

Demographic

Jewish Population in the United States, 1977

THE ESTIMATE of the United States "Jewish population"* for 1977 was 5,776,000. The decrease of 60,000 from the previous year's estimate (AJYB, 1977 [Vol. 77], p. 229) is almost entirely accounted for by the elimination of "double counting" involving Washington, D.C. and its two suburban areas, located respectively in Virginia and in Maryland. As a consequence, state totals for the latter two also show a drop from the previous year's levels.

The major source for changes in community estimates in Table 3 are the local Jewish federations, which responded to a questionnaire. Cities marked with an asterisk have provided such estimates either currently, or in the recent past. New York City is continued at the level derived from the 1970 National Jewish Population Study (NJPS). Estimates from communities where no federation exists were generally derived from earlier estimates, and therefore are subject to a greater margin of error. This is particularly so in areas where sharp changes in Jewish population levels occurred, as, for example, Florida and California.

The state totals are the sum of the individual community estimates, adjusted for duplication in areas where a community extends across state boundaries. Also included are communities with Jewish population under 100 (not shown in Table 3). There is a slight overstatement of the proportion of Jewish population in the general population, since the former is for the first half of 1977 and the latter is as of July 1, 1976.

ALVIN CHENKIN

*Represents the number of individuals in households in which one or more Jews reside, and therefore includes non-Jews living in such households as a result of intermarriage, etc. For a discussion of this, see AJYB, 1974-75 (Vol. 75), pp. 296-97.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1977

<i>State</i>	<i>Estimated Jewish Population</i>	<i>Total Population*</i>	<i>Estimated Jewish Per Cent of Total</i>
Alabama	9,050	3,665,000	0.2
Alaska	630	382,000	0.2
Arizona	32,665	2,270,000	1.4
Arkansas	3,245	2,109,000	0.2
California	680,960	21,520,000	3.1
Colorado	31,520	2,583,000	1.2
Connecticut	98,045	3,117,000	3.1
Delaware	9,200	582,000	1.6
District of Columbia	34,665	702,000	4.9
Florida	369,715	8,421,000	4.4
Georgia	30,295	4,970,000	0.6
Hawaii	1,500	887,000	0.2
Idaho	630	831,000	0.1
Illinois	269,225	11,229,000	2.4
Indiana	25,265	5,302,000	0.5
Iowa	6,855	2,870,000	0.2
Kansas	11,095	2,310,000	0.5
Kentucky	11,525	3,428,000	0.3
Louisiana	15,790	3,841,000	0.4
Maine	8,195	1,070,000	0.8
Maryland	163,945	4,144,000	4.0
Massachusetts	255,835	5,809,000	4.4
Michigan	93,910	9,104,000	1.0
Minnesota	34,270	3,965,000	0.9
Mississippi	4,165	2,354,000	0.2
Missouri	75,420	4,778,000	1.6
Montana	545	753,000	0.1
Nebraska	8,345	1,553,000	0.5
Nevada	11,380	610,000	1.9
New Hampshire	4,780	822,000	0.6
New Jersey	442,375	7,336,000	6.0
New Mexico	6,245	1,168,000	0.5
New York	2,149,305	18,084,000	11.9

<i>State</i>	<i>Estimated Jewish Population</i>	<i>Total Population*</i>	<i>Estimated Jewish Per Cent of Total</i>
North Carolina	11,010	5,469,000	0.2
North Dakota	1,445	648,000	0.2
Ohio	160,640	10,690,000	1.5
Oklahoma	6,160	2,766,000	0.2
Oregon	8,685	2,329,000	0.4
Pennsylvania	469,070	11,862,000	4.0
Rhode Island	22,000	927,000	2.4
South Carolina	7,365	2,848,000	0.3
South Dakota	490	686,000	0.1
Tennessee	17,610	4,214,000	0.4
Texas	70,510	12,487,000	0.6
Utah	2,160	1,228,000	0.2
Vermont	1,855	476,000	0.4
Virginia	44,395	5,032,000	0.9
Washington	15,890	3,612,000	0.4
West Virginia	4,150	1,821,000	0.2
Wisconsin	31,565	4,609,000	0.7
Wyoming	<u>345</u>	<u>390,000</u>	<u>0.1</u>
U.S. TOTAL	5,775,935	214,559,000	2.7

*July 1, 1976, resident population. Total civilian population was 212,976,000. (Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P. 25, No. 642.)

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. JEWISH POPULATION BY REGIONS, 1977

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Per Cent Distribution</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>Per Cent Distribution</i>
Northeast:	49,503,000	23.1	3,451,460	59.8
New England	12,221,000	5.7	390,710	6.8
Middle Atlantic	37,282,000	17.4	3,060,750	53.0
North Central:	57,739,000	26.9	718,525	12.4
East North Central	40,934,000	19.1	580,605	10.1
West North Central	16,805,000	7.8	137,920	2.4
South:	68,855,000	32.1	812,795	14.1
South Atlantic	33,990,000	15.8	674,740	11.7
East South Central	13,661,000	6.4	42,350	0.7
West South Central	21,204,000	9.9	95,705	1.7
West:	38,562,000	18.0	793,155	13.7
Mountain	9,833,000	4.6	85,490	1.5
Pacific	28,729,000	13.4	707,665	12.3
TOTALS	214,659,000	100.0	5,775,935	100.0

TABLE 3. COMMUNITIES WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1977
(ESTIMATED)

<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>
ALABAMA					
Anniston	.145	Lancaster	.100	CONNECTICUT	
*Birmingham	4,000	*Long Beach	.16,000	*Bridgeport	14,500
Dothan	.265	*Los Angeles Metropolitan Area	.455,000	Bristol	.250
Gadsden	.185	Merced	.100	Colchester	.525
Huntsville	.650	Modesto	.260	*Danbury	2,700
Jasper	.130	Monterey	.1,000	Danielson	.125
*Mobile	1,100	*Oakland (incl. in Alameda & Contra Costa counties)	.300	Greenwich	1,050
*Montgomery	1,700	Ontario	.300	*Hartford (incl. New Britain)	23,500
Selma	.210	*Orange county	.35,000	Lebanon	.175
Tri-Cities*	.120	*Palm Springs	4,000	Lower Middlesex county	.125
Tuscaloosa	.315	Pasadena	.1,600	Manchester	.700
ALASKA					
*Anchorage	.420	Petaluma	.320	Meriden	1,315
*Fairbanks	.210	Pomona	.300	Middletown	1,225
ARIZONA					
*Phoenix	25,000	Riverside	.215	Milford	415
*Tucson	7,500	*Sacramento	5,510	Moodus	.350
ARKANSAS					
Blytheville	.100	Salinas	.240	*New Haven	20,000
Ft. Smith	.200	San Bernardino	1,900	*New London	4,500
Helena	.100	*San Diego	21,000	New Milford	.350
Hot Springs	.600	*San Francisco	75,000	Newtown	.275
*Little Rock	1,380	*San Jose	13,000	*Norwalk	4,000
Pine Bluff	.300	San Pedro	.300	Norwich	2,500
Southeast Arkansas*	140	*Santa Barbara	3,800	Putnam	.110
Wynne-Forest City	.110	Santa Cruz	400	Rockville	.525
CALIFORNIA					
*Alameda & Contra Costa counties	28,000	*Santa Maria	.350	*Stamford	10,800
Bakersfield (incl. in Kern county)		Santa Monica	8,000	Torrington	400
El Centro	.125	Santa Rosa	.400	Valley Area ^d	1,300
Elsinore	.250	Stockton	1,050	Wallingford	440
Fontana	.165	Sun City	.100	*Waterbury	2,800
Fresno	1,450	Tulare and Kings county	.155	Westport	2,800
Kern county	.850	Vallejo	.400	Willimantic	.525
		*Ventura county	5,000	Winsted	.110
COLORADO					
		Colorado Springs	.650	DELAWARE	
		*Denver	30,000	*Wilmington (incl. rest of state)	
		Pueblo	.375		
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA					
				*Greater Washington ^e	
				120,000	

<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>
FLORIDA		ILLINOIS		IOWA	
Brevard County	.1,200	Aurora	.400	Cedar Rapids	.330
Daytona Beach	.1,200	Bloomington	.250	Council Bluffs	.245
*Fort Lauderdale	.40,000	*Champaign- Urbana	.1,000	*Davenport (incl. in Quad cities, Ill.)	
Fort Myers	.300	*Chicago Metropolitan Area	.253,000	*Des Moines	.3,300
Fort Pierce	.270	Danville	.240	Dubuque	.105
*Gainesville	.700	Decatur	.450	Fort Dodge	.115
*Hollywood	.30,000	East St. Louis (incl. in So. Ill.)		Mason City	.110
*Jacksonville	.6,000	*Elgin	.700	Muscatine	.120
Key West	.170	Galesburg	.120	Ottumwa	.150
Lakeland	.700	*Joliet	.750	*Sioux City	.1,100
Lehigh Acres	.125	Kankakee	.245	Waterloo	.435
*Miami	.225,000	Mattoon	.125	KANSAS	
*Orlando	.7,500	*Peoria	.2,000	Topeka	.500
*Palm Beach county	.35,000	*Quad cities	.3,000	*Wichita	.1,200
Pensacola	.800	Quincy	.200	KENTUCKY	
Port Charlotte	.150	*Rock Island (incl. in Quad cities)		Ashland	.150
*Sarasota	.5,000	*Rockford	.1,025	Hopkinsville	.120
St. Augustine	.100	*Southern Illinois*	.2,000	Lexington	.1,200
*St. Petersburg (incl. Clear- water)	.9,000	*Springfield	.1,150	*Louisville	.9,200
Tallahassee	.500	Sterling-Dixon	.110	Paducah	.175
*Tampa	.6,000	Waukegan	.1,200	LOUISIANA	
GEORGIA		INDIANA		*Alexandria	.750
Albany	.525	Anderson	.105	*Baton Rouge	.1,100
Athens	.210	*Bloomington	.300	Lafayette	.600
*Atlanta	.21,000	Elkhart	.245	Lake Charles	.125
*Augusta	.1,500	*Evansville	.1,200	*Monroe	.320
Brunswick	.120	*Ft. Wayne	.1,350	*New Orleans	.10,600
*Columbus	.1,000	*Gary ^b	.5,200	*Shreveport	.1,500
Dalton	.235	*Indianapolis	.11,000	MAINE	
Fitzgerald-Cordele	.125	Lafayette	.600	Augusta	.215
Macon	.785	Marion	.170	Bangor	.1,300
*Savannah	.2,600	Michigan City	.400	Biddeford-Saco	.375
Valdosta	.160	Muncie	.175	Calais	.135
HAWAII		Richmond	.110	*Lewiston-Auburn	.1,000
Honolulu	.1,500	Shelbyville	.140	*Portland	.3,500
IDAHO		*South Bend	.2,800	Waterville	.220
Boise	.120	Terre Haute	.700		

<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>
MARYLAND		North Berkshire	.675	Greenville	.700
Annapolis	.1,000	Northampton	.350	Greenwood	.175
*Baltimore	.92,000	Peabody	.2,600	Hattiesburg	.175
Cumberland	.250	Pittsfield	.2,400	Jackson	420
Easton Park Area	.100	Plymouth	.250	Meridian	.385
Frederick	.400	Salem	.1,050	Natchez	.140
Hagerstown	.220	Southbridge	.105	Vicksburg	.260
Hartford county	.420	*Springfield	.11,000	MISSOURI	
Montgomery county	.53,335	Taunton	.1,200	Columbia	.200
Prince Georges county	.16,000	Webster	.125	Joplin	.300
Salisbury	.220	*Worcester	.10,000	*Kansas City	.22,000
MASSACHUSETTS		MICHIGAN		Kennett	.110
Amherst	.175	Ann Arbor	.1,150	Springfield	.230
Athol	.230	Battle Creek	.245	*St. Joseph	.510
Attleboro	.260	Bay City	.700	*St. Louis	.60,000
Beverly	.1,000	Benton Harbor	.880	MONTANA	
*Boston (incl. Brockton)	.170,000	*Detroit	.80,000	Billings	.100
*Brockton	.5,200	*Flint	.2,685	NEBRASKA	
*Fall River	.3,000	Grand Rapids	.1,500	*Lincoln	.1,050
Fitchburg	.300	Iron county	.160	*Omaha	.6,500
*Framingham	.16,000	Iron Mountain	.105	NEVADA	
Gardner	.100	Jackson	.360	*Las Vegas	.11,000
Gloucester	.210	*Kalamazoo	.650	Reno	.380
Great Barrington	.105	*Lansing	.1,500	NEW HAMPSHIRE	
Greenfield	.250	Marquette county	.175	Claremont	.210
Haverhill	.2,275	Mt. Clemens	.420	Concord	.175
*Holyoke	.1,100	Muskegon	.525	Dover	.360
Hyannis	.245	*Saginaw	.560	Keene	.105
Lawrence	.2,550	South Haven	.315	Laconia	.160
Leominster	.1,525	MINNESOTA		*Manchester	.2,000
Lowell	.2,000	Austin	.125	Nashua	.320
*Lynn (incl. Peabody)	.19,000	*Duluth	.1,000	*Portsmouth	.700
Medway	.140	Hibbing	.155	NEW JERSEY	
Milford	.245	*Minneapolis	.22,090	*Atlantic City (incl. Atlan- tic county)	.11,800
Mills	.105	Rochester	.110	Bayonne	.8,500
*New Bedford	.3,100	*St. Paul	.9,500	*Bergen county ^a	.100,000
Newburyport	.280	Virginia	.175	*Bridgeton	.375
		MISSISSIPPI			
		Clarksdale	.320		
		Cleveland	.280		

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*Camden ¹	.26,000	Somerville (incl. in Somerset county)		Liberty	.2,100
Carteret	.700	Toms River (incl. in Ocean county)		Loch Sheldrake-Hurleyville	.750
*Elizabeth (incl. in Union county)		*Trenton	.7,200	Massena	.140
*Englewood (also incl. in Bergen county)	10,000	*Union county	.39,000	*Middletown	.2,400
*Essex county ^m	.95,000	*Vineland ^r	.2,850	Monroe	400
Flemington	.875	Wildwood	.350	Monticello	.2,400
Gloucester county ⁿ	.165	Willingboro (incl. in Camden)		Mountandale	.150
Hoboken	.500			Greater New York	.1,998,000
*Jersey City	.8,000			New York City	.1,228,000
*Metuchen (incl. in North Middlesex county)		NEW MEXICO		Manhattan	.171,000
*Millville	.240	*Albuquerque	.4,500	Brooklyn	.514,000
*Monmouth county ^o	.25,000	Las Cruces	.100	Bronx	.143,000
*Morris county (incl. Sussex county) ^p	.15,000	*Santa Fe	.300	Queens	.379,000
Morristown (incl. in Morris county)				Staten Island	21,000
Mt. Holly	.175	NEW YORK		Nassau-Suffolk	605,000
*Newark (incl. in Essex county)		*Albany	.13,500	Westchester	.165,000
*New Brunswick (incl. in Raritan Valley)		Amenia	.140	New Paltz	.150
*North Hudson county ^a	.7,000	Amsterdam	.595	Newark	.220
*North Jersey	.32,000	Auburn	435	*Newburgh	.4,600
*Northern Middlesex County ^b	.15,000	Batavia	.210	*Niagara Falls	.1,000
*Ocean County	.12,000	Beacon	.315	Norwich	.120
*Passaic-Clifton	.7,800	*Binghamton (incl. all Broome co.)	.4,000	Ogdensburg	.135
*Paterson (incl. in North Jersey)		Brewster	.175	Olean	.200
Paulsboro	.165	*Buffalo	.22,000	Oneonta	.125
*Perth Amboy (incl. in North Middlesex county)		Canandaigua	.135	Oswego	.100
*Plainfield (incl. in Union county)		Catskill	.290	Parksville	.140
Princeton	.1,050	Corning	.125	Pawling	.105
*Raritan Valley ¹	.18,000	Cortland	.440	Plattsburg	.275
*Salem	.230	Cortland	.440	Port Jervis	.560
*Somerset county ^o	.3,500	Dunkirk	.200	Potsdam	.110
		Ellenville	.1,450	*Poughkeepsie	.4,900
		*Elmira	.1,400	*Rochester	.21,500
		Geneva	.300	Rockland county	.25,000
		Glens Falls	.780	Rome	.210
		Gloversville	.1,400	Saratoga Springs	.525
		Herkimer	.185	*Schenectady	.5,400
		Highland Falls	.105	Sharon Springs	.165
		Hornell	.100	South Fallsburg	.1,100
		Hudson	470	*Syracuse	.11,000
		Ithaca	.960		
		Jamestown	.185		
		*Kingston	.2,400		

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*Troy	.1,200	East Liverpool	.290	Braddock	.250
*Utica	.2,650	Elyria	.525	Bradford	.200
Walden	.200	Hamilton	.560	Brownville	.150
Warwick	.100	*Lima	.310	*Butler	.340
Watertown	.250	Lorain	.1,000	Carbon county	.125
White Lake	.425	Mansfield	480	Carbondale	.115
Woodbourne	.200	Marion	.120	Carnegie	.200
Woodridge	.300	Middletown	.210	Central Bucks county	.400
NORTH CAROLINA		New Philadelphia	.140	Chambersburg	.200
*Asheville	.1,000	Newark	.105	Chester	.2,100
Chapel Hill	.230	Piqua	.120	Coatesville	.305
*Charlotte	.3,000	Portsmouth	.120	Connellsville	.110
Durham	.350	Sandusky	.150	Donora	.100
Fayetteville	.480	Springfield	.560	*Easton	.1,300
Gastonia	.140	*Steubenville	.380	Ellwood City	.110
Goldsboro	.120	*Toledo	.7,500	*Erie	.1,475
*Greensboro (incl. in N.C. Triad)		*Warren	.500	Farrell	.150
*High Point (incl. in N.C. Triad)		Wooster	.200	Greensburg	.300
North Carolina Triad	.2,700	*Youngstown	.5,400	Hanover	.145
Raleigh	.490	Zanesville	.350	*Harrisburg	.4,850
Rocky Mount	.110	OKLAHOMA		*Hazleton	.900
Whiteville Zone*	.330	Muskogee	.120	Homestead	.300
Wilmington	.500	*Oklahoma City	.1,500	Indiana	.120
Winston-Salem (incl. in N.C. Triad)		Oklahoma City Zone	.190	*Johnstown	.600
NORTH DAKOTA		*Tulsa	.2,600	Kittanning	.175
Fargo	.700	OREGON		*Lancaster	.1,900
Grand Forks	.100	Corvallis	.140	Lebanon	.650
OHIO		Eugene	.360	Lewistown	.225
*Akron	.6,500	*Portland	.7,800	Lock Haven	.140
Ashtabula	.160	Salem	.200	*Lower Bucks county*	.18,000
Bellaire	.120	PENNSYLVANIA		McKeesport	.2,100
*Canton	.2,650	Aliquippa	400	Monessen	.100
*Cincinnati	.30,000	*Allentown	.4,930	Mt. Carmel	.100
*Cleveland	.80,000	*Altoona	.1,200	Mt. Pleasant	.120
*Columbus	.13,000	Ambridge	.250	New Castle	400
*Dayton	.6,000	Beaver	.115	New Kensington	475
		Beaver Falls	.400	*Norristown	.2,000
		Berwick	.120	North Penn	.200
		Bethlehem	.960	Oil City	.150
				Oxford-Kennett Square	.180

<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>
*Philadelphia Metropolitan Area	.350,000	Jackson	.120	Rutland	.280
Phoenixville	.300	Johnson City**	.210	St. Johnsbury	.100
*Pittsburgh	.51,000	*Knoxville	.1,200	VIRGINIA	
Pottstown	.680	*Memphis	.9,000	*Alexandria (incl. Falls Church, Arlington county and urbanized Fairfax county)	16,000
*Pottsville	.500	*Nashville	.3,700	Arlington (incl. in Alexandria)	
Punxsutawney	.100	Oak Ridge	.240	Danville	.140
*Reading	.2,800	TEXAS		Fredericksburg	.140
Sayre	.100	Amarillo	.245	*Hampton (incl. in Newport News)	
*Scranton	.4,190	*Austin	.2,000	Harrisonburg	.160
Shamokin	.145	Baytown	.300	Hopewell	.140
*Sharon	470	*Beaumont	.450	Lynchburg	.350
Shenandoah	.230	Brownsville	.160	Martinsville	.135
State College	400	*Corpus Christi	.1,020	*Newport News (incl. Hampton)	.2,400
Stroudsburg	.410	Corsicana	.200	*Norfolk (incl. Virginia Beach)	.11,000
Sunbury	.160	*Dallas	.20,000	Petersburg	.580
*Uniontown	.290	De Witt county ^{bb}	.150	*Portsmouth (incl. Suffolk)	.1,165
Upper Beaver	.500	*El Paso	.4,500	Richmond	.800
Washington	.300	*Ft. Worth	.2,850	Roanoke	.120
Wayne county	.210	*Galveston	.645	Williamsburg	.120
West Chester	.300	*Houston	.26,000	Winchester	.110
*Wilkes-Barre	.4,300	Kilgore	.110	WASHINGTON	
Williamsport	.770	*Laredo	.420	Bellingham	.120
*York	.1,750	Longview	.160	Bremerton (incl. in Seattle)	
RHODE ISLAND		Lubbock	.230	*Seattle	.13,000
*Providence (incl. rest of state)	.22,000	McAllen	.280	Spokane	.800
SOUTH CAROLINA		North Texas Zone ^{cc}	.175	Tacoma	.700
*Charleston	.3,000	Odessa	.150	WEST VIRGINIA	
*Columbia	.1,800	Port Arthur	.260	Bekley	.120
Florence	.370	*San Antonio	.6,500	Bluefield-Princeton	.240
Greenville	.600	Texarkana	.100	*Charleston	.1,150
Orangeburg county	.105	Tyler	480	Clarksburg	.225
Spartanburg	.210	*Waco	.700		
Sumter	.190	Wharton	.270		
SOUTH DAKOTA		UTAH			
*Sioux Falls	.135	Ogden	.100		
TENNESSEE		*Salt Lake City	.1,950		
*Chattanooga	.2,250	VERMONT			
		Bennington	.120		
		Burlington	.1,225		

<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>State and City</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>
Fairmont	.100	Beloit	.105	Oshkosh	.120
*Huntington	.350	Eau Claire	.120	*Racine	.405
Morgantown	.125	Fond du Lac	.125	*Sheboygan	.200
Parkersburg	.170	Green Bay	.440	Superior	.265
Weirton	.150	*Kenosha	.250	Waukes	.135
*Wheeling	.650	*Madison	.3,000	Wausau	.265
		Manitowoc	.175		
WISCONSIN		Marinette	.170	WYOMING	
*Appleton	.340	*Milwaukee	.23,900	Cheyenne	.280

*Denotes estimate submitted within three-year period.

^aFlorence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia.

^bTowns in Chicot, Desha, Drew counties.

^cCenterbrook, Chester, Clinton, Deep River, Essex, Killingworth, Old Lyme, Old Saybrook, Seabrook, Westbrook.

^dAnsonia, Derby-Shelton, Seymour.

^eGreater Washington includes urbanized portions of Montgomery and Prince Georges counties, Maryland, Arlington County, Fairfax county (organized portion); Falls Church; Alexandria, Virginia.

^fRock Island, Moline (Illinois); Davenport, Bettendorf (Iowa).

^gTowns in Alexander, Bond, Clay, Clinton, Crawford, Edwards, Effingham, Fayette, Franklin, Gallatin, Hamilton, Hardin, Jackson, Jasper, Jefferson, Jersey, Johnson, Lawrence, Mascoupin, Madison, Marion, Massac, Montgomery, Perry, Pope, Pulaski, Randolph, Richland, St. Clair, Saline, Union, Wabash, Washington, Wayne, White, Williamson counties.

^hIncludes East Chicago, Hammond, Whiting.

ⁱTowns in Caroline, Kent, Queen Annes, Talbot counties.

^jIncludes Bellingham, Franklin, Norfolk, Maynard.

^kAllendale, Elmwood Park, Fair Lawn, Franklin Lakes, Oakland, Midland Park, Rochelle Park, Saddle Brook, Wykoff also included in North Jersey estimate.

^lIncludes Camden and Burlington counties.

^mIncludes western part of Hudson county; Hillside (part), Springfield, Summit in Union county. Also Chatham, Florham Park, Madison in Morris county.

ⁿIncludes Clayton, Paulsboro, Woodbury. Excludes Newfield, see Vineland.

^oIncludes Belmar, Deal, Long Branch, Neptune.

^pExcludes Chatham, Florham Park, Madison which are included in Essex county.

^qIncludes Guttenberg, Hudson Heights, North Bergen, North Hudson, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, West New York, Woodcliff.

^rIncludes Paterson, Wayne, Hawthorne in Passaic county, and nine towns in Bergen county. See footnote (k).

^sIncludes Perth Amboy, Metuchen, Edison Township (part), Woodbridge.

^tIncludes in Middlesex county, Cranbury, Dunellen, East Brunswick, Edison Township (part), Jamesburg, Matawan, Middlesex, Monmouth Junction, Old Bridge, Parlin, Piscataway,

South River, Spottswood; in Somerset county, Kendall Park, Somerset; in Mercer county, Hightstown.

^aExcludes Kendall Park and Somerset which are included in Raritan Valley.

^vIncludes in Cumberland county, Norma, Rosenheim, Vineland; in Salem county, Elmer; in Gloucester county, Newfield; in Cape May county, Woodbine.

^wGreensboro, High Point, Winston-Salem.

^xBurgaw, Clinton, Dunn, Elizabethtown, Fairmont, Jacksonville, Lumberton, Tabor City, Wallace, Warsaw; and Dillon, Loris, Marion, Mullins, S.C.

^yTowns in Alfalfa, Beckham, Cadelo, Canadian, Cleveland, Custer, Jackson, Kingfisher, Kiowa, Lincoln, Logan, Oklahoma, Payne, Roger Mills, Tillman, Washita counties.

^zBensalem Township, Bristol, Langhorne, Levittown, New Hope, Newtown, Pennel, War-
ington, Yardley.

^{aa}Includes Kingsport and Bristol (including the portion of Bristol in Virginia).

^{ab}Includes communities also in Colorado, Fayette, Gonzales and La Vaca counties.

^{ac}Denison, Gainesville, Greenville, Paris, Sherman.

Affiliation and Nonaffiliation in the United States Jewish Community: A Reconceptualization

JUST WHO is to be considered “affiliated” with the Jewish community? While at first glance the answer may seem simple—“anyone who belongs”—in practice the issue is complex and, in the past, has defied neat statistical description. In view of the network of intertwined factors, such as professed religious or communal ideology, membership in a temple or synagogue, membership in one or more Jewish organizations, not to mention the many aspects of Jewish philanthropic giving, there is an urgent need to clarify the meanings of Jewish “affiliation” and “nonaffiliation.”

Some statistics are, of course, available. The several congregational bodies report membership data. Similarly, many Jewish organizations, particularly the large and well-organized ones, furnish the relevant figures.¹ However, such items of information (varying in reliability, particularly in earlier years) cannot provide the full story of affiliation with the Jewish community. While so-called master lists—notably as developed for purposes of fund raising by using various combinations of factors noted above—may aspire to relative completeness, they typically turn out to be selective. This often is so because they do not include doubtful fund-raising prospects, or simply fail to keep up with elusive population influx and outflow, and shifting memberships. Further, while master lists may provide a rough indication of affiliation in certain communities, especially the small and stable, in most instances the criteria, and their use in list preparation, are neither uniform nor consistently meaningful. Finally, since normally not all members of a household appear on a given list, there is no indication of the direction or quality of affiliating commitment of other persons residing in a specified household.

Affiliation Defined

The National Jewish Population Study (NJPS) of 1970 provides the basis for both a reconceptualization and a review of first-hand representative data relating to affiliation and nonaffiliation in the Jewish community. The following concept is proposed: *A person is considered to be affiliated with the Jewish community if he/she explicitly describes himself/herself as identifying with a Jewish ideology (e.g., Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, etc.), and if, in addition, he/she belongs to one (or more)*

¹ Although membership figures are not compiled annually, relevant lists of organizations normally capable of providing such data can be found in the AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK: see directory of “National Jewish Organizations” in this volume.

*Jewish congregation(s), OR if he/she belongs to one (or more) Jewish organization(s), or both of the latter.*² By way of shorthand, Jewish affiliation = Jewish ideology + one or both of the following: Jewish congregation membership, Jewish organization membership.

Socio-ideological Types

In the National Jewish Population Study, this definition made it possible to distinguish the following categories, or socio-ideological types (also simply denoted as "types"): Orthodox affiliated, Orthodox nonaffiliated, Conservative affiliated, Conservative nonaffiliated, Reform affiliated, Reform nonaffiliated, agnostic-atheist Jews, the "just Jewish," "ex-Jews"—persons who have converted out of Judaism—and non-Jews—non-Jewish partners in intermarriage and some of their children.³ The "miscellaneous" type, as used here, is a heterogeneous group cumulating various "splinters" and numerically small subgroups in the Jewish population.

Given recent high rates of intermarriage, particularly for the period 1965–70 and apparently continuing at fairly even but substantial levels thereafter, the non-Jew as a member of a "Jewish household" constitutes a sociological fact, warranting specific inclusion in the study of Jewish populations. Also included in the typology, though they may be readily eliminated from Jewish population estimates, are converts who broke formal association with Judaism but acknowledge their Jewish roots.

The agnostic-atheist Jews, rather than formally renouncing Jewishness and explicitly embracing some other faith, maintain a kind of ideological "dual citizenship," regarding themselves as Jewish in some generic sense, but avowing an ideology (beyond absence of identification with one of the major ideological-religious orientations) that directly questions, or fully denies, the existence of a God or other important aspects of their Jewish heritage.

The "just Jewish," for the most part not members of congregations or Jewish organizations, may be described in terms of the various colloquial categories of "cardiac Jews" ("I just feel it right here—in my heart."). These affirm Jewishness in a broad sense, but choose no particular socio-ideological orientation within

² While this reconceptualization may prove to be broadly useful, three caveats are noted. 1. Analyses reported in this paper are based on people's *reports* of their characteristics and behavior, not on data, such as authenticated membership rosters or dues-paying records. 2. Affiliation is focused on specific reported behavior (e.g. "joining"), extending beyond religious ideology, and is not synonymous with Jewish identity. The latter typically takes account of a broad variety of attitudes and forms of Jewish expression. Affiliation is a starting point, but not a detailed measure, of qualitative Jewish commitment. 3. Fund raising, *viz.* contributing to Jewish campaigns, is *not* used as a criterion because apparent variability in assurance of response and the extent to which very small gifts of a dollar or two would constitute possibly misleading positive responses make its reliability as an index of affiliation questionable.

³ For the sake of limiting the number of types to be reported here, no breakdown of sub-types, or their analysis, will be attempted in this paper for the "miscellaneous" category.

Judaism, nor do they actively affiliate. (At times, of course, it is difficult to distinguish between agnostic Jews and "just Jews.")

The proposed categorizations thus consider both ideological orientation, as indicated by a person's self-description (or the description provided by a qualified respondent in a household for other members of this household), and reported specific behavior manifested by "doing something" about asserted Jewishness, as by association with a temple or a synagogue and/or by joining a Jewish organization.⁴

With the types defined, we now examine the profile of the affiliated and nonaffiliated in accordance with NJPS data.

Jewish Affiliation and Nonaffiliation

As shown in Table 1, no single socio-ideological type holds a majority position, for household heads or individuals ages 13 and up,⁵ in the United States Jewish population. The largest plurality is attained by the Conservative affiliated: 29.7 per cent of the total (household heads and individuals). Next in proportion are the Reform affiliated: 17.7 per cent of household heads, 19.3 per cent of individuals. Thus, were it a matter of democratic representation in some hypothetical *kehillah*, even these two types combined would still fall short of a majority position. In third place are: for household heads, the "just Jewish," and, for individuals, the Conservative nonaffiliated, respectively with 12.2 and 10.8 per cent of the total. In an overall profile, however, three groups contest fairly equally for this third position: the Conservative nonaffiliated, the Reform nonaffiliated, and the "just Jewish," with percentages ranging from about 10 to 12 of the total. It is only after these types that the Orthodox make an appearance: 8.4 per cent of the household heads and 7.3 per cent of individuals are characterized as Orthodox affiliated.

Just under 3 per cent of household heads are non-Jews, reflecting intermarriages with Jewish partners; for individuals the corresponding figure is significantly larger, 5.5 per cent. The reason for this is the presence of a higher proportion of non-Jewish spouses (individuals who are not household heads) and their non-Jewish children. Atheist-agnostic Jews and persons who have converted out of Judaism and whom one may not wish to regard as members of the Jewish community each constitute close to 1 per cent of the totals.

⁴ In a rather small number of instances, some question may be raised as to just what constitutes a Jewish organization. There is, of course, no doubt about B'nai B'rith, Hadassah, etc. However, some problems of classification may arise with regard to smaller or less well known organizations that may or may not be primarily oriented toward Jewish social, religious, or institutional objectives. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the classification involves no particular difficulty. A complete list of Jewish organizations, as defined for this purpose, appears in the NJPS computer code book; list available from author.

⁵ Excluded are young children who, particularly in the case of intermarriage, may still be of undefined socio-ideological status, or may typically reflect the orientation of their parents.

Total Affiliation Proportions

The proportion of affiliated individuals in the total United States adult Jewish population varies according to the criteria employed: whether the focus is on individuals or household heads, and the choice of the base population with

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIO-IDEOLOGICAL TYPES
OF INDIVIDUALS (AGE 13 AND UP) IN JEWISH
HOUSEHOLDS AND HOUSEHOLD HEADS

<i>Type</i>	<i>Individuals</i>		<i>Household Heads</i>	
	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Rank Order</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Rank Order</i>
CA	29.7	1	29.7	1
RA	19.3	2	17.7	2
CNA	10.8	3	10.6	5
RNA	10.0	4	11.1	4
JJ	9.9	5	12.2	3
OA	7.3	6	8.4	6
NJ	5.5	7	2.7	8
MISC	3.5	8	2.0	9
ONA	2.4	9	2.9	7
XJ	0.9	10	1.2	10
AAJ	0.8	11	1.0	11
TOTAL	100.0		100.0	
	(n)* (30,431)		(12,393)	

Note: Abbreviations used in this and all following tables are in alphabetical order, AAJ: agnostic-atheist Jews; CA: Conservative affiliated; CNA: Conservative nonaffiliated; JJ: just Jews; MISC: miscellaneous; NJ: non-Jews; OA: Orthodox affiliated; ONA: Orthodox nonaffiliated; RA: Reform affiliated, RNA: Reform nonaffiliated.

*Numbers in parentheses in this and following tables indicate (n): weighted number of cases, NJPS.

TABLE 2. PROPORTION OF AFFILIATED^a IN JEWISH
POPULATION

<i>Group</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Ideologically-identified Jewish Individuals ^b	70.8
Ideologically-identified Jewish Household Heads ^b	69.5
All Jewish Individuals ^c	62.0
All Jewish Household Heads ^c	59.2

^aIn this and subsequent Tables, the term "affiliated" is to be interpreted as having Jewish affiliation.

^bOrthodox, Conservative, Reform.

^cExclusive of ex-Jews and non-Jews; one-half of "miscellaneous" estimated to be affiliated.

reference to which the question is to be answered (see Table 2).

If only those who identify ideologically as Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform are considered, about seven in 10 (the figures are very similar for individuals and household heads) are affiliated. However, if the view of the base population is broadened to include others with some Jewish orientation, including the just Jewish type and excluding only the ex-Jews and the non-Jews, the affiliation proportion declines considerably, to about 59 per cent⁶ for household heads and 62 per cent for individuals. Given this perspective, the conclusion is that between six and ten are affiliated with the Jewish community.

In total numbers, in line with earlier figures,⁷ an estimated 1,125,000 Jewish household heads of a total of 1,900,000, and 2,850,000 Jewish persons 13 years old and up, of a total of 4,600,000 in this age group are affiliated with the Jewish community. It must, of course, be recalled that if the proportion of non-Jews in Jewish households remains at high levels or increases, as by intermarriage, total numbers of Jewish affiliated are likely to decline, unless at some future time higher Jewish birthrates and offsetting increased affiliation ratios counteract the current trend.

Jewish Ideology and Affiliation

A consistent, though modest, relationship appears between ideology and affiliation: by narrow margins, the Orthodox are more likely to be affiliated than the Conservative, who, in turn, are typically more likely to be affiliated than the Reform (see Table 3). The percentages range from highs of close to 75 per cent affiliation for the Orthodox, to lows in the mid-to-low 60 per cent range for the Reform. This suggests that Reform religious and organizational institutions have available a relatively large pool of currently unaffiliated who, under some circumstances, may be inclined to seek Jewish institutional affiliation. (In absolute terms, however, the number of Conservative unaffiliated exceeds the corresponding number for Reform).

From a somewhat different vantage point one may consider as the base total all individuals who are affiliated with one of the major ideological divisions. This subgroup of the affiliated is distributed as shown in *Table 4*. Here, slightly more than half are Conservative-affiliated, approximately one-third are Reform-affiliated, and about one in seven or eight is Orthodox-affiliated. Accordingly, if one views those who are directly associated with the Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform as "mainstream" in the organized Jewish community, one finds that the Conservative position holds a slight majority. In numbers, Reform and Orthodox follow at considerable distance. Movements of some dramatic visibility, e.g. young Hasidism, affiliates

⁶ See AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 74 (1973), p. 282. Variation in percentage is to be ascribed to broader definition employed here.

⁷ Estimated in accordance with data appearing in AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, Vol. 75 (1974-1975), p. 296 ff., and Vol. 74 (1973), p. 271.

TABLE 3. PROPORTION OF AFFILIATED AND UNAFFILIATED, BY IDEOLOGY

Group	Per Cent				Any Major Jewish Ideology
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform		
Affiliated					
Individuals	75.4	73.4	65.8		70.8
Household Heads	74.3	73.8	61.6		69.5
Unaffiliated					
Individuals	24.6	26.6	34.2		29.2
Household Heads	25.7	26.2	38.4		30.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n): Individuals	(2,936)	(12,322)	(8,931)	(24,189)	
(n): Household Heads	(1,406)	(4,992)	(3,569)	(9,967)	

TABLE 4. DISTRIBUTION OF AFFILIATED, BY IDEOLOGIES
Per Cent

<i>Ideology</i>	<i>Individuals</i>	<i>Household Heads</i>
Orthodox	12.9	15.1
Conservative	52.8	53.2
Reform	<u>34.3</u>	<u>31.7</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
(n)	(17,131)	(6,925)

of Habad houses, etc., whatever their ideological or symbolic significance, constitute but very small segments of the total Jewish population.

Age Level and Socio-ideological Type

As a basis for projecting the future of affiliation and nonaffiliation (though, of course, conditions found at the time of the NJPS cannot be presumed to continue indefinitely), it is useful to examine the variations in the distribution of socio-ideological type by specific age levels. For example, one may inquire whether the types most prevalent at middle age are equally prevalent among the young; or whether the patterns characteristic of the elderly resemble those at middle age. Both common sense observation and NJPS data suggest that noteworthy distinctions prevail. (See Table 5.)

At the bar/bat-mitzvah age of 13, more than 40 per cent are Conservative-affiliated, by far the highest percentage among all types at this age level, and indeed the high point for Conservative affiliation. This circumstance may in part be a by-product of Jewish education practices, since high proportions of parents (and thus their children) affiliate with Conservative congregations as the children approach bar/bat-mitzvah age.⁸

While at this age level the Conservative orientation in affiliation considerably exceeds that of Reform, by nearly two to one, in the middle and late teens the picture changes: while still most prevalent, its relative proportion declines substantially, to 32 per cent, with Reform affiliation rising to about 24 per cent. Thus, though Conservative affiliation consistently exceeds Reform affiliation at all ages, the gap narrows after age 13.

Both Conservative and Reform affiliations continue to decline at ages 20 to 24 and 25 to 29, reaching low points in the latter age group. For this a combination of several factors may be responsible: (a) heightened concerns with personal and

⁸ As noted, NJPS did not question all members of the family. Affiliation patterns for young people, as those at bar/bat-mitzvah age, are derived from the statements of a responsible adult respondent in the household. These statements, while largely reliable, do not necessarily measure the depth of emotional commitment to a given ideology by the young persons whose affiliations are reported.

TABLE 5. SOCIO-IDEOLOGICAL TYPES, BY AGE CATEGORIES
Per Cent

Age Category	AAJ*	XJ	NJ	OA	ONA	CA	CNA	RA	RNA	JJ	MISC	Total	(n)
13	0	0	6.9	4.2	1.0	40.2	5.1	20.8	10.7	5.5	5.6	100.0	(692)
14-19	0.7	0.5	6.8	4.7	1.4	31.6	11.4	23.6	7.3	9.4	2.6	100.0	(4,323)
20-24	1.1	1.8	5.8	4.7	1.8	20.6	14.3	15.0	15.4	11.5	8.0	100.0	(3,211)
25-29	0.5	1.9	16.0	2.8	1.2	18.4	11.3	10.4	15.9	18.1	3.5	100.0	(2,113)
30-39	1.7	0.6	8.4	3.5	0.7	29.6	8.4	18.9	16.2	9.2	2.7	100.0	(3,826)
40-49	0.6	0.9	4.7	5.3	2.1	30.6	11.4	25.8	6.7	9.5	2.4	100.0	(4,968)
50-59	0.9	1.2	2.4	8.1	2.2	35.0	10.6	18.9	8.3	10.7	1.7	100.0	(4,892)
60-64	0.6	0.2	1.6	11.2	2.3	34.2	10.5	22.6	7.4	7.2	2.1	100.0	(1,843)
65-74	0.4	0.4	0.9	16.5	24.5	31.0	10.6	14.6	6.7	7.1	5.4	100.0	(2,792)
75 up	0.4	0	0.4	20.3	6.9	28.8	8.2	16.9	8.8	7.1	2.0	100.0	(1,311)
Others	0.6	0	3.8	9.4	5.6	28.8	15.6	10.3	9.4	12.6	3.8	100.0	(340)
TOTAL	0.8	0.9	5.3	7.3	2.4	29.8	10.8	19.3	10.1	9.9	3.4	100.0	(30,311)

* Abbreviations used in this and all the following tables are in alphabetical order. AAJ: agnostic-atheist Jews; CA: Conservative affiliated; CNA: Conservative nonaffiliated; JJ: just Jews; MISC: miscellaneous; NJ: non-Jews; OA: Orthodox affiliated; ONA: Orthodox nonaffiliated; RA: Reform affiliated, RNA: Reform nonaffiliated.

occupational identity, associated with college, postgraduate, and early employment years, may channel energies away from Jewish affiliative opportunities, which apparently are not fully responsive to the prevailing human concerns at this time of life, and (b) the incidence of intermarriage diffuses specifically Jewish socio-ideological patterns, reducing the proportions of affiliated.

Further evidence of nonaffiliative tendencies appearing for those between 25 and 29 years of age is furnished by consideration of the "just Jewish." Rising persistently from the 13-year-old bracket, their proportion reaches a high of more than 18 per cent at ages 25 to 29.

In the middle years of life, generally from 30 to 59, somewhat more even patterns appear. The proportion of Conservative affiliated tends to constitute about 30 per cent of the total, and the corresponding figure for the Reform affiliated varies from about 19 to 26 per cent. The "just Jewish" proportion stabilizes at around 9 to 10 per cent. However, with the previously lower incidence of intermarriage, proportions of the non-Jewish persistently decline with increasing age, from the adult-level peak of 16 per cent at ages 25 to 29 to lows of nearly 2 per cent in mature adulthood.

It is above age 60 that the proportion of Orthodox affiliated increases, far above the levels found among the young. These figures, considering exclusively the affiliated rather than all who describe themselves as Orthodox, are consistent with previously reported findings on Orthodox ideological self-description.⁹

A revealing view of the relationship between affiliation and age appears in Table 6. Noting *any* affiliation regardless of socio-ideological orientation, the peak, 84 per cent, is reported for the 13-year-olds, a kind of watershed in Jewish education and in the promulgation of Jewish norms. However, almost immediately beyond this point, *e.g.*, in the 14-to-19-year age category, as Jewish education is completed, the affiliation figure drops significantly, to near 60 per cent. The decline continues to age 20 to 24, with some 40 per cent affiliated, and slides further at ages 25 to 29, to the eventual nadir of near 32 per cent. It is only at age 30 and later that a recovery of sorts appears in the percentage of affiliated: a rise above 50 per cent in the thirties age bracket, and subsequent further increases to the 60 per cent range, which then continues into old age.

From this rollercoaster-like pattern one may surmise that the affiliative forces converging on the Jewish child in early adolescence rapidly dissipate, perhaps under the impact of a multitude of psychological dynamics associated with personal and professional identity search, advanced secular education, early occupational development, and family formation. These dynamics appear to transcend salient concern with Jewish affiliations.

In examining these results it must be recalled that they take account of various "age slices" one at a time, and that individuals within these slices vary in their

⁹ For related analyses, see Fred Massarik, *Jewish Identity—Facts for Planning* (New York: Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 1974), esp. p. 2; also his "Trends in U.S. Jewish Education," *AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK*, Vol. 77, (1977), pp. 240–50.

TABLE 6. AFFILIATED INDIVIDUALS IN JEWISH
HOUSEHOLDS, BY AGE CATEGORIES*
Per Cent

<i>Age Category</i>	<i>Affiliated</i>
13	83.6
14-19	59.8
20-24	40.3
25-29	31.6
30-39	52.0
40-49	61.7
50-59	62.1
60-64	68.1
65-74	62.2
75, up	66.1

*Each age category = 100 per cent; unaffiliated per cent is difference between figure shown at each age level and 100 per cent. Miscellaneous are not included.

typical childhood experiences, Jewish family backgrounds, and the like. Clearly, the middle-aged or older individual may have affiliated for different reasons than the person in the early thirties who, motivated by interest in his/her children's Jewish education or by reemerging personal ideological considerations, joins a Jewish congregation or a Jewish organization.

One cannot assume that the higher proportions of affiliation currently found among those about 30 years of age necessarily forecast a later "return to Judaism" among the now younger persons. Only a study following the *same* individuals through their life cycles would throw light on this continuously developing process underlying affiliative or nonaffiliative behavior. And these so-called longitudinal analyses, too, would need to be repeated from time to time to reflect changing trends in the culture of the United States Jewish community.

Household Characteristics of Socio-ideological Types

Having established that the socio-ideological types constitute widely differing proportions of the total Jewish population, we now examine income (Table 7), occupations (Table 8), secular education (Table 9), and age characteristics (Table 10).

In terms of the extremes of the reported distribution (excluding nonresponse), household incomes below \$8,000 and above \$40,000 (1969) are highlighted. A massive proportion of low incomes is found for the Orthodox nonaffiliated, with 60 per cent of this group in the under \$8,000 bracket. The next most deprived type is the Orthodox affiliated, of whom about 51 per cent appear at this lowest level. Indeed, one-half of the Orthodox nonaffiliated is not in the labor force.

TABLE 7. HOUSEHOLD INCOME (EXTREMES OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION, 1969),
BY SOCIO-IDEOLOGICAL TYPES
Per Cent

<i>Income</i>	<i>AAJ*</i>	<i>XJ</i>	<i>NJ</i>	<i>OA</i>	<i>ONA</i>	<i>CA</i>	<i>CNA</i>	<i>RA</i>	<i>RNA</i>	<i>JJ</i>
Under \$4000	6.7	0.7	8.6	31.8	47.9	12.4	15.5	3.0	13.1	21.0
\$4000-7,999	3.8	38.9	2.1	19.0	12.1	12.5	11.9	6.4	5.6	16.3
Total "low"	10.5	39.6	10.7	50.8	60.0	24.9	27.4	9.4	18.7	37.3
\$40,000-49,999	1.9	3.1	2.1	1.8	0	2.0	0.9	5.1	1.2	1.5
\$50,000, and over	7.7	1.5	0.7	2.1	0	5.1	1.2	7.0	2.1	5.6
Total "highest"	9.6	4.6	2.8	3.9	0	7.1	2.1	12.1	3.3	7.1

*Abbreviations used in this and all following tables are in alphabetical order, AAJ: agnostic-atheist Jews; CA: Conservative affiliated; CNA: Conservative nonaffiliated; JJ: just Jews; NJ: non-Jews; OA: Orthodox affiliated; ONA: Orthodox nonaffiliated; RA: Reform affiliated; RNA: Reform nonaffiliated. "Miscellaneous" type is not considered.

Note: All households (or individuals) for a given type=100 per cent. Percentages do not add to 100 because only part of distribution is reported to highlight salient findings.

Two other types with substantial proportions of marginal income households are the "just Jewish" and the ex-Jewish; about 37 to 47 per cent of these report incomes under \$8,000, though the very lowest category, income under \$4,000, is more prevalent among the Orthodox and the "just Jewish" than among the ex-Jewish.

At the highest income levels, \$40,000 and up, the Reform affiliated and the agnostic-atheist Jews rank at the top, with some 12 and 10 per cent of household heads, respectively, reporting such incomes. The affluent economic level is corroborated by the high proportions of professional and technical occupations among household heads: 44 per cent and 36 per cent, respectively.

In turn, such substantial representation in the more remunerative professional-technical occupations is supported by high education levels. Among the agnostic-atheist Jews, some 66 per cent reported education attainment of four years of college or more, while the corresponding percentage for the Reform affiliated is about 54 per cent. The proportion of college or advanced education reported for the Conservative affiliated is about 38 per cent, but close to 20 per cent for the Orthodox affiliated. It is lowest, about 13 per cent, for the Orthodox unaffiliated.

It is further noted that the nonaffiliated and affiliated among the Orthodox constitute the oldest among the several types examined: about 37 per cent and 33 per cent, respectively, are 65 years of age and over, compared, for example, with about 14 and 12 per cent, respectively, of the Conservative affiliated and nonaffiliated. The Reform are still younger: only some 11 per cent of the affiliated and 10 per cent of the nonaffiliated are aged 65 or older.¹¹ The "youngest" age distributions appear for

¹¹ It must be recalled that the analyses relate only to persons 13 years of age and older, and thus are not comparable to total age distributions that include children under 13.

TABLE 8. HOUSEHOLD HEADS' OCCUPATION, BY SOCIO-IDEOLOGICAL TYPES
Per Cent

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>AAJ*</i>	<i>XJ</i>	<i>NJ</i>	<i>OA</i>	<i>ONA</i>	<i>CA</i>	<i>CNA</i>	<i>RA</i>	<i>RNA</i>	<i>JJ</i>
Not in labor force	17.7	1.3	3.8	38.2	50.0	20.5	18.4	14.0	15.3	26.7
Professional, technical	44.4	15.4	34.6	13.3	8.3	21.0	15.8	36.0	24.1	26.5
Managerial administrative	13.7	16.1	38.8	22.0	9.9	39.5	24.3	32.1	32.6	22.1
Clerical, sales	20.9	32.2	17.2	13.1	21.3	11.9	20.2	14.2	19.8	11.4
Crafts, etc.	3.2	29.5	2.1	10.8	5.8	5.3	17.6	2.5	5.0	7.6
Service, labor	0	0	0.9	1.6	3.6	0.9	1.2	0.9	2.5	1.6

*For meaning of abbreviations see Table 7.

Note: see Note Table 7.

TABLE 9. SECULAR EDUCATION (EXTREMES OF DISTRIBUTION) OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS
Per Cent

<i>Level of Education</i>	<i>AAJ*</i>	<i>XJ</i>	<i>NJ</i>	<i>OA</i>	<i>ONA</i>	<i>CA</i>	<i>CNA</i>	<i>RA</i>	<i>RNA</i>	<i>JJ</i>
9th grade or less	5.6	4.0	0.9	26.7	40.4	11.6	14.6	3.2	9.2	7.7
12th grade	12.1	27.5	42.1	25.9	25.2	21.0	31.8	21.3	21.2	14.5
Total "low"	17.7	31.5	43.0	52.6	65.6	32.6	46.4	24.5	30.4	22.2
4 years college	39.5	10.1	10.4	7.5	5.0	13.3	8.5	18.0	18.0	16.3
Postgrads-M.A./Ph.D.	25.5	12.9	20.4	6.5	3.6	11.8	11.3	20.5	15.0	18.6
Professional degree	0.5	0.4	2.7	5.9	4.2	12.4	6.0	15.2	7.6	16.6
Total "highest"	65.5	23.4	33.5	19.9	12.8	37.5	25.8	53.7	40.6	51.5

*For meaning of abbreviations, see Table 7.

Note: See Note, Table 7.

the non-Jews in Jewish households and for the Reform nonaffiliated, suggesting—barring later ideology change—potentially significant future impact of these less identified groups on Jewish life in years to come.

With no major exceptions, the affiliated, regardless of ideology, appear to be better off economically than the corresponding group of unaffiliated. Thus income of the Reform affiliated exceeds that of the Reform nonaffiliated; that of the Conservative affiliated exceeds the corresponding level of the Conservative nonaffiliated, etc. This raises some question as to the kinds of economic accommodations that may be required by Jewish community institutions to bring about possible higher affiliation rates. There is, of course, the further possibility that an unaffiliated person now mildly ideologically identifying with, let us say, Reform may later choose to become

TABLE 10. SELECTED AGE CHARACTERISTICS AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE, BY
SOCIO-IDEOLOGICAL TYPES
Per Cent

<i>Age Category</i>	<i>AAJ*</i>	<i>XJ</i>	<i>NJ</i>	<i>OA</i>	<i>ONA</i>	<i>CA</i>	<i>CNA</i>	<i>RA</i>	<i>RNA</i>	<i>JJ</i>
13-19	13.1	8.5	21.1	10.4	9.3	18.1	16.1	19.7	12.8	14.8
20-29	18.4	37.1	32.5	9.6	11.6	11.6	21.3	11.9	27.2	24.9
30-39	<u>27.4</u>	<u>8.5</u>	<u>19.9</u>	<u>6.0</u>	<u>3.9</u>	<u>12.5</u>	<u>9.8</u>	<u>12.3</u>	<u>20.3</u>	<u>11.7</u>
Total "younger"	58.9	54.1	73.5	26.0	24.8	42.2	47.2	43.9	60.3	51.4
65-74	4.1	4.1	1.7	20.9	24.5	9.6	9.0	6.9	6.1	6.6
75 and up	<u>2.0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.4</u>	<u>12.1</u>	<u>12.6</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>3.8</u>	<u>3.8</u>	<u>3.1</u>
Total "oldest"	6.1	4.1	2.1	33.0	37.1	13.8	12.3	10.7	9.9	9.9
Household Size	2.6	3.0	3.0	2.7	2.4	3.1	2.7	3.3	2.8	2.7

*For meaning of abbreviations, see Table 7.

Note: See Note, Table 7.

congregationally or organizationally associated with a Conservative institution, if this should prove more feasible from an economic standpoint.

U.S. Jewish Community: "Internal Pluralism" Summarized

This paper has proposed a series of ten major socio-ideological types in the United States Jewish population. It is evident, in accordance with NJPS data, that significant internal differences are discernible, and that these differences are expressed systematically in variations of age, income, occupation, and general (secular) educational attainment.

Findings reported elsewhere¹² indicate that these differentiations also are significantly reflected in other areas of theoretical and practical interest as, for example, in attitudes toward Jewish education, avowed support of Israel, views of intermarriage, and the like. It is suggested that a thorough understanding of the United States Jewish population and the application of this understanding to planning for Jewish survival will be enhanced by a systematic consideration of the distinct *varieties* of Jewishness currently found in the United States, and that such understanding may well replace previous reliance on untested assumption or wishful projection regarding the Jewish future.

FRED MASSARIK

¹² Fred Massarik, "The Anatomy of Ideology: Toward Systematic Socio-ideological Differentiation of the U.S. Jewish Population," to appear in *Proceedings, Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies (Jewish Demography)*, Jerusalem, August 1977.