

## **Jewish Out-Marriage: Mexico and Venezuela**

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### **Background**

This chapter deals with recent Jewish family developments in some Spanish speaking countries in the central areas of the American continent. While not the largest in size, during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century these communities have represented remarkably successful examples of richly structured, attractive and resilient Jewish communities. The Latin American model of Jewish community organization developed in the context of relatively poor and highly polarized societies where social-class stratification often overlapped with differentials between the descendants of native civilizations and the descendants of settlers from Western European countries—primarily Spain. Throughout most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the general political context of these societies was characterized by considerable concentrations of central presidential power within a state structure often formally organized in a federal format. Mexico and Venezuela featured a comparatively more stable political environment than other countries in Latin America.

Mexico and Venezuela, the main focus of this paper, provide examples of Jewish populations generated by initially small international migration during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and subsequent growth through further immigration and natural increase. Around the year 2000, the Jewish population was estimated at about 40,000 in Mexico, mostly concentrated in Mexico City, and 15,000 to 18,000 in Venezuela, mostly in Caracas.

For many decades, Jews from Central and Eastern Europe constituted the preponderant element from the point of view of population size and internal power within these communities. Jews from Eastern and Central Europe included contingents from Poland, Romania, Russia, Germany, Hungary, and other countries, and consolidated into a unified Ashkenazi Jewish community organization (the Ashkenazi community in Mexico, and the Union Israelita Caracas in Venezuela—UIC). However, Jews from the Mediterranean area and the Middle East participated since the beginning in Jewish community formation, and since the 1970s tended to

become quantitatively equal and gradually predominant within the community framework. The presence has been particularly pronounced in Jews from Syria and Lebanon in Mexico (as well as in other Latin American communities). In Mexico, these immigrant streams did not coalesce into one homogenous Sephardi community but preferred to keep separate frameworks for Jews from Aleppo, Damascus, and Turkey and the Balkans. Jews from Morocco, including former Spanish Morocco, have been increasingly visible in Venezuela especially since the late 1960s. North African and Middle Eastern Jews in Caracas are organized under the roof of the Asociación Israelita de Venezuela (AIV).

Over time, the somewhat higher fertility rates of the Sephardi communities together with the differential rhythm of incoming and outgoing migrations, ended up with Mediterranean and Middle Eastern Jews taking over the majority in communities that previously had been mostly of Central and Eastern European origin.

In Mexico City in 1991, affiliation patterns varied from a 45% membership in the Ashkenazi community to a 36% combined membership in the three Sephardi communities among Jews aged 65 and over, to 19% and 47%, respectively, among younger Jewish adults aged 15-29. The percent balance included membership in non-geographically defined communities, such as sports centers and non-ethnic religious congregations, and the non-affiliated.

In Caracas in 1998/99, the respective percentages of self-reported Ashkenazim and Sephardim were 65% vs. 31% among Jews aged 65 and over, and turned out to be 34% vs. 44% among those aged 15-29. The remaining percentage points pertained to people of combined parentage, or of non-Jewish origin.

Jewish community organization was consistently influenced by sub-ethnic divisions, with separate representative bodies for different groups of Ashkenazi and Sephardi origins. In Mexico—as in several other Latin American countries—the Conservative movement has been an increasingly visible component of the organizational fabric of the total community. Jewish Community Centers, focusing mainly on sports, leisure, and cultural activities, constitute a cardinal point of reference in these communities. Jewish full-time education has generally ranged between well developed and absolutely predominant (as in the case of Mexico). The different Jewish community organizations and representative bodies are usually federally regrouped in a roof representative organization which deals with relations with the national political system and international Jewish organizations.

In general socioeconomic terms, Latin American societies are less developed in comparison with North American or Western European countries. At the beginning of the 2000s, Mexico was rated 53<sup>rd</sup> and Venezuela was 68<sup>th</sup> according to the UN Index of Human Development—a measure of public health, educational attainment, and income adjusted for purchasing power of the local currency. Latin American countries experienced a greater amount of political and economic instability than commonly known in other western countries. Jews were distinctly affected as well by such instability that resulted in periodical waves of emigration. Emigration was directed in part toward Israel, partly toward the United States, and often also toward other Latin American countries.

However, the comparatively wealthy niche carved by the Jewish population also meant that there were enough good reasons for staying and waiting for better times—which in fact often came after periods of crisis. Among the Latin American societies hosting major Jewish communities, Mexico, Venezuela, and Brazil in particular featured strong socioeconomic and ethnocultural inequalities. Jews have been mostly identified with middle to upper classes in countries with vast amounts of poverty. The sense of strong Jewish community identity which generally developed in these societies also reflected such social class polarization and the limited attractiveness of the non-Jewish environment.

### **Sources of Data**

The data in this chapter derive from Jewish population surveys undertaken in Mexico City (Mexico) and Caracas (Venezuela) during the 1990s. In both countries, the vast majority of the Jewish population resides in the capital city. In each case, the surveys comprised a stratified representative sample of all Jewish households with at least one self-declared Jewish person. Given the very high rate of community affiliation, most of the initial efforts were devoted to creating a sampling framework comprising an unduplicated master list of all households whose membership was known to at least one of the major local Jewish community organizations. The surveys explored different demographic, socioeconomic and Jewish behavioral and attitudinal characteristics of Jewish households and of each individual member, as well as of their families of origin (parents and grandparents of heads of households and their spouses) and of independent households currently headed by adult children of the respondents.

## **Mexico**

The survey was carried out in 1991 as a joint project of the Hebrew University and El Colegio de México, with the sponsorship of the Association of Mexican Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and with the active collaboration of the main Jewish community organizations in the Mexico City metropolitan area. An unduplicated masterlist of community members was obtained including 10,446 affiliated Jewish households stratified by community organization. Principles were determined on how to attribute the cases of duplication across the different communities. Overall, the survey was based on a net sample of 866 households with 2,896 individuals (of which 2,757 in affiliated households) – over 7% of the total estimated Jewish population.

A separate effort was made to create a further sub-sample of the relatively few non-affiliated Jewish households. These were especially concentrated among the foreign-born, recent immigrants, and occupational groups with higher levels of education. Various snow-ball procedures were employed to locate the unaffiliated, yielding a total of 400 households. Among these a net sample of 31 households was drawn, including 80 persons. While there is no way to guarantee that the proportional weight of unaffiliated households out of the total sample accurately reflects their weight among the total Jewish population, the method of selection ensures good representation of the characteristics of these households. Further included in the survey were 22 households with 59 persons, sampled at large from the total membership rostrum of all Jewish communities.

Data were collected through direct face-to-face interviewing. The questionnaire included twelve sections. Interviewing was meticulous and involved repeated contacts with the respondents; sometimes the time needed to complete one interview cumulated to over two hours. Such an accurate but time-consuming procedure and budget limitations eventually led to a final sample size somewhat smaller than had been initially intended.

## **Venezuela**

The survey was conducted in 1998 and 1999 as a joint project of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the major Jewish community organizations in Caracas. Overall, the survey was based on a net sample of 697 households with 2,135 individuals – over 14% of the total estimated Jewish population.

After many consistency checks were undertaken on the original membership lists, an unduplicated master list was obtained including 4,821 households – of which 2,160 of the Asociación Israelita de Venezuela (Sephardi), 2,493 in the Union Israelita Caracas (Ashkenazi), 72 from the lists of several other minor organizations, and 96 unaffiliated. The latter were located by comparing the membership lists with telephone directories, and additionally drawing from households with typical Jewish names.

Data were collected through direct interviewing. A relatively low initial yield and elections in 1998 determined an interruption in data collection and a renewed effort with additional interviewers in 1999. The questionnaire included 11 sections with a total of 115 questions.

## **Out-marriage Patterns**

### **Mexico**

Patterns of social segregation and a clear demarcation of sub-ethnic Jewish sectors have long prevailed within the Jewish community of Mexico. Marriage across these rather thick sub-ethnic boundaries has long been socially quite unacceptable and therefore infrequent in these Jewish communities. Table 1, reconstructed through a representative Jewish population survey conducted in 1991,<sup>1</sup> indicates that until recently a tendency to marry within one's own Jewish group of origin predominated among the Jews in Mexico. Among the Ashkenazi community, regrouping Jews from Eastern and Central Europe, until 1970 at least 90% married within the same community of origin. Among the aggregate of the three Sephardi communities, until 1991 over 80% did. Sub-ethnic homogamy was particularly preponderant among the two communities of Syrian origin—Magen David (mostly from Aleppo), and Monte Sinai (mostly from Damascus). Aleppo-Damascus “intermarriages” continued to be quite the exception until well into the 1970s. Since the 1970s, greater integration gradually appeared between the various communities, although only to a variable extent. The most integrated across other Jewish communities tended to become the Sefaradi community (mostly for Turkey and the Balkans).

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<sup>1</sup> S. DellaPergola and S. Lerner, *La población judía de México: perfil demográfico, social y cultural*. Mexico and Jerusalem, 1995. See also S. DellaPergola and S. Lerner, “Jewish Population, Community and Continuity in Mexico: The 1991 Sociodemographic Survey”, in S. DellaPergola and J. Even (eds.) *Papers in Jewish Demography 1993 in Memory of U.O. Schmeltz* (Jerusalem, 1997) 325-347.

Table 2 shows very low rates of out-marriage with non-Jews. Less than 5% of the Jewish individuals who married during the 1980s did so with a partner that was not born Jewish. This represented about 7% of all the new couples formed. After allowing for conversion to Judaism of some of the non-Jewish spouses, less than 2% of the individuals involved in recent marriages and less than 4% of the new couples were out-marriages. Indeed, the majority of non-Jewish partners were converted to Judaism in one form or another. The time-series presented actually points to continuing increases in the frequency of out-marriage in Mexico, but at least until the early 1990s the levels observed were among the lowest in the Diaspora—both before and after accounting for the effects of conversions.

In order to better evaluate the different frequency of out-marriage—in a general context of low occurrence – we compared selected individual characteristics of the adults involved in out-married families in Mexico City (see Table 3). The data outline selected demographic, socioeconomic, and Jewish identificational aspects of the population surveyed. A simple odds ratio was computed comparing the percent distribution of characteristics of persons involved in an out-marriage with the respective distributions of the total Jewish population in Mexico City.<sup>2</sup> Odds ratios above 1 indicate an over-representation of people with a certain characteristic among the out-married. Odds ratios below 1 indicate an under-representation of the same. Since the data relate to both the Jewish and the non-Jewish partners in out-married couples, their meaning is more an indication of the socio-demographic context of out-marriage than an actual measure of out-marriage frequency.

Looking first at the religion at birth of the respondents, the incidence of those in out-marriages is quite obviously and by definition highest among the not many non-Jewish born members of Jewish households. Some of these persons – namely those without a reported religion – may be themselves the children of out-marriages in a previous generation. Regarding the different Jewish communities of affiliation, the incidence of out-marriage is relatively higher in the framework of the Conservative communities of Bet El and Bet Israel. The respective odds ratio is 3.8 times higher than the weight of these communities out of the total Jews in Mexico City. The latter communities also are the more active at performing conversions to Judaism of the spouses wishing to formally join the community. However, expectedly, by far the highest

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<sup>2</sup> The population characteristics of Jews in Mexico City have been described at length elsewhere and do not need further elaboration here. See note 1 above.

incidence of out-marriage appears among non-affiliated Jews who constitute a rather small minority among the total Jewish population. It should be noted that by their by-laws, the Maguen David and Mount Sinai communities do not admit out-married persons among their membership. Therefore any out-marrying members have the choice between affiliation with another Jewish community or to disaffiliate altogether. As noted, most would probably re-affiliate with the Bet El or Bet Israel communities.

Out-marriage incidence is plausibly more often associated with persons displaying a somewhat weaker Jewish identification—whether as a cause or a consequence of its occurrence. This is the case with those who declare a predominance of a Mexican component over a Jewish component in their self evaluation of overall ethno-religious identity. Conversely, out-marriage is lowest among those who declare to be Jewish only at the exclusion of a Mexican identity component. Not unexpectedly, the incidence of out-marriage is also higher among persons who declare to be less interested or involved in Jewish cultural activities. Out-marriage is interestingly more frequent among people who recently felt personal discrimination on Jewish grounds, especially at work or in the course of their learning activities at school or in universities. It would thus appear that persons who might be considered less involved with Jewish affairs nevertheless continue to hold sensitive perceptions of their Jewishness vis-à-vis the rest of society.

Out-marriage is more frequent at the higher end of the social ladder, among persons with higher levels of education (post-graduate) and among those employed as professionals. Out-marriage is also comparatively more frequent among lower social strata, among the relatively few persons with low levels of education (incomplete primary) and lower occupational status (blue collar). Variation of the incidence of out-marriage across residential areas reflects this bi-modal pattern. Higher out-marriage frequencies appear in some of the older and more central areas of residence (Del Valle) but also in some of the more distant (Northwest) or atypical (South) residential suburbs. The higher status and more densely Jewish residential areas display lower out-marriage odds ratios (Polanco, Lomas, and Tecamachalco).

As they are, these data reflect behaviors in the more or less recent past, but they can also be interpreted as predictors of the likelihood of out-marriage in the foreseeable future. Upward social mobility, on the one hand, and pauperization, on the other hand, seem to be factors associated with more frequent contacts between Jews and other Mexicans of similar status. With

the expected continuation of successful socioeconomic mobility and integration as the main thread, and periodical occurrences of socioeconomic recession and downward mobility at moments of economic crisis, the frequency of out-marriage can be expected to increase. However, given the general societal profile of Mexico's population, and the particularly intensive functioning of the Jewish community system, including the extensive reach of the Jewish day-school system, the pace of change affecting the frequency of out-marriage will probably continue to be slow among the Jews who choose to remain in Mexico.

### **Venezuela**

In Venezuela, a survey conducted in 1998-1999 in Caracas<sup>3</sup> unveiled predominantly endogamic family formation patterns similar to those of Mexico. Perhaps due to the smaller size of the Jewish community, the observed level of out-marriage was somewhat higher. The frequency of recent marriages (performed during the 1990s) was evaluated at 9% of new Jewish spouses, and 14% of new couples.

Table 4 describes selected characteristics of the Jewish population of Caracas by main age groups. In some respects the data indicate a slow diffusion of assimilation from the older to the younger age groups. Thus the proportion of household members who were non-Jewish at birth, while generally low at around 6% tends to increase over time and reaches 12% among those aged 30–44. Looking at current religion, one perceives an intensive process of joining the Jewish community on the part of these non-Jews so that only 2% remain non-Jewish (3% at age 30–44).

On the other hand, when comparing the Jewish practices of the current population with those of the respective families of origin, a higher proportion reports an increase than a decrease. The same trend of an increasing Jewish reach appears with regard to enrollment in Jewish day-schools, and to the proportion of all children who are Jewish. Synagogue attendance every Shabbat tends to increase among younger cohorts, although daily attendance tends to decrease. The growing effect of intensive Jewish schooling is shown by the social networks thus created not only among the youngest age group below 15 years, but also among older adults.

The transition from an exclusively Jewish to a more pronounced Venezuelan identity seemed well underway when comparing the 65+ and the 30–44 age groups, but the younger age

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<sup>3</sup> Work in progress by S. DellaPergola, S. Benzaquen and T. Becker.



groups tend to revert to a more predominantly Jewish identity. Attitudes toward out-marriage are overall rather stable across age groups, and definitely more on the negative than on the approving side. However the number of undecided seems to be growing together with a somewhat less isolationist stance.

Reflecting some ups and downs in the political and economic fortunes of the community, a significant portion of the younger adult generation appears to have moved to other countries. In this respect, emigration to the US was much more frequent than emigration to Israel. Feelings of proximity to Israel and propensities to move there in case of further crises also appear to be weakening among the younger generations

Table 4 also provides some background demographic and socioeconomic information on the Jews in Caracas. The community has absorbed immigration from a variety of countries of origin, a significant portion of which arrived since the 1960s. The generally higher than average socioeconomic status emerges along with a growing propensity toward higher education and professional occupations. Upward social mobility in turn affected the Jewish population's residential distribution and gradually brought quite a few to move to locations more distant from the main centers of Jewish life represented by synagogues, Jewish schools and recreational facilities.

Table 5 illustrates selected characteristics of the Jewish population across different urban sections of the Caracas metropolitan area. A significant gradient can be observed in most of these characteristics when moving from the relatively small Jewish population of the city's center, through the main bulk of the veteran organized community, to the growing number of younger Jewish households located in outer residential areas and more distant suburbs.

Caracas's city center includes few family often of a lower than average socioeconomic status. Most of the other residential areas can be visualized as a linear sequence moving from earlier neighborhoods in the North-Western parts of Caracas to newer neighborhoods in the capital's North-Eastern parts. Suburban areas are more dispersed. The San Bernardino area includes the older core of the Jewish population of Ashkenazi background. The La Florida area includes the more significant concentration of Jews of Sephardi origin. The La Castellana and Sebuca areas include a more integrated presence of both origin and especially the younger and upwardly mobile generations born locally.

The proportion of out-marriages tended to increase with sub-urbanization related to higher socioeconomic status and more prolonged stay in Venezuela. On the other hand, the highest incidence was observed in the small Jewish population residing in the central downtown parts, related to a lower social status. A bi-polar, or U shaped, distribution of out-marriage in relation to socioeconomic status is confirmed by these data.

The proportion of non-Jewish born, roughly equivalent to the incidence of out-marriage among all households and regardless of age was overall 5.5%. It was lowest in La Castellana (3%) and highest in Suburban areas (9%) and City center (13%). Reflecting the tendency to incorporate through formal conversion or otherwise most of the non-Jewish spouses, the proportion of currently non-Jewish individuals was reduced to 2%, ranging from 1% in La Castellana to 8% in city center. The gradual expansion of out-marriage appeared through the proportion of non-Jewish children, amounting overall at 13%. This ranged between a minimum of 3% in La Florida, and a maximum of 22% in Sebuca, and 50% among the few households in the city center.

Most parents would disagree or reject their children's out-marriage (62%) while a minority would agree or support one (23%). The proportion of those who would agree or support ranged between a low of 17% in San Bernardino, and a high of 37%—still a minority—in the Suburban areas.

The gradual weakening of the community's pre-existing marital segregation from the environment is confirmed by the attitudes expressed by the children of the respondents about their own possible future choices. Overall, 28% currently or previously had a non-Jewish dating partner, with lowest frequencies in Sebuca (11%) where due to the younger age composition of the households the number of teenage or adult children was still small and highest frequencies in La Castellana (44%) and the city center (57%). Requested whether they would marry a non-Jewish spouse, 17% of the younger adults replied affirmatively, again with a substantial range of variation between 67% in the city center and 39% in La Castellana, and only 3% in Sebuca.

Several other indicators of Jewish identification consistently show a high level of stability, while also pointing to some weakening in the more affluent suburban areas versus the older areas of Jewish settlement. This is exemplified in the transition of ethno-religious identity from Jewish to Venezuelan Jew to Jewish Venezuelan, as well by the level of self-reported

religiosity, the feeling of closeness to Israel, or the preferred country of emigration were a hypothetical political crisis to affect the Jewish community.

Selected sociodemographic indicators confirm the younger age composition of suburban Jewish households, their being more predominantly born in Venezuela, and their higher socioeconomic status. All of these provide further insights on the spread of out-marriage frequencies and propensities.

## **Conclusions**

Sharp socioeconomic differentials as against the total population, and comparatively strong and cohesive links within the Jewish community, have characterized the experience of the Jewish populations of Mexico and Venezuela. Similar situations can be described in several further Central American contexts.<sup>4</sup>

The data reported in this chapter indicate overall stability in the Jewish community context that stands behind the prevailing low frequencies of out-marriage. The Jewish community system has been able to create and maintain a viable framework of educational and leisure facilities, which has not only preserved Jewish identification but has ostensibly strengthened it among the younger and mostly native age groups in comparison with the older immigrant cohorts. On the other hand, a tendency toward greater integration within compatible social strata of general society has been observed in more recent years, along with greater visibility of Jewish individuals in general political and cultural activities in these Latin American countries. Rapid upward social mobility and residential movement toward more peripheral suburban residential locations tends to weaken the intensity of social interaction within the community and is accompanied by more frequent contacts with non-Jewish neighbors of similarly high social status. A symmetric process is at work among the relatively small sections of the community that do not have the resources to face the rising costs of Jewish community affiliation. Another significant fact is that as a consequence of emigration, the quantitative reduction of the main age groups among which family formation usually occurs may facilitate the diffusion of out-marriage in these communities.

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<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., C.A. Tapiero, *La Comunidad Judía de Guatemala: perfil sociodemográfico e identidad cultural y religiosa* (Ciudad de Guatemala, Comunidad Judía Guatemalteca, 2001).

The main concern, however, remains that of societal stability. In Venezuela in particular the late 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s marked a period of great unrest which prompted a visible portion of the young Jewish adults to leave the country. Similar occurrences could be observed in Mexico during the mid-1980s and again during the mid 1990s. The emerging dilemma is that the conditions which have allowed for a quasi-ideal Jewish community model—typified by high levels of community affiliation and low levels of out-marriage—are associated with a general environment prone to moments of instability. This may create some concern for the continuity of organized Jewish life in spite of the sound foundations of the intergenerational transmission of Jewish identification in Mexico and Venezuela.

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**TABLE 1. PERCENTAGES OF MARRIAGES WITHIN JEWISH ETHNO-RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES, BY YEAR OF MARRIAGE AND COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN – MEXICO CITY, 1991**

| Year of marriage | % Marry same origin |          | % Marry same community, Sephardi |                          |                       |
|------------------|---------------------|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
|                  | Ashkenazi           | Sephardi | Maguen David <sup>a</sup>        | Mount Sinai <sup>b</sup> | Sefaradi <sup>c</sup> |
| Up to 1950       | 92                  | 94       | 92                               | 100                      | 92                    |
| 1951-1960        | 90                  | 90       | 83                               | 83                       | 73                    |
| 1961-1970        | 90                  | 85       | 82                               | 69                       | 57                    |
| 1971-1980        | 69                  | 81       | 67                               | 71                       | 32                    |
| 1981-1991        | 74                  | 82       | 70                               | 65                       | 36                    |

a Mostly Aleppo Syrian.

b Mostly Damascus Syrian.

c Mostly Turkish, Balkans.

Source: adapted from DellaPergola and Lerner (1995).

**TABLE 2. OUT-MARRIAGE PERCENTAGES BY YEAR OF MARRIAGE, RELIGION AT BIRTH AND CURRENT RELIGION – MEXICO CITY, 1991**

| Year of marriage | Religion at birth |         | Current religion |         |
|------------------|-------------------|---------|------------------|---------|
|                  | Individuals       | Couples | Individuals      | Couples |
| Up to 1950       | 2.3               | 3.4     | 1.1              | 2.2     |
| 1951-1960        | 0.8               | 0.8     | 0.8              | 1.5     |
| 1961-1970        | 2.1               | 2.7     | 0.5              | 2.7     |
| 1971-1980        | 4.7               | 6.3     | 1.7              | 3.4     |
| 1981-1991        | 4.3               | 7.2     | 1.6              | 3.6     |

Source: adapted from DellaPergola and Lerner (1995).

**TABLE 3. SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSONS IN OUT-MARRIAGES – MEXICO CITY, 1991**

| Characteristics                        | Men        |            | Women      |            | Total in mixed couples | Total Jewish population <sup>a</sup> | Odds Ratio <sup>b</sup> |
|----------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
|                                        | Jewish     | Non-Jewish | Jewish     | Non-Jewish |                        |                                      |                         |
| <b>Sample size = n</b>                 | <b>40</b>  | <b>19</b>  | <b>21</b>  | <b>48</b>  | <b>128</b>             | <b>2896</b>                          | <b>(4.4%)</b>           |
| <b><u>Religion at birth</u></b>        | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>             | <b>100</b>                           | <b>1.00</b>             |
| Jewish                                 | 100        | -          | 100        | -          | 48                     | 97                                   | 0.49                    |
| Jewish and other                       | -          | 5          | -          | -          | 1                      | 0                                    | -                       |
| Catholic                               | -          | 63         | -          | 79         | 39                     | 2                                    | 16.95                   |
| Other                                  | -          | 5          | -          | 4          | 2                      | 0                                    | 22.42                   |
| None                                   | -          | 26         | -          | 17         | 10                     | 1                                    | 14.62                   |
| <b><u>Community affiliated</u></b>     | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>             | <b>100</b>                           | <b>1.00</b>             |
| Ashkenazi                              | 8          | 5          | 5          | 15         | 10                     | 22                                   | 0.44                    |
| Bet El, Bet Israel                     | 30         | 26         | 38         | 25         | 29                     | 8                                    | 3.80                    |
| Sefaradi                               | 17         | 11         | 10         | 12         | 13                     | 11                                   | 1.22                    |
| Maguen David                           | -          | -          | -          | -          | 0                      | 16                                   | 0.00                    |
| Mount Sinai                            | -          | -          | -          | -          | 0                      | 17                                   | 0.00                    |
| Jewish Sports Center only              | 30         | 32         | 33         | 21         | 27                     | 22                                   | 1.26                    |
| None                                   | 15         | 26         | 14         | 27         | 21                     | 3                                    | 7.49                    |
| <b><u>Ethno-religious identity</u></b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>             | <b>100</b>                           | <b>1.00</b>             |
| Jewish                                 | -          | 17         | -          | -          | 3                      | 16                                   | 0.16                    |
| Mexican Jew                            | 26         | 17         | 20         | 25         | 23                     | 40                                   | 0.59                    |
| Undecided                              | 30         | 17         | 70         | 58         | 45                     | 12                                   | 3.65                    |
| Jewish Mexican                         | 35         | 17         | -          | 7          | 16                     | 29                                   | 0.56                    |
| Mexican                                | 8          | 33         | 10         | 10         | 13                     | 3                                    | 4.26                    |
| <b><u>Jewish cultural activity</u></b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>             | <b>100</b>                           | <b>1.00</b>             |
| Participates                           | 70         | 83         | 80         | 58         | 69                     | 76                                   | 0.91                    |
| Does not participate                   | 30         | 17         | 20         | 42         | 31                     | 24                                   | 1.29                    |
| <b><u>Ever felt discrimination</u></b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>             | <b>100</b>                           | <b>1.00</b>             |
| No                                     | 65         | 79         | 81         | 92         | 80                     | 89                                   | 0.90                    |
| At work                                | 7          | -          | 9          | 4          | 5                      | 2                                    | 2.58                    |
| At school                              | 15         | 5          | 5          | 4          | 8                      | 5                                    | 1.55                    |
| At university                          | 13         | 16         | 5          | -          | 7                      | 5                                    | 1.45                    |
| <b><u>Residential area</u></b>         | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>             | <b>100</b>                           | <b>1.00</b>             |
| Northwest                              | 10         | 11         | -          | 13         | 10                     | 1                                    | 7.41                    |
| Lomas, Tecamachalco                    | 22         | 26         | 48         | 13         | 23                     | 51                                   | 0.46                    |
| Polanco                                | 28         | 11         | 14         | 27         | 23                     | 32                                   | 0.71                    |
| Hipodromo                              | 5          | 21         | 19         | 8          | 11                     | 5                                    | 2.12                    |
| Centro                                 | 2          | 10         | -          | 8          | 5                      | 3                                    | 1.70                    |
| Del Valle                              | 18         | 16         | 9          | 19         | 17                     | 2                                    | 8.74                    |
| South                                  | 15         | 5          | 5          | 20         | 14                     | 3                                    | 4.58                    |
| Other                                  | -          | -          | 5          | 2          | 2                      | 2                                    | 0.79                    |
| <b><u>Education</u></b>                | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>             | <b>100</b>                           | <b>1.00</b>             |
| Incomplete primary                     | -          | 5          | 5          | 2          | 2                      | 2                                    | 1.16                    |
| Primary                                | 15         | -          | 9          | 8          | 9                      | 9                                    | 0.99                    |
| Secondary                              | 12         | 10         | 24         | 15         | 15                     | 22                                   | 0.66                    |
| Undergraduate                          | 20         | 32         | 43         | 52         | 38                     | 36                                   | 1.04                    |
| Graduate                               | 25         | 42         | 14         | 17         | 23                     | 23                                   | 1.01                    |
| Post-graduate                          | 28         | 11         | 5          | 6          | 13                     | 8                                    | 1.77                    |
| <b><u>Occupation</u></b>               | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>             | <b>100</b>                           | <b>1.00</b>             |
| Professional                           | 36         | 46         | 50         | 47         | 44                     | 27                                   | 1.64                    |
| Managerial                             | 55         | 38         | 25         | 12         | 31                     | 53                                   | 0.60                    |
| Clerical                               | 3          | 8          | 13         | 12         | 9                      | 11                                   | 0.78                    |
| Sales                                  | 3          | -          | -          | 17         | 7                      | 5                                    | 1.41                    |

|             |   |   |    |    |   |   |      |
|-------------|---|---|----|----|---|---|------|
| Blue collar | 3 | 8 | 12 | 12 | 9 | 4 | 2.00 |
|-------------|---|---|----|----|---|---|------|

a Source: adapted from DellaPergola and, Lerner (1995).

b Ratio of percent distributions in two previous columns: In mixed couples/Total population.



**TABLE 4. SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF JEWISH POPULATION, BY AGE GROUPS  
PERCENTAGES – CARACAS, 1998-1999**

| <b>Characteristics<sup>a</sup></b>             | <b>0-14</b> | <b>15-29</b> | <b>30-44</b> | <b>45-64</b> | <b>65+</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| <b><u>Sample size = n</u></b>                  | <b>507</b>  | <b>401</b>   | <b>444</b>   | <b>528</b>   | <b>232</b> | <b>2112</b>  |
| <b><u>Percentage distribution</u></b>          | <b>24%</b>  | <b>19%</b>   | <b>21%</b>   | <b>25%</b>   | <b>11%</b> | <b>100%</b>  |
| <b><u>Jewish identity profile</u></b>          |             |              |              |              |            |              |
| <b><u>Religion at birth</u></b>                | <b>100</b>  | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>   |
| Jewish                                         | 96          | 97           | 88           | 94           | 99         | 94           |
| Other                                          | 4           | 3            | 12           | 6            | 1          | 6            |
| <b><u>Current religion</u></b>                 | <b>100</b>  | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>   |
| Jewish                                         | 98          | 98           | 97           | 98           | 99         | 98           |
| Christian                                      | 1           | ..           | 2            | 2            | 1          | 1            |
| Other, none and not reported                   | 1           | 2            | 1            | ..           |            | 1            |
| <b><u>(If born non-Jewish) Converted</u></b>   | <b>100</b>  | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>   |
| Yes                                            | 28          | 36           | 70           | 61           | -          | 56           |
| No                                             | 39          | 50           | 23           | 36           | 100        | 33           |
| No but feels Jewish                            | 28          | 7            | 6            | 3            | -          | 8            |
| Does not know                                  | 6           | 7            | 2            | -            | -          | 3            |
| <b><u>(If converted) Where</u></b>             | <b>100</b>  | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>   |
| In Venezuela                                   | 62          | 63           | 64           | 80           | 67         | 66           |
| In the US                                      | 25          | 28           | 26           | 16           | 33         | 25           |
| In Israel                                      | 3           | -            | 1            | 2            | -          | 2            |
| Other and unknown                              | 10          | 9            | 9            | 2            | -          | 7            |
| <b><u>Children's religion</u></b>              | <b>100</b>  | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>   |
| Jewish                                         | 92          | 83           | 93           | 75           | 83         | 86           |
| Christian                                      | 1           | 2            | ..           | 1            | ..         | 1            |
| Other                                          | 4           | 7            | 3            | 12           | ..         | 6            |
| None and not reported                          | 4           | 8            | 4            | 12           | 17         | 7            |
| <b><u>Male children's circumcision</u></b>     |             | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>   |
| Yes, Jewish ritual                             |             | 100          | 97           | 98           | 97         | 97           |
| Yes, medical                                   |             |              | 3            | 1            | 3          | 2            |
| No and not reported                            |             |              | 1            | 1            | -          | 1            |
| <b><u>Children had Bar-Mitzvah</u></b>         |             | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>   |
| Yes all                                        |             |              | 88           | 94           | 90         | 93           |
| Yes, some                                      |             |              | 2            | 2            | 5          | 2            |
| No                                             |             |              | 10           | 4            | 5          | 5            |
| <b><u>Childhood family background</u></b>      |             | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>   |
| Very religious                                 |             | 1            | 2            | 5            | 17         | 6            |
| Religious                                      |             | 16           | 10           | 13           | 28         | 15           |
| Traditional                                    |             | 57           | 58           | 56           | 40         | 54           |
| Little religious                               |             | 16           | 13           | 13           | 10         | 12           |
| Not religious                                  |             | 2            | 6            | 7            | 3          | 6            |
| Not Jewish, other and not reported             |             | 8            | 11           | 6            | 2          | 7            |
| <b><u>Current family background</u></b>        |             | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>   |
| Very religious                                 |             | 1            | 1            | 5            | 5          | 3            |
| Religious                                      |             | 18           | 19           | 15           | 17         | 17           |
| Traditional                                    |             | 66           | 67           | 63           | 66         | 65           |
| Little religious                               |             | 6            | 8            | 9            | 9          | 9            |
| Not religious                                  |             | 6            | 4            | 5            | 1          | 4            |
| Not Jewish, other and not reported             |             | 2            | 1            | 2            | 2          | 2            |
| <b><u>Comparing practices with parents</u></b> | <b>100</b>  | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b>   | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>   |
| More practicing                                | 32          | 32           | 39           | 35           | 16         | 33           |
| Same                                           | 54          | 50           | 33           | 31           | 31         | 37           |
| Less practicing                                | 11          | 14           | 19           | 30           | 52         | 25           |
| Does not know                                  | 3           | 4            | 9            | 4            | 1          | 5            |

| Characteristics <sup>a</sup>                   | 0-14       | 15-29      | 30-44      | 45-64      | 65+        | Total      |
|------------------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| <b><u>Synagogue attendance</u></b>             |            | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Every day                                      |            | 11         | 18         | 19         | 24         | 19         |
| Every Shabbat                                  |            | 23         | 17         | 18         | 22         | 19         |
| Main Holydays                                  |            | 46         | 42         | 33         | 28         | 36         |
| Yom Kippur/Rosh Hashana                        |            | 15         | 16         | 18         | 17         | 17         |
| On special occasions                           |            | 1          | 5          | 7          | 4          | 5          |
| Never                                          |            | 4          | 2          | 4          | 5          | 3          |
| <b><u>Edah (Community sector)</u></b>          |            | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Ashkenazi                                      |            | 34         | 40         | 52         | 65         | 49         |
| Sephardi                                       |            | 44         | 43         | 37         | 31         | 39         |
| Both                                           |            | 15         | 7          | 4          | 2          | 6          |
| None and not reported                          |            | 7          | 9          | 7          | 2          | 6          |
| <b><u>Ethno-religious identity</u></b>         | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Jewish                                         | 10         | 6          | 7          | 8          | 5          | 7          |
| Venezuelan Jew                                 | 61         | 56         | 55         | 60         | 72         | 60         |
| Undecided                                      | 3          | 5          | 2          | 2          | 2          | 3          |
| Jewish Venezuelan                              | 25         | 30         | 34         | 28         | 19         | 29         |
| Venezuelan                                     | 1          | 3          | 2          | 2          | 1          | 2          |
| <b><u>Went to Jewish day-school</u></b>        | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Yes                                            | 82         | 93         | 80         | 60         | 46         | 74         |
| No                                             | 18         | 7          | 20         | 40         | 54         | 26         |
| <b><u>Among best friends</u></b>               | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Majority Jewish                                | 89         | 65         | 57         | 55         | 64         | 61         |
| Majority non-Jewish                            | 6          | 6          | 6          | 5          | 2          | 5          |
| Both                                           | 5          | 29         | 37         | 40         | 33         | 34         |
| <b><u>Among fellows at work/study</u></b>      | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Majority Jewish                                | 86         | 31         | 19         | 16         | 22         | 28         |
| Majority non-Jewish                            | 11         | 47         | 49         | 60         | 52         | 48         |
| Both                                           | 3          | 22         | 32         | 24         | 26         | 24         |
| <b><u>Children's out-marriage</u></b>          |            | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Would support                                  |            | 9          | 11         | 12         | 7          | 10         |
| Would accept                                   |            | 12         | 19         | 12         | 6          | 13         |
| Indifferent, does not know                     |            | 22         | 10         | 15         | 22         | 15         |
| Would disapprove                               |            | 39         | 45         | 44         | 48         | 45         |
| Would reject                                   |            | 18         | 15         | 17         | 17         | 17         |
| <b><u>Children's marriage patterns</u></b>     |            |            |            |            |            |            |
| Has/had non-Jewish date                        |            | -          | 15         | 31         | 42         | 28         |
| Would marry non-Jew                            |            | 6          | 7          | 19         | 17         | 17         |
| <b><u>Where do the children live</u></b>       |            |            | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| In Venezuela                                   |            |            | 63         | 60         | 76         | 67         |
| In the US                                      |            |            | 25         | 27         | 20         | 24         |
| In Israel                                      |            |            | 12         | 10         | 2          | 7          |
| Elsewhere                                      |            |            | -          | 3          | 2          | 2          |
| <b><u>In case of a crisis in Venezuela</u></b> |            | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Would go to Israel                             |            | 11         | 12         | 16         | 13         | 14         |
| Would go to the US                             |            | 21         | 19         | 11         | 11         | 14         |
| Would go to other country                      |            | 12         | 11         | 10         | 4          | 9          |
| <b><u>Feeling about Israel</u></b>             | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Very close                                     | 22         | 26         | 21         | 30         | 53         | 29         |
| Close                                          | 52         | 55         | 54         | 56         | 41         | 53         |
| Indifferent                                    | 13         | 8          | 6          | 4          | 2          | 6          |
| Distant or very distant                        | 13         | 11         | 19         | 10         | 5          | 12         |

| Characteristics                               | 0-14       | 15-29      | 30-44      | 45-64      | 65+        | Total      |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| <b><u>Background characteristics</u></b>      |            |            |            |            |            |            |
| <b><u>Sex</u></b>                             | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Male                                          | 53         | 52         | 48         | 47         | 54         | 50         |
| Female                                        | 47         | 48         | 52         | 53         | 46         | 50         |
| <b><u>Marital status</u></b>                  |            | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Single                                        |            | 78         | 7          | 3          | 1          | 41         |
| Married                                       |            | 21         | 86         | 82         | 68         | 50         |
| Divorced, separated                           |            | 1          | 7          | 7          | 5          | 4          |
| Widowed                                       |            |            | ..         | 8          | 26         | 5          |
| <b><u>Country of birth</u></b>                | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Venezuela                                     | 97         | 90         | 66         | 36         | 9          | 65         |
| Other in Latin America                        | ..         | 2          | 10         | 17         | 9          | 8          |
| US                                            | 2          | 3          | 2          | 2          | 2          | 2          |
| Spain                                         | -          | 2          | 2          | 8          | 6          | 3          |
| Other in Europe                               | -          | -          | 2          | 14         | 53         | 9          |
| Arab countries                                | -          | 2          | 13         | 19         | 19         | 10         |
| Israel                                        | 1          | 2          | 4          | 4          | 1          | 3          |
| Other                                         | -          | -          | ..         | ..         | 1          | ..         |
| <b><u>(If abroad) Year of immigration</u></b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Up to 1948                                    | -          | -          | -          | 10         | 43         | 16         |
| 1949-1958                                     | -          | -          | 8          | 27         | 28         | 21         |
| 1959-1968                                     | -          | 2          | 35         | 23         | 17         | 22         |
| 1969-1978                                     | -          | 44         | 38         | 35         | 11         | 29         |
| 1979-1988                                     | 19         | 30         | 11         | 3          | -          | 6          |
| 1989-1999                                     | 81         | 21         | 8          | 2          | 1          | 5          |
| <b><u>Venezuelan citizenship</u></b>          | <b>84</b>  | <b>85</b>  | <b>81</b>  | <b>78</b>  | <b>84</b>  | <b>82</b>  |
| <b><u>Educational attainment</u></b>          |            | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Primary                                       |            | 1          | ..         | 3          | 14         | 4          |
| Lower secondary                               |            | 1          | 1          | 6          | 20         | 6          |
| Secondary                                     |            | 21         | 14         | 31         | 35         | 25         |
| Technical                                     |            | 22         | 11         | 11         | 5          | 11         |
| Undergraduate                                 |            | 45         | 51         | 32         | 19         | 3          |
| Graduate, Ph.D.                               |            | 10         | 23         | 17         | 7          | 16         |
| <b><u>Occupation</u></b>                      |            | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Owner, manager                                |            | 37         | 55         | 55         | 69         | 54         |
| Self employed                                 |            | 14         | 17         | 13         | 8          | 14         |
| Clerical                                      |            | 39         | 24         | 25         | 20         | 26         |
| Other and temporary                           |            | 10         | 4          | 7          | 3          | 6          |
| <b><u>Occupational status</u></b>             |            | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Professional                                  |            | 14         | 20         | 15         | 9          | 17         |
| Employer 50+                                  |            | 4          | 8          | 7          | 10         | 7          |
| Employer 5-50                                 |            | 14         | 23         | 21         | 24         | 21         |
| Employer -5                                   |            | 12         | 18         | 25         | 31         | 21         |
| Employee                                      |            | 51         | 29         | 29         | 18         | 31         |
| Other                                         |            | 4          | 2          | 3          | 7          | 3          |
| <b><u>Economic branch</u></b>                 |            | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> |
| Manufacturing                                 |            | 6          | 18         | 15         | 25         | 16         |
| Construction                                  |            | 7          | 8          | 5          | 3          | 6          |
| Commerce                                      |            | 42         | 32         | 36         | 40         | 36         |
| Finances                                      |            | 1          | 5          | 4          | 5          | 4          |
| Services                                      |            | 39         | 32         | 34         | 21         | 33         |
| Other                                         |            | 5          | 5          | 7          | 6          | 6          |

a Highest value in each line highlighted. Minor percentage discrepancies due to rounding. .. = less than 0.5%.

Source: S. DellaPergola, S. Benzaquén, T. Beker, work in progress.



TABLE 5. SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF JEWISH POPULATION, BY URBAN AREAS  
PERCENTAGES – CARACAS, 1998-1999

| Characteristics <sup>a</sup>               | Center     | San Bernardino | La Florida | La Castellana | Sebucan    | Suburban   | Total Caracas |
|--------------------------------------------|------------|----------------|------------|---------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| <b>Sample size = n</b>                     | 47         | 347            | 441        | 299           | 519        | 459        | 2112          |
| <b>Percentage distribution</b>             | 2%         | 16%            | 21%        | 14%           | 25%        | 22%        | 100%          |
| <b><u>Jewish identity profile</u></b>      |            |                |            |               |            |            |               |
| <b><u>Religion</u></b>                     |            |                |            |               |            |            |               |
| Jewish at birth                            | 87         | 96             | 95         | 97            | 96         | 91         | 95            |
| Jewish currently                           | 92         | 99             | 97         | 99            | 98         | 96         | 98            |
| Jewish children                            | 50         | 96             | 97         | 84            | 78         | 86         | 87            |
| <b><u>Children's out-marriage</u></b>      | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>     | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    |
| Would support                              | 10         | 8              | 9          | 9             | 6          | 20         | 10            |
| Accept if converted to Judaism             | 14         | 9              | 10         | 13            | 16         | 17         | 13            |
| Indifferent                                | 7          | 1              | 1          | 2             | 3          | 3          | 2             |
| Would disagree                             | 41         | 42             | 36         | 51            | 52         | 44         | 45            |
| Would reject                               | 7          | 22             | 25         | 12            | 15         | 9          | 17            |
| <b><u>Children's marriage patterns</u></b> |            |                |            |               |            |            |               |
| Has/had non-Jewish date                    | 57         | 35             | 20         | 44            | 11         | 33         | 28            |
| Would marry non-Jew                        | 67         | 25             | 11         | 39            | 3          | 13         | 17            |
| <b><u>Attended Jewish school</u></b>       | <b>70</b>  | <b>74</b>      | <b>78</b>  | <b>68</b>     | <b>78</b>  | <b>69</b>  | <b>74</b>     |
| <b><u>Religiosity</u></b>                  | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>     | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    |
| Very religious                             | 7          | 4              | 8          | 4             | 1          | 1          | 4             |
| Religious                                  | 31         | 20             | 25         | 17            | 13         | 10         | 17            |
| Traditional                                | 38         | 65             | 59         | 59            | 73         | 71         | 65            |
| Not so religious                           | 10         | 7              | 5          | 13            | 8          | 10         | 9             |
| Not religious                              | 7          | 3              | 2          | 6             | 4          | 7          | 4             |
| Not Jewish                                 | 7          | -              | 1          | 1             | 1          | 1          | 1             |
| <b><u>Edah (Community sector)</u></b>      |            |                |            |               |            |            |               |
| Ashkenazi                                  | 31         | 57             | 34         | 65            | 50         | 48         | 49            |
| Sephardi                                   | 48         | 31             | 59         | 29            | 36         | 34         | 39            |
| <b><u>Ethno-religious identity</u></b>     | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>     | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    |
| Jewish                                     | 7          | 10             | 8          | 5             | 3          | 8          | 7             |
| Venezuelan Jew                             | 56         | 56             | 71         | 66            | 62         | 46         | 60            |
| Jewish Venezuelan                          | 29         | 29             | 18         | 28            | 30         | 38         | 29            |
| Venezuelan                                 | 7          | 3              | 1          | -             | 2          | 3          | 2             |
| <b><u>In case of crisis</u></b>            |            |                |            |               |            |            |               |
| Would go to Israel                         | 17         | 25             | 18         | 8             | 8          | 10         | 14            |
| Would go to the US                         | 10         | 10             | 10         | 26            | 15         | 13         | 14            |
| Would go to other country                  | 10         | 5              | 9          | 7             | 14         | 11         | 9             |
| <b><u>Feeling about Israel</u></b>         | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>     | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    |
| Very close                                 | 39         | 33             | 34         | 35            | 22         | 25         | 29            |
| Close                                      | 32         | 48             | 55         | 50            | 61         | 52         | 53            |
| Indifferent                                | 15         | 12             | 6          | 7             | 12         | 14         | 11            |
| Distant or very distant                    | 10         | 5              | 4          | 6             | 3          | 7          | 5             |
| <b><u>Felt discrimination as Jew</u></b>   |            |                |            |               |            |            |               |
| Frequently                                 | 2          | 1              | 1          | 1             | -          | 1          | 1             |
| Occasionally                               | 23         | 16             | 15         | 14            | 14         | 14         | 15            |
| <b><u>Background characteristics</u></b>   |            |                |            |               |            |            |               |
| <b><u>Age</u></b>                          | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>     | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    |
| 0-14                                       | 26         | 14             | 23         | 26            | 31         | 21         | 24            |
| 15-29                                      | 17         | 20             | 20         | 12            | 17         | 22         | 19            |
| 30-44                                      | 21         | 17             | 20         | 21            | 27         | 20         | 21            |
| 45-64                                      | 23         | 31             | 24         | 21            | 20         | 28         | 25            |
| 65+                                        | 13         | 18             | 13         | 20            | 5          | 8          | 11            |

| Characteristics <sup>a</sup>       | Center     | San Bernardino | La Florida | La Castellana | Sebucan    | Suburban   | Total Caracas |
|------------------------------------|------------|----------------|------------|---------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| <b><u>Country of birth</u></b>     | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>     | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    |
| Venezuela                          | 57         | 59             | 62         | 63            | 72         | 69         | 65            |
| Other in Latin America             | -          | 78             | 3          | 6             | 9          | 11         | 8             |
| US                                 | -          | 1              | ..         | 6             | 3          | 3          | 2             |
| Spain                              | 9          | 2              | 9          | 1             | 1          | 2          | 3             |
| Other in Europe                    | 4          | 17             | 8          | 15            | 5          | 6          | 9             |
| Arab countries and Israel          | 30         | 13             | 18         | 9             | 10         | 9          | 13            |
| Other                              | -          | 1              | -          | ..            | -          | ..         | ..            |
| <b><u>Venezuelan citizen</u></b>   | <b>77</b>  | <b>86</b>      | <b>79</b>  | <b>80</b>     | <b>82</b>  | <b>85</b>  | <b>82</b>     |
| <b><u>Occupational status</u></b>  | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>     | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    |
| Professional                       | 10         | 12             | 11         | 20            | 26         | 14         | 17            |
| Employer 50+                       | -          | 3              | 5          | 15            | 8          | 7          | 7             |
| Employer 5-50                      | 10         | 9              | 18         | 24            | 29         | 21         | 21            |
| Employer -5                        | 25         | 27             | 26         | 20            | 13         | 21         | 21            |
| Employee                           | 55         | 44             | 37         | 19            | 20         | 34         | 31            |
| Other                              | -          | 4              | 3          | 2             | 4          | 3          | 3             |
| <b><u>Socioeconomic status</u></b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>     | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>100</b>    |
| High/Very high                     | -          | 4              | 8          | 30            | 22         | 14         | 15            |
| Higher medium                      | 29         | 35             | 38         | 48            | 53         | 40         | 42            |
| Medium                             | 53         | 44             | 46         | 21            | 21         | 40         | 35            |
| Lower/Lower medium                 | 18         | 17             | 8          | 1             | 4          | 6          | 8             |

a Highest value in each line highlighted. Minor percentage discrepancies due to rounding. .. = less than 0.5%.

Source: S. DellaPergola, S. Benzaquén, T. Becker, work in progress.