A POPULATION PROFILE OF DETROIT AREA JEWS: BASIC CHARACTERISTICS

The Detroit Area Jewish Population Study
Interim Report #5

Co-Principal Investigators:

Steven M. Cohen
Professor of Sociology, Queens College, CUNY

Jacob B. Ukeles
President, Ukeles Associates, Inc.
Adjunct Professor, Columbia University

Ukeles Associates Inc.

New York, NY

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PREFACE

This is one of a series of reports on the Jewish population of the Detroit area drawn from the findings of the Detroit Area Jewish Population Study. The analysis is base on data collected in the geographic core of the Jewish community, which includes 75,000 Jews living in 12 Oakland County suburbs. The total Jewish population within the tri-county area is an estimated 96,000. This report was prepared by Ukeles Associates Inc.

The Study, commissioned by the Jewish Welfare Federation of Detroit, was co-directed by Dr. Steven M. Cohen, Professor of Sociology at Queens College and Dr. Jacob B. Ukeles, President of Ukeles Associates, Inc. and Adjunct Professor of Public Affairs at Columbia University. The random sample survey of 1,100 interviews was conducted by the Market Opinion Research Corporation in late 1989.

The Demographic Study Committee of the Detroit Jewish Welfare Federation is chaired by Stuart E. Hertzberg. Lawrence M. Ziffer, Director of Planning and Agency Relations, and Patricia C. Becker, Technical Consultant, are the Federation professional staff.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides an overview of the most important of the basic characteristics of the Jewish population in the Detroit area.

A total of 96,000 individual Jews live in 42,500 households in the tri-county area. About 80,000 live in the "core" area of Jewish settlement just north of Detroit.

Over a third of the Jews in the core live in Southfield, far more than any other jurisdiction in Oakland County.

Four fifths of the adults are the children or grandchildren of immigrants to the U.S. Although foreign born immigrants are generally older, they are found at all age levels.

Jewish households contain an average of 2.32 Jews and 2.47 individuals, Jewish and non-Jewish. The proportion of non-Jews in Jewish households is far higher among younger families.

The median age is 41. The age distribution is marked by a relatively small number of young adults age 18-25, many of whom are likely to be away at college. Almost half the households have children present; over a third of the households are two-parent families with children present. Of women age 35-44, 90% have children at home.

Most adults are married. Women marry at younger ages than men. Divorced men re-marry sooner than divorced women. Due to sex-related differences in life expectancy and re-marriage, widows out-number widowers by a 4:1 ratio.

The population is highly educated and educational attainment continues to rise. Among younger men (age 35-49) most possess a graduate degree and over a third have a doctorate or a professional degree (e.g., M.D. or law degree).

The median household income is \$55,000. Almost a quarter of the households earn under \$30,000, and a fifth earn \$100,000 or more. Low-earning households are found in substantial numbers in all age ranges, not just the elderly.

Almost all men work full-time until retirement. Women tend to enter and leave the labor force throughout their lives. Substantially more younger women than older women are working full-time. Men in the labor force work a median of 50 hours per

week. Although women typically work fewer hours, almost half of those employed outside the home work 40 hours or more.

Four out of five adults have lived in Detroit 30 years or longer or all their lives. Over a third of Detroit area Jewish households have moved within the last four years. Over a quarter of the households rent their dwellings.

Over a third of the families identify as Conservative, another third call themselves Reform, 7% are Orthodox and 6% identify as Humanistic or secular.

The reported frequency of observing rituals vary widely. For example, 90% of Jewish individuals attend a Passover Seder, under two fifths live in homes where Sabbath candles are lit, and 10% refrain from handling money on the Sabbath. Typically, adults attend religious services just on High Holidays and perhaps a few other times a year.

About half the households claim to be members of congregations, about half belong to another Jewish organization, and most respondents read the <u>Jewish News</u> every week. Affiliation levels are at least as high as those in other well established Jewish communities in the Midwest or Northeast United States.

Two thirds of the adults say that most of their closest friends are Jewish; a third say that almost all of them are Jewish.

I. THE POPULATION

This report provides an overview of the most important of the basic characteristics of the Jewish population in the Detroit area. All results are drawn from the weighted random sample telephone survey conducted in the fall of 1989 in the "core" region, the suburbs just north of Detroit where the great majority of the region's Jews reside. 1

The Eligible Household

Throughout this research, a Jew is operationally defined as someone who identifies as a Jew by religion, or someone who has no religious preference but identifies as a Jew in other (presumably ethnic) terms. All other individuals, including a very small number who were raised as Jews but who now identify as Protestant, Catholic or "other" religion, are non-Jews for purposes of this study.

The Tri-County Jewish Population Estimate

In the tri-county area, almost 96,000 Jewish individuals live in 42,500 households. In addition, about 9,000 non-Jews live in these households.

These figures may be divided between those living in the "core" area of Jewish settlement, the south central portion of Oakland County where Jews are concentrated, and those living elsewhere or in the "non-core". The core area is home to 80,000 Jews living in 34,500 households. The non-core area of settlement -- some of which borders the core area and some of which is quite distant from the core -- consists of almost 16,000 Jews in 8,000 households (Exhibit 1).²

¹For more details, see the report on methods and data collection. We have used our estimate of the Jewish population in the "dialing region" of the random sample survey as an approximation of the Jewish population in the geographic core.

²The data in this report reflect the final adjustments in estimating technique. The total numbers of Jewish households in the core and outside the core differs slightly from the number reported previously.

Exhibit 1: Jewish Population Size in Metropolitan Detroit

	JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS		JEWISH INDIVIDUALS	
	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
CORE AREA	34,500	81%	80,300	84%
NON-CORE	8,000	19%	15,700	16%
TOTAL	42,500	100%	96,000	100%

With 96,000 Jews, Detroit emerges as the second largest Jewish community in the Midwest, well behind Chicago, but significantly ahead of Cleveland and St. Louis in Jewish population size (see Exhibit 2). Nationally, Detroit ranks tenth in Jewish population size, just ahead of Baltimore and Alamada County, California (see Exhibit 3).

Geographic Distribution: How Many Jews Live Where?

Patterns of Jewish migration and settlement in Detroit have followed what is now a classic form established and repeated in many other communities. In many European and American metropolitan areas in the twentieth century, Jews first settled near a city's central business district. Then, as they advanced out of the working class, they moved geographically outward to more comfortable, less dense areas on the urban periphery. certain point, this continued movement in the same general direction, crossed over into the suburbs. The next move is from older to newer suburbs, those that are less densely settled and even more affluent. One feature of this distinctive historic pattern is that the main thrust of migration and settlement assume the shape of a wedge, with the narrow end near the city and the wide end advancing further and further away in the same general direction.

Generally, with each step away from the inner-most suburbs, the physical distances separating Jews increase and the proportion of their neighbors who are Jewish diminish. In the Detroit area, the main spine of Jewish residential movement has been in a northwest direction. Today, the near end of the residential wedge is located in Oak Park and Huntington Woods, and the far end is in West Bloomfield, with a major population segment in Southfield.

Exhibit 2: Ten Largest Jewish Population Centers in the Midwest, Rank and Number

AREA	RANK	NUMBER
CHICAGO	1	248,000
DETROIT	2	96,000
CLEVELAND	3	65,000
ST. LOUIS	4	53,000
MINNEAPOLIS - ST. PAUL	5	30,000
MILWAUKEE	6	29,000
CINCINNATI	7	23,000
KANSAS CITY	8	20,000
COLUMBUS	9	15,000
INDIANAPOLIS	10	10,000

Exhibit 3: Fifteen Largest Jewish Population Centers in the United States, Rank and Number

	<u> </u>	1
AREA	RANK	NUMBER
NEW YORK	11	1,671,000
LOS ANGELES	2	501,000
CHICAGO	3	248,000
PHILADELPHIA	4	240,000
MIAMI	5	238,000
BOSTON	6	228,000
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	7	165,000
SAN FRANCISCO	8	128,000
METROWEST, N.J.	9	121,000
DETROIT	10	96,000
BALTIMORE	11	93,000
ALAMEDA COUNTY, CAL	12	90,000
BERGEN COUNTY, N.J.	13	85,000
SAN DIEGO	14	70,000
CLEVELAND	15	65,000

Notwithstanding Jewish residence movement in a northwesterly direction, a very sizable population remains in the older, inner suburbs. Southfield is still, by far, the most populous area of Jewish settlement (Exhibit 4). With over 12,000 Jewish households, it is home to almost twice as many Jewish families as either West Bloomfield or Oak Park and Huntington Woods combined. The collection of jurisdictions in and around Bloomfield Township contain fewer than 4,000 Jewish households while Farmington Hills is home to slightly more than 3,000 Jewish households, almost all living north of 1696.

Almost 27,000 Jews live in Southfield. They comprise fully a third of all Jews living in the core area of Jewish settlement. West Bloomfield is home to 17,000 Jews, and Oak Park /Huntington Woods contain over 15,000 Jewish individuals, or roughly a fifth of the core area Jewish population. "Greater" Bloomfield Township and Farmington Hills each contain slightly over 8,000 Jews, or about a tenth of the core Jewish population apiece.

While West Bloomfield and Oak Park are each home to roughly equal numbers of Jewish households, Jewish density (the number of Jews per square mile) is far greater in Oak Park. As the map of Jewish households per square mile by census tract indicates, some of the densest Jewish residential concentrations are found in Oak Park and some others are found in Southfield (Exhibit 5). One reason for Jewish residential density in these areas is that they contain a good number of apartments and houses with smaller lots. In addition, the fraction of the population that is Jewish is far higher in Oak Park and Southfield than it is elsewhere.

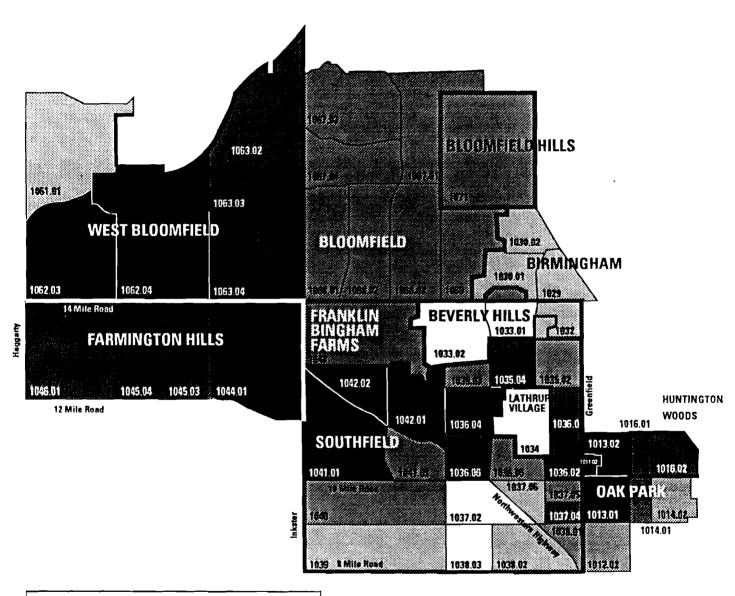
Exhibit 4: Jewish Households and Individuals by Area (Core Area Only)*

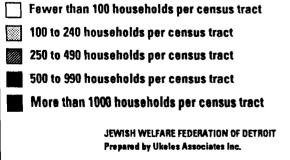
	NUMBER OF JEWISH HOUSE- HOLDS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS		OF PERSONS VEWISH HOUSE-		PERSONS
		JEWS	ALL	JEWS	ALL	
SOUTHFIELD	12,600	2.18	2.28	27,500	28,700	
WEST BLOOMFIELD	6,400	2.71	2.74	17,300	17,500	
OAK PARK & HUNTINGTON WOODS	6,500	2.37	2.55	15,400	16,600	
BLOOMFIELD TWP**	3,900	2.19	2.44	8,500	9,500	
FARMINGTON HILLS	3,200	2.61	2.63	8,400	8,400	

^{*}Excludes areas bordering the core that were included in the telephone survey. These borderline areas contain only 4% of the Jewish population in the region covered by the survey.

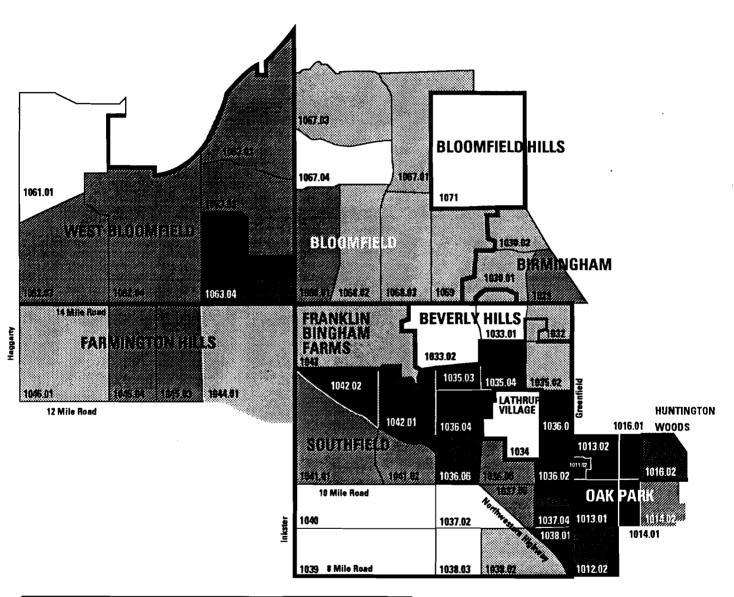
^{**&}quot;Greater" Bloomfield Township includes Bloomfield Hills, Birmingham, Franklin, Bingham Farms, and Beverly Hills.

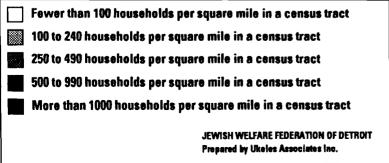
Detroit Area Jewish Population Study The Core: Number of Jewish Households

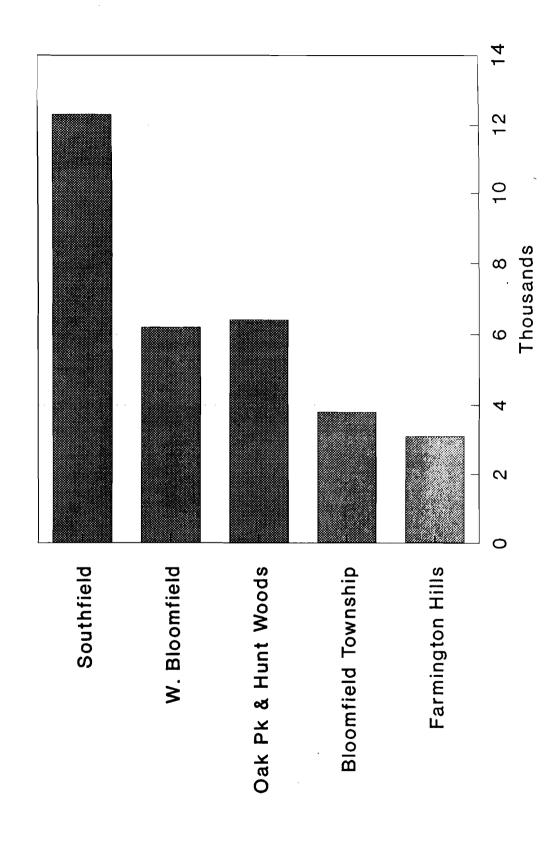




Detroit Area Jewish Population Study The Core: Number of Jewish Households Per Square Mile







II. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Household Size: Jews and Others

Metropolitan Detroit Jewish households contain an average of 2.32 Jews (Exhibit 8) and 2.47 individuals (both Jewish and Gentile) per household. The difference between the two figures (0.15) is the average number of non-Jews living in Jewish households. In almost all instances where non-Jews are present, an out-married couple resides in the household.

As one might expect, the size of household (in terms of all individuals or Jews alone) rises and falls over the age spectrum. Average Jewish household size (the number of Jewish individuals) peaks at 3.1 for those headed by an adult age 35-49, falls to 2.1 for those 50-69 years old, and drops even further to stand at 1.6 for those 70 and over.

Of some interest is the proportion of households made up of Jews and non-Jews. As intermarriage has increased over the years, so too has the number of non-Jews in Jewish homes. Among those 70 and over, 98% of household members are Jewish. Among those 35-49, 94% of family members are Jewish. The figure drops even further to 83% among those under the age of 35. In short, principally owing to rising levels of intermarriage, younger Jews are more likely to live with non-Jewish family members such as spouses or children.

Exhibit 8: Number of Persons and Number of Jewish Persons Per Household (in percentages)

HOUSEHOLD SIZE	PERSONS	JEWISH PERSONS
1	19	29
2	40	37
3	16	15
4	17	13
5,	5	4
6 OR MORE	3	2
TOTAL	100	100
AV SIZE HOUSEHOLD	2.5	2.3

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

b. MEA	b. MEAN HOUSEHOLD SIZE BY AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD					
	UNDER 35	34 - 49	50 - 69	70+	TOTAL	
JEWS	2.1	3.1	2.1	1.6	2.33	
ALL PERSONS	2.6	3.2	2.2	1.6	2.49	
% JEWISH	_ 83	94	96	98	94	

Age Distribution

The age distribution of an area's Jewish population is the single most important characteristic in assessing service needs. Almost all services provided by the organized Jewish community are age group targeted.

Although age distributions alone offer inconclusive evidence of population processes, they do provoke questions regarding rates of birth, death, in-migration and out-migration. In examining the shape of the age distribution, any unusual bulges or contractions suggest that at a certain point in history birth rates may have risen or fallen, or that net migration patterns (either into or out of an area) have taken a sharp turn in one direction or the other.

Exhibit 9 reports the age distribution of Jewish household members only, excluding the non-Jewish household members. About a quarter of the population is under 20 years old, and almost one eighth are 70 or over. Almost two thirds are between the ages of 20 and 69. These numbers translate into projections of almost 20,000 children age 19 and under (or almost 1,000 children in any one-year age interval), as well as almost 9,000 Jews, age 70 and over. As might be expected, among the elderly, more are found at the younger end of the age spectrum (closer to 70) than at the older end.

The median age of the entire Jewish population is about 41. This figure is very close to that found in most Jewish population studies of larger established American Jewish communities. The Detroit Jewish median age is somewhat higher than the national average for all Americans.

The size of the age 0-9 cohort is especially important for assessing demands on pre-school services and for Jewish school and camping services. Assuming very low mortality and little net migration, the size of today's cohort of 0-9 year olds is a very good predictor of the size of 10-19 year old age cohort ten years from now.

The results indicate hardly any change on the horizon in the size of the young population. The four five-year cohorts under 20 years of age are all about the same size (data not shown). Thus, barring major net migration shifts, we can reasonably

anticipate no major increase or decrease in the number of school-age children in the next few years.

Since the study region is home to relatively few institutions of higher learning, it is not surprising to learn that there are proportionately small number of Jews age 20-29 in this population. Obviously, many young adults of college and graduate school age who grew up in the Detroit area are now studying outside the region. (The study area did not extend to the University of Michigan or its environs.) In fact, a closer inspection of the age distribution (data not shown) reveals that the shrinkage in cohort size begins at about age 18 and rebounds In other words, relative to younger and older only after age 26. age groups, there are comparatively few Jews living in Detroit area households who are between the ages of 18 and 26, inclusive. These ages correspond to the period when young adults attend college and graduate programs.

Exhibit 9: Age Distribution of Jewish Persons (all entries in percentages)

		AC		
ll e		ADULTS 30 OR MORE		
	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	
UNDER 10				
YEARS OLD	13			
10 - 19	13			
20 - 29	6			
30 - 39	14	19	21	
40 - 49	16	24	23	
50 - 59	12	18	19	
60 - 69	15	22	21	
70 YEARS				
& OLDER	11	17	17	
	•			
TOTAL	100	100	100	
	-			
MEDIAN AGE	41			

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Age Distribution of Jewish Persons (in Percent) Exhibit 10:

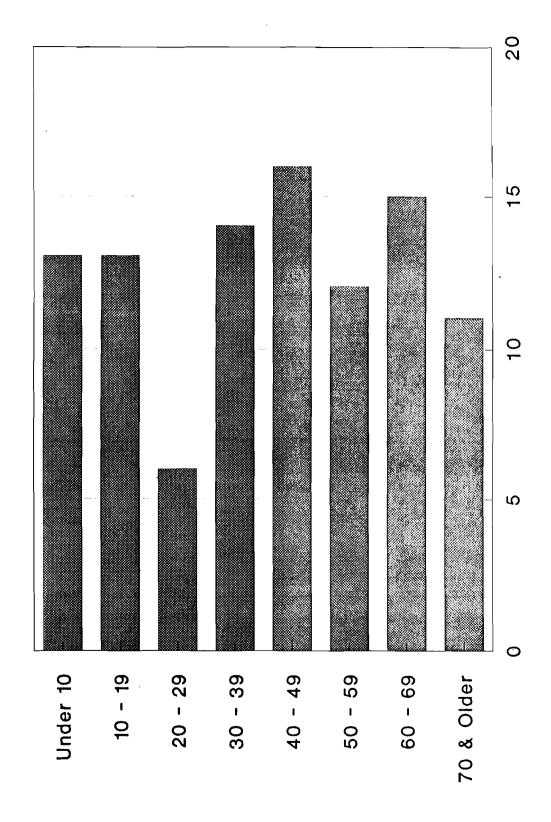


Exhibit 11: Number of Jews by Age and Sex

	EST	PERCEN-		
AGE GROUP	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	TAGE
CHILDREN UNDER 5	2,200	2,800	5,000	6.6
5 TO 9	3,100	2,700	5,800	7.7
10 TO 12	1,500	1,400	2,900	3.8
13 TO 17	2,800	2,300	<u>5,100</u>	6.8
SUBTOTAL	9,600	9,200	18,800	24.9
YOUNGER ADULTS 18 TO 26 27 TO 39 40 TO 49 SUBTOTAL	2,100	1,600	3,700	4.9
	6,400	7,600	14,000	18.5
	<u>5,800</u>	<u>6,100</u>	<u>11,900</u>	<u>15.8</u>
	14,300	15,300	29,600	39.2
OLDER ADULTS 50 TO 59 60 TO 69 70 OR OLDER SUBTOTAL	4,100	5,100	9,200	12.2
	4,800	5,300	10,100	13.4
	<u>3,500</u>	<u>4,300</u>	<u>7,800</u>	<u>10.3</u>
	12,400	14,700	27,100	35.9
GRAND TOTAL	36,300	39,200	75,500	100.0

Generation American-Born

Jewish immigration to the United States sharply declined after World War I. Accordingly, American Jewry generally and Detroit area Jewry as well, has become increasingly removed from the European and immigrant experience. In 1989, (Exhibit 12), just 11% of the adults in our survey are first (or immigrant) generation; 45% are second generation (native-born children of at least one immigrant parent) and another 45% are third generation (grandchildren of the immigrants) or beyond.

Older Jews are more heavily first and second generation; younger Jews are more likely to be third or later generation. Over 90% of Jews 70 and over are immigrants or the children of immigrants. Over 80% of those under 35 are grandchildren of immigrants or fourth (or more) generation American.

However, although age and generational status are closely related, a steady stream of immigrants over the years has meant that in all age groups are small numbers who were born in other countries or who are the children of immigrants.

Exhibit 12: Generation of Respondents (all entries in percentages)

FIRST*	11
SECOND**	45
THIRD	36
FOURTH	9
TOTAL	100

- * Foreign-born
- ** American-born children of foreign born parent(s)

b. GENERATION BY AGE OF RESPONDENT				
	UNDER 35	35 - 49	50 - 69	70+
FIRST	7	8	9	23
SECOND	15	28	59	68
THIRD	49	51	30	8
FOURTH	28	13	3	1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Marital Status

Over three quarters of Jewish adults in the core Detroit region are married (Exhibit 13). Of the men, 87% are married, and of the women 77% are married. Only a small number report they have never married, although, as we shall see, this figure is far higher for the younger adults.

Hardly any are currently separated, and only 5% or less are divorced without having re-married. Consistent with the observation that divorced men re-marry more often and sooner than divorced women, we find that number of currently divorced women exceeds the number of currently divorced men. The results suggest about 170 divorced/not re-married women for every 100 male counterparts.

The age and sex-specific marital status distributions offer additional insights. Among the men, it appears that at least 97% eventually marry; among those 35 and over, no more than 3% in any age cohort report that they have never married. Of course, far more (a third) of those under 34 have never married. But, if the behavior of those ten years their senior is any guide, almost all of them will eventually marry.

Since husbands are slightly older than their wives, more younger women than younger men are married. In other words, women marry earlier. Among women 35-49, 95% have at some point married. Of course, this figure implies that 5% of 35-49 year old women have not married.

Among women under 50, the number of widows is insignificant. But, among those 50-69, 11% are widowed; and the figure is far higher among those 70 and over where nearly half the women are widows. At all ages, the number of widowed women vastly exceeds the number of widowed men and the imbalance grows rapidly with age. Among the widowed, women outnumber men by a ratio of about 4 to 1. One reason for this discrepancy is that men's life expectancy is shorter than that of women. Moreover, widowers stand a greater chance of re-marrying than do widows.

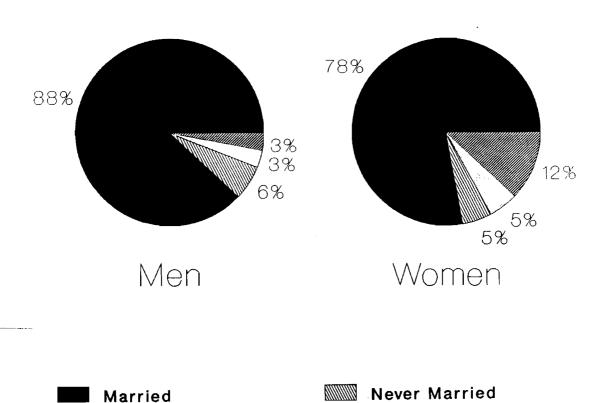
Exhibit 13: Marital Status of Households and Individual Adults (all entries in percentages)

		ADULTS		
	HOUSEHOLDS	MEN	WOMEN	
MARRIED	69	87	77	
NEVER MARRIED	9	6	5	
DIVORCED OR SEPARATED	10	3	5	
WIDOWED	12	3	1%	
TOTAL	100	100	100	

b. MARITAL STATUS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS BY AGE AND SEX				
	MEN			
	UNDER 34	35 - 49	50 - 69	70+
MARRIED	67_	90	92	85
NEVER MARRIED	32	33	3	11
DIVORCED OR SEPARATED	11	5	3	2
WIDOWED	0	11	2	12
TOTAL	100	100	100	100
	WOMEN			
	UNDER 34	35 - 49	50 - 69	70+
MARRIED	78	88	83_	44
NEVER MARRIED	16	5	2	6
DIVORCED OR SEPARATED	5	7	4	2
WIDOWED	1	1	11	48
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Exhibit 14: Marital Status of Men and Women



Divorced/Seperated

Widowed

The Presence of Children

Just under half (45%) the Jewish households in the Detroit area have children in the home (Exhibit 15). To elaborate, 55% report no children home, 19% report one child in the house, 17% report two, and about 8% report three or more.

As one might expect, the presence of children rises and falls across the age spectrum. Homes where the woman's age is between 35 and 44 report the most children most often. In this age group, fully 90% report that they are living with children. Of those with children, most report at least two children at home. Among women 45 and over who have children home, very few report more than one child living with them; and, in most instances, that child is a teenager requiring less time-consuming care than younger children.

Family Types

Households can be divided into five major family categories on the basis of marital status and the presence of children. The young, childless families are those where the head of household is under 45, may be of any marital status (although most are never married), and have no children home. These constitute about one household in seven (14%).

The largest single group are "parents." Comprising, over a third of the households (35%), these are families consisting of a husband and wife and at least one child living at home.

Single parents, most of whom are mothers, constitute one household in twenty (5%). However, they also constitute one-eighth of all households with children.

Empty nesters are another large category, constituting a quarter of the households. These are families whose older head of household is between 45 and 69 and who have no children living at home.

Finally, the elderly are all those families where an older head is 70 or over. Constituting one fifth of the households, many of these are elderly widows living alone.

Exhibit 15: Number of Children Home by Age of Women (all entries in percentages)

	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	TOTAL
3+	18	22	3	0	8
2	34	43	8	2	17
1	25	26	35	11	19
NONE	23	10	54	87	55
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Totals may not equal to 100% due to rounding. *Includes All Age Groups Under 25 and Over 64

Exhibit 16: Percent of Households with Children Home by Woman's Age

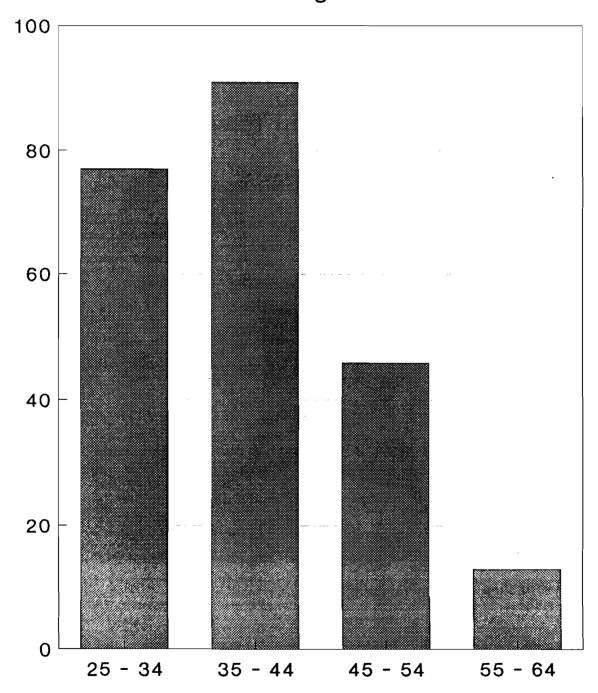
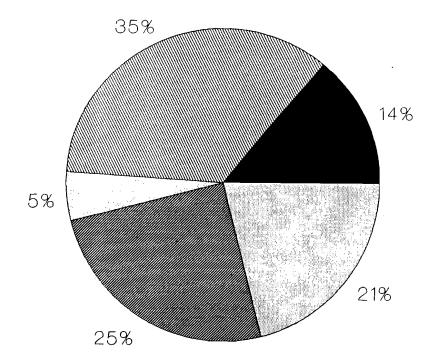


Exhibit 17: Family Type (all entries in percentages)

YOUNG, CHILDLESS	14
PARENTS	35
SINGLE PARENT	5
EMPTY NESTER	25
ELDERLY	21
TOTAL	100

Exhibit 18: Distribution of Family Types





III.	SOCIO-ECONOMIC	CHARACTERISTICS

Educational Attainment

All of the Jewish community studies in the United States indicate that Jews have high levels of secular education. The results from the Detroit area study certainly are consistent with this observation.

Among men of all ages, over four fifths have attended college, and over two thirds have obtained an undergraduate degree (Exhibit 19). Almost half of the Jewish men in Detroit have a graduate degree. This group in turn consists of those with a Ph.D. (7%), a professional degree (such as M.D., LL.B., M.B.A.: 24%), and a Masters (15%). Women's educational attainment is almost as high. Three quarters of the women have attended college and most women have earned a college degree. Over a quarter have earned a graduate degree, and these are concentrated among Masters degrees.

As other Jewish population studies have documented, educational attainment climbs among the youth. Among men between 35 and 49 years of age, over 90% have attended college and over four fifths have an undergraduate degree. Most Jewish men age 35-49 earn a Masters or higher graduate degree.

Jewish women's educational attainment has also grown over the years but still falls short of that obtained by their male counterparts. The median educational attainment for young adult women is an undergraduate degree. Over a third of the women age 35-49 have obtained a graduate degree.

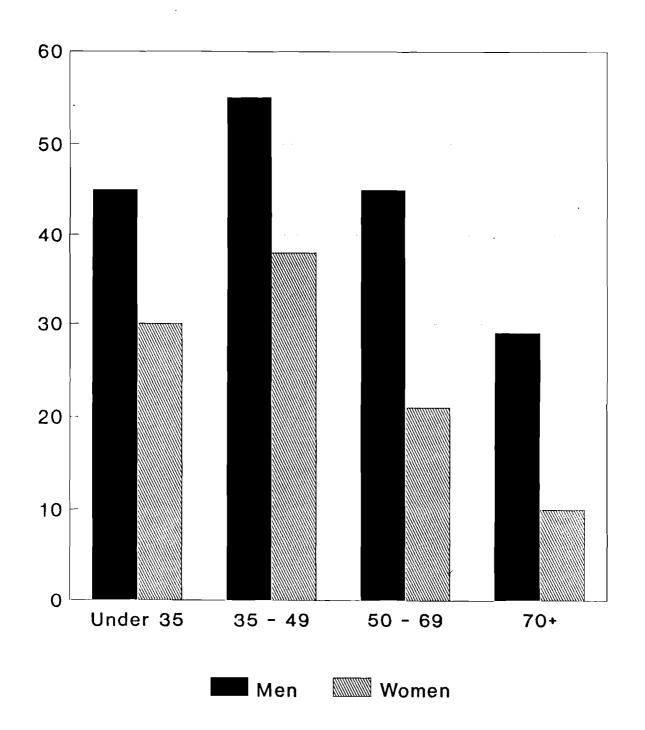
Exhibit 19: Education of Jewish Adults, Over 25 Years Old, by Sex (all entries in percentages)

	MEN				
	UNDER 35	35 - 49	50 - 69	70+	TOTAL
PhD	5	9	6	6	7
PROFESSIONAL DEGREE	24	27	25	15	24
MASTER'S DEGREE	16	19	14	8	15
BACHELOR'S DEGREE	28	28	22	16_	·24
SOME COLLEGE	_13_	11	18	19	15
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE OR LESS	14	7	15	37	16
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Exhibit 19: (cont.)

		WOMEN				
	UNDER 35	35 - 49	50 - 69	70+	TOTAL	
PhD	2	2	1		1	
PROFESSIONAL DEGREE	7	8	3	1	5	
MASTER'S DEGREE	21	28	17	9	20	
BACHELOR'S DEGREE	46	34	25	14	29	
SOME COLLEGE	16	18	24	19	20	
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE OR LESS	8	10	31	57	25	
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	

Exhibit 20: Percent with a Graduate Degree by Age and Sex



The substantial increases in educational attainment of both men and women suggests important changes looming in the cultural sophistication of the Jewish population. As these more highly educated younger adults inevitably come to replace their elders, they will pose new challenges for organized Jewry. Fundraisers, adult educators, synagogues, and fraternal organizations all will encounter a rapidly changing clientele in the next ten to twenty years.

Income

In the Detroit Jewish population, affluence and comfort exist alongside near-poverty and deprivation. The visibility of the former should not obscure the persistence of the latter.

Many families are earning very modest incomes, to say the least. Some households are at or near poverty levels. One in seven (14%) earn under \$20,000. A quarter of the Jewish families in the Detroit area report incomes under \$30,000. The psychological impact of limited incomes upon Jews may be especially severe if only because so many of their friends and family members earn so much more. Thus not only do Jews with modest incomes suffer "absolute deprivation;" given their principal referent group (other Jews) they also suffer from what sociologists call, "relative deprivation."

While it is true that the elderly earn the lowest incomes of all (40% report incomes under \$30,000), low income families are found at all age ranges. For example, in the 35-49 age category, 14% earn under \$30,000 in total household income.

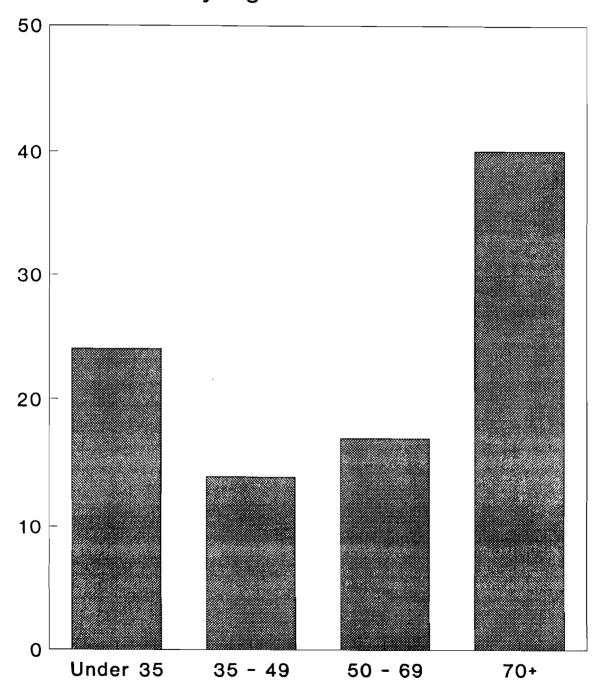
The median household income among Detroit area Jews approaches \$55,000 (calculated from Exhibit 21). This figure is almost double the national median. Moreover, fully a fifth of the Jewish households earn at least \$100,000 and almost half of these (9% of the total) report incomes of \$150,000 or more.

Exhibit 21: Household Income (all entries in percentages)

\$150,000 +	9
\$100 - 149,999	11
\$80 - 99,999	10
\$60 - 79,999	10
\$50 - 59,999	10
\$40 - 49,999	12
\$30 - 39,999	9
\$20 - 29,999	10
UNDER \$20,000	14
MEDIAN:	\$55,000

b. INCOME BY AGE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD					
	UNDER 35	35 - 49	50 - 69	70+	TOTAL
\$80,000 +	24	38	33	8	29
\$50,000 - 79,999	25	25	28	21	26
\$30,000 - 49,999	27	22	22	30	24
UNDER \$30,000	24	14	17	40	21
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Exhibit 22: Percent of Households with Income Under \$30,000 by Age



Occupation

Jews throughout the United States, indeed throughout the Diaspora, are noted for their concentration in professional occupations. Detroit area Jews reflect this international pattern.

Of currently employed men, as many as 42% are professionals; moreover, over a fifth (21%) are employed as physicians, dentists, and attorneys. Of women in the labor force, over a third (34%) are professionals. In contrast with the men, the women professionals are more likely to be teachers (15%) than physicians (3%) or attorneys (3%). Younger people are even more heavily concentrated in the professions than is the entire population.

Throughout the middle of the twentieth century, Jews were heavily concentrated in business, especially as small entrepreneurs. In recent years, though, that proportion has dwindled as the numbers in professional occupations have grown. Today, about a quarter of the men are business managers, and just 11% are business owners. Only 4% of employed women are business owners.

Under a fifth of the men are employed in various sales capacities, as are 16% of the employed women. Today, very few employed Jews (7% of the men and 5% of the women) can be classified as service or production workers.

Employment Status

The employment patterns of men and women differ dramatically (Exhibit 24). Over three quarters of the men and less than a third of the women work full-time. Very few men work part-time, but about a fifth of the women are employed part-time. Hardly any men are homemakers, but a quarter of the women are so defined. Very few men or women are unemployed (1% and 3% respectively), and only 2% of each sex are students. In addition, about 2% of the women and none of the men were defined as full-time volunteers.

³To be sure, many of the professionals are also, in effect, entrepreneurs who own their own businesses, even if they primarily conceive of themselves as skilled professionals.

Exhibit 23: Occupational Distribution of Men and Women in the Labor Force (all entries in percentages)

	MEN	WOMEN
PROFESSIONALS		
PHYSICIAN, DENTIST	13	3
ATTORNEY	8	3
TEACHER, LIBRARIAN	5	15
ENGINEER, ARCHITECT	5	1
ACCOUNTANT	3	2 .
PHARMACIST	2	1
SOCIAL WORKER	*	3
OTHER PROFESSIONAL	6	6
TECHNICIAN (HEALTH, ETC.)	7	12
BUSINESS		
MANAGER/OFFICIAL IN BUSINESS	15	11
BUSINESS OWNER	11	4
CLERICAL OCCUPATIONS	1	17
SALES		
FINANCIAL SALES (e.g. STOCKBROKER)	8	4
SALES REPRESENTATIVE	8	4
OTHER SALES	3	8
WORKERS		
PRODUCTION WORKER	5	11
SERVICE WORKER	2	4
TOTAL	100	100

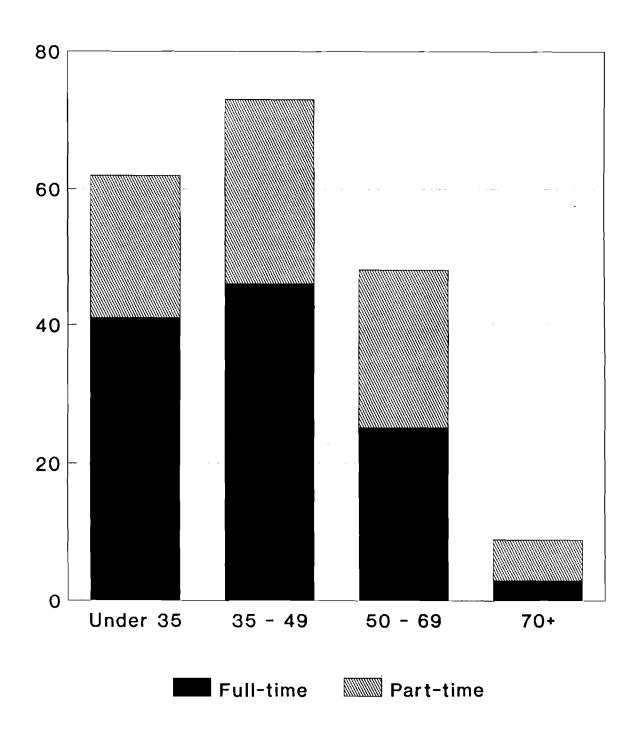
Exhibit 24: Employment Status by Age and Sex (all entries in percentages)

	MEN					
	UNDER 35	35 - 49	50 - 69	70+	TOTAL	
FULL-TIME	92	97	80	19	77	
PART-TIME	2	1	7	13	5	
RETIRED	-	1	13	67	16	
OTHER	6	1	-	1	2	
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	

	WOMEN				
	UNDER 35	35 - 49	50 - 69	70+	TOTAL
FULL-TIME	41	46	. 25	3	31
PART-TIME	21	27	23	6	22
HOMEMAKER	30	20	28	17	24
RETIRED	`		19	70	17
OTHER	8	7	5	4	6
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

^{*} Many woman age 70 and over who report they are "retired" probably did not, in fact, spend many years in the labor force

Exhibit 25: Percent of Women Employed Full and Part-time by Age



Quite understandably, employment status changes over the course of the life cycle. The patterns for men are far less complex than those of women. Prior to age 50, almost all men work full-time. In the 50-69 age range we find small increases in part-time employment and retirement with a commensurate small decline in full-time employment. In the oldest group, most men are retired, only one fifth work full-time and a few work part-time.

Women's employment patterns display the twin influences of shifting child-rearing responsibilities and the long-term, widespread growth in the involvement of women in the labor force. The number of women employed outside the home full-time is sharply lower among those 50-69 (25%) than it is among women 35-49, where the full-time employment rate reaches almost half.

It appears that women 50 years of age and younger are more committed to careers and labor force participation than their elders. As this younger cohort gets older, they may well continue to work outside the home. If so, then they may be less likely than women now in their fifties and sixties to participate in Jewish organizational life. Such a development would have an extraordinarily adverse impact on many women's organizations which, until now, have been structured around significant investment of Jewish women's volunteer time.

Hours Worked per Week

For those who are employed, the median time worked in a week is 50 hours for men and 40 hours for women (calculated from Exhibit 26). Among men, hardly any work less than 40 hours, well over a third work 40-49 hours per week, over a quarter work 50-59 hours, and almost as many work 60 hours or more a week. Women's time commitment to work is more varied. Over a third of women who are employed outside the home work less than 30 hours per week. Almost a fifth work 30-39 hours, a third 40-49 hours, 9% 50-59 hours, and just 4% put in 60 or more hours per week.

Exhibit 26: Number of Hours Worked per Week by Sex (Only Employed Respondents and Spouses) (all entries in percentages)

	MEN	WOMEN
60+	24	4
50 - 59	26	9
40 - 49	37	32
30 - 39	6	19
1 - 29	6	35
TOTAL	100	100

The number of hours worked changes significantly over the life cycle. Among men, hours worked peaks among those 35-49 years old. Here, almost a third work at least 60 hours, and about 60% work at least 50 hours per week. After age 55, the number of men working an extraordinary number of hours decline sharply. Among the men who continue to work past age 65, hardly any work more than 49 hours per week. Older men who work are also the only age group where substantial numbers of men work less that 40 hours weekly.

In contrast with the men, almost all of whom work between 40 and 60 hours per week, women in the labor force show a far greater variety in the number of hours they work per week. At almost all ages significant numbers of women work for different amounts of time. It is only among younger women that we find any notable number who work as much as 50-60 hours per week. These high rates undoubtedly reflect the relatively recent emergence of a professional and business segment among younger women.

Earlier we noted that increased women's involvement to employment in the labor force may well diminish their ability to participate actively in traditional women's volunteer activities. Here we see the emergence of a parallel trend with a potentially similar impact. Not only are more women entering the labor force; but of those women who do so, a substantial minority (over a fifth) of the youngest workers are putting in 50 hours or more per week. Both increased women's labor force participation and increased hours worked pose considerable challenges to conventional Jewish organizational life.

IV. RESIDENCE

Length of Residence: Veteran Detroiters in New Homes

A clear majority (59%) of respondents have lived in the Detroit area all of their lives and another 21% had lived in the region 30 years or more (Exhibit 27). Only 4% have come to the Detroit area within the last 10 years and just 12% arrived during the last 20 years. Clearly the Detroit core area Jewish population consists of substantial numbers of veteran Detroiters, a factor that probably contributes to community cohesiveness.

At the same time, there is evidence of a small but steady stream of in-migrants coming to the Detroit area over the years. About 4% of respondents came to the region during the 1980's, and about twice as many (8%) arrived in each of the two previous decades. This evidence suggests that in-migration slowed in the 1980's, possibly due to the slowdown in Michigan's economic activity.

Jewish families have been fairly mobile within the region. Over a third of the respondents said they changed addresses within the last 4 years; most respondents have moved within the last 9 years. Only 18% said that they are living at the same address now as they were 20 years ago.

Home Ownership

Over three fifths of Detroit area Jewish households own their own homes and another 10% own condominiums (Exhibit 28). The remainder -- over a quarter of the households -- rent apartments or other dwellings. The proportion who rent is much higher in Southfield (42%) than in the newer, more affluent suburbs (16%), with Oak Park residents reporting an intermediate level of rental housing (28%). Nevertheless, rental units are also found scattered throughout the entire core region.

Length of Residence of Jewish Households in the Detroit Area and at the Same Address (all entries Exhibit 27: in percentages)

YEARS	IN DETROIT AREA	AT THIS ADDRESS
4 OR FEWER	2	36
5 - 9	2	18
10 - 14	4	18
15 - 19	4	11
20 - 29	8	14
30 OR LONGER	21	4 .
ALWAYS	59	*
TOTAL	100	100

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding. * Less than 1%

Exhibit 28: Home Ownership by Area (all entries in percentages)

	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OTHER	ALL
OWNED	70	50	69	62
CONDO	2	8	15	10
RENTED	28	42	16	28
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

V. JEWISH IDENTITY

Denominational Identification

Denomination serves as an important axis of social and institutional differentiation. Rates of ritual observance, to take just one issue, vary considerably for those who are Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform. In addition, the salience of denominational identities has grown in recent years.

Against this background, it is very worthwhile understanding the distribution of denominational identities in Detroit. Over a third of the households identify as Conservative and another third identify as Reform (Exhibit 29). The others are scattered among other denominational alternatives, including Orthodoxy with just 7% of the households, and secular/Humanist with 6%.

Denominational identification does not always correspond with congregational affiliation. However, of the half of the population that does belong to a synagogue, most belong to synagogues affiliated with the denomination with which they identify.

The average number of Jews per household varies by denomination. As a result, the number of Jewish persons living in households associated with each denomination differs from the respective proportions of households. When examining persons rather than households, slightly greater percentages are Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform; fewer are "just Jewish."

In comparison with other established communities, the proportion Orthodox is about the same in Detroit as elsewhere (except for New York where twice as many are Orthodox); the Conservative proportion is near the upper end of the range; the Reform proportion is also near the high end; the Humanists are much more numerous in Detroit; and the non-denominational responses in Detroit are infrequent when compared with results from comparable communities. In other words, more Detroit area Jews choose to identify with a religious denomination than do American Jews elsewhere.

Exhibit 29: Jewish Households and Persons, by Denomination (all entries in percentages)

	HOUSEHOLDS	PERSONS
ORTHODOX	7	8
CONSERVATIVE	36	38
CONSERVATIVE-REFORM	3	3
TRADITIONAL	1	1
REFORM	33	35
RECONSTRUCTIONIST	1	
SECULAR OR HUMANIST	6	6
JUST JEWISH	9	6
OTHER	5	3 .
TOTAL	100	100

Ritual Observance

The frequencies with which Detroit area Jews celebrate particular holidays or practice certain rituals indicate something broader about the quality and intensivity of their Jewish lives at home. For most Jews, ritual observance is an expression of commitment to the Jewish group, the Jewish past, and their Jewish families. Thus, ritual observance is often not merely a sign of religious commitment, but, for Jews especially, it is a sign of their immersion in a specifically Jewish culture and their involvement with the Jewish group.

Exhibit 30 presents ritual observance frequencies in two ways. The first column lists the proportion of households who reported observing a certain practice. The second column reports the same frequencies for Jewish individuals. The frequencies in the second column exceed those in the first. That is, the proportion of Jewish individuals who perform certain practices (or live in homes where they are observed) is greater than the proportion of Jewish homes where the same rituals are observed. The principal reason for this discrepancy is instructive. It derives from the fact that mixed married homes (and those of unmarried single Jews) perform fewer rituals than homes with in-married Jewish parents with children.

Consistent with numerous other studies, respondents frequently observe practices associated with three seasonal holidays: Passover, Hanukkah, and Yom Kippur. At the same time, minorities report observing practices associated with other occasions included in the questionnaire: the Sabbath, Purim, Israel Independence Day, as well as kashrut in the home.

To elaborate, participation in a Seder is reported in 84% of the homes (which house 90% of the Jewish individuals). Hanukkah is almost as popular. More than three quarters (78%) of the homes (with 86% of the Jewish individuals) light Hanukkah candles. About two thirds of the respondents responded that they personally fast on Yom Kippur.

The rejection of a Christmas tree is an act of Jewish affirmation. Since 14% of households sometimes have a Christmas tree, fully 86% never do. Although one Jewish home in seven has a Christmas tree, just 9% of Jewish individuals live in homes that sometimes erect a tree at Christmas time.

Obviously, commemoration of Passover, Hanukkah, and Yom Kippur (as well as Rosh Hashanah) are widespread. However, the same cannot be said for traditional Sabbath observance. Just a third of the homes report that candles are lit Friday night (these contain 39% of the Jews). Only 19% of the homes (with a quarter of the Jews) maintain two sets of dishes for use with meat and dairy products, a pre-requisite for traditional observance of Jewish dietary laws. Very few homes (8%, with 10% of all Jews) practice a highly traditional form of Sabbath observance as indicated by their refusal to handle money on the Sabbath.

About a sixth of the homes usually observe Israel Independence Day in some way, and somewhat more (26% of homes, 35% of Jewish individuals) celebrate Purim in some fashion. The figures for most of the practices are consistent with results collected in comparable communities. Certainly, as a group, Detroit area Jews are no less observant -- and may be slightly more so -- than Jews found in other American communities of similar size in the Midwest or the East.

Religious Service Attendance

Respondents reported the frequency of their own attendance at religious services as well as that of their spouses. Exhibit 32 organizes the results by gender.

Among the men, almost a third (28%) attend religious services not at all or only for such occasions as weddings. Another 42% attend only on the High Holidays, or perhaps a few other occasions. About 16% attend 1-3 times a month, and just 12% are weekly attenders. Service attendance neither substantially increases nor decreases with age.

Among the women, we find almost identical patterns.

Exhibit 30: Ritual Observance of Households and Persons (all entries in percentages)

	HOUSEHOLDS	PERSONS*
NEVER HAVE A CHRISTMAS TREE	86	91
USUALLY ATTENDS A PASSOVER SEDER	84	90
USUALLY LIGHTS HANUKKAH CANDLES AT HOME	78	86 _
PERSONALLY FASTS ON YOM KIPPUR	67	74
USUALLY LIGHTS CANDLES ON FRIDAY NIGHT	33	39
USUALLY PARTICIPATES IN PURIM CELEBRATION OR SERVICE	26	35
USES SEPARATE DISHES FOR MEAT AND DAIRY	19	25
USUALLY PARTICIPATES IN ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION	16	20
REFRAINS FROM HANDLING MONEY ON THE SABBATH	8	10

^{*} Percentage of all Jewish persons in homes that listed ritual practices are observed.

Percent of Jewish Persons Observing Ritual Practices Exhibit 31:

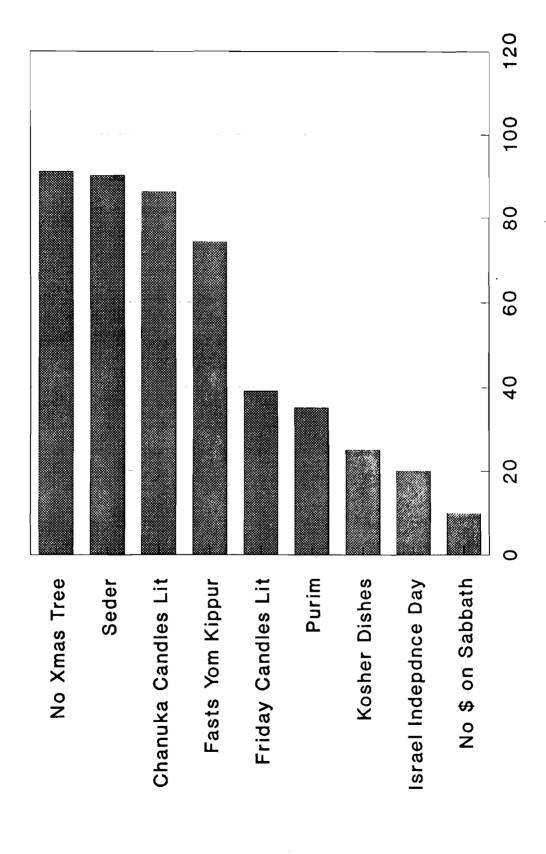


Exhibit 32: Religious Service Attendance of Jewish Adults (all entries in percentages)

	MEN	WOMEN
WEEKLY	12	10
1 - 3 TIMES A MONTH	16	14
HIGH HOLIDAYS	42	43
NEVER (OR ONLY SPECIAL OCCASIONS)	30	32
TOTAL	100	100

Communal Affiliation

Despite the widespread impression that large segments of Jews are totally unaffiliated with any Jewish institution, the vast majority of Detroit area Jews report one or another connection with organized Jewry. Exhibit 33 presents just five forms of affiliation.

Most households claim to belong to a congregation. Over a fifth say they belong to the Jewish Community Center (and far more report using the JCC). Almost half belong to another Jewish organization such as B'nai B'rith or Hadassah. Over three fifths say they read the <u>Jewish News</u> weekly (additional numbers read it sometimes). Finally, over two fifths of Detroit area Jewish adults have visited Israel at least once.

All these figures are as high if not higher than those reported in other established Jewish communities. Thus, it is safe to say that Detroit Jewry is somewhat more cohesive and organized than the average American Jewish community. At the same time, large numbers of Jews in Detroit are only nominally affiliated with formal Jewish institutions. Their very presence continues to pose a challenge to Jewish communal leaders and practitioners.

Jewish Friends

Detroit Jewry's high level of formal organization finds a parallel in the relatively high levels of informal links between Jews. Only one Jew in eight report that less than half of his or her closest friends are Jewish (Exhibit 35). Moreover, over two fifths say that "all" or "almost all" their closest friends are Jewish, and two thirds report that "over half" of their closest friends are Jewish.

Clearly, despite geographic dispersal and rising rates of intermarriage, Detroit Jews remain a highly cohesive and connected ethnic community.

Exhibit 33: Communal Affiliation (all entries in percentages)

CONGREGATION MEMBER	52
JCC MEMBER	22
OTHER JEWISH ORGANIZATION MEMBER	48
READS <u>JEWISH NEWS</u> WEEKLY	63
VISITED ISRAEL	43

Exhibit 34: Measures of Jewish Communal Affiliation (Percent)

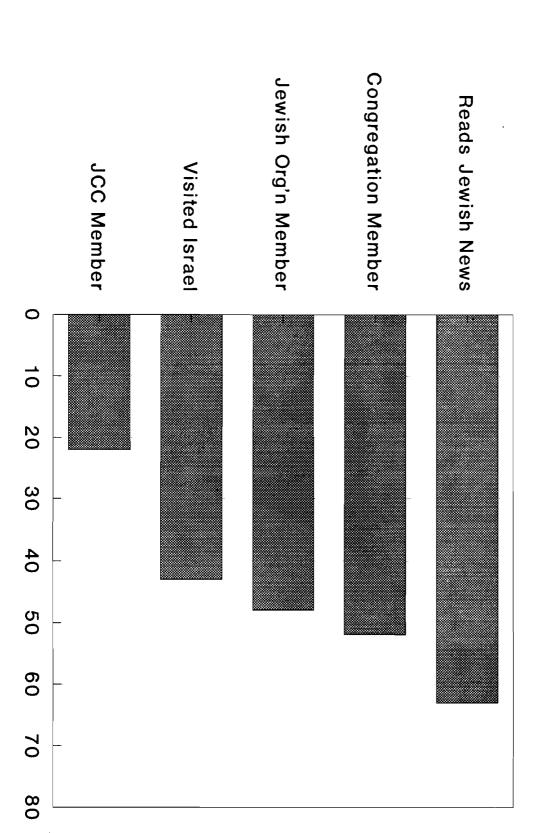
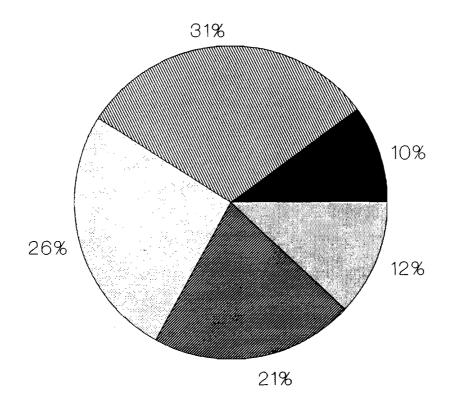


Exhibit 35: Number of Friends who are Jewish (all entries in percentages)

ALL	10
ALMOST ALL	31
MOST	26
ABOUT HALF	21
LESS	12
TOTAL	100

Exhibit 36: Number of Closest Friends who are Jewish







Less



CONCLUSION

Unlike the previous reports in this series, this report has broad, rather than specific, policy relevance. For those who need an overview of the Jewish community of Detroit, this report should suffice. For those who need more in-depth information, this report should serve as an introduction to the array of subjects covered by the survey, and should open the door to an enormous body of data.