the same issue.

Not only did the study gauge opinions on a wide variety of issues, it also examined some of the factors affecting Jewish political thinking and behavior. These include social class, Jewish involvement, sex and age.

The lack of comprehensive, large-scale studies of Jewish public opinion in previous years precludes drawing definitive comparisons. Nevertheless, we can say with some confidence that the results presented below indicate that American Jews as a whole probably have not recently experienced a shift to the political right, at least relative to the ever-shifting national center. On issue after issue, a disproportionate fraction (generally over a third) of this national sample of American Jews endorsed solidly liberal positions, and they did so often even in the face of questions phrased so as to point up a

Jewish group-related reason to reject the standard liberal response. Of those who voiced other than a clearly liberal stance, the vast majority (roughly almost half the entire sample on most questions) expressed what may be regarded as a middle-of-the-road position; and on most issues, less than a quarter of the sample endorsed positions favored by conservative activists or by the Republican Party.

Moreover, more than income, education and several aspects of Jewish involvement (ritual observance and having Jewish friends and neighbors) had the most powerful associations with Jewish political attitudes. While American Jews differ considerably over their understanding of their group's values and interests, the vast majority exhibit evidence of being influenced by group concerns when expressing their political views. To fully appreciate these interpretations, we need to closely examine the data from the 1984 National Survey of American Jews.



# THE 1984 NATIONAL SURVEY OF AMERICAN JEWS

## GOVERNMENT POLICIES

<i>Do you favor or oppose each of the following policies? (Circle number.)</i>	FAVOR	OPPOSE	NOT SURE
1. Building more nuclear power plants in the U.S. ....	1 31	2 48	3 22
2. The death penalty for persons convicted of murder ....	1 68	2 20	3 12
3. Tuition tax credits for parents of children in private or parochial schools ....	1 29	2 63	3 8
4. Job quotas to assure equal opportunities for minorities ....	1 22	2 64	3 14
5. Affirmative action without quotas to promote equal opportunities for minorities	1 70	2 20	3 10
6. The U.S. agreeing to a nuclear freeze with the Soviet Union—that is, putting a stop to the testing, production, and installation of additional nuclear weapons by both sides .....	1 84	2 10	3 6
7. A law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun .....	1 90	2 7	3 3
8. The use of U.S. military force if Soviet troops invaded Western Europe .....	1 56	2 19	3 26
9. The use of U.S. military force if the Arabs cut off oil shipments to the U.S. ....	1 38	2 37	3 25
10. Government aid for abortions for poor women .....	1 81	2 13	3 6
11. A moment of silent meditation each day in the public schools .....	1 21	2 70	3 9

## ISSUES AND OPINIONS

<i>Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. (Circle number.)</i>	AGREE	DISAGREE	NOT SURE
12. The U.S. should be more forceful in its dealings with the USSR even if it increases the risk of war .....	1 29	2 55	3 17
13. The U.S. should leave the U.N. ....	1 21	2 69	3 9
14. Capitalism works better than socialism .....	1 73	2 7	3 20
15. The government should guarantee jobs for everyone who wants to work .....	1 37	2 44	3 19
16. President Reagan was basically accurate when he called the Soviet Union an "evil empire" .....	1 50	2 35	3 15
17. Whether or not President Reagan was factually correct, he displayed poor judgment in calling the Soviet Union an "evil empire" .....	1 66	2 25	3 9
18. The U.S. should build more nuclear power plants so as to lessen dependence on the Arabs' oil .....	1 38	2 42	3 20

	AGREE	DISAGREE	NOT SURE
19. The decline of religion in American life has contributed to a decline in morality .	1 44	2 42	3 14
20. It's good that the government protects the rights of very unpopular groups—like Ku Klux Klan, Nazis and Communists—to demonstrate publicly . . . . .	1 48	2 41	3 12
21. It's suicidal for a democracy to protect extremist groups who want to overthrow democracy . . . . .	1 44	2 43	3 13
22. To help reduce deficits and relieve world tensions, U.S. military spending should be cut . . . . .	1 59	2 27	3 14
23. In order to be a reliable military supplier of Israel, the U.S. should maintain a strong military capacity . . . . .	1 61	2 24	3 15
24. Adultery is wrong . . . . .	1 73	2 16	3 11
25. Whatever my personal views of homosexuality, I think that homosexuals should have the same rights as other people . . . . .	1 87	2 9	3 4
26. Whatever my views of the rights of homosexuals, I am troubled by the rise in their visibility . . . . .	1 43	2 49	3 8
27. In general, I support the goals and philosophy of such government programs as welfare and food stamps . . . . .	1 75	2 17	3 8
28. Such government programs as welfare and food stamps have had many bad effects on the very people they're supposed to help . . . . .	1 64	2 23	3 13
29. Because of the fraud and waste in such government programs as welfare and food stamps, I support efforts to reduce or eliminate some of these programs . . . . .	1 43	2 45	3 12
30. Anti-Semitism in America may, in the future, become a serious problem for American Jews . . . . .	1 77	2 10	3 13
31. Anti-Semitism in America is currently not a serious problem for American Jews . . . . .	1 40	2 47	3 13
32. Virtually all positions of influence in America are open to Jews . . . . .	1 31	2 58	3 11
33. American Jews must be vigilant in combatting any signs of anti-Semitism . . . . .	1 92	2 4	3 4
34. When it comes to the crunch, few non-Jews will come to Israel's side in its struggle to survive . . . . .	1 57	2 29	3 14
35. Israel should offer the Arabs territorial compromise in Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) in return for credible guarantees of peace . . . . .	1 43	2 37	3 20
36. If only because you can never trust the Arabs to make a real peace with Israel, Israel should maintain its rule over all of Judea and Samaria (the West Bank) . . . . .	1 44	2 33	3 22
37. Jews have a uniquely long and tragic history of persecution . . . . .	1 94	2 5	3 1
38. The Jewish history of persecution has made Jews especially sensitive to the needs of minority groups . . . . .	1 80	2 11	3 9
39. The U.S. has offered Jews more opportunities and freedom than any other Diaspora country . . . . .	1 83	2 6	3 10
40. There is nothing wrong with members of ethnic and religious groups in the U.S. organizing politically to further their group interests . . . . .	1 79	2 11	3 10
41. Parents of children in Jewish day schools should receive tuition tax credits . . . . .	1 30	2 61	3 9

Is your impression of each of the following generally favorable, generally unfavorable or mixed? If you are unfamiliar with the group, circle "4" for "no impression."

	GENERALLY FAVORABLE	GENERALLY UNFAVORABLE	MIXED	NO IMPRESSION
42. ACLU .....	1 42	2 13	3 24	4 22
43. NAACP .....	1 54	2 12	3 28	4 6
44. Moral Majority .....	1 7	2 69	3 14	4 10
45. NOW .....	1 41	2 11	3 20	4 28
46. AIPAC .....	1 16	2 3	3 4	4 77
47. Rabbis .....	1 60	2 3	3 23	4 14
48. UJA .....	1 74	2 4	3 16	4 7
49. Hasidim .....	1 29	2 16	3 44	4 11
50. JDL .....	1 24	2 41	3 27	4 8

51. Think of 4 possible candidates for President:

- "A" is a liberal in domestic affairs, and a "dove" in foreign affairs
- "B" is a liberal in domestic affairs, and a "hawk" in foreign affairs
- "C" is a conservative in domestic affairs, and a "dove" in foreign affairs
- "D" is a conservative in domestic affairs, and a "hawk" in foreign affairs

Other things being equal, who would be your 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th choice for President?

(Circle a different number for each candidate.)

	1ST CHOICE	2ND CHOICE	3RD CHOICE	4TH CHOICE
"A" (THE LIBERAL DOVE) .....	1 33	2 20	3 15	4 33
"B" (THE LIBERAL HAWK) .....	1 31	2 29	3 30	4 9
"C" (THE CONSERVATIVE DOVE) .....	1 17	2 29	3 35	4 19
"D" (THE CONSERVATIVE HAWK) .....	1 27	2 21	3 12	4 41

### ANTI-SEMITISM

In your opinion, what proportion of each of the following groups in the U.S. is anti-Semitic? Most, many, some or few?

(Circle number.)

	MOST	MANY	SOME	FEW	NOT SURE
52. Big business .....	4 11	3 33	2 40	1 10	0 7
53. Union leaders .....	4 6	3 17	2 43	1 20	0 14
54. Hispanics .....	4 8	3 22	2 37	1 14	0 19
55. Blacks .....	4 17	3 37	2 32	1 7	0 6
56. Democrats .....	4 1	3 5	2 48	1 36	0 10
57. Republicans .....	4 4	3 25	2 48	1 13	0 10
58. Liberals .....	4 2	3 5	2 34	1 47	0 3
59. Conservatives .....	4 7	3 28	2 42	1 12	0 12
60. Catholics .....	4 11	3 29	2 42	1 10	0 8
61. Mainstream Protestants .....	4 11	3 31	2 40	1 9	0 10

	MOST	MANY	SOME	FEW	NOT SURE
62. Fundamentalist Protestants .....	4 19	3 27	2 28	1 6	0 20
63. State Department .....	4 13	3 27	2 35	1 12	0 13
64. Pentagon .....	4 12	3 27	2 37	1 10	0 14
65. Media .....	4 4	3 14	2 45	1 27	0 9
66. Police .....	4 3	3 16	2 48	1 20	0 13

## MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

Do you regularly read or receive any of the following? (Circle number.)

	YES	NO <sup>#</sup>
67. Time or Newsweek or U.S. News & World Report .....	1 56	2 44
68. New Republic .....	1 4	2 96
69. National Review .....	1 2	2 98
70. Commentary .....	1 5	2 95
71. New Yorker .....	1 20	2 80
72. N.Y. Review of Books .....	1 10	2 90
73. Atlantic or Harper's .....	1 6	2 94
74. Business Week or Forbes or Fortune .....	1 27	2 73
75. Wall Street Journal .....	1 39	2 61
76. Sunday New York Times .....	1 41	2 59
77. Ms. ....	1 6	2 94
78. A professional journal .....	1 56	2 44
79. A Jewish magazine or newspaper .....	1 58	2 42
80. Moment .....	1 4	2 96
81. Jerusalem Post .....	1 7	2 93
82. Do you belong to a book club? .....	1 16	2 84

## POLITICS AND VOTING

83. Which of these best describes your usual stand on political issues? (Circle number.)

1. RADICAL OR SOCIALIST 1

2. LIBERAL 35

3. MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD 38

4. CONSERVATIVE 24

5. VERY CONSERVATIVE 1

84. Do you usually think of yourself as Republican, Democratic, or Independent?

1. REPUBLICAN 12

2. DEMOCRATIC 57

3. INDEPENDENT 31

85. Did you vote in the 1980 election for President?

1. YES 91 2. NO 9

A. (If Yes) Whom did you vote for?

1. ANDERSON 15 2. CARTER 44 3. REAGAN 39 4. ANOTHER CANDIDATE 3

86. Knowing what you do now, whom would you rather have seen elected in 1980, Reagan or Carter?

1. REAGAN 53 2. CARTER 47

87. Do you think that Jesse Jackson is anti-Semitic?

1. YES 75 2. NO 8 3. NOT SURE 18



ISRAEL

88. How many times have you been to Israel? (Enter number.) (0)60 (1)22 (2)8 (3)4 (4+)6

ASSOCIATES

(Circle number.)

89. Of your 3 closest friends, how many are Jewish? ..... 0 8 1 15 2 22 3 56
90. Of the 3 people closest to you, whom you know from work, how many are Jewish? (If you are not employed, leave blank.) ..... 0 32 1 27 2 21 3 20
91. Of the 3 people in your neighborhood with whom you are closest, how many are Jewish? ..... 0 27 1 16 2 16 3 42

RELIGION

(Circle number.)

	JEWISH	CHRISTIAN	OTHER	NONE	NO SPOUSE
92. In what religion were you raised? .....	1 97	2 1	3 0	4 2	-
93. What is your religion now? .....	1 91	2 0	3 1	4 8	-
94. In what religion was your spouse raised? .....	1 83	2 15	3 1	4 2	5
95. What is your spouse's religion now? ...	1 84	2 7	3 1	4 8	5

Below are several religious practices. For each practice, please indicate whether: (a) you do this now; (b) you did it 10 years ago; (c) your parents did it when you were a child.

	NOW		10 YEARS AGO		EITHER OR BOTH OF YOUR PARENTS	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
96. Attend a Passover Seder at home or elsewhere .....	1 86	2 14	4 88	5 12	7 90	8 10
97. Attend Yom Kippur services .....	1 68	2 32	4 73	5 27	7 84	8 16
98. Attend Sabbath services once a month or more .....	1 24	2 76	4 29	5 71	7 41	8 59
99. Use separate dishes for meat and dairy products .....	1 20	2 80	4 22	5 78	7 46	8 54
100. Have a Christmas tree at home .....	1 12	2 88	4 11	5 89	7 9	8 92

101. Do you think of yourself as ... (Circle number.)

71. ORTHODOX 32 2. CONSERVATIVE 23 3. REFORM 2 4. RECONSTRUCTIONIST 37 5. JUST JEWISH

102. Do you belong to a synagogue? ..... 1. YES 55 2. NO 45

103. Do you belong to a Jewish organization aside from a synagogue or synagogue-related group? ..... 1. YES 48 2. NO 52

104. What was the main form of Jewish schooling you received as a child?

1. NONE 17 2. SUNDAY SCHOOL 25 3. AFTERNOON SCHOOL 41 4. YESHIVA OR DAY SCHOOL 8 5. OTHER 10

## BACKGROUND

105. Your sex: (Circle number.) ..... 1. MALE 60 2. FEMALE 40

106. Your age: MEDIAN = 51

107. Marital status: 1. NEVER MARRIED 12 2. MARRIED 73 3. DIVORCED OR SEPARATED 6 4. WIDOWED 9

108. How many children have you had? (0) 20 (1) 12 (2) 40 (3) 19 (4) 7 (5+) 2

109. What is the total number of children you expect to have? (0) 16 (1) 10 (2) 44 (3) 21 (4) 8 (5+) 2

110. How many children live with you? (0) 58 (1) 15 (2) 19 (3) 6 (4) 1 (5+) 0

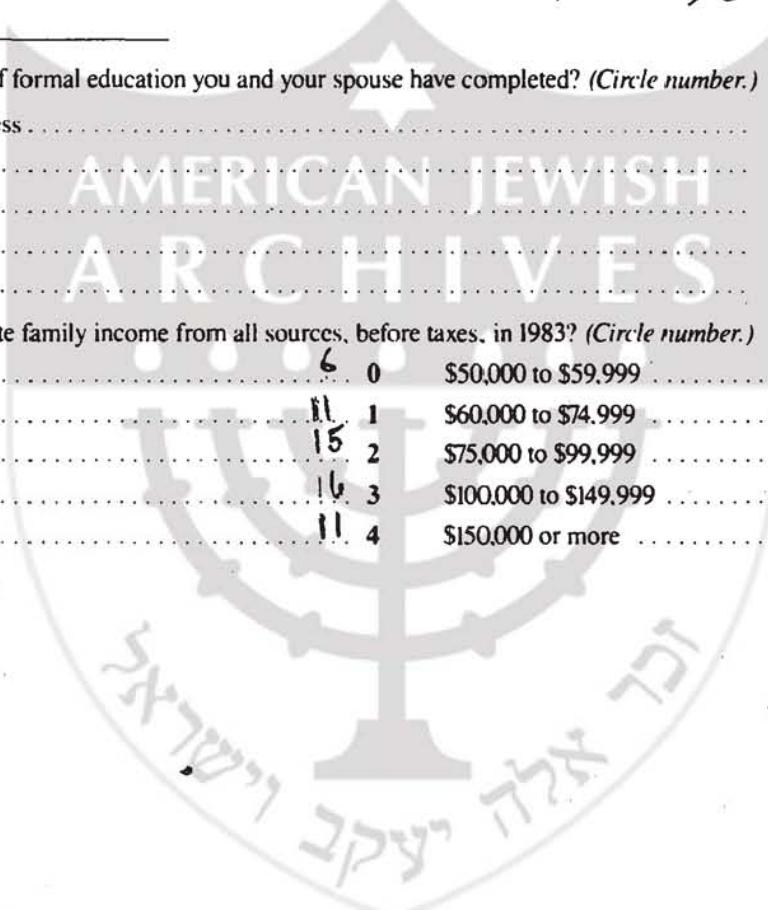
111. What is your ZIP code? \_\_\_\_\_

112. What is the highest level of formal education you and your spouse have completed? (Circle number.)

	YOU	YOUR SPOUSE
High school graduate or less	1 17	6 21
Some college	2 21	7 23
College degree	3 27	8 30
Post-graduate degree	4 35	9 26
No spouse	5	-

113. What was your approximate family income from all sources, before taxes, in 1983? (Circle number.)

Less than \$10,000	6 0	\$50,000 to \$59,999	13 5
\$10,000 to \$19,999	11 1	\$60,000 to \$74,999	8 6
\$20,000 to \$29,999	15 2	\$75,000 to \$99,999	7 7
\$30,000 to \$39,999	16 3	\$100,000 to \$149,999	6 8
\$40,000 to \$49,999	11 4	\$150,000 or more	7 9



# NEWS FROM THE Committee



The American Jewish  
Committee

Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56 Street  
New York, New York 10022  
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Morton Yarmon  
Director of Public Relations

The American Jewish Committee protects the rights and freedoms of Jews the world over; combats bigotry and anti-Semitism and promotes human rights for all; works for the security of Israel and deepened understanding between Americans and Israelis; defends democratic values and seeks their realization in American public policy; and enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people. Founded in 1906, it is the pioneer human-relations agency in the U.S.

FOR RELEASE AFTER 11 A.M.,  
THURSDAY, OCT. 13, 1988

NEW YORK, OCT. 13. . . . American Jews remain well to the left of the national political center in several key areas, and are deeply concerned about anti-Semitism, according to a recently conducted nationwide survey.

The survey, which was released today at a news conference at the offices of the American Jewish Committee, found that the liberal leanings of American Jews are especially notable in three areas: Jews tend far more to think of themselves as liberals and Democrats than do other Americans; they heavily support separation of church and state, and they take strikingly liberal positions on such social issues as abortion policy and gay rights.

The survey also found that Jews support higher taxes, favor cuts in defense spending, and oppose cuts in domestic spending to a greater degree than do other Americans.

The in-depth study of American Jews' political attitudes and their determinants was conducted for AJC by Steven M. Cohen, professor of sociology at Queens College, CUNY. The study is based on two simultaneous surveys -- one dealing with 1,252 Jews and the other with 1,217 non-Jews -- undertaken by Market Facts, Inc., a national research corporation. The questionnaires were fielded in April and May, 1988.

Chairing today's news conference was Ira Silverman, executive vice president of the AJC.

The analysis compared Jews with other white non-Jews and with blacks, who were over-sampled to ensure reliable statistical results. "By surveying Jews and non-Jews at the same time in the same fashion," said Professor Cohen at today's conference, "we can be reasonably sure that any differences we uncovered between the two groups were genuine, and not due to methodological artifacts."

Among the more marked differences found between Jews and other whites were these:

\*Among white Gentiles in the sample, the number of Democrats and Republicans was about even; but among Jews, Democrats outnumbered Republicans by better than 4-to-1 (61% versus 14%).

\*Twice as many white non-Jews see themselves as "conservative" than as "liberal" (36% versus 17%); but among Jews, liberals vastly outnumber conservatives (33% versus 21%).

\*The white non-Jews at the time of the survey were leaning to the Republican presidential ticket (34% versus 31%); but Jews overwhelmingly favored a Democrat for President (58% versus 16%).

While the study found that Jews are generally motivated by liberal leanings in many key areas, it also found that Jews are anxious about American anti-Semitism and anti-Israel sentiments. More than three quarters believe, reported Professor Cohen, that "anti-Semitism in America is currently . . . a serious problem for American Jews," the highest figure recorded since the AJC surveys first asked the question in 1983.

Similarly, the study found that only a quarter believe that "virtually all positions of influence in America are open to Jews," a figure lower than in any of the previous AJC surveys. In a related area, a clear majority (54%) say they are "worried the U.S. may stop being a firm ally of Israel," more than in 1986, the last time the question was asked of a representative national sample of American Jews.

Many Jews' fears of anti-Semitism were found to center on the Rev. Jesse Jackson and on blacks generally. When asked if they thought Reverend Jackson was anti-Semitic, 59% responded in the

. . . more

affirmative, and only 10% disagreed. In addition, almost half the Jewish respondents (46%) said they believe "many" American blacks are anti-Semitic.

Respondents were also asked which party's presidential ticket they would support if Jesse Jackson was not on a party ticket. In response to this question, Jews, far more than other whites, gave their "vote" to the Democrats. However, when asked which party they would vote for if Jackson were the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, the Jews changed their vote from a 58%-to-16% Democratic majority to a 44%-to-24% Republican majority.

"Of course, these results cannot be taken as face-value predictions of the electoral outcome in November," Professor Cohen pointed out. "They were collected in April and May, long before many voters had decided or even knew for sure who would be on the tickets. But they do give us some indication of the kinds of concerns American Jews bring to the voting booths. Clearly, a commitment to liberalism and a fear of anti-Semitism or of 'anti-Israelism' are the two primary political motivations of American Jews."

The study also found, continued Professor Cohen, that Jews' liberalism goes beyond their political self-identification. In social issues, for example:

\*While only minorities of non-Jewish whites and blacks say abortion should be "legal [for all women] as it is now" (45% and 41% respectively), the vast majority of American Jews (87%) favor keeping abortion legal.

\*Jews favor "gay rights" far more than other Americans, white or black. The survey asked, "whatever my personal views of homosexuality, I think that homosexuals should have the same rights as other people." While most of the non-Jewish whites (57%) agreed, as did 70% of the blacks, support for this view was voiced by 85% of the Jews.

\*While most non-Jewish whites and blacks favor a ban on "all forms of pornography," most Jews oppose such a ban.

Jews' liberalism was also found to be very pronounced in the church-state area. The vast majority of non-Jews, but hardly any Jews, favor "a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the public schools" (71% of the non-Jewish whites, 74% of the blacks, and only 18% of the Jews).

"Jews also divided with others on the question of using public property for religious symbols," said Professor Cohen, "and, somewhat ironically, far more non-Jews than Jews say it is OK for a city government to put up a menorah on government property during the Jewish holiday of Chanukah (non-Jewish whites: 81%; blacks: 60%; and Jews: only 37%.")

On issues of taxes and spending the study found Jews to be significantly more liberal than non-Jewish whites and marginally more liberal than blacks. Jews approve of cutting defense spending far more than other whites (69% versus 51%); they oppose cuts in domestic spending far more than other whites (43% versus 25%); and they oppose raising taxes somewhat less than other whites (54% versus 62%).

"And in the few areas where Jews were not particularly liberal," said Professor Cohen, "neither were they especially conservative. Their views on the Soviet Union, capital punishment, and affirmative action were not unlike those of other white Americans."

"This study represents a genuine advance in our understanding of Jewish political attitudes," commented Dr. David Singer, director of AJC's Information and Research Services. "First, the study provides a truly refined conceptualization of Jewish liberalism, telling us where Jews are most liberal and where they are not. Second, the study begins to tell us with greater insight than ever before the reasons for Jewish liberalism."

Professor Cohen's analysis identified several factors that help account for the Jewish tilt to the

...more

liberal side of the political spectrum, the most prominent among them being parents' politics, education, and secularism.

"Jews are more liberal," said Professor Cohen, "partly because more of them had liberal parents (and fewer had conservative parents) than did other Americans.

"Jews are also more liberal because they have attended colleges and universities far more than have other Americans. Moreover, higher education has a greater liberalizing impact on Jews than it does upon others.

"Jews are more liberal because they are so secular, that is, non-religious. Although deeply attached to other Jews as an ethnic group, Jews report religious service attendance rates far lower than other Americans. Generally, the more religious are more conservative."

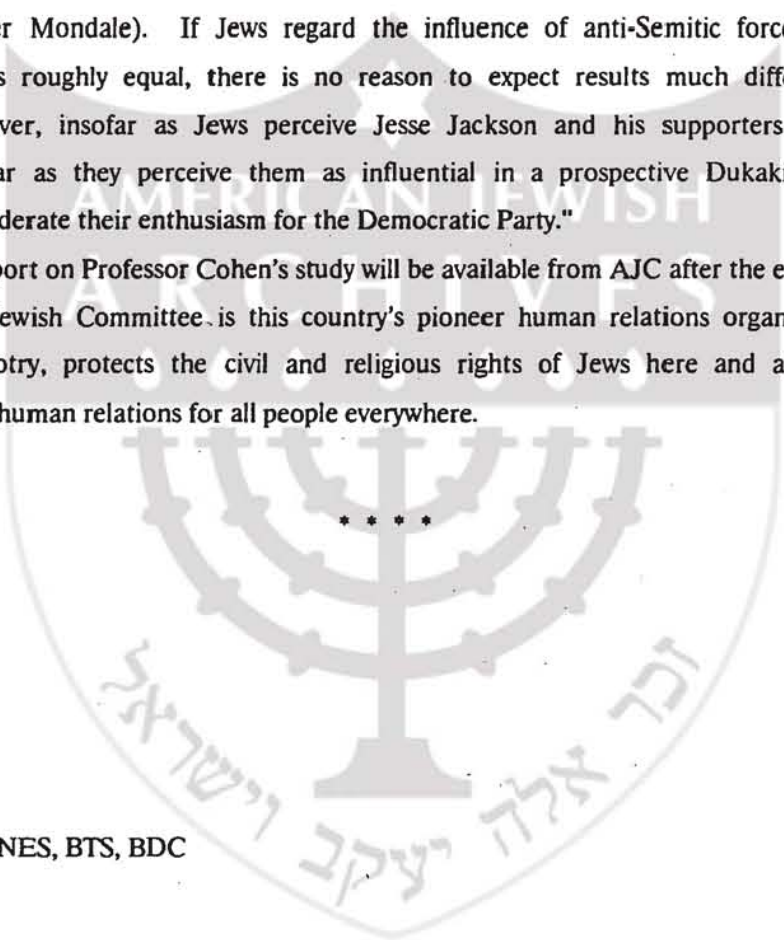
Commenting on the implications of these findings for the upcoming Presidential elections, Professor Cohen concluded that "Jews will be motivated both by their liberalism and by their concern over their own security and that of Israel."

"In 1984," he continued, "exit polls showed Jews giving a landslide victory of about 68% to 32% to the Democrat (Walter Mondale). If Jews regard the influence of anti-Semitic forces on the Bush and Dukakis campaigns as roughly equal, there is no reason to expect results much different from those we saw in 1984. However, insofar as Jews perceive Jesse Jackson and his supporters as anti-Semitic and anti-Israel, and insofar as they perceive them as influential in a prospective Dukakis administration, we can expect them to moderate their enthusiasm for the Democratic Party."

The complete report on Professor Cohen's study will be available from AJC after the election.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

AJRZ, POL, BPOL, BNES, BTS, BDC  
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MARC TANENBAUM

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** November 10, 1988  
**to** Ira Silverman  
**from** David Singer  
**subject** The Jewish Vote

Once again American Jews have demonstrated the remarkable consistency of their voting behavior, favoring the more liberal candidate over the more conservative one. The results for the 1988 presidential election are as follows:

	<u>Dukakis</u>	<u>Bush</u>
ABC	( 71%	( 28%
NBC/ <u>Wall Street Journal</u>	( 71%	( 29%
CBS/ <u>New York Times</u>	( 64%	( 35%
CNN/ <u>Los Angeles Times</u>	( 74%	( 24%

The bottom line is that Jewish support for the Republican party did not increase in 1988, despite the Jackson phenomenon.

At a later point, I will have data on sub-group differences among Jewish voters. There is little likelihood of any surprises, however.

*David S.*

DS:rg

cc: SAC members  
Area offices

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** June 9, 1988  
**to** AJC Colleagues\*  
**from** David Singer  
**subject** April 1988 Roper Poll

Attached are the findings of the poll of American opinion that Roper conducted for the AJC in April. The findings, taken as a whole, are surprisingly positive for Israel.

I am currently preparing a full analysis of the poll, including subgroup differences. Until the analysis is ready for release, Ira Silverman has asked that the findings be kept in-house.

*David S.*

DS:rg

cc: Shula Bahat, Hyman Bookbinder, George Gruen, David Harris, Ronald Kronish,  
Gary Rubin, Gary Wolf, Marc Tanenbaum

Memorandum

4. I'm going to mention the names of some foreign countries. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether or not you think that country is or is not a reliable ally of the United States. First, (name country). (ASK ABOUT EACH ONE)

	IS RELIABLE ALLY	IS NOT RELIABLE ALLY	DON'T KNOW	
a. Canada	1892	24	Y 7	36/
b. Syria	172	260	Y 34	37/
c. West Germany	1632	218	Y 19	38/
d. Israel	1432	236	Y 21	39/
e. Egypt	1312	240	Y 29	40/
f. France	1532	227	Y 20	41/
g. Jordan	1172	245	Y 38	42/

5. Turning for a minute to the situation in the Middle East, at the present time do you find yourself more in sympathy with Israel, or more in sympathy with the Arab nations?

More with Israel ..... 37.4 43/  
 More with Arab nations ..... 11.2  
 Not sympathetic with either side (vol.) ..... 26.3  
 Sympathetic equally with both sides (vol.) ..... 11.4  
 Don't know ..... 16.Y

6. Turning to the situation in the West Bank and Gaza, do you think the Israeli government's response to the Palestinian uprising has been too harsh, too lenient, or about right?

Too harsh ..... 28.4 44/  
 Too lenient ..... 11.2  
 About right ..... 26.3  
 Don't know ..... 34.Y

7. There have been complaints, both in Israel and here, that the news media have shown bias against Israel in the coverage of Israel's response to the Palestinian uprising. Do you think the news media have or have not shown bias against Israel?

Have ..... 31.1 Don't know .Y 45/  
 Have not 36.2

8. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) Which one of the following would you prefer as a solution to the problem of the Palestinians in the Middle East?

a. Israeli annexation of all of the West Bank and Gaza ... 52.1 } 46/  
 b. Israeli military control of all of the West Bank and Gaza, with local self-rule for the Palestinians ... 10.2  
 c. The return of major portions of the West Bank and Gaza to Jordanian rule, with appropriate security arrangements for Israel ... 12.3 } (SKIP TO 10)  
 d. The establishment of a Palestinian homeland in all of the West Bank and Gaza in federation with Jordan ... 6.4  
 e. The establishment of an independent Palestinian state in all of the West Bank and Gaza ..... 8.5  
 f. Don't know which is preferable solution ..... 59.Y (ASK 9)

9. Is that because you haven't followed the situation closely enough to have an opinion, or because you don't know which of the solutions you would prefer?

Haven't followed closely enough 35.1 47/  
 Don't know which solution would prefer ..... 2.42



10. Israel has agreed to meet with local Palestinian representatives, but refuses to negotiate with the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), claiming that it is a terrorist organization. Do you think Israel is right or wrong in refusing to negotiate with the PLO?

Right ... 441                      Wrong ... 272                      Don't know .Y 29                      48/

12. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD) Which, if any, of the groups listed on this card do you believe have too much power in the United States? Just call off the letter in front of the groups.

a. Business corporations .....	44.2	62/
b. Arab interests .....	23.2	
c. Blacks .....	14.3	
d. The news media--TV and newspapers .....	39.4	
e. Jews .....	8.5	
f. The Catholic Church .....	9.6	
g. Orientals--Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Vietnamese, etc. ....	15.7	
h. Hispanics .....	6.8	
i. Labor unions .....	30.9	
None of these .....	11.0	
Don't know .....	8.Y	

13. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement:  
Most American Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the United States.

Agree ..... 242                      Disagree ..... 78.2                      Don't know ... 27.Y                      63/

**ELECTION '88**

08-24-88

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**Jewish voting block influential, though its numbers are few**

By Albert J. Menendez  
Special to Religious News Service

*(Note to editors: Following is the third article in a four-part series on the voting patterns religious groups have taken in previous national elections and their implications for the 1988 race. It was written for Religious News Service by Albert J. Menendez, former research director of Americans United for Separation of Church and State and author of "Religion at the Polls," published in 1977 by Westminster Press.)*

**(RNS) — The Jewish vote fascinates political junkies, perhaps because of this community's high visibility among the cultural and academic elites. Jews are highly influential in the political process. High achievers in almost every endeavor, Jews generally**

rank first in income and education. A record number of Jews — about 7 percent — now hold seats in Congress. This is a remarkable achievement for an immigrant community that has had to struggle for decades against anti-Semitism.

But the Jewish vote is small, no more than 3 percent of the electorate — down from two decades ago as more blacks, Hispanics and white fundamentalists are voting. Even in New York state the Jewish vote has fallen below 15 percent. Jewish voters have some clout in New Jersey, Maryland, California, Massachusetts and Florida.

Since FDR, the Jewish community has been strongly committed to the liberal social and cultural values embodied in the Democratic Party. In almost every election, Jews have been among the most Democratic of voters, faithfully backing candidates like Adlai Stevenson, Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern. In doing so, it is said, Jews have voted against their economic interests. But they have felt most secure in Democratic administrations.

Beginning in the early 1970s, however, many Jews began to see the Democrats' foreign policy positions toward Israel and the Soviet Union as threatening their best interests. Social conflicts with their traditional black allies over school busing and quotas threatened to shatter the black/Jewish alliance over civil rights. These conflicts depressed the Democratic vote, and Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford did better among Jews than Dwight Eisenhower. In 1980, an extremely unpopular Democratic president, Jimmy Carter, nearly lost the Jewish vote to Ronald Reagan, while 15 to 20 percent of Jews opted for John Anderson. Mr. Carter's Jewish vote was the lowest any Democrat had received since 1924.

But the Reagan administration's ties to the Religious Right angered and frightened so many Jews that Walter Mondale swept their vote in 1984, the largest gain the former vice president made among any group. Jesse Jackson's candidacy briefly threatened Democratic hopes in that year, but Jerry Falwell proved to be more intimidating.

Mike Dukakis won convincing majorities among Jewish voters in every Democratic primary this year. His commitment to civil liberties and his intellectual style are very appealing to Jewish voters — and his Jewish wife, Kitty, probably won't hurt. He should win 75 to 80 percent of the Jewish vote in November. Orthodox Jews, however, share a great deal in common with evangelicals and conservative Catholics and will probably give the edge to Mr. Bush.

Black Americans — the vast majority of whom are Protestant — have been the Democratic Party's mainstay since 1964. Concerned about economic survival issues, many blacks see the Democrats as their protectors. Many of their political convictions seem rooted in the social gospel tradition exemplified by the Rev. Jesse Jackson. On several social issues, i.e., school prayer, blacks are conservative, and this social conservatism has attracted individuals like Rosey Grier and the Rev. E. V. Hill to the Republican camp. But 90 percent of blacks still opted for Walter Mondale. Even in bad years — like 1972 and 1980 — more than 80 percent of blacks preferred the party of FDR. Gov. Dukakis' peace pact with Jesse Jackson makes that a certainty in 1988.

The Mormon vote is not up for grabs. It is solidly Republican and keeps Utah and Idaho in the GOP column. Student precincts in Brigham Young University gave President Reagan 95 percent of their vote in 1984. Cultural conservatism will offset any economic dislocations among Mountain State Mormon voters.

*(Tomorrow: Religiously unaffiliated voters)*

POLITICAL IDENTITY

Which of these best describes your usual stand on political issues?

	OTHER			JEWS	JEWS
	JEWS	WHITES	BLACKS	1984	1986
VERY LIBERAL	4	2	8	1*	1*
LIBERAL	29	15	36	35	31
MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD	46	48	33	38	38
CONSERVATIVE	20	32	18	24	26
VERY CONSERVATIVE	1	4	5	1	4

\*Note: The 1984 and 1986 questionnaires used "radical or socialist" instead of "very liberal."

You usually think of yourself as a:

	OTHER			JEWS	JEWS
	JEWS	WHITES	BLACKS	1984	1986
REPUBLICAN	14	37	5	12	18
INDEPENDENT	25	26	11	31	19
DEMOCRAT	61	37	84	57	63

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

	OTHER		
	JEWS	WHITES	BLACKS
APPROVE	24	42	19
DISAPPROVE	60	38	76
NOT SURE	16	19	15

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, 1988

Assume that neither Jesse Jackson nor Pat Robertson is on the major party tickets. Which of the major parties will you probably vote for in the 1988 presidential election?

	JEWS	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
THE REPUBLICAN	16	34	4
THE DEMOCRATIC	58	31	82
NOT SURE	25	26	12
WON'T VOTE	1	1	3

If Jesse Jackson is the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate, which of the major parties will you probably vote for in the 1988 presidential election?

	JEWS	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
THE REPUBLICAN	44	49	3
THE DEMOCRATIC	24	25	92
NOT SURE	30	23	5
WON'T VOTE	2	3	0

If Pat Robertson is the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, which of the major parties will you probably vote for in the 1988 presidential election?

	JEWS	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
THE REPUBLICAN	10	27	3
THE DEMOCRATIC	59	36	79
NOT SURE	27	33	14
WON'T VOTE	5	3	4

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Which of the following politicians, some of whom are active candidates and some of whom are not, would be your first choice for President in 1988? Who would be your second, and your third choices?

(Percentage who would find candidate "acceptable," that is, listed candidate as first or second choice)

	JEWS	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
George Bush	24	45	14
Mario Cuomo	51	15	18
Robert Dole	16	28	5
Michael Dukakis	60	38	39
Albert Gore	13	14	6
Jesse Jackson	5	10	87
Pat Robertson	0	7	6

## ANTISEMITISM

	AGREE	DISAGREE	NOT SURE
Antisemitism in America is currently not a serious problem for American Jews.	14	76	10
	1986 26	54	20
	1984 40	47	13
	1983 35	45	20

Virtually all positions of influence in America are open to Jews.	25	65	10
	1986 37	50	13
	1984 31	58	11
	1983 26	55	19

In your opinion, what proportion of each of the following groups in the U.S. are anti-semitic? Most, many, some or few?

	MOST	MANY	SOME	FEW	NOT SURE
Big business	6	29	42	14	9
Union leaders	6	22	42	18	12
Hispanics	8	22	38	13	18
Blacks	14	32	34	10	11
Democrats	1	6	46	31	16
Republicans	3	17	48	16	15
Liberals	1	8	41	34	17
Conservatives	4	19	46	15	17
Catholics	9	29	41	11	10
Mainstream Protestants	7	27	43	11	13
Fundamentalist Protestants	16	34	28	7	15

Is Jesse Jackson anti-Semitic?	YES	NO	NOT SURE
	59	10	31

Is Pat Robertson anti-Semitic?	YES	NO	NOT SURE
	41	13	46

ISRAEL & THE MIDDLE EAST

	AGREE	DIS- AGREE	NOT SURE
Caring about Israel is a very important part of my being a Jew	76	15	9
	1986 63	24	14
	1983 78	9	13
I am sometimes uncomfortable about identifying myself as a supporter of Israel	15	78	7
	1986 8	84	9
	1983 9	85	6
If Israel were destroyed, I would feel as if I had suffered one of the greatest personal tragedies in my life	63	21	16
	1986 61	21	18
	1983 78	9	13
	1981 83	13	5
When it comes to the crunch, few non-Jews will come to Israel's side in its struggle to survive	57	28	15
	1986 46	33	21
	1983 54	24	22
I am worried the US may stop being a firm ally of Israel	54	33	12
	1986 40	43	17
	1983 55	32	14
American Jews should not publicly criticize the policies of the government of Israel	32	56	12
	1986 22	63	16
	1985 36	55	10
	1983 31	57	12
	1982 43	49	8
	1981 38	57	17
Recently there has been too much criticism of the Israeli government by American Jews.	41	38	21
Even when I disagree with the actions of Israel's government, that doesn't change how close I feel toward Israel.	82	8	10

**AFFIRMATIVE ACTION**

Do you favor or oppose giving preference in hiring to each of the following groups?

(Percent in favor)

	JEWS	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
The Handicapped	57	61	79
Women	36	40	74
Blacks	27	30	75
Hispanics	25	25	65
Jews	28	25	56
Asians	23	22	51

**SOCIAL WELFARE**

	JEWS	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS	JEWS 1984
In general I support the goals and philosophy of such government programs as welfare.	54	49	64	75
Government programs such as welfare have had many bad effects on the very people they're supposed to help	77	74	72	64
I support efforts to reduce or eliminate government programs such as welfare.	32	35	20	43

**SPENDING AND TAXES**

At present, the federal budget deficit is running at the rate of about 200 billion dollars per year. Please indicate whether you approve or disapprove of each of the following ways to reduce the deficit.

Cut defense spending

	JEWS	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
APPROVE	69	51	65
DISAPPROVE	20	33	17

Cut domestic spending

APPROVE	39	56	31
DISAPPROVE	43	25	44

Raise taxes

APPROVE	25	20	18
DISAPPROVE	54	62	65



CHURCH-STATE SEPARATION

	JEWS	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
Government aid for parents of school children to help pay for tuition at private or parochial schools?	19	24	29
A Constitutional Amendment to permit prayer in the public schools?	18	71	74
It's OK for a city government to put up a manger scene on government property at Christmas.	36	89	70
It's OK for a city government to put up a menorah on government property during the Jewish holiday of Chanukah.	37	81	60
Public schools should allow student religious groups to hold voluntary meetings in school classrooms, when classes are not in session.	51	75	71
It should be against the law for unusual religious cults to try to convert teen-agers.	69	71	74



THE "SOCIAL ISSUES"

ABORTION

What do you think about abortion? Should it be . . .

	JEW	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
Legal as it is now	87	45	41
Legal only in some cases	12	44	48
Not permitted at all	1	11	11

Suppose your unmarried teen-age daughter told you she was pregnant & intended to have an abortion. Would you support her decision to have an abortion?

	JEW	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
YES	75	35	35
NO	6	37	37
NOT SURE	19	28	28

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES  
HOMOSEXUALS

Whatever my personal views of homosexuality, I think that homosexuals should have the same rights as other people.

	JEW	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS	JEW 1984
Whatever my personal views of homosexuality, I think that homosexuals should have the same rights as other people.	85	57	70	87

Whatever my views of the rights of homosexuals, I am troubled by the rise in their visibility.

Whatever my views of the rights of homosexuals, I am troubled by the rise in their visibility.	35	62	48	43
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PORNOGRAPHY

Do you favor or oppose laws which would ban all forms of pornography?

	JEW	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
FAVOR	33	55	50
OPPOSE	53	30	32
NOT SURE	14	15	18

The Supreme Court recently ruled that Hustler magazine had a constitutional right to print a parody of Rev. Jerry Falwell suggesting he had sexual relations with his elderly mother. Do you agree with this decision?

	JEW	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
AGREE	46	23	23
DISAGREE	36	59	48
NOT SURE	19	18	29

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Do you favor or oppose abolishing the death penalty?

	JEW	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
FAVOR	13	11	29
OPPOSE	74	73	44
NOT SURE	13	17	28

THE SOVIET UNION

	JEWS	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
In your opinion, which of the following best describes Russia's primary objective in world affairs:			
Seeks only to protect itself against attack	3	5	13
Seeks to compete with the U.S. for influence	39	33	36
Seeks global domination, but not a major war	47	42	33
Seeks global domination & will risk a major war	12	20	18
Mikhail Gorbachev (USSR)			
FAVORABLE	26	24	16
MIXED, NOT SURE	48	54	67
UNFAVORABLE	27	22	17
Soviet human rights abuses should not obstruct progress toward U.S.-Soviet arms agreements.	52	52	45
Soviet human rights abuses should not be a barrier to expanding U.S.-Soviet trade.	35	40	40

SOUTH AFRICA

	JEWS	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
Do you think the U.S. should-put more pressure on the South African government to end its apartheid racial system, less pressure, or about the same amount of pressure as now?			
MORE PRESSURE	51	29	76
LESS PRESSURE	11	16	2
ABOUT THE SAME AS NOW	22	23	11
The U.S. has been too friendly with the South African government	32	26	49
Israel has been too friendly with the South African government	20	19	27

PARENTS' POLITICS

	JEWS	OTHER WHITES	BLACKS
When you were growing up, which of these best described your father's usual stand on political issues?			
VERY LIBERAL OR LIBERAL	23	13	26
MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD	27	21	19
CONSERVATIVE OR VERY CONSERVATIVE	31	39	19
NOT SURE, OR DOES NOT APPLY	20	28	36

When you were growing up, which of these best described your mother's usual stand on political issues?

VERY LIBERAL OR LIBERAL	26	11	34
MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD	29	24	17
CONSERVATIVE OR VERY CONSERVATIVE	20	33	23
NOT SURE, OR DOES NOT APPLY	25	32	27



Usual stand on political issues: [Lib = Liberal or Very Liberal; Mid = Middle-of-the-road; Con = Conservative or Very Conservative.]

	JEWS			NON-JEWS		
	Lib	Mid	Con	Lib	Mid	Con
Men	30	44	25	16	45	39
Women	35	48	17	17	50	33
Under 40	35	44	22	18	50	32
40-64	31	50	19	14	48	38
65+	34	42	24	17	42	41
Graduate Degree	40	39	21	16	40	44
B.A.	32	50	18	14	42	44
Some College	32	45	24	20	49	31
High School or Less	26	54	20	14	50	35
\$50,000+	31	47	22	13	35	52
\$40,000-49,999	36	45	19	21	45	34
\$30,000-39,999	36	43	21	12	53	35
\$20,000-29,999	36	42	22	14	50	37
Under \$20,000	29	51	20	19	51	30
Attends services weekly	27	44	29	9	43	48
1-3 times a month	36	45	20	19	47	33
5-10 times a year	33	52	15	22	50	27
1-4 times a year	31	46	23	20	53	27
Never	38	43	19	20	52	28
Orthodox	32	41	27			
Conservative	28	47	25			
Reform	38	44	18			
Non-denominational	33	51	16			
Marginal	34	40	26			
Whites:						
Born-again Prot'ants				9	32	59
Other Protestants				19	51	31
"Core" Catholics				9	54	38
Non-"core" Catholics				23	54	23
Blacks				44	33	23
Democrats	41	46	14	26	50	24
Independents	24	54	22	15	60	26
Republicans	14	34	52	8	37	55

You usually think of yourself as a: [Dem = Democrat; Rep = Republican; Independents not shown]

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?: [Ap = Approve; Dis = Disapprove; Not Sure not shown]

	PARTY ID.				APPROVE REAGAN			
	JEWS		NON-JEWS		JEWS		NON-JEWS	
	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Ap	Dis	Ap	Dis
Men	55	17	33	40	32	55	51	35
Women	67	11	41	34	17	66	34	42
Under 40	55	18	36	33	33	47	43	35
40-64	65	12	39	36	20	65	44	40
65+	61	13	36	46	19	70	38	41
Graduate Degree	60	16	30	45	22	63	52	32
B.A.	55	16	24	52	29	55	46	33
Some College	62	13	37	38	28	60	43	41
High School or Less	66	10	42	31	16	63	39	39
\$50,000+	59	17	23	48	27	57	54	28
\$40,000-49,999	62	12	41	38	27	62	42	45
\$30,000-39,999	63	10	35	41	26	59	51	30
\$20,000-29,999	58	15	34	36	19	65	45	35
Under \$20,000	65	11	45	30	17	64	32	46
Attends services weekly	63	12	37	40	30	48	45	35
1-3 times a month	61	11	38	40	20	66	47	37
5-10 times a year	61	16	37	33	23	59	36	39
1-4 times a year	59	14	39	33	23	63	37	41
Never	63	16	35	34	24	59	43	42
Orthodox	67	11			36	44		
Conservative	64	12			23	62		
Reform	58	18			25	62		
Non-denominational	59	13			20	64		
Marginal	55	16			27	50		
Whites:								
Born-again Prot'ants			32	43			53	29
Other Protestants			36	40			40	41
"Core" Catholics			48	28			44	34
Non-"core" Catholics			41	23			36	44
Blacks			84	5			19	76
Democrats					15	71	19	64
Independents					27	57	35	36
Republicans					57	22	72	14
Liberals	76	6	59	18	9	83	27	66
Middle-of-the-road	60	10	39	29	23	57	36	39
Conservatives	39	35	25	57	49	32	58	25

Probable party in 1988 presidential vote (Jackson & Robertson not running):  
 [Dem = Democratic; Rep = Republican; Other answers not shown.]

Choice for President: [Figures are total percent picking candidate as first or  
 second choice, with a slight overlap. Duk = Dukakis; Bus = Bush.]

	JEWS		NON-JEWS		JEWS		NON-JEWS	
	Dem	Rep	Dem	Rep	Duk	Bus	Duk	Bus
Men	52	22	29	43	50	26	32	49
Women	61	10	37	32	62	19	38	33
Under 40	51	20	34	35	47	30	32	42
40-64	57	14	33	37	58	19	38	39
65+	66	16	34	41	64	19	34	43
Graduate Degree	60	18	31	50	61	21	35	52
B.A.	52	18	22	49	51	23	32	49
Some College	57	16	33	37	54	24	37	42
High School or Less	58	10	37	31	59	21	35	36
\$50,000+	54	20	20	55	54	24	25	54
\$40,000-49,999	56	11	32	44	58	17	42	44
\$30,000-39,999	56	16	31	41	60	21	28	43
\$20,000-29,999	61	17	34	36	58	26	39	40
Under \$20,000	61	10	41	27	55	21	37	34
Attends services weekly	58	16	30	37	53	31	33	37
1-3 times a month	62	12	37	46	63	15	43	46
5-10 times a year	56	17	37	34	57	28	34	40
1-4 times a year	57	17	35	33	57	19	35	44
Never	54	16	34	36	50	22	32	42
Orthodox	52	16			51	27		
Conservative	61	13			64	21		
Reform	56	20			53	26		
Non-denominational	57	15			52	18		
Marginal	49	15			56	22		
Whites:								
Born-again Prot'ants			27	38			29	45
Other Protestants			34	39			34	41
"Core" Catholics			34	29			43	35
Non-"core" Catholics			42	36			40	40
Blacks			82	4			39	14
Democrats	76	8	74	2	66	12	55	20
Independents	39	16	22	23	51	26	31	31
Republicans	5	66	6	77	23	61	18	70
Liberals	79	5	62	20	68	7	53	26
Middle-of-the-road	54	13	35	29	57	21	40	37
Conservatives	28	40	20	56	37	48	20	54

Do you favor or oppose giving preference in hiring to ... blacks? [Entries are percent in favor.]

I support efforts to reduce or eliminate government programs such as welfare. [Ag = Agree; Dis = Disagree; Not sure not shown.]

	FAVORS PREFERENCE		REDUCE WELFARE			
	JEWS	NON-JEWS	JEWS		NON-JEWS	
			Ag	Dis	Ag	Dis
Men	23	24	35	51	41	43
Women	30	34	29	54	29	21
Under 40	22	27	33	52	29	52
40-64	25	30	32	51	37	46
65+	36	32	28	57	39	40
Graduate Degree	19	17	27	55	40	43
B.A.	20	27	31	54	42	40
Some College	30	27	36	50	36	43
High School or Less	37	35	34	51	31	52
\$50,000+	20	20	34	52	46	41
\$40,000-49,999	19	20	34	50	40	42
\$30,000-39,999	26	21	35	49	45	36
\$20,000-29,999	32	30	30	55	29	48
Under \$20,000	44	39	25	57	27	56
Attends services weekly	34	31	31	54	38	42
1-3 times a month	24	32	30	51	37	46
5-10 times a year	25	27	25	59	33	50
1-4 times a year	25	31	35	50	30	53
Never	30	23	33	50	30	50
Orthodox	28		26	57		
Conservative	25		32	53		
Reform	28		30	55		
Non-denominational	26		35	49		
Marginal	28		34	42		
Whites:						
Born-again Prot'ants		29			36	45
Other Protestants		29			34	48
"Core" Catholics		32			33	46
Non-"core" Catholics		29			33	48
Blacks		75			20	70
Democrats	30	36	27	58	25	58
Independents	22	31	35	48	29	51
Republicans	21	22	45	37	48	33
Liberals	28	37	18	72	21	66
Middle-of-the-road	25	31	35	46	27	52
Conservatives	28	24	48	36	49	33



Approve or disapprove of each of the following ways to reduce the deficit.  
 [Ap = Approve; Dis = Disapprove; Other answers not shown.]

	CUT DEFENSE SPENDING				CUT DOMESTIC SPENDING				RAISE TAXES			
	JEWS		NON-JEWS		JEWS		NON-JEWS		JEWS		NON-JEWS	
	Ap	Dis	Ap	Dis	Ap	Dis	Ap	Dis	Ap	Dis	Ap	Dis
Men	69	22	53	34	45	40	61	25	33	47	24	61
Women	70	17	49	33	34	46	51	26	17	61	16	62
Under 40	70	20	51	34	38	43	48	29	21	60	13	71
40-64	67	20	50	36	39	44	62	22	22	58	23	59
65+	74	17	56	25	42	40	56	25	37	35	28	49
Graduate Degree	75	14	69	23	41	43	70	23	31	49	38	45
B.A.	71	19	61	29	37	46	53	32	29	52	31	47
Some College	66	23	51	34	39	45	59	23	21	56	19	62
High School or Less	64	23	46	36	40	37	51	26	16	60	14	69
\$50,000+	70	20	58	33	43	41	72	15	28	54	29	55
\$40,000-49,999	71	16	58	28	43	45	61	25	25	56	22	66
\$30,000-39,999	72	14	47	36	36	45	66	21	23	57	19	68
\$20,000-29,999	66	25	50	35	40	43	56	26	27	52	20	61
Under \$20,000	67	21	50	32	30	45	45	31	18	53	16	61
Attends services weekly	68	21	47	35	41	38	61	23	27	48	20	59
1-3 times a month	69	19	54	37	34	50	55	23	31	50	15	67
5-10 times a year	68	20	56	31	40	43	52	28	24	49	21	59
1-4 times a year	70	19	50	29	38	44	52	26	24	59	21	63
Never	71	20	57	32	43	39	52	32	23	57	23	61
Orthodox	65	25			38	43			18	60		
Conservative	68	19			38	41			24	56		
Reform	71	19			42	45			27	54		
Non-denominational	72	18			38	44			26	51		
Marginal	69	24			42	40			20	60		
Whites:												
Born-again Prot'ants			40	45			59	23			20	61
Other Protestants			54	32			55	25			22	60
"Core" Catholics			51	28			58	27			19	58
Non-"core" Catholics			58	28			52	30			15	70
Blacks			65	17			31	44			18	65
Democrats	74	14	56	27	32	50	44	36	26	52	21	60
Independents	67	20	55	30	43	39	52	29	24	54	19	64
Republicans	52	42	43	43	67	20	69	12	20	65	20	61
Liberals	82	11	62	25	23	60	49	34	35	43	25	57
Middle-of-the-road	69	19	53	31	41	38	50	29	21	58	17	63
Conservatives	51	34	44	41	61	27	68	17	19	63	22	62

Percent who agree/favor:

Amendment to permit prayer in the public schools.

Keeping abortion legal as it is now.

Homosexuals should have the same rights as other people.

Laws to ban all forms of pornography.

	PRAYER IN SCHOOL		LEGAL ABORTION		HOMOSEXUALS' RIGHTS		BAN PORNOGRAPHY	
	JEWES	NON-J	JEWES	NON-J	JEWES	NON-J	JEWES	NON-J
Men	17	69	86	45	82	55	23	45
Women	19	72	85	45	86	59	42	63
Under 40	15	62	85	46	82	63	20	37
40-64	19	75	88	43	88	54	32	60
65+	20	76	82	47	80	52	52	76
Graduate Degree	10	50	90	59	88	70	20	41
B.A.	13	64	89	52	88	54	21	43
Some College	22	68	85	44	83	63	37	53
High School or Less	27	79	78	41	78	51	55	61
\$50,000+	14	60	91	61	88	64	24	46
\$40,000-49,999	13	64	89	50	87	66	34	52
\$30,000-39,999	24	74	90	45	85	58	30	47
\$20,000-29,999	12	72	85	38	89	40	30	56
Under \$20,000	30	75	70	41	70	55	52	61
Attends services weekly	30	82	71	25	68	46	49	77
1-3 times a month	13	77	84	43	86	54	37	49
5-10 times a year	18	66	93	54	90	61	33	44
1-4 times a year	17	60	87	62	86	71	30	42
Never	16	55	85	64	84	66	26	30
Orthodox	32		69		66		56	
Conservative	15		88		85		37	
Reform	15		89		88		27	
Non-denominational	15		88		87		26	
Marginal	24		83		75		23	
Whites:								
Born-again Prot'ants		80		19		38		80
Other Protestants		65		57		60		46
"Core" Catholics		91		15		57		77
Non-"core" Catholics		64		57		73		36
Blacks		74		41		70		50
Democrats	16	72	85	45	86	59	34	57
Independents	18	68	85	49	84	61	30	50
Republicans	23	71	85	42	76	53	32	54
Liberals	10	59	92	62	91	73	23	37
Middle-of-the-road	19	71	86	50	84	64	33	52
Conservatives	27	75	76	31	73	42	45	65

Russia's primary objective in world affairs:  
 To protect itself against attack  
 To compete with the U.S. for influence  
 Global domination, but not a major war  
 Global domination and will risk a major war

	JEWS				NON-JEWS			
	PRO-TECT	COM-PETE	DOMI-NATE	RISK-WAR	PRO-TECT	COM-PETE	DOMI-NATE	RISK-WAR
Men	2	43	47	9	3	34	47	16
Women	4	33	50	13	6	30	42	22
Under 40	2	48	39	11	7	39	38	16
40-64	2	34	52	11	3	28	46	23
65+	4	30	56	11	4	27	54	16
Graduate Degree	2	46	43	9	1	36	49	14
B.A.	2	41	50	8	4	43	37	16
Some College	2	34	50	15	5	34	44	18
High School or Less	5	29	53	13	5	28	45	22
\$50,000+	2	41	47	11	1	33	51	14
\$40,000-49,999	1	20	49	10	2	33	46	20
\$30,000-39,999	4	38	49	9	7	32	44	17
\$20,000-29,999	3	34	51	11	4	35	43	18
Under \$20,000	4	31	50	15	6	30	42	23
Attends services weekly	3	29	50	18	3	27	48	23
1-3 times a month	2	35	47	17	6	30	47	17
5-10 times a year	3	34	52	12	10	29	40	21
1-4 times a year	2	42	49	8	4	38	41	18
Never	4	40	47	10	5	39	41	15
Orthodox	5	45	42	9				
Conservative	4	38	48	10				
Reform	2	43	49	6				
Non-denominational	1	37	50	12				
Marginal	2	22	51	25				
Whites:								
Born-again Prot'ants					2	18	43	37
Other Protestants					5	34	46	15
"Core" Catholics					3	36	46	15
Non-"core" Catholics					8	40	36	16
Blacks					13	36	33	18
Democrats	3	40	47	10	5	34	42	19
Independents	1	35	53	12	6	37	40	16
Republicans	3	32	52	14	3	27	50	21
Liberals	3	48	41	8	5	50	32	14
Middle-of-the-road	2	35	51	12	6	32	45	17
Conservatives	2	29	55	14	3	23	48	26

THE 1988 NATIONAL SURVEY OF AMERICAN JEWS

POLITICS AND VOTING

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

APPROVE	DISAPPROVE	NOT SURE
24	60	16

You usually think of yourself as a:

REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	INDEPENDENT
14	59	25

(IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT): Are you a "Strong" (Republican/Democrat)?

YES	NO
41	59

Which of these best describes your usual stand on political issues?

VERY LIBERAL	LIBERAL	MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD	CONSERVATIVE	VERY CONSERVATIVE
4	29	46	20	1

How important to you is your "political identity" (for example as a liberal, conservative, etc.)?

VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT	NOT SURE
12	34	51	3

When you were growing up, which of these best described your father's usual stand on political issues?

VERY LIBERAL	LIBERAL	MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD	CONSERVATIVE	VERY CONSERVATIVE
4	19	27	25	6
NOT SURE, OR DOES NOT APPLY				
20				

When you were growing up, which of these best described your mother's usual stand on political issues?

VERY LIBERAL	LIBERAL	MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD	CONSERVATIVE	VERY CONSERVATIVE
4	22	29	17	3
NOT SURE, OR DOES NOT APPLY				
25				

How closely do you follow news about political events and issues?

VERY CLOSELY	SOMEWHAT CLOSELY	NOT CLOSELY	NOT SURE
31	52	17	0

Do you intend to vote in the 1988 presidential election?

YES	NO	NOT SURE
96	1	3

Are you registered to vote?

YES	NO	NOT SURE
96	4	0

(IF YES) Are you registered as a Republican, Democrat, or neither?

REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	NEITHER
15	67	17

Have you contributed money to a presidential candidate or a PAC in the last 12 months?

YES	NO	NOT SURE
20	78	2

Assume that neither Jesse Jackson nor Pat Robertson is on the major party tickets. Which of the major parties will you probably vote for in the 1988 presidential election?

THE REPUBLICAN	THE DEMOCRATIC	NOT SURE	WON'T VOTE
16	58	25	1

If Jesse Jackson is the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate, which of the major parties will you probably vote for in the 1988 presidential election?

THE REPUBLICAN	THE DEMOCRATIC	NOT SURE	WON'T VOTE
44	24	30	2

If Pat Robertson is the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, which of the major parties will you probably vote for in the 1988 presidential election?

THE REPUBLICAN	THE DEMOCRATIC	NOT SURE	WON'T VOTE
10	59	27	5

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Which of the following politicians, some of whom are active candidates and some of whom are not, would be your first choice for President in 1988? Who would be your second, and your third choices?

	FIRST CHOICE	SECOND CHOICE	THIRD CHOICE
George Bush	14	10	10
Mario Cuomo	35	16	9
Robert Dole	5	11	9
Michael Dukakis	24	36	12
Albert Gore	4	9	16
Jesse Jackson	2	3	5
Pat Robertson	0	0	1
None of the above	10	6	15

## MAJOR FIGURES & GROUPS

What is your impression of the following figures and groups? (If you have no clear impression, or are not sure, please check "Not Sure.")

	VERY FAVOR- ABLE	SOME- WHAT FA- VORABLE	MIXED FEELINGS	SOMEWHAT UNFAVOR- ABLE	VERY UNFA- VORABLE	NOT SURE
The Amer. Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)	11	22	31	11	10	15
The National Organization for Women (NOW)	18	33	24	9	5	11
The Nat'l Assoc'n for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)	13	36	28	9	6	9
Planned Parenthood	50	28	12	3	2	4
The Catholic Church	3	12	39	21	11	13
The news media	6	27	42	16	6	3
Yitzhak Shamir (Israel)	16	32	28	6	3	15
Shimon Peres (Israel)	15	38	27	4	2	16
Yitzhak Rabin (Israel)	15	36	26	3	1	19
Ariel Sharon (Israel)	11	26	27	8	7	21
Meir Kahane (Israel)	7	9	15	15	36	18
Abba Eban (Israel)	38	29	13	2	2	17
Hosni Mubarak (Egypt)	3	19	32	12	11	23
Yassir Arafat (PLO)	0	1	3	7	83	7
Mikhail Gorbachev (USSR)	3	23	41	16	11	7
Pope John Paul II	7	23	36	17	10	7
Lt. Col. Oliver North	8	13	24	15	33	7
United Jewish Appeal (UJA)	37	36	17	3	2	6
Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Org'ns	22	29	16	2	2	30
AIPAC	7	8	11	2	2	70
Simon Wiesenthal Center	45	20	9	2	0	25

## MAJOR ISSUES

What do you think about abortion? Should it be . . .

87 Legal as it is now

12 Legal only in such cases as saving the life of the mother, rape or incest

1 Not permitted at all

Suppose your unmarried teen-age daughter told you she was pregnant & intended to have an abortion. Would you support her decision to have an abortion?

YES 75 NO 6 NOT SURE 19

The Supreme Court recently ruled that Hustler magazine had a constitutional right to print a parody of Rev. Jerry Falwell suggesting he had sexual relations with his elderly mother. Do you agree with this decision? YES 46 NO 36 NOT SURE 19

Do you think the U.S. should put more pressure on the South African government to end its apartheid racial system, less pressure, or about the same amount of pressure as now? MORE PRESSURE 12 LESS PRESSURE 11 ABOUT THE SAME AS NOW 22

At present, the federal budget deficit is running at the rate of about 200 billion dollars per year. Please indicate whether you approve or disapprove of each of the following ways to reduce the deficit.

	APPROVE	DISAPPROVE	NOT SURE
Cut defense spending	69	20	11
Cut domestic spending	39	43	18
Raise taxes	25	54	21

In your opinion, which of the following best describes Russia's primary objective in world affairs:

3 Russia seeks only to protect itself against the possibility of attack by other countries.

39 Russia seeks to compete with the U.S. for more influence in different parts of the world.

47 Russia seeks global domination, but not at the expense of starting a major war.

12 Russia seeks global domination & will risk a major war to achieve that domination if it can't be achieved by any other means.

Jonathan Pollard, an American Jew, was recently convicted & sentenced to life imprisonment for spying for Israel. Do you believe what he did was justifiable?

YES 12 NO 52 NOT SURE 36

Do you believe his sentence was too harsh? YES 36 NO 32 NOT SURE 32

#### MAJOR POLICY QUESTIONS

Do you favor or oppose . . .

	FAVOR	OPPOSE	SURE
Government aid for parents of school children to help pay for tuition at private & parochial schools?	19	75	7
A Constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the public schools?	18	74	8
Laws which would ban all forms of pornography?	33	53	14
Laws which regulate how pornography may be exhibited?	64	23	13
Abolishing the death penalty?	13	74	13

#### AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Do you favor or oppose giving preference in hiring to each of the following groups?

	FAVOR	OPPOSE	NOT SURE
The handicapped	57	33	10
Women	36	53	12
Blacks	27	58	15
Hispanics	25	59	16
Jews	28	59	13
Asians	22	61	17

POLITICAL, SOCIAL & RELIGIOUS VIEWS

Do you agree or do you disagree with each of the following statements?

	AGREE	DIS- AGREE	NOT SURE
One of my problems with liberals is that so many of them have taken extreme positions on major issues.	49	27	25
One of my problems with liberals is that so many of them are hostile to Israel & other Jewish interests.	36	39	25
One of my problems with conservatives is that I just don't feel they're my kind of people.	31	41	28
One of my problems with conservatives is that so many of them lack compassion for the poor and oppressed.	45	35	20
It's OK for a city government to put up a manger scene on government property at Christmas.	36	56	8
It's OK for a city government to put up a menorah on government property during Chanukah.	37	55	8
Public schools should allow student religious groups to hold voluntary meetings in school classrooms, when classes are not in session.	51	40	9
It should be against the law for unusual religious cults to try to convert teen-agers.	69	20	11
Whatever my personal views of homosexuality, I think that homosexuals should have the same rights as other people.	85	9	61
Whatever my views of the rights of homosexuals, I am troubled by the rise in their visibility.	35	53	13
Robert Bork, whose nomination to the Supreme Court was rejected last year by the U.S. Senate, got a raw deal.	25	55	19
In general I support the goals and philosophy of such government programs as welfare.	54	31	15
Government programs such as welfare have had many bad effects on the very people they're supposed to help	77	11	13
I support efforts to reduce or eliminate government programs such as welfare.	32	53	15
The U.S. has been too friendly with the South African government	32	33	34
Israel has been too friendly with the South African government	20	39	46
In order to be a reliable military supplier of Israel, the U.S. should maintain a strong military capacity.	45	27	29



	AGREE	DIS- AGREE	NOT SURE
There's been too much bad-mouthing of America by journalists & politicians.	52	30	18
There's been too much bad-mouthing of Israel by journalists & politicians.	67	18	15
Soviet human rights abuses should not obstruct progress toward U.S.-Soviet arms agreements.	52	29	19
Soviet human rights abuses should not be a barrier to expanding U.S.-Soviet trade.	35	45	21
Pres. Reagan was right when he said that the "contra" rebels in Nicaragua are "freedom fighters."	22	42	36
Antisemitism in America is currently not a serious problem for American Jews.	14	76	10
Virtually all positions of influence in America are open to Jews.	25	65	10
Jewish values, as I understand them, teach me to be politically liberal	44	31	25
Jewish interests, as I understand them, lead me to be politically conservative.	13	58	29
I believe in God.	81	5	14
I believe that God gave the Torah to the Jewish people at Mount Sinai	66	11	23
The Exodus from Egypt & the giving of the Torah to the Jewish people mean more to me as a Jew than do the Holocaust & the founding of the State of Israel.	14	69	18

#### ISRAEL & THE MIDDLE EAST

	AGREE	DIS- AGREE	NOT SURE
Caring about Israel is a very important part of my being a Jew	76	15	9
I am sometimes uncomfortable about identifying myself as a supporter of Israel	15	78	7
If Israel were destroyed, I would feel as if I had suffered one of the greatest personal tragedies in my life	63	21	16
When it comes to the crunch, few non-Jews will come to Israel's side in its struggle to survive	57	28	15
I am worried the US may stop being a firm ally of Israel	54	33	13
American Jews should not publicly criticize the policies of the government of Israel	32	56	12
Recently there has been too much criticism of the Israeli government by American Jews.	41	38	21

	AGREE	DIS- AGREE	NOT SURE
Even when I disagree with the actions of Israel's government, that doesn't change how close I feel toward Israel.	82	8	10
Israel should be more understanding of Palestinian national aspirations.	32	43	26
Israel treats its Arabs better than most Arab countries treat their citizens.	71	7	22
Israel should offer the Arabs territorial compromise in the West Bank & Gaza in return for credible guarantees of peace.	41	31	27
If the PLO recognizes Israel & renounces terrorism, Israel should be willing to talk with the PLO.	67	16	17
You can never trust the Arabs to make a real peace with Israel.	45	24	31
Palestinians have a right to a homeland on the West Bank & Gaza, so long as it does not threaten Israel.	46	25	29
Continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank will erode Israel's democratic & humanitarian character.	29	40	31
Continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank will erode Israel's Jewish character.	19	55	27
I am often troubled by the policies of the current Israeli government.	45	26	30
Aside from a few regrettable incidents, Israel has used a reasonable & appropriate level of force in countering recent Arab violence on the West Bank & Gaza.	65	14	22
Because of the recent violence, I feel less warmly about Israel than I used to.	13	72	15
Israeli law currently recognizes conversions to Judaism overseen by Orthodox, Conservative and Reform rabbis. Should Israel change its laws so as to recognize only those conversions performed by Orthodox rabbis? YES 7 NO 84 NOT SURE 10			
	YES	NO	NOT SURE
Do you often talk about Israel with friends & relatives?	55	41	3
Do you pay special attention to articles about Israel when you read newspapers or magazines?	75	21	4
Do you intend to visit Israel within 3 years?	28	49	23
Do you consider yourself a Zionist?	22	64	14
Have you been to Israel? NO 68 ONCE 21 TWICE OR MORE 12			
How close do you feel to Israel? VERY CLOSE 27 FAIRLY CLOSE 42 NOT VERY CLOSE 28 NOT SURE 4			

Would you be upset if a child of yours married a . . .

	YES	NO	NOT SURE
Liberal Democrat	3	88	9
Conservative Republican	11	76	13
Hassidic Jew	32	49	19
Non-Jew	40	47	13

### ANTISEMITISM

In your opinion, what proportion of each of the following groups in the U.S. are anti-semitic? Most, many, some or few?

	MOST	MANY	SOME	FEW	NOT SURE
Big business	6	28	42	14	9
Union leaders	6	22	42	18	12
Hispanics	8	22	38	13	18
Blacks	4	32	34	10	11
Democrats	1	6	46	32	16
Republicans	3	17	48	16	15
Liberals	1	8	41	34	17
Conservatives	4	18	46	15	17
Catholics	9	29	41	11	10
Mainstream Protestants	7	27	43	11	13
Fundamentalist Protestants	16	34	28	7	15

Is Jesse Jackson anti-Semitic? YES NO NOT SURE  
59 10 31

Is Pat Robertson anti-Semitic? YES NO NOT SURE  
41 13 46

### JEWISH BACKGROUND & IDENTITY

How close do you feel to other Jews?  
VERY CLOSE FAIRLY CLOSE NOT VERY CLOSE NOT SURE  
42 47 9 2

How important would you say religion is in your own life?  
VERY IMPORTANT FAIRLY IMPORTANT NOT VERY IMPORTANT NOT SURE  
26 44 30 1

How important would you say being Jewish is in your own life?  
VERY IMPORTANT FAIRLY IMPORTANT NOT VERY IMPORTANT NOT SURE  
48 37 14 1

Do you believe your political views are shaped by your Jewish values, as you understand them?

YES, TO A GREAT EXTENT YES, TO SOME EXTENT NO NOT SURE  
19 47 29 5

Do you believe your political views are shaped by Jewish interests, as you understand them?

YES, TO A GREAT EXTENT	YES, TO SOME EXTENT	NO	NOT SURE
14	47	33	6

What is the main type of Jewish education you received as a child? (SELECT ONE ONLY)

None	Sunday School	Hebrew School or other part-time Jewish school	Yeshiva or Day School	Private tutoring	Any other type
14	21	51	6	5	4

Of your 3 closest friends, how many are Jewish? (Circle number)

0	1	2	3
12	17	26	45

You think of yourself as ...

ORTHODOX	10	CONSERVATIVE	31	RECONSTRUCTIONIST	1
REFORM	25	JUST JEWISH	32		

How often do you attend religious services?

NEVER	1-4 TIMES A YEAR	5-10 TIMES A YEAR	ONCE A MONTH
18	39	19	5
2-3 TIMES A MONTH	6 EVERY WEEK	7 MORE OFTEN	
7	9	3	

	YES	NO
Did you attend a Passover Seder at home or elsewhere this year?	79	21
Did you fast Yom Kippur in 1987?	59	41
Do you use separate dishes at home for meat & dairy products?	20	80
Do you belong to a Jewish organization aside from a synagogue or synagogue-related group now?	43	57
Did you contribute \$100 or more to the UJA/Federation in the past year?	26	74
Did you light Chanuka candles in 1987?	81	20
Did you have a Christmas tree in 1987?	16	84

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Your age: Median = 48

Your sex: MALE 48 FEMALE 52

(IF MARRIED) Your spouse's age: Median = 49

How many children do you have? Mean = 2.13

How many do you expect to have all together? Mean = 2.24

Have you ever been married? YES 56 NO 44

(IF YES) When were you first married? 1959

(IF EVER MARRIED) Were you ever divorced? YES 26 NO 74

# More Jews in survey say bias is problem

## Study also finds liberal tradition

By James L. Franklin  
Globe Staff

A survey of American Jews shows they believe anti-Semitism is at a historic high, partly because of factors strongly related to changes in their traditional home in the Democratic Party.

Yet Jews are much more liberal than other Americans on a broad range of social and religious issues and remain strongly committed Democrats, according to results of the survey discussed last night at a Boston meeting of the National Executive Council of the American Jewish Committee.

Asked whether anti-Semitism "is currently a problem," 75 percent of the 1,252 Jews interviewed said yes.

"It is the highest response we have ever had," David Singer, research director of the human relations agency, told the group's national leadership as they began a four-day meeting in Boston. The survey repeated a number of questions asked Jews and non-Jews over many years.

Only a quarter of the Jewish respondents agreed that "virtually all positions of influence are open to Jews," said Singer. "That is the lowest percentage we've had to that question."

Commenting on the survey, Earl Raab, director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of San Francisco, told those at the meeting that the high levels of fear showed "foreboding" among American Jews, which he linked to concern over American support for Israel.

"When three-quarters of American Jews say anti-Semitism is a serious problem, most know better," Raab said, "but they believe it can become a serious problem in the future."

The survey, conducted in April and May, was not intended to predict how Jews would vote this fall, Singer said.

But the survey shows that 61 percent of Jews identify themselves as Democrats, compared with 14 percent who call themselves Republicans. Other white Americans in the survey were equally divided between Republicans and Democrats.

A large proportion of Jews is upset at the influence of Rev. Jesse Jackson in the Democratic Party, and 59 percent said they believe Jackson is anti-Semitic.

Nevertheless, 25 percent of Jews in the spring survey "said they would vote Democratic even if Jesse Jackson were the vice presidential candidate," said Singer.

### Deeply committed

A large majority of Jews remain deeply committed to the Democratic Party, he said. "There is talk of a shift to right, particularly among young Jews, but so far that has not taken place.

"There is not a shred of hard evidence that we are in for a surprise about how Jews will be voting this fall," he added.

Jewish concern about anti-Semitism is strongly focused on blacks. Forty-three percent of Jews surveyed "thought many, if not most, blacks are anti-Semitic," Singer said. The only group Jews saw as more hostile were fundamentalist Protestants.

Raab said the Jewish focus on black anti-Semitism was the result of the actions of "a visible and educated black elite, which is impatient about power relationships in American society.

"In fact, surveys show the black population is no more hostile to Jews than whites in general," he said.

Singer and Raab agreed that criticism of Israel, particularly by Jackson's Rainbow Coalition movement, contributes to the strong fears of American Jews. "Many equate hostility to Israel with anti-Semitism," said Raab.

Jews and non-Jews in the survey differed strongly on church-state issues and on a cluster of social issues.

### School prayer

While 71 percent of non-Jews favor a constitutional amendment to permit school prayer, only 18 percent of Jews agree, the survey showed.

"There is a tremendous disparity on religious displays in public places, Singer said. Even on the question of permitting a Chanukah menorah in public places, 81 percent of non-Jews said such a display was acceptable, compared with 37 percent of Jews.

# NEWS FROM THE Committee



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The American Jewish Committee protects the rights and freedoms of Jews the world over; combats bigotry and anti-Semitism and promotes human rights for all; works for the security of Israel and deepened understanding between Americans and Israelis; defends democratic values and seeks their realization in American public policy; and enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people. Founded in 1906, it is the pioneer human-relations agency in the U.S.

ANNUAL MEETING  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL  
OCTOBER 27-OCTOBER 30, 1988  
THE WESTIN HOTEL  
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FOR RELEASE AFTER 6 P.M.  
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1988

BOSTON, Oct. 27 ... The American Jewish Committee's top research expert reported tonight to the agency's national governing body that American Jews remain well to the left of the country's political center in a number of key areas and are deeply concerned about anti-Semitism.

Speaking at the AJC's Annual National Executive Board meeting, which continues in Boston through Sunday, Dr. David Singer, director of AJC's Information and Research Services, addressed a special opening session at the John F. Kennedy Library. All other sessions are being held at the Westin Copley Place Hotel. Theodore Ellenoff, AJC President, chaired the session.

Dr. Singer based his remarks on an AJC-sponsored study of the political and social attitudes of American Jews, recently conducted by Steven M. Cohen, professor of sociology at Queens College, CUNY. The study, based on two simultaneous surveys -- one dealing with 1,252 Jews, the other with 1,217 non-Jews -- was undertaken by Market Facts Inc., a national research corporation, with the questionnaires distributed in April and May 1988.

Dr. Singer reported that the Cohen findings indicated marked differences between Jews and other whites:

\* Among Jews, Democrats outnumbered Republicans by better than 4 to 1 -- 61 per cent versus 14 per cent -- whereas the number of Democrats and Republicans was about even among white Gentiles in the sample;

\* Among Jews, liberals outnumbered conservatives -- 33 per cent versus 21 per cent -- whereas twice as many white non-Jews saw themselves as conservative than as liberal, 36 per cent versus 17 per cent;

The Cohen study, Dr. Singer pointed out, found that Jews generally, while motivated by liberal leanings in many key areas, are also anxious about American anti-Semitism and anti-Israel sentiments. More than three-quarters, for example, believe that anti-Semitism in America is currently a serious problem for American Jews, the highest figure recorded since AJC surveys first asked the question in 1983.

Similarly, the study found that only a quarter believe that "virtually all positions of influence in America are open to Jews," a figure lower than in any of the previous AJC surveys. In a related area, a clear majority (54%) say they are "worried the U.S. may stop being a firm ally of Israel," more than in 1986, the last time the question was asked of a representative national sample of American Jews.

Many Jews' fears of anti-Semitism were found to center on the Rev. Jesse Jackson and on blacks

- more -

Theodore Ellenoff, President; Leo Nevas, Chair, Board of Governors; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, National Executive Council; Edward E. Elson, Chair, Board of Trustees  
Ira Silverman, Executive Vice-President

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CSAE 1707

generally. When asked if they thought Reverend Jackson was anti-Semitic, 59% responded in the affirmative, and only 10% disagreed. In addition, almost half the Jewish respondents (46%) said they believe "many" American blacks are anti-Semitic.

The Cohen study also found, continued Dr. Singer, that Jews' liberalism goes beyond their political self-identification. In social issues, for example:

\* While only minorities of non-Jewish whites and blacks say abortion should be "legal [for all women] as it is now" (45% and 41% respectively), the vast majority of American Jews (87%) favor keeping abortion legal.

\* Jews favor "gay rights" far more than other Americans, white or black. The survey asked, "whatever my personal views of homosexuality, I think that homosexuals should have the same rights as other people." While most of the non-Jewish whites (57%) agreed, as did 70% of the blacks, support for this view was voiced by 85% of the Jews.

\* While most non-Jewish whites and blacks favor a ban on "all forms of pornography," most Jews oppose such a ban.

\* Jews' liberalism was also found to be very pronounced in the church-state area. The vast majority of non-Jews, but hardly any Jews, favor "a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the public schools" (71% of the non-Jewish whites, 74% of the blacks, and only 18% of the Jews).

Dr. Singer identified several factors in the Cohen study that help account for the Jewish ties to the liberal side of the political spectrum, the most prominent among them being parents' politics, education, and secularism:

\* Jews are more liberal, partly because more of them had liberal parents (and fewer had conservative parents) than did other Americans.

\* Jews are also more liberal because they have attended colleges and universities far more than have other Americans. Moreover, higher education has a greater liberalizing impact on Jews than it does upon others.

\* Jews are more liberal because they are so secular. Although deeply attached to other Jews as an ethnic group, Jews report religious service attendance rates far lower than other Americans. Generally, the more religious are more conservative.

"Dr. Cohen's study represents a genuine advance in our understanding of Jewish political and social attitudes," commented Dr. Singer. "First, the study provides a truly refined conceptualization of Jewish liberalism, telling us where Jews are most liberal and where they are not. Second, the study begins to tell us with greater insight than ever before the reasons for Jewish liberalism."

Speaking at the same session with Dr. Singer was Earl Raab, Director-Emeritus, Jewish Community Relations Council of San Francisco.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.