Demography

United States National Jewish Population Study: A First Report

By Fred Massarik and Alvin Chenkin*

INTRODUCTION

THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL JEWISH POPULATION STUDY (NJPS) constitutes the first attempt to design and conduct a nationwide survey representative of the United States Jewish population as a whole. The study, sponsored by the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, now has completed data collection and other tasks prerequisite to analysis, and constitutes a repository of information that will require "mining" and interpretation for many years to come. This report is the first in a series that will probe a wide range of issues in Jewish life in America.

The NJPS is a sampling survey based on accepted principles of scientific sample selection. A complete census count, seeking identification of every household in the United States that might be considered Jewish is, of course, neither financially feasible nor scientifically necessary. The study's methodology was geared to its basic goal of searching for representativeness in demographic description and in the study of attitudes. NJPS's purpose is to provide a picture of the Jewish population, as free as possible from bias—the overrepresentation of the Jewishly identified—and to give fundamental insights into the characteristics of the American Jew.

^{*}Fred Massarik wrote the Introduction and Explorations in Intermarriage; Alvin Chenkin prepared Selected Data on Household Characteristics

While from a technical standpoint the inclusion of a "religion" question in the United States census would have been desirable, data that might have been provided from this source alone would have fallen short of NJPS purposes. The present study includes demographic and socio-economic data; but it goes considerably beyond typical census-type questions, addressing itself also to such topics as participation in Jewish communal life and in congregations, involvement in Jewish education, and complex issues like Jewish identification that bear directly on Jewish survival. A summary of study topics is found in Appendix A.

Important considerations in developing the NJPS were geographic scope and design of sample. While a technical discussion of the sample design is beyond the scope of this statement, the following are the major criteria used in the selection of households for study purposes:

- (1) The sample of households interviewed was drawn from every geographic region of the United States, including the Greater New York area, and generally from every Jewish community with an initially estimated Jewish population of 30,000, or more. Interviews also were conducted, in appropriate proportions, in medium-sized and small Jewish communities. Finally, a special effort was made to contact Jewish households in a sample of counties that heretofore had been assumed to contain virtually no Jewish populations. (See Appendix B.)
- (2) Sample interviews reached Jewish households whose members generally were not affiliated with organized Jewish life (persons not associated with Jewish organizations, non-givers to Jewish philanthropic campaigns, etc.), as well as Jewish households actively identified with the Jewish community (persons whose names appear on fund-raising master lists, on Jewish community and congregation mailing lists, etc.).
- (3) The types of sample used were: (a) the "area probability sample" (see Appendix C), selected by contacting many thousands of households on a door-to-door basis without any assurance that particular household would prove to be Jewish; (b) the "list sample," the product of contacting households known to be Jewish, that appeared on lists furnished by Jewish communities or lists specially devised for Study purposes. These two sample types were cross-checked and weighted to provide the needed balance between those at the periphery of Jewish community involvement and those directly associated with activities of Jewish interest.

Average interview length per Jewish household was one and one-half hours. All interviewers were professionally trained by NJPS staff and/or by fieldwork subcontractors under NJPS direction. Sample size was considerably

¹The 1970 United States decennial census did not include a question on religion.

larger than that specified by many national polling organizations such as Gallup, Roper, and others.²

The concern over personal safety in many American urban communities, in the streets and in the home, created difficulties in obtaining cooperation in some large cities. These were overcome in large measure by intensive follow-ups, including selective, carefully designed telephone interviews.³ Final response rates, varying in the several Study communities from about 75 to more than 90 per cent, appeared adequate; they compared favorably with results of household interview surveys conducted in comparable time periods by commercial and university survey organizations.

In the sections following, basic demographic and socio-economic data and findings on intermarriage, are presented as "first facts" emerging from the United States Jewish Population Study.

²The total number of Jewish household interviews, as of "first count"-analysis is 7,550. (Subsequent results, following further "tape cleaning," may yield a slightly different figure.) This figure includes all adequately complete interviews with qualifying Jewish households, e.g., households containing one or more persons identified as Jewish, by the broadest possible definition. The total includes interviews in so-called tie-in communities, those which, in place of local studies, contracted for supplementary samples in the specified community areas.

In the computer analysis, each Jewish household is characterized by a specific weight to take into account the differential probabilities of its inclusion. A note on the steps in area probability sample selection appears at the end of this statement.

Professor Bernard Lazerwitz, University of St. Louis, Columbus, Missouri, was responsible for the technical implementation of the sample design.

³Telephone interviewing procedures initially were developed under the supervision of Professor Morris Axelrod.

APPENDIX A

SUMMARY OF STUDY TOPICS

(NJPS Questions Categorized)

Sections S (Screening): Definitions of Jewishness

- a. Composition of household.
- b. Person born Jewish?
- c. Father or mother born Jewish?
- d. Type and quality of housing unit.

Section A (Family Background)

- a. Age and sex.
- b. Parents' place of birth.
- c. Converts: to Judaism; from Judaism.
- d. Grandparents' place of birth.
- e. Number of grandparents Jewish; number non-Jewish.
- f. Person's place of birth.

Section B (Religion)

- a. Branch of Judaism.
- b. Attendance of Jewish religious services.
- c. Knowledge of Hebrew and Yiddish.
- d. Membership in temple; if yes, what kind?
- e. Celebration of Jewish holidays.

Section C (Jewish Education)

- a. What kind of Jewish education person is receiving or has received.
- b. Person's opinion of quality of Jewish education.
- c. Children under six: intention of giving them Jewish education.
- d. Who has been or will be bar-mitzvah, bat-mitzvah, or confirmed.

Section D (Organizations)

- a. Membership in how many and what kind of Jewish organizations and attendance.
- b. Membership in how many and what kind of general organizations and attendance.
- c. Organization in which most active; proportion of Jewish members.

Section E (Marriage and Children)

- a. Marital status now and prior marriages.
- b. Type of ceremony.
- c. Religion of husband and wife at time of marriage.
- d. Number of children born or raised in marriage.
- e. Statistics on children born or raised in marriage.
- f. Expectation of additional children.

Section F (Mobility and Housing)

- a. Rents/owns.
- b. Value of home (owner).
- c. Monthly rent (renter).
- d. From where and when person moved to this city or town.
- e. Reason person moved to this city or town.
- f. Plans to move.
- g. Person has been, or is planning to go, to Israel.

Section G (Community Involvement)

- a. Per cent of total amount contributed to Jewish/general charities.
- b. Did person contribute to United Jewish Appeal, Jewish Welfare Fund, central Jewish Community campaign/United Way, United Crusade, United Fund?

Section H (Education and Labor Force)

- a. Highest level of secular education.
- b. Did person work last week; how many hours?
- c. Reason for not having worked last week.
- d. Job in peak working years and present job (describe main activities).
- e. Is person self-employed?

Multiplicity (Estimation of Vital Rates)

- a. Births.
- b. Deaths.
- Marriages and divorces.

Section I (Opinions and Attitudes, Including Intermarriage, Jewish Identification, etc.)

Total Income

Total Contributions

APPENDIX B

PRIMARY SAMPLING ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

Allentown, Pa.
Atlanta, Ga.
Atlantic City, N.J.
Baltimore, Md.
Boston, Mass.
Buffalo, N.Y.
Central California
Central New Jersey:

Red Bank-Long Branch-Asbury Park

Red Bank-Lo Chicago, Ill. Cincinnati, O. Cleveland, O. Denver, Colo. Detroit, Mich. District of Columbia Erie, Pa.-Elmira, N.Y. Essex-Bergen, N.J. Hartford, Conn. Houston, Tex. Los Angeles, Cal. Louisville, Ky. Miami, Fla. Milwaukee, Wis.

Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.

Nashville, Tenn.

New York City and surrounding area

Philadelphia, Pa. Pittsburgh, Pa.

Stamford, Conn.

Poughkeepsie, N.Y. Rhode Island-Eastern Connecticut San Francisco-Oakland, Cal. Seattle-Tacoma, Wash. South Bend-Fort Wayne-Evansville, Ind.

St. Louis, Mo.
Tuscon, Ariz.-Las Vegas, Nev.
Utica-Rome-Auburn, N.Y.
Williamsburg, Va.-Charleston, W.Va.
"No Known Laws" Counties

Southern Counties (in Ky., Miss., and Tenn.) "No Known Jews" Counties

APPENDIX C

DEVELOPMENT OF AREA PROBABILITY SAMPLE

The following were the principal steps in stratification of the area probability sample: (1) The geographic distribution of the Jewish population, as traditionally reported in the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK was analyzed. Maps indicating all geographic areas for which Jewish population estimates were reported, and the interstices between such areas were identified. JEWISH YEAR BOOK, was analyzed. Maps indicating all geographic areas for which Jewish population estimates, 38 "strata" of communities for which estimates were available, and one for which no Jewish population estimates had been made, were defined. (3) Highly detailed Jewish population estimates were developed by the "Distinctive Jewish Names" ratio method within each segment of these strata. These estimates provided for small geographic areas within each of the primary sampling units specific indications of size and concentration of Jewish household population. (4) Sample blocks or other small geographic units were chosen on a differential basis, within areas of differentially estimated Jewish population concentrations. (5) Where possible within each of the chosen sample blocks or comparable small geographic units, efforts were made to identify names of occupants for the sub-set of chosen housing units. Differential rates for interviewing were assigned, depending on the probability that a given housing unit was, or was not likely to be, Jewish. Weights were assigned accordingly.

⁴See Fred Massarik, "New Approaches to the Study of the American Jew," Jewish Journal of Sociology, December 1966, pp. 175-91.

SELECTED DATA ON HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

At this time, there were available from NJPS selected data on population and household characteristics, which for the first time provide information on characteristics of the United States Jewish population as a whole.

Per Cent Distribution of Individuals, by Age and Sex

Three factors stand out in examining these tables. First, the proportion of individuals under 5 years of age has been decreasing for the last ten years. Whereas the current 10-14 age group was 10 per cent of the total population,* the 5-9 age group dropped to 7 and the 0-4 group to 6 per cent. By the close of the five-year period ending in 1971, the number of 5-to-9-year-olds has decreased approximately one-third from the number in that age group in the 1961-65 period. Taking all children under 15 into account, the decrease for this age group in 1966-71 was more than a fifth of the number in the same age group in 1961-65.

Secondly, the proportion of the age groups from 25 through 44 was relatively low—12 per cent lower than the proportion of the next 20 year age span, from 45 to 64.

Thirdly, the number of aging individuals of 65 and over was proportionately larger among Jews than in the general population. As previously noted, the 11 per cent figure for those 65 and over was minimal, since those already under institutional care were excluded. From the proportion of the population in the individual 5-year age groups beginning with age 50, it was apparent that in the next decade the number in the 65-and-over age group will increase absolutely, and, unless there is a sharp increase in births, it will increase proportionately as well.

^{*}Total refers to noninstitutional population, in this and all subsequent references.

TABLE 1a. INDIVIDUALS, AGE DISTRIBUTION BY SEX, IN U.S. POPULATION:* 1971

Age Group	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	Total**
0–4	5.5	5.7	5.7
5–9	6.7	6.6	6.7
10–14	10.2	9.4	10.1
15–19	10.1	8.9	9.4
20–24	8.7	8.7	8.7
25–29	5.7	5.8	5.7
30–34	4.8	4.8	4.7
35–39	5.4	6.2	5.8
40–44	6.3	5.8	6.0
45-49	6.5	7.7	7.1
50-54	7.1	6.4	6.7
55–59	7.0	5.8	6.4
60–64	5.2	4.9	5.0
65–69	4.0	4.7	4.3
70–74	2.8	3.5	3.2
75–79	1.8	2.3	2.1
80 plus	1.6	1.4	1.5
(65 plus)	(10.2)	(11.9)	(11.1)
NR	0.6	1.2	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Sample size)	(17,153)	(18,398)	(35,771)

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.
NR-Not reported.
*Data are exclusive of institutional population.
**220 respondents—Sex Unknown—are included in total column only (0.6 of one per cent).

TABLE 1b. INDIVIDUALS, SEX DISTRIBUTION BY AGE, IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION:* 1971

Age Group	Male	Female	Total**	(Sample Size)
0-4	46.3	52.0	100.0	(2,029)
5–9	48.0	50.5	100.0	(2,404)
10–14	48.3	47.8	100.0	(3,624)
15–19	51.6	48.4	100.0	(3,371)
20–24	48.0	51.8	100.0	(3,100)
25-29	47.7	52.3	100.0	(2,046)
30–34	48.4	51.5	100.0	(1,699)
35-39	44.6	55.4	100.0	(2,062)
40-44	50.1	49.8	100.0	(2,148)
45-49	44.0	56.0	100.0	(2,524)
50-54	50.7	49.3	100.0	(2,403)
55-59	52.9	47.1	100.0	(2,278)
60–64	50.0	50.0	100.0	(1,801)
65-69	44.4	55.6	100.0	(1,548)
70–74	42.1	57.9	100.0	(1,127)
75–79	42.5	57.5	100.0	(746)
80-98	50.9	49.1	100.0	(529)
(65 plus)	(44.2)	(55.7)	(100.0)	(3,950)
NR	31.3	68.4	100.0	(332)
Total	48.0	51.4	100.0	(35,771)

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

NR-Not reported.

Source: National Jewish Population Study.

Per Cent Distribution of Households, by Age and Sex of Head

Over-all, more than 5 out of every 6 households were headed by males. For households with heads under 30, the ratio of male heads to female heads was 8 to 1; by age 30 to 39, it increased to 12 to 1. However from age 40 on, the proportion of households headed by women increased, until by age 70-74 the male-head to female-head ratio was 1.4 to 1. The last age group, 75 and over, then showed a drop in female-headed households which corresponded to a similar phenomenon shown in Table 1a. One explanation was that females,

^{*}Data are exclusive of institutional population.

^{**220} respondents, sex unknown, are included in total column (0.6 of one per cent). Individual percentages therefore may not add to total column.

whose marriages broke up through the death of the spouse, were more likely to accept institutional placement.

More than 50 per cent of all Jewish households had heads whose ages ranged between 40 and 64. Another 22 per cent of households had heads of 65 or older. Thus, while the aging (65 and over), in terms of individuals, were 1 out of 9, in terms of household heads they were more than 1 out of 5.

The distinction between these two sets of data is important. Often a statement on a household characteristic (income, congregational affiliation, etc.) is assumed to be directly transferable to a statement on the population as a whole. Since the average size of a household is related to the age of the head, any household characteristic correlated with age of head must be adjusted for this factor before making a reference to the total population. (For an illustration of this, note the previous paragraph where it is shown that households headed by aging individuals comprise 22 per cent of all households, but individuals aged 65 and over are only 11 per cent of the total population.

TABLE 2a. HOUSEHOLD HEADS, AGE DISTRIBUTION BY SEX IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION: * 1971

(Per Cent)								
Age Group	<u>Male</u>	Female	Total**					
Under 30	12.0	8.6	11.5					
30–39	16.7	7.4	15.2					
40-49	21.2	10.5	19.5					
50–59	23.7	14.7	22.3					
60–64	8.8	8.9	8.8					
65–69	6.7	14.8	8.0					
70–74	4.5	17.6	6.6					
75 & Over	5.4	14.8	6.9					
(65 plus)	(16.6)	(47.2)	(21.5)					
NR	.9	2.9	1.2					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0					
(Sample size)	(10,077)	(1,894)	(11,977)					

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding. NR-Not reported.

^{*}Data are exclusive of institutional population

^{**}Six respondents—Sex Unknown—are included in total column only (.05 of one per cent).

TABLE 2b. HOUSEHOLD HEADS, SEX DISTRIBUTION BY AGE, IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION:* 1971

Age Group	Male	Female	Total	(Sample Size)
Under 30	88.2	11.8	100.0	(1,375)
30–39	92.3	7.7	100.0	(1,825)
40-49	91.5	8.5	100.0	(2,336)
50-59	89.6	10.4	100.0	(2,670)
60–64	84.1	15.9	100.0	(1,059)
65-69	70.6	29.4	100.0	(954)
70–74	57.8	42.2	100.0	(789)
75 & Over	66.0	34.0	100.0	(823)
(65 plus)	(65.0)	(35.0)	(100.0)	(2,704)
NR	61.4	38.6	100.0	(146)
Total	84.2	15.8	100.0	(11,977)**

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

NR-Not reported.

*Data are exclusive of institutional population.

Source: National Jewish Population Study

Per Cent Distribution of Households, by Marital Status and Age of Head

Over-all, 78 per cent of all household heads were married. For all those between ages 30 through 59 the proportion married range between 86 and 90 per cent. In the 65-69 age group the proportion married decreased to 68 per cent, and continued to drop for the older age group. A seeming oddity is the fact that the proportion of the married in the 70-74 age group was 53 per cent, while in the 75-and-over group it was 58 per cent. The most likely explanation is that those who became widowed were more likely candidates for institutional care than those whose spouses were alive. This argument is supported by the fact that the proportion single, which from the ages of 30 through 74 never dropped below 3 per cent, was only 2 per cent in this oldest age group.

^{**}Six respondents—Sex Unknown—are included in total only (0.05 of one per cent).

TABLE 3. HOUSEHOLD HEADS, MARITAL STATUS BY AGE, IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION:* 1971

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Age Group	Single	Married	or Oivorced	Widowed	NR	Total	(Sample Size)
Under 25	48.8	48.4	0.5	1.5	0.7	100.0	(547)
25-29	10.8	73.7	15.0	0.2	0.2	100.0	(825)
30-39	4.2	89.8	4.0	1.3	0.7	100.0	(1,825)
40-49	2.7	89.3	5.5	2.3	0.2	100.0	(2,337)
50-59	3.9	86.0	4.2	5.8	0.1	100.0	(2,072)
60-64	3.8	82.1	1.1	12.6	0.4	100.0	(1,060)
65-69	4.7	68.1	3.0	24.1	0.1	100.0	(955)
70–74	3.4	52.7	8.6	34.6	0.8	100.0	(790)
75 & Over	1.9	57.6	6.1	34.0	0.4	100.0	(823)
Age not known	10.0	53.6	7.1	28.6	0.7	100.0	(143)
Total	6.2	78.3	5.1	10.0	$\overline{0.4}$	100.0	$\overline{(11,977)}$

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

Source: National Jewish Population Study

Per Cent Distribution of Households, by Generational Level and Age of Head

The heads of households were divided roughly into 23 per cent foreign born, 58 per cent first generation born in the United States, and 19 per cent second or earlier generation United States born. There were marked differences when generational data were examined, age group by age group. For all heads of households of 54 or younger, the proportion of foreign born was 12 per cent or less. Only in the age groups between 20 and 29 did heads of the second or earlier generation born in the United States exceed in proportion the first-generation heads. In the 65 to 69 age group of heads of households, 41 per cent were foreign born, compared to 56 per cent first-generation born, and a very small proportion—3 per cent—second or earlier generation born in the United States. For the next age group, 70–74, the foreign born increased to 62 per cent; for the small group of 80 and over, the foreign born were 86 per cent of the entire age group.

NR-Not reported.

^{*}Data are exclusive of institutional population.

Since the average size of household was much smaller in the older age groups, the proportion of foreign born in the total population obviously was a good deal smaller than the 23 per cent represented by heads of households. What is of interest here is that at this time 58 per cent of all households were headed by persons who had a connection, even though only indirectly through their parents, with the values the foreign born brought with them from their original life setting. It is they who bear responsibility for bridging the gap between those whose formative years were spent outside the United States and those whose life experience included no direct contact with the foreign born.

TABLE 4. HOUSEHOLD HEADS, GENERATION STATUS BY AGE, IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION:* 1971

(Per Cent)

Born in United States

Age Group	Foreign Born	First Generation	Second or Earlier Generation	Total	(Sample Size)
Under 20	5.3	79.8	14.9	100.0	(94)
20-24	8.6	42.1	49.3	100.0	(456)
25-29	1.6	24.0	74.4	100.0	(825)
30–39	10.7	56.2	33.0	100.0	(1,825)
40-49	10.6	70.0	19.4	100.0	(2,337)
50-54	12.1	73.2	14.7	100.0	(1,336)
55-59	25.8	69.3	4.9	100.0	(1,336)
60-64	26.5	69.4	4.1	100.0	(1,060)
65-69	41.2	55.7	3.1	100.0	(955)
70–74	62.3	34.7	3.0	100.0	(790)
75–79	61.6	36.6	1.8	100.0	(489)
80 & Over	85.6	13.5	0.9	100.0	(334)
NR	30.0	61.4	8.6	100.0	(140)
Total	23.4	57.5	19.1	100.0	(11,977)

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding. NR-Not reported.

^{*}Data are exclusive of institutional population

Per Cent Distribution of Household Heads and of Individuals, by Highest Level of Secular Education Achieved

For all ages, 56 per cent of household heads reported having had a minimum of some college education. For male heads, the analogous figure was 60 per cent; for female heads, 33 per cent.

The same educational attainment for heads under 30 showed: all heads, 84 per cent; male heads, 87 per cent; female heads, 60 per cent.

A sharp break in level of education was found between those 65 and over and the immediately preceding age group of 50-64. Taking individuals as our reference point, we find that 20 per cent of the former age group reported some college or more and that 45 per cent of the latter age group have reached this level. In the next 15 years, therefore, the proportion of the aging with an education above high school will sharply increase.

There has also been a marked shift towards continued academic work past the college degree. For individuals aged 40-49, 14 per cent reported postgraduate work through the Ph.D. degree. Another 8 per cent had obtained professional degrees. For those aged 30 to 39, the comparable percentages were 20 per cent and 8 per cent, and for the 25-to-29-year-olds, 22 per cent and 12 per cent.

Concealed in these data is the sharp increase in postgraduate work for females in these same age groups. Whereas 11 per cent of all females aged 30-39 reported postgraduate work, including professional degrees, the comparable figure for those 25 to 29 years of age was 21 per cent.

As the older generations die out, the total Jewish population in the United States should approach the point where 80 per cent will have some college as a minimum and more than 60 per cent will have graduated college, with a substantial proportion of graduates going on to postgraduate work.

TABLE 5a. HOUSEHOLD HEADS, LEVEL OF SECULAR EDUCATION BY AGE AND SEX, IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION:* 1971

Educational level	Unde	er 30- 0 39		50- 64	65 & Over	Age No Known	_
Luacunonui tevet				All Head		Known	10iui
Not high school graduate	4.6	3.8	11.3	13.2	47.6	15.0	17.8
High school graduate	10.9	13.9	22.0	34.1	19.5	25.0	22.8
Some college	20.9	15.5	21.5	21.1	10.6	11.4	17.9
College graduate	20.1	21.9	14.4	12.6	4.2	20.0	13.5
Graduate work through Masters,		21.5	13.7	5.8	1.8	6.4	9.9
Beyond Masters through Ph.D.	4.3	6.6	3.8	3.5	1.1	1.4	3.6
Professional degree	24.1	15.0	11.8	6.4	6.5	3.6	10.8
Other	0.2	1.4	0.7	1.8	3.8	10.0	1.9
NR	0.4	0.5	0.8	1.6	4.9	7.1	1.9
	0.001	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	$\frac{100.0}{100.0}$	100.0
(Sample size) (1	,3/3)(1,623)((2,331)	(3,732)	(2,300)	(140)(11,977)
				Male			
Not high school graduate	2.9	3.9	11.9	13.2	42.5	12.8	15.0
High school graduate	9.4	12.6	22.7	32.3	19.1	20.9	21.9
Some college	20.2	13.2	19.5	21.5	12.7	9.3	18.0
College graduate	21.2	22.7	14.0	13.4	5.4	26.7	14.8
Graduate work through Masters	13.7	22.4	13.9	5.3	1.7	8.1	10.4
Beyond Masters through Ph.D.	4.9	7.0	4.0	3.7	1.5	2.3	4.1
Professional degree	27.2	16.2	12.5	7.1	9.7	5.8	12.6
Other	0.2	1.5	0.7	1.8	3.6	4.7	1.7
NR	0.3	0.5	0.8	1.7	3.8	9.3	1.6
Total	$\overline{100.0}$	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	$\overline{100.0}$	100.0
(Sample size) (1	,212)(1,685)(2,139)	(3,285)	(1,674)	(86)(10,081)
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				Female			
Not high school graduate	15.6	2.1	5.1	13.4	57.3	18.5	32.8
High school graduate	22.5	28.6	15.2	47.7	20.5	31.5	27.4
Some college	26.3	42.9	43.4	18.1	6.8	14.8	17.9
College graduate	11.9	12.9	18.7	6.9	1.9	9.3	6.7
Graduate work through Masters		10.7	11.6	9.4	1.8	3.7	6.9
Beyond Masters through Ph.D.		1.4	1.5	1.6	0.3		0.8
Professional degree	1.3		3.5	1.1	0.6		1.0
Other	0.6		0.5	1.3	4.0	18.5	2.9
NR	1.3	1.4	0.5	0.4	6.8	3.7	3.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Sample size)	(160)	(140)	(198)	(447)	(894)		(1,893)

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

NR-Not reported.

^{*}Data are exclusive of institutional population.

aTotals include three households for which sex of Head was not reported.

TABLE 5b. HOUSEHOLD HEADS, AGE AND SEX BY LEVEL OF SECULAR EDUCATION IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION:* 1971

					65	Age		
	Under	30-	40-	50-	And	Not		(Sample
Educational Level	30	39	49	64	Over	Known	<u>Total</u>	Size)
				All	Heads	S		
Not high school graduate	3.0	3.2	12.4	23.1	57.3		100.0	(2,133)
High school graduate	5.5	9.3	18.9	46.7	18.4	1.3	100.0	(2,728)
Some college	13.4	13.1	23.4	36.6	12.7	0.7	100.0	(2,148)
College graduate	17.0	24.7	20.8	29.2	6.6	1.7	100.0	(1,619)
Graduate work through Masters	16.9	33.2	27.2	18.2	3.8	0.8	100.0	(1,181)
Beyond Masters through Ph.D.	13.8	28.1	20.6	30.4	6.6	0.5	100.0	(427)
Professional degree	25.7	21.1	21.3	18.4	13.0	0.4	100.0	(1,291)
Other	1.3	11.7	7.2	29.7	43.7	6.3	100.0	(222)
NR	2.6	4.4	7.9	25.9	54.8	4.4	100.0	(228)
Total ^a	11.5	15.2	19.5	31.2	21.4	1.2	100.0	(11,977)
10.00			.,.,	· · · · ·				(,-,-
				N	1ale			
Not high school graduate	2.3	4.4	16.9	28.6	47.1	0.7	100.0	(1,510)
High school graduate	5.2		22.0	48.0	14.4	0.8	100.0	(2,209)
Some college	13.5	12.3	23.0	39.0	11.7	0.4	100.0	(1,810)
College graduate	17.2	25.6	20.0	29.6	6.0	1.5	100.0	(1,492)
Graduate work through Masters	15.8	35.9	28.4	16.5	2.8	0.7	100.0	(1,050)
Beyond Masters through Ph.D.	14.3	28.6	20.6	29.9	6.1	0.5	100.0	(412)
Professional degree	25.9	21.5	21.1	18.3	12.8	0.4	100.0	(1,272)
Other	1.2	15.5	8.9	35.7	36.3	2.4	100.0	(168)
NR	2.5	5.1	10.8	36.1	40.5	5.1	100.0	(158)
Total	12.0	16.7	21.2	32.6	16.6	$\overline{0.9}$	100.0	(10,081)
								(,,
				Fe	male			
Not high school graduate	4.0	0.5	1.6	9.7	82.6	1.6	100.0	(620)
High school graduate	6.9	7.7	5.8	41.0	35.3	3.3	100.0	(519)
Some college	12.4	17.8	25.4	24.0	18.0	2.4	100.0	(338)
College graduate	15.0	14.2	29.1	24.4	13.4	3.9	100.0	(127)
Graduate work through Masters	25.2	11.5	17.6	32.1	12.2	1.5	100.0	(131)
Beyond Masters through Ph.D.	—	13.3	20.0	46.7	20.0		100.0	(15)
Professional degree	10.5	_	36.8	26.3	26.3	_	100.0	(19)
Other	1.9	_	1.9	11.1	66.7	18.5	100.0	(54)
NR	2.9	2.9	1.4	2.9	87.1	2.9	100.0	(70)
Total	8.5	7.4	10.5	23.6	47.2	2.9	100.0	(1,893)

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding. NR-Not reported.

^{*}Data are exclusive of institutional population.
a Total includes three households for which sex of head was not reported.

TABLE 5c. Individuals aged 25 and over, level of secular education, BY AGE AND SEX, IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION:* 1971

	, ,	D					
	(1	Per Cen	t)			Age	
	25-	30-	40-	<i>50</i> –	65 &	Not	
Educational Level	29	39	49	64	Over		Totala
Bancarional Berei				All Hea		Known	Total
Not high school graduate	2.6	3.1	8.8	12.4	47.9	12.7	15.6
High school graduate	19.5	18.5	32.4	40.1	22.8	30.8	29.2
Some college	18.8	23.1	23.3	20.6	8.9	17.2	19.2
College graduate	23.8	25.4	12.6	12.1	4.3	11.5	14.2
Graduate work through Master		16.3	11.5	5.5	1.6	6.9	9.3
Beyond Masters through Ph.D		4.0	2.5	2.3	1.0	0.6	2.5
Professional degree	12.4	8.1	7.6	4.0	4.6	2.1	6.4
Other	0.5	0.9	0.6	1.7	3.7	5.7	1.6
NR	0.4	0.6	0.7	1.4	5.2	12.4	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Sample size)	(2,046)(21,240)
(Sample size)	(2,040)(3,701)(4,071)(Male	(3,750)	(331)(21,240)
Not high school graduate	0.8	3.9	11.7	13.3	42.6	13.5	15.0
Not high school graduate High school graduate	10.0	13.4	22.9	32.3	19.1	23.1	15.2 22.5
Some college	16.5	13.4	19.4	21.3	12.2	7.7	17.3
College graduate	24.7	22.7	14.0	13.5	5.2	22.1	14.9
Graduate work through Master		21.8	13.8	5.2	1.7	8.7	10.5
Beyond Masters through Ph.D		6.8	4.1	3.7	1.7	1.9	4.1
Professional degree	24.6	15.9	12.7	7.1	9.6	4.8	11.9
Other	24.0	1.6	0.7	1.8	3.7	3.9	1.7
NR	0.3	0.8	0.7	1.8	4.5	14.4	1.7
			_				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Sample size)	(9/6)((1,743)(2,188)((3,322)		(104)(10,080)
				Femal			
Not high school graduate	4.3	2.4	6.3	11.4	52.1	12.3	16.0
High school graduate	28.0	22.9	40.7	48.2	25.7	34.4	35.3
Some college	20.8	31.7	26.8	19.8	6.2	21.6	21.0
College graduate	22.9	27.7	11.3	10.6	3.6	6.6	13.6
Graduate work through Master		11.5	9.5	5.8	1.5	6.2	8.2
Beyond Masters through Ph.D		1.5	1.1	0.8	0.7	_	1.0
Professional degree	1.3	1.4	3.2	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.4
Other	0.9	0.3	0.5	1.7	3.7	6.6	1.6
NR	0.5	0.5	0.6	1.0	5.8	11.5	1.9
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Sample size)	(1,070)	(2,017)	2,483)(3,158)	(2,201)	(227)(11,156)

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

NR-Not reported.
*Data are exclusive of institutional population.
a Totals include four respondents for whom sex was not reported.

TABLE 5d. INDIVIDUALS AGED 25 AND OVER, AGE AND SEX BY LEVEL OF SECULAR EDUCATION, IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION:* 1971

	(Per Ce	nt)					
						Age		
	25-	30-	40–		65 &	Not	_	(Sample
Educational Level	_29	39	_49	_64	Over !	Known	Total	Size)
				All I	Heads			
Not high school graduate	1.6	3.5	12.4	24.2	57.0	1.3	100.0	(3,318)
High school graduate	6.4	11.2	24.4	41.9	14.5	1.6	100.0	(6,207)
Some college	9.4	21.3	26.7	32.7	8.6	1.4	100.0	(4,083)
College graduate	16.1	31.6	19.4	25.9	5.6	1.3	100.0	(3,018)
Graduate work through Masters	19.4	31.0	27.2	18.1	3.2	1.2	100.0	(1,980)
Beyond Masters through Ph.D.	12.8	28.6	22.3	28.2	7.8	0.4	100.0	(525)
Professional degree	18.7	22.5	26.1	18.9	13.4	0.5	100.0	(1,362)
Other	2.9	9.5	8.0	32.4	41.8	5.4	100.0	(349)
NR	2.0	5.5	7.8	22.4	52.0	10.3	100.0	(398)
Totala	9.6	17.7	$\overline{22.0}$	$\overline{30.5}$	18.6	1.6	$\overline{100.0}$	(21,240)
				M	ale			
Not high school graduate	0.5	4.4	16.6	28.9	48.6	0.9	100.0	(1,532)
High school graduate	4.3	10.3	22.2	47.4	14.7	1.1	100.0	(2,265)
Some college	9.2	13.1	24.3	40.6	12.2	0.5	100.0	(1,743)
College graduate	16.0	26.3	20.4	29.7	6.1		100.0	(1,504)
Graduate work through Masters	15.8	35.8	28.4	16.4	2.8	0.9	100.0	(1,063)
Beyond Masters through Ph.D.	13.7	28.6	21.6	29.6	6.0		100.0	(416)
Professional Degree	20.0	23.0	23.0	19.6	13.9	0.4	100.0	(1,202)
Others	_	15.8	8.8	35.1	38.0	2.3	100.0	(171)
NR	1.6	7.1	9.2	31.5	42.4	8.2	100.0	(184)
Total	9.7	17.3	21.7	$\overline{33.0}$	17.3	$\overline{1.0}$	100.0	(10,080)
				Fo	male			
Not high school graduate	2.6	2.7	8.8	20.2	64.2	1.6	100.0	(1,786)
High school graduate	7.6	11.7	25.7	38.7	14.4	2.0	100.0	(3,940)
Some college	9.5	27.4	28.5	26.7	5.9	2.1	100.0	(2,340)
College graduate	16.2	36.9	18.5	22.2	5.2	1.0	100.0	(1,514)
Graduate work through Masters	23.7	25.3	25.8	20.1	3.6	1.5	100.0	(916)
Beyond Masters through Ph.D.	9.2	28.4	24.8	22.9	14.7		100.0	(109)
Professional degree	8.8	18.1	49.4	13.1	9.4		100.0	(160)
Other	5.6	3.4	7.3	29.8	45.5	8.4	100.0	(178)
NR	2.4	4.2	6.6	14.6	60.1	-	100.0	(213)
Total	9.6	18.1	$\overline{22.3}$	$\overline{28.3}$	19.7			(11,156)

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding. NR-Not reported.

Source: National Jewish Population Study

^{*}Data are exlusive of institutional population.

a Total includes four respondents for which sex was not reported.

Per Cent Distribution of Households, by Congregational Membership and Age of Head

Over-all, 53 per cent of the national sample reported no formal membership in a congregation. The remainder were affiliated with Reform congregations, 14 per cent; Conservative, 23 per cent, and Orthodox, 9 per cent. (It can be assumed that the proportion affiliated was greater outside of New York City. When NJPS data based on size of city will become available, the extent of correlation between membership and size of Jewish population will be demonstrated).

An examination of the data by age of head showed significant differences. Households reporting Orthodox membership ranged between 12 and 16 per cent in the age groups 60-69 and 70 and over. Reform showed largest proportions in the age group 40-49. The youngest age group had the largest proportion of nonmembership, 69 per cent. The proportion of nonaffiliation then began to drop, reaching its lowest point in the 40-49 age group. It began to rise in the next age group, reaching a level of 57 per cent among the 70-year-old and over.

Again, it should be kept in mind that these statistics refer to households, not to individuals. Thus the proportion reporting Orthodox affiliation was larger in this table than if individuals comprising these households were the base of comparison (the result of proportionately greater Orthodox affiliation in the older age groups where the average size of household was smaller).

TABLE 6. HOUSEHOLD HEADS, CONGREGATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY AGE, IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION:* 1971

(Per Cent)

		Conser-						(Sample	
Age Group	Reform	vative (Orthodox	Other	ship	NR	Total	Size)	
Under 30	8.1	13.4	4.8	0.6	69.4	3.8	100.0	(1,375)	
30-39	16.3	21.4	4.8	0.9	56.5	0.1	100.0	(1,825)	
40-49	19.0	26.6	6.2	1.0	46.9	0.2	100.0	(2,336)	
50-59	14.8	27.1	9.0	0.5	48.4	0.2	100.0	(2,670)	
60-69	11.4	25,7	12.4	0.8	49.4	0.2	100.0	(2,013)	
70 plus	8.1	18.2	16.1	0.5	56.9	0.1	100.0	(1,612)	
Age not known	8.6	22.1	10.1	2.1	55.0	2.1	100.0	(146)	
Total	13.5	23.1	8.9	$\overline{0.7}$	53.1	$\overline{0.6}$	100.0	(11,977)	

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding. NR-Not reported.

^{*}Data are exclusive of institutional population.

Distribution of Individuals in Labor Force Aged 25 and Over, by Occupation

Of all males and females 25 years old and over, 27 per cent were found in the broad classification of professional, technical, and kindred workers; a slightly larger proportion, 32 per cent, was in the managers and administrators category. The two next largest categories were clerical workers and sales workers: 16 and 12 per cent, respectively. The remaining occupational classifications had relatively small proportions, totaling 12 per cent. As for differences between the sexes, males (29 per cent) showed a somewhat larger proportion than females (24 per cent) in the professional and technical category, and a far larger proportion (41, as against 16 per cent) in the managers and administrators category. The largest occupational category for females was the clerical (42 per cent).

There were some interesting differences based on age. For males and females taken as a whole, the 30-39 age group had a larger proportion in the professional and technical category (8 per cent) than in the managers and administrators category (5 per cent). This difference appeared also when the categories were separated into male (9 and 7 per cent) and female (5 and 2 per cent) workers. While the 25-29 year group may not yet have arrived at their final occupational choice, they, too, showed a larger proportion in the professional and technical group (4 per cent), as compared to the managers and administrators (2 per cent). Although the census categories into which the reported occupations have been grouped are quite broad, it is clear that the occupational distribution of the Jewish population is very heavily skewed toward the professional and managers categories, with lesser concentrations in the sales and clerical fields.

TABLE 7. INDIVIDUALS AGED 25 AND OVER IN LABOR FORCE, AGE AND SEX BY OCCUPATION IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION: 1971

			(Cont'd.)						
					Female				
Professional & technical	5.0	5.1	7.9	3.9	6.0	0.7	0.1	0.3	23.8
Managers, administrators	0.4	1.7	6.9	4.4	6.0	8.0	0.1	0.3	15.5
Clerical	6.0	7.4	10.0	10.4	5.3	1.7	0.1	8.0	41.7
Sales workers	0.3	0.5	5.9	3.2	0.5	8.0	*	0.1	8.3
Craftsmen	0.1	0.1	1.1	0.1	*	0.1	•	•	1.5
Operatives	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.2	*	*	2.3
Service workers	0.4	0.4	0.5	1.5	0.3	0.4	*	0.1	3.6
Laborers	*	•	0.1	0.1	,	,	•	0.1	0.2
Not known	0.1	0.2	1.3	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.3	3.1
Total	13.0	15.6	31.0	24.3	8.6	5.1	0.5	1.9	100.0
(Sample size)									(4.382)

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding. NR-Not reported.

Less than .05 of one per cent.

Per Cent Distribution of Households, by Family Composition and Income (adjusted for nonresponse)

Table 8a represents data as reported by the respondents, adjusted for nonresponse. There was for each age group a substantial proportion of households which did not report income, generally about 30 per cent. As a first approximation to a more refined estimate of income distribution, the nonrespondents, for each age and family composition category, were assumed to have the same income distribution as those reporting income. These data will be refined further by correlating nonresponse figures with occupation, education, and other factors.

Taking all households together, we find that approximately 13 per cent reported incomes of under \$4,000. Of this proportion, the largest number was reported by individuals who lived alone, followed by those who lived with spouse only. Incomes in the next category, \$4,000-\$5,999, were reported by 6.1 per cent of all households, with married couples, the largest group, consituting 3.5 per cent and those who lived alone 1.2 per cent. The effect of age on income distribution is shown graphically when comparison is made by age of head. For example, taking all households with heads 65 years of age and over, we find that 44 per cent of them reported incomes of under \$4,000. Of this group, 25 per cent comprised individuals living alone and 17 per cent those living with spouse only. In the next income category of \$4,000-\$5,999 were 13 per cent of all households in the same age group. In the next youngest age group, 60-64, 7 per cent reported incomes of under \$4,000 and approximately the same proportion reported incomes of \$4,000-\$5,999.

The largest number of households were in the 30-to-59-year age category. Here 3 per cent reported incomes of under \$4,000, and slightly under 2 per cent reported incomes in the \$4,000-\$5,999 range. For heads under 30 years of age a sharp increase in lower incomes was reported: 12 per cent under \$4,000 and 15 per cent between \$4,000-\$5,999. However, when considered in light of occupation and education (Tables 5a-d, 7) these lower incomes for the younger age group would seem most likely to reflect academic pursuits or professional preparation, rather than systematic or functional poverty. We can generalize, therefore, that households reported incomes of under \$6,000 were largely headed by individuals of 65 and over, and 30 and under.

It should be borne in mind that the average size of household for both of these age groups was much smaller than for the two middle age groups, which are shown in comparison. The figures here apply only to households, and a recomputation involving the size of each household would show smaller proportions of the total population in the low-income economic groups.

At the other end of the income spectrum, the proportion of households reporting income of \$16,000 or more was estimated at 43 per cent. As might

be expected, the reverse of what was indicated for the lower end of the income category applies here. Of those 65 years of age and over, only 11 per cent reported incomes of \$16,000 and over; in the 30-59 age group, 60 per cent reported such incomes. It should be noted as a caution that the NJPS interview question related to income and not to net capital worth. Thus, it is possible that some of those who reported low incomes had substantial capital. This would indicate that the proportion which might be considered below a poverty line, as reported by these figures, is maximal rather than minimal. However, if proportionately greater numbers of aged were found to be among nonrespondents, the opposite would be true.

TABLE 8a. HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY AGE OF HEAD AND FAMILY COMPOSITION, IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION: * 1971

(Households which did not report income are distributed to income categories, by age and type of household, in the same proportion as those reporting income)

	Under \$4,000	\$4,000- 5,999	\$6,000-	\$8,000-\$	\$10,000-\$	12,000- \$	16,000- 19,999 a	\$20,000 and Over	Total	(Sample Size)	
Head:					Total H	Fotal Household ^a					
Lives alone	6.3	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.6	0.4	1.2	14.0	(1,677)	
Lives with spouse only	4.6	3.5	1.7	2.6	2.4	4.0	2.3	5.4	26.5	(3,170)	
Lives with spouse & children	0.7	0.0	0.7	4.4	3.7	8.7	7.2	23.0	49.4	(5,911)	
Lives with children only	0.8	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.3	9.0	0.1	0.2	3.2	(383)	
Other relationships	0.8	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.3	1.0	1.0	2.6	8.9	(816)	
Total	13.3	6.1	4.3	9.2	7.9	15.9	10.9	32.4	100.0	d(779,11)	
Head:				1)	Inder 30 \	ears of Age	.ge)				
Lives alone	2.3	0.8	1.5	5.4	3.5	1.0		0.3	14.7	(202)	
Lives with spouse only	5.8	12.8	1.6	2.9	2.7	3.4	3.4	2.4	35.0	(481)	
Lives with spouse & children	9.0	9.0	1.2	9.9	7.1	10.8	2.6	3.6	33.0	(453)	
Lives with children only	•	0.1	•	0.3	0.1	8.0	0.1	0.3	1.7	(23)	
Other relationships	3.1	0.7	0.7	0.3	•	1.5	•	9.5	15.5	(213)	
Total	11.8	15.0	5.0	15.4	13.4	17.4	6.1	15.8	100.0	$(1,373)^{b}$	
					30–59 Yee	ars of Age	(a				
Lives alone	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.9	1.3	0.4	1.2	5.6	(386)	
Lives with spouse only	0.1	0.1	0.5	1.8	1.6	1.3	2.1	5.2	12.6	(864)	
Lives with spouse & children	9.0	1.1	0.0	5.7	4.6	12.0	11,.2	35.6	7.1.7	(4,897)	
Lives with children only	1.0	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.5	9.0	0.5	0.5	4.0	(274)	
Other relationships	0.4	*	0.4	0.3	0.2	1.1	1.4	2.1	5.9	(404)	
Total	2.7	1.7	2.6	9.2	7.7	16.4	15.3	4 4	100	$(6.834)^{b}$	
(See end of table for footnotes.)							!) ; ; ;		

TABLE 8a. HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY AGE OF HEAD AND FAMILY COMPOSITION, IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION: * 1971 (Cont'd.)

(Households which did not report income are distributed to income categories, by age and type of household, in the same proportion as those reporting income)

` ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '										
	Under \$4,000	\$4,000- 5,999	\$6,000-		\$10,000-	10,000- \$12,000-	\$16,000-	\$20,000 and Over	Total	(Sample Size)
Head:					(60–64 Years of Age)	ars of Ag	e)			
Lives alone	3.1	2.5	2.5	4.	8.0	1.0	9.0	2.7	14.8	(157)
Lives with spouse only	2.4	2.5	5.5	4.0	5.5	9.9	3.6	12.0	41.9	(444)
Lives with spouse & children	9.0	1.3	0.4	1.9	2.8	4.3	4.5	19.9	35.8	(379)
Lives with children only	9.0	•	0.3	•	•	0.3	•	0.1	1.2	(13)
Other relationships	0.4	0.4	9.0	8.0	9.0	1.1	0.4	2.0	6.1	(65)
Total	7.0	6.7	9.5	8.0	6.7	13.5	9.1	36.8	100.0	q(090,1)
Head:					(65–74 Y	(65–74 Years of Age	3e)			
Lives alone	22.7	2.5	1.9	9.0	8.0	4.4	0.5	9.0	33.9	(592)
Lives with spouse only	13.7	4.5	3.3	3.9	3.8	14.4	2.3	5.7	51.6	(106)
Lives with spouse & children	1.3	0.7	0.1	1.7	0.1	0.5	•	2.6	7.0	(123)
Lives with children only	9.0	0.3	9.0	9.0	•	0.3	0.1	0.1	2.5	<u>.</u> (4)
Other relationships	9.0	9.0	0.5	0.3	9.0	0.2	9.0	1.0	4.5	(62)
Total	39.0	8.8	6.4	7.1	5.5	19.9	3.4	10.0	100.0	$(1,746)^{b}$
Head:				(7)	(75 Years of Age & Over,	'Age & O	ver)			
Lives alone	28.3	3.9	1.7	0.5	0.4	•	0.5	1.2	36.4	(300)
Lives with spouse only	23.1	15.8	3.9	5.0	1.3	1.3	0.5	2.1	53.0	(436)
Lives with spouse & children	9.0	0.4	•	0.5	0.5	1.3	•	0.4	3.2	(26)
Lives with children only	1.5	•	•	•	0.4	•	1	0.2	2.1	(L)
Other relationships	1.8	0.5	9.0	1	6.0	9.0	0.2	1.0	5.3	<u>4</u>
Total	55.3	20.3	6.2	5.7	3.2	3.3	1.2	4.9	0.001	(823)b
(See end of table for footnotes)										

TABLE 8a. HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY AGE OF HEAD AND FAMILY COMPOSITION, IN U.S. JEWISH POPULATION: * 1971 (Cont'd.)

(Per Cent)

(Households which did not report income are distributed to income categories, by age and type of household, in the same proportion as those reporting income)

	Under \$4,000	\$4,000-	\$6,000-		\$8,000 - \$10,000 - 9,999	\$12,000- \$16,000- 15,999 19,999		\$20,000 and Over	Total	(Sample Size)
Head:			(65 Ye	(65 Years of Age & Over: 5	& Over:	Sub-Total)	~			
Lives alone	24.5	2.9	1.8	0.5	0.7		0.5	8.0	34.7	(892)
Lives with spouse only	16.7	8.1	3.5	4.2	3.0	10.2	1.7	4.6	52.90	(1,337)
Lives with spouse & children	1	9.0	0.1	1.2	0.2	0.7	٠	1.9	5.8	(149)
Lives with children only	6.0	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.2	*	0.1	2.4	(61)
Other relationships	9.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.5	1.0	4.8	(123)
Total	44.2	12.5	6.3	6.7	4.7	14.6	2.7	8.3	100.0	(2,569)b

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

NR-Not reported

* Data are exclusive of institutional population # Less than .05 of one per cent

Includes 141 sample households where Age of Head is unknown (1.2 per cent of total). These households are excluded from detail tables based on Age of Head.

Nineteen households did not report "relationship to head" and are included in totals only.

They were distributed as follows:

Age of Head	Number	Per Cent of Total
All Households	61	0.2
(Under 30)	_	0.1
(30–59)	66	0.1
(60–64)	2	0.2
(65–74)	7	0.4
(75 Years & Over)	1	•
(65 Years & Over)	7	0.3

(Households which did not report income are distributed to income categories, by age and type of household, in the same proportion as those reporting income)

Age of	:	000	000	0		0	000		
Household Head	Unaer \$4.000	5.999	\$6,000- 7.999	-98,000- 9,999	\$10,000- 11.999	\$12,000- 15.999	916,000 19,999	\$20,000 and Over	Total
65 and over	71.4	44.2	31.3	15.4	12.9	19.7	5.3	5.5	21.4
75 and over	28.6	23.0	6.6	4.2	2.7	1.4	8.0	1.0	6.9
65 to 74	42.8	21.2	21.5	11.2	10.1	18.3	4.5	4.5	14.6
60 to 64	4.7	8.6	19.0	7.7	10.9	7.5	7.3	10.0	8.9
30 to 59	11.5	16.3	34.8	9.99	55.8	59.0	3.62	78.1	57.1
Under 30	10.2	28.4	13.3	19.2	19.4	12.6	6.4	5.6	11.5
Age not known	2.2	4.1	1.5		1.1	1.2	=	0.7	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Sample size)	(1,590)	(726)	(517)	(1,107)	(948)	(1,899)	(1,309)	(3,881)	(776,11)
Per Cent of Total	13.3	6.1	4.3	9.5	7.9	15.9	10.9	32.4	100.0

N.B. Details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding. *Data are exclusive of institutional population.

EXPLORATIONS IN INTERMARRIAGE

Definition

The National Jewish Population Study (NJPS) defines basic intermarriage as a marriage in which one partner describes himself or herself (or is described) as having identified with a non-Jewish religious-cultural viewpoint at the time he or she met his or her future spouse.

Summary

Predicated on this definition, the findings of the study were:

- 1. Of all Jewish persons now married, some 9.2 per cent are intermarried.
- 2. The proportion of Jewish persons intermarrying in the period 1966-1972 was 31.7 per cent, much higher than in any comparable earlier period.
- 3. The combination husband Jewish/wife not Jewish is about twice as prevalent as the combination wife Jewish/husband not Jewish. Some 3 per cent of the married are classified as "marginally" Jewish, a category including no religious preference by the husband or some mixed pattern as "part Jewish."
- 4. A substantial proportion—about one-fourth of all intermarrying non-Jewish females—reported conversion to Judaism; few intermarrying non-Jewish males convert.
- 5. Nearly half of marriage partners who were non-Jewish prior to marriage subsequently identify as Jewish, regardless of formal conversion.
- 6. In most cases where the wife is Jewish and, initially, the husband was not, children are or were raised as Jewish. Where the husband is Jewish and the wife is not, about one-third of the children are or were raised outside Jewish religious belief.
- 7. Belief in the Jewish religion is widely professed both in intermarried and non-intermarried households, but somewhat more prevalent among the non-intermarried. There is continuing widespread belief in one God.
- 8. Regardless of marriage pattern, active participation in temples and synagogues is the exception, not the rule. Slightly or somewhat more intensive participation in temple or synagogue life appears for the non-intermarried and for households in which the wife is Jewish and the husband is not. Relatively higher levels of involvement in Jewish organizations appear for the non-intermarried; but these too, are generally low.

- 9. Among the non-intermarried, four in ten indicate they had never dated a non-Jew.
- 10. Reported parental opposition to interdating is significantly linked to marriage within the Jewish group; reported lack of parental opposition to interdating is associated with intermarriage.
- 11. Non-intermarried couples and the Jewish wife in intermarried couples reported "strongly Jewish." childhood upbringing. In intermarriages with the husband Jewish it was rarely described as "strongly Jewish."
- 12. The likelihood that intermarriage will take place is greatest for those who cannot clearly describe their upbringing. It is very high also for those who describe their own upbringing as marginally Jewish. Positive Jewish identity in childhood is associated with marriage within the Jewish group.

The study of intermarriage largely has been a collection of fragmentary facts and hazardous generalizations. Communal response has ranged from vague unease to panic over the threat of intermarriage to Jewish survival. The difficulty encountered in the study of intermarriage has been two-fold. First, the conceptual underpinning—the definition of intermarriage—has been unclear, at least to the layman, despite a number of attempts at technical clarification. Second, there has been a dearth of broad-scale, representative studies of the phenomenon, however defined. Reports in the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK and a variety of inquiries, including doctoral dissertations, have provided useful direct information. Local community studies have been a standard source, establishing a stimulating but not fully satisfactory basis for nationwide intermarriage projections.

The research reported here, must be considered in the light of several working definitions. Implicit in such definitions are concepts underlying the meaning of "being Jewish." These concepts, subject to theological, sociological, and "common sense" considerations, have been treated extensively, and are beyond the scope of this report. How Jewishness is defined, however, directly affects what is meant by intermarriage in a research context.

Types of Intermarriage

According to the study's definition of basic intermarriage, the crucial point considered precedes the act of marriage itself; it focuses on each partner's original state of belief (or unbelief), whatever it may have been before being influenced by the relationship leading to marriage. This form of intermarriage is called basic because it includes the most elemental, general circumstance preexisting courtship and marriage. The partners are described as coming "as

they are," having had no recourse as yet to mutual accommodation and possible conversion, or change in religious identification

Two major types of basic intermarriage are distinguished:

- 1) Typical intermarriage, in which either the husband or the wife was Jewish at the time the couple met.
- 2) Marginal intermarriage, a more ambiguous category, in which, again at time of initial meeting, one or both partners expressed no preference concerning religious viewpoint and/or one or both partners noted the existence of some Jewish familial or ancestral roots but affirmed either no, or only vague, relatedness to Jewishness. Some of the spouses may have had Jewish parents or grandparents, but drifted from Judaism, or formally converted. Others may have stated no specific religious preference at the time of meeting the future spouse, but upon further inquiry decided that in some general sense they were Jewish after all.

Indeed, there is some question whether these more tenuous ties to Jewish background or practice should be included in a definition of "being Jewish." Sociologically, this is a matter of taste; and we applied the broadest possible definition of the term. Should we later wish to consider a more restricted definition, it is possible to delete from further analyses any chosen sub-categories.

This report indicates the proportions of basic intermarriage, including both typical and marginal intermarriage, with more stress on the two typical intermarriage patterns: husband Jewish/wife not Jewish and wife Jewish/husband not Jewish. Alternative definitions of intermarriage may be restricted exclusively to formal conversion, or to the religious-cultural identification of the spouses at the time of marriage, or to their identification at some time subsequent to the formation of marriage, as, for instance, at the present time. Here, too, NJPS data makes possible further analyses.

The data reported deal exclusively with current marriages—those intact at the time of the study. No marriage terminated by divorce or death of a partner, which preceded a current marriage, is considered at this time; terminated marriages will be reported in later analyses.

Intermarriage, by Time of Formation

The Jewish community's main concern with regard to intermarriage has been the intermarriage rate. At the same time, there also has been intuitive awareness that this rate represents the end result of many forces which may change significantly through time.

The net basic rate of Jewish persons having intermarried at any time since 1900, and remaining currently married, is 9.2 per cent. This percentage represents what may be described as the community's total "portfolio" of intermarried Jewish persons. The current rate is much different from the accumulated average: the data indicate that, in recent years, the proportion of

Jewish persons intermarrying has attained levels previously unprecedented in the United States.

Table 1 shows the rate of Jewish persons intermarrying in each of nine time

TABLE 1. JEWISH PERSONS INTERMARRYING, 1900-1972

(Per Cent)

Time Period	Non Inter- _married	Inter- married	Total
1900–20	98.0	2.0	100.0
1921-30	96.8	3.2	100.0
193140	97.0	3.0	100.0
194145	93.3	6.7	100.0
1946-50	93.3	6.7	100.0
1951–55	93.6	6.4	100.0
1956–60	94.1	5.9	100.0
1961–65	82.6	17.4	100.0
1966–72	68.3	31.7	100.0
Year not given	98.3	1.7	100.0
Total	90.8	9.2	100.0

N.B. Data are based on a preliminary weighted sample count of 8,918 marriages, of which 1,500 were intermarriages as defined in the text. The unweighted sample count of intermarriages (number of interviews) is 430. (For statistical reasons, findings showing small percentages must be interpreted with caution.)

In this and following tables details may not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

TABLE 1a. TYPES OF INTERMARRIAGES, 1900–1972

(Per Cent)

	Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish	Husband no	Other inter-	All Inter- marriages*
Time Period			Preference	marriages	
1900–20	x	1.6	x	2.4	4.0
1921-30	3.0	1.0	x	2.2	6.2
1931-40	2.1	0.6	0.1	3.0	5.8
194145	2.2	8.5	1.2	0.6	12.5
1946-50	2.7	5.5	0.2	4.1	12.5
1951-55	6.1	1.5	3.8	0.7	12.1
1956-60	8.5	1.2	0.1	1.3	11.1
1961-65	16.6	6.2	0.4	6.5	29.7
1966-1972	35.8	9.8	0.3	2.2	48.1
Year not given	2.3	x	x	1.1	3.3
1900-72 Average	9.1	4.4	0.8	2.5	16.8

x-Negligible.

^{*}For each time period: all marriages considered = 100 percent.

periods (from 1900 to 1972) in which the current marriage was formed. Table 1a. shows the several types of intermarriages for the same time periods.

Beginning in the early sixties (1961-1965), the basic intermarriage rate rose dramatically from about 6 to 17.4 per cent; between 1966 and 1972 it reached 31.7 per cent. Of persons in continuing marriages formed between the years 1900-1920, only 2 per cent are intermarried. The historical trend may be characterized in these terms: a low basic intermarriage rate until 1940, ranging from 2 to about 3 per cent, followed by a significant upswing to about twice the earlier prevailing rate beginning in the World War II period, with a plateau ranging in rate from 6 to 7 per cent maintained until about 1960. This plateau was followed by significant rises in the rate, noted above.

For the total of current marriages, the traditional preponderance of intermarriages with the husband Jewish over those with the wife Jewish is supported: of the typical intermarriages, constituting 13.5 per cent of all marriages, those involving a Jewish husband exceed those involving a Jewish wife by a ratio of about two to one—9.1 as against 4.4 per cent.

Conversion Patterns and Jewish Identity

Conversion to Judaism of husbands and wives is examined in Table 2. Formal conversion is a relatively rare phenomenon in the over-all pattern of Jewish marriage and intermarriage.

TABLE 2. FORMAL CONVERSION TO JUDAISM IN INTERMARRIAGES (Per Cent)

Spouse Initially non-Jewish Jewish Spouse Converted Did not Convert Total Husband^a 26.7 73.3 100.0 Wifeb 2.5 97.5 100.0

N.B. In the husband no (religious) preference/wife initially non-Jewish intermarriage type, 2.9 per cent of wives have converted to Judaism, 97.1 per cent have not. (No husbands have converted). Final analysis may show slightly higher conversion percentages.

In the "other" intermarriage type, 1.3 per cent of husbands and 1.3 per cent of wives converted to Judaism; the rest did not.

Of all husbands in the marriages studied, 0.3 per cent were converts to Judaism; of all wives, 2.7 per cent were converts to Judaism.

^aIncludes 1.0 per cent previously converted to Judaism.

bIncludes 0.3 per cent previously converted to Judaism.

The one significant exception is the initially non-Jewish wife of a Jewish husband. In this most prevalent intermarriage type somewhat more than one-fourth, 26.7 per cent, reported formal conversion. A similar trend fails to appear for non-Jewish husbands of Jewish spouses.

While, in total, 0.3 per cent of husbands and 2.7 per cent of wives are converts to Judaism, conversions from Judaism, though found to some extent in marginal intermarriages, are minor: 0.8 per cent of husbands and 0.6 per cent of wives have converted from Judaism, but remained married to their Jewish spouses.

The net effect, as reported in the sample, of the conversions to and from Judaism, associated with marriages and intermarriages, thus suggests a positive balance in favor of conversion to Judaism, resulting principally from conversions of non-Jewish wives.

Quite different from formal conversion is the matter of generally affirmed Jewish identity (Table 3).

TABLE 3. INTERMARRIED INITIALLY NON-JEWISH RESPONDENTS' SELF-IDENTIFICATION AS JEWISH

(Per Cent)

Initially Non-Jewish Spouse	Identifies as Jewish	Identifies as non-Jewish	Total
Wife	45.6	54.4	100.0
Husband	43.5	56.5	100.0

To the question "Is (person) Jewish now?", it appears that, with very slight difference, nearly half of the initially non-Jewish spouses (some 44 per cent of husbands and 46 per cent of wives) responded affirmatively, describing themselves as Jewish. In view of the differential in the proportion of formal conversion between initially non-Jewish wives and initially non-Jewish husbands, it appears that their self-description as being "Jewish" was affected little (at least in gross numerical terms) by the reported act of conversion. Thus, close to half of spouses in intermarriages who entered the marriage as non-Jewish, or who may have converted at some time proximate to the marriage, reported that they "feel Jewish" regardless of formalities. This does not, of course, define the depth or the quality of their Jewish commitment.

Childrens' Religious Orientation and Jewish Education

For homes with children—and the number of sample cases is small, calling for cautious interpretation—the children's religious upbringing, how they are or were raised, is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4. RELIGIOUS UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN
(Per Cent)

Upbringing	Not Inter- married		Interm	arried		Total Children
		Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish	Husband no Pref- erence	Other	
With no Belief	0.7	12.7	1.3	0	3.6	1.1
Jewish	99.2	63.3	98.4	0	19.0	95.8
Protestant	0.1	13.9	0	23.1	33.6	1.4
Catholic	0	10.1	0.3	76.9	43.8	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Distribution of all Children by Marriage Type:	88.5	2.9	5.9	0.2	2.5	100.0

Notably, intermarried couples with wife Jewish reported very high proportions of children being raised as Jews. Accordingly, there seems to be no major "loss" of Jewish children here, as might be implied by a possible drifting to another religious view when the father is non-Jewish. However, couples with husband Jewish reported somewhat more than one-third of the children being raised outside a Jewish religious-cultural viewpoint. This third is divided about evenly (with a slight edge toward the Protestant identification) among Protestant, Catholic, and "no belief" positions.

As expected, in the small number of marginal intermarriages the vast majority of children are raised as Catholics or Protestants, with the Catholic orientation considerably more prevalent than the Protestant.

The marriage patterns studied indicate that, intermarriage to date notwithstanding (including older, "seasoned" marriages), nearly 96 per cent of children, whether in non-intermarried or intermarried households, are or were raised as Jewish. According to the data, "loss" is associated mainly with intermarriages between a Jewish male and a non-Jewish female. The number of cases is too small to permit a corresponding analysis of intermarriages formed since 1966.

Intention regarding the Jewish education of the children is examined in Table 5.

TABLE 5. RESPONDENTS' INTENTION REGARDING CHILDREN'S JEWISH EDUCATION (Per Cent)

Intention	In-marriage	Typical Intermarriage*
Yes	85.4	70.7
No	14.6	29.3
Total	100.0	100.0

^{*}Sample too small to permit further breakdown.

Here, parents in more than 70 per cent of typical intermarriages indicated their intent to give their child or children some Jewish education. For the non-intermarried, the proportion of such intent is somewhat higher, about 85 per cent. There may, of course, be a gap between intent and actual follow-through.

Belief in Jewish Religion and in One God

A general belief in the Jewish religion (though not formally defined) is quite prevalent for both the non-intermarried and the typical intermarried households, as described by their Jewish adult respondents (Table 6).

TABLE 6. ADULT JEWISH RESPONDENTS' BELIEF IN JEWISH RELIGION
(Per Cent)

Degree	Not Inter- married		Interm	arried		Total
		Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish	Husband no Pref- erence	Other	÷
Not at all	3.3	4.4	4.4	14.3	52.0	3.9
A little	6.9	31.9	24.4	81.6	2.0	10.3
Doubtful	3.2	10.2	3.2	2.0	14.0	3.9
Somewhat	29.7	18.3	14.8	0	18.0	27.8
Strongly	56.9	35.3	53.2	2.0	14.0	54.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

N.B. Tables 6 to 14 are based on responses from random selection of one adult respondent in each household.

Among the non-intermarried, nearly nine out of ten, 86.6 per cent, indicated that they believe in the Jewish religion somewhat or strongly, while the figures for the intermarried are smaller: 68 per cent for the wife Jewish/husband not Jewish pattern and about 54 per cent for the husband Jewish/wife not Jewish. As expected, the corresponding figures are much lower for the marginal intermarriages.

There is continuing widespread belief in one God—regardless of marriage pattern—as expressed by the Jewish respondents. On the whole, more than eight out of ten, 86.5 per cent, noted that they believe in one God strongly or somewhat; the proportion of "strong" believers approaches three-fourths. The "not at all" belief is relatively most frequent in the marginal "other" category. There is a slight tendency for the husband Jewish/wife not Jewish pattern to tend toward less intensity of belief in a single deity, as compared to the non-intermarried and other typical intermarriage groupings (Table 7).

TABLE 7. JEWISH RESPONDENTS' BELIEF IN ONE GOD

(Per Cent)

Degree	Not Int- married		Intermar	ried		Total		
		Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish	Husband no Pref- erence	Other			
Not at all	5.3	6.7	4.4	12.2	36.0	5.7		
A little	2.2	2.2	2.8	0	8.0	2.3		
Doubtful	5.4	6.9	6.0	2.2	4.0	5.5		
Somewhat	12.6	27.5	4.4	2.0	2.0	13.4		
Strongly	74.4	56.6	82.5	83.7	50.0	73.1		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		

Affiliation with Temple or Synagogue and Jewish Organizations

Adult Jewish respondents were questioned concerning their participation in organized Jewish life. Lack of activity in temple or synagogue, despite asserted ideological commitment to Jewish religion and one God, is prevalent in all marriage categories. (Table 8).

Involvement, as measured by the "not at all" category, is lowest for the

TABLE 8. ADULT JEWISH RESPONDENTS' ACTIVITY IN TEMPLE OR SYNAGOGUE

(Per Cent)

Degree	Not Inter- married		Interr	narried		All Respondents
		Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish	Husband no Pref- erence	Other	
Not at all	57.3	84.2	56.8	100.0	88.5	60.2
Slightly	27.8	7.0	40.2	x	5.8	26.1
Doubtful	0.8	1.0	x	x	x	0.8
Quite	6.9	6.8	2.6	x	3.8	6.6
Very	7.2	1.0	0.4	<u>x</u>	1.9	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

x - negligible

husband Jewish/wife not Jewish pattern. Somewhat higher levels of activity, though still slight, appear for the non-intermarried and for the wife Jewish/husband not Jewish pattern.

Over-all, more than half, 60.2 per cent, indicated they are "not at all active" in a temple or synagogue, while an additional fourth, 26.1 per cent, reported that they are only "slightly active." The proportion of "quite active" and "very active" combined is relatively small, less than 13 per cent.

According to Table 9, the level of activity in Jewish organizations follows the activity pattern for temple or synagogue, though with some variations among marriage categories.

TABLE 9. ADULT JEWISH RESPONDENTS' ACTIVITY IN JEWISH ORGANIZATION
(Per Cent)

Degree	Not Inter- married		Intern	narried		All Respondents
		Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish	Husband no Pref- erence	Other	
Not at all	58.2	83.4	91.0	95.9	75.0	62.3
Slightly	24.9	8.3	4.1	4.1	19.2	22.3
Doubtful	1.0	0.4	1.9	0	0	0.9
Quite	8.5	6.8	1.9	0	3.8	7.9
Very	7.4	1.1	1.1	0	1.9	6.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Specifically, while generally more than half, 62.3 per cent, stated they are not at all active in Jewish organizations, the proportion of inactivity in the wife Jewish/husband not Jewish category is more pronounced for Jewish organizations than for temple or synagogue. This may relate to the frequent desire of the Jewish wife to give children a Jewish upbringing; and this rests more heavily on temple or synagogue participation (to obtain Jewish education, in particular) than on organizational activity. These findings support the concept that when the wife is Jewish and the husband non-Jewish considerable commitment to Jewish child rearing persists.

Interdating

Table 10 indicates the extent to which adult Jewish respondents reported having, or not having, dated non-Jews.

TABLE 10. DATING: JEWISH RESPONDENTS' INTERDATING

(Per Cent)

Extent	Not Inter- married		Intermarried					
		Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish	Husband no Pref- erence	Other			
Never	39.9	4.9 ^c	5.2°	2.0 ^c	7.7 ^c	34.7		
Once in a while	31.7	4.5	10.7	2.0	9.6	28.0		
Doubtful	3.3	3.5	0.8	0	3.8	3.2		
Sometimes	17.1	35.3	69.8	6.1	30.8	21.0		
A lot	8.0	51.9	13.5	89.8	48.1	13.1		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		

^cContradictory to "fact."

Among the non-intermarried, about four of ten, 39.9 per cent, stated they had "never" dated a non-Jew, while about one third, 31.7 per cent, indicated they had "interdated once in a while." For this marriage category, only one-fourth, 25.1 per cent, reported having dated non-Jews "sometimes" or "a lot."

As expected, the picture is quite different for the intermarried. Particularly the husband Jewish/wife not Jewish group reported prevalent and intensive interdating, with more than half stating they had dated non-Jews "a lot." For the wife Jewish/husband not Jewish group, the "sometimes" response

predominates: about 70 per cent. This points to the existence of differing personal and social dynamics in the "husband Jewish" versus "wife Jewish" intermarriages.

Over-all, nearly 63 per cent of respondents indicated that they had dated non-Jews "never," or only "once in a while," while about 34 per cent reported having interdated "sometimes" or "a lot."

Some possibly contradictory responses are indicated by a "c" next to several figures in Table 10; these refer to claims that despite intermarriage, interdating had never occurred. Lack of consistency, misunderstanding, or the possible interpretation that "never" means something like "well . . . almost never" (except for the person chosen as marriage partner), may account for this.

A topic of much interest is parental attitudes toward interdating. Table 11 indicates that parents of non-intermarried adult respondents had strongly opposed interdating, while parents of the intermarried respondents had not.

Table 11. DATING: OPPOSITION TO INTERDATING BY RESPONDENTS' PARENTS (Per Cent)

Extent	Not Inter- married		Total			
		Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish	Husband no Pref- erence	Other	
Not at all opposed	8.3	28.5	7.7	87.8	41.7	10.9
Slightly opposed	11.9	7.7	26.2	0	6.3	12,1
Doubtful	7.1	4.9	5.2	4.1	20.8	6.9
Somewhat opposed	18.2	42.8	47.2	6.1	14.6	21.5
Strongly opposed	54.5	16.1	13.7	2.0	16.7	48.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Of course, it may be that the intermarried may have reported less pronounced parental opposition on the basis of both the "actual" earlier parental behavior and their own present need to justify their intermarriage. They may be asserting, "I married a non-Jew. . . . After all, my parents were not strongly opposed to my doing so."

As expected, approval of intermarriage is clearcut for adult Jewish respondents in typical intermarried households, where more than 60 per cent strongly agreed that "it is all right for Jews to marry non-Jews" (Table 12).

TABLE 12 ADULT JEWISH RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARD INTERMARRIAGE
(Per Cent)

Attitude	Not Inter- married		Intern	narried		Total
		Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish	Husband no Pref- erence	Other	
Strongly disagree	36.4	5.4	3.6	0	5.8	31.6
Somewhat disagree	19.8	3.8	4.8	83.3	7.7	18.1
Doubtful	5.7	12.9	0.4	2.1	7.7	6.1
Somewhat agree	24.5	12.7	29.9	0	21.2	23.5
Strongly agree	13.7	65.2	61.4	14.6	57.7	20.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

While among the not intermarried more than half disagreed "somewhat" or "strongly" with the statement that "it is all right for Jews to marry non-Jews," a very sizable minority—in excess of 38 per cent—expressed agreement.

Whatever the nuances of interpretation—and cause-and-effect relationships cannot necessarily be inferred—it would appear from the responses of the intermarried that parental attitudes are significantly associated with intermarriage.

Jewish Upbringing

A frequently raised question concerns the Jewish quality of childhood environment and its relationship to the eventual occurrence of intermarriage. It is difficult to obtain a clear-cut characterization by adults of their childhood environment that is not affected by their later experiences as adults, including the nature of their marriage. However, it may be of interest to examine the adult Jewish respondent's description of the Jewishness of his or her upbringing (Table 13).

TABLE 13. ADULT JEWISH RESPONDENTS' DESCRIPTION OF UPBRINGING

Degree of Jewishness	Not Inter- married		Total			
		Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish	Husband no Pref- erence	Other	
Not at all Jewish	1.6	8.7	5.9	6.1	38.5	2.8
Slightly Jewish	7.9	10.1	6. 7	83.7	15.4	8.7
Doubtful	0.9	11.7	0	2.0	1.9	1.8
Somewhat Jewish	34.4	54.3	32.0	6.1	15.4	35.6
Strongly Jewish	55.2	15.2	55.3	2.0	28.8	51.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Of households with both marriage partners Jewish, more than half, 55.2 per cent, described their upbringing as "strongly Jewish," while more than an additional third, 34.4 per cent, indicated it had been "somewhat Jewish." The pattern is quite different for husband Jewish/wife not Jewish couples. But for wife Jewish/husband not Jewish couples the replies closely resemble those recorded for non-intermarried households. This similarity again points to the operation of rather different prophecies in intermarriages with the wife Jewish, in contrast to those with the husband Jewish.

In the husband Jewish/wife not Jewish category, Jewish upbringing is described in terms indicating much less Jewish commitment than in either the non-intermarriages or in the wife Jewish/husband not Jewish situation. Of the intermarried Jewish husbands, only about one in seven, 15.2 per cent, described his upbringing as "strongly Jewish," as against more than half, 55.3 per cent, of the Jewish wives.

While the samples are small for marriages in the "marginal" category, including husband no preference/wife Jewish and the variously mixed "other" patterns, it appears that substantially less intense levels of Jewish upbringing were reported for these groups. Especially at the "slightly Jewish" and "not at all Jewish" levels of upbringing, the percentages are considerably higher than in any of the other categories. If one scores, or grades, the level of Jewish upbringing, with "not at all Jewish" valued at 0, "slightly Jewish" at 1, "?" (doubtful) at 2, "somewhat Jewish" at 3, and "strongly Jewish" at 4, the following average scores appear: not intermarried, 3.34; wife Jewish/husband not Jewish, 3.23; husband

Jewish/wife not Jewish, 2.57; marginal "other," 1.81; husband no preference, 1.14.

Table 14 considers the data from a different perspective, examining upbringing and the "chance" that the degree to which it was Jewish is related to a particular marriage pattern.

TABLE 14. "CHANCE" OF INTERMARRIAGE BASED ON UPBRINGING (Per Cent)

If Upbring- ing was	Not Inter- married		Total			
		Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish	Husband no Pref- erence	Other	<u> </u>
Not at all Jewish	50.3	26.7	9.1	1.8	12.1	100.0
Slightly Jewish	77.3	9.9	3.3	7.9	1.6	100.0
Doubtful	43.0	55.1	0	0.9	0.9	100.0
Somewhat Jewish	82.7	13.0	3.8	0.1	0.4	100.0
Strongly Jewish	92.3	2.5	4.6	0	0.5	100.0

For example, of all those who described their upbringing as "not at all Jewish," only 50.3 per cent are in the "non-intermarried" category, while of those with a "strongly Jewish" upbringing as many as 92.3 per cent are in the "non-intermarried" category.

It is of interest that the smallest probability of marriage within the Jewish group appears not for those who describe their upbringing as "not at all Jewish," but for those who identify their upbringing with a metaphorical shrug of the shoulders—as "?" (doubtful). This uncertainty, reflecting an underlying doubt about self-identity, has the greatest chance of being associated with intermarriage.

The finding then suggests that any kind of Jewish identity clearly defined, even if toward the moderate or negative side of the spectrum, is somewhat less likely to be related to intermarriage than is a state of doubtful reflection on Jewish upbringing. Of course, positive Jewish identity in upbringing is clearly associated with marriage within the Jewish group.

The present report constitutes only an initial and rudimentary approach to the study of Jewish intermarriage and in-marriage in the United States. The basic source material is now at hand. More deeply probing analyses, seeking explanation as well as intensive description, will be forthcoming.