

JEWISH RELIGIOSITY

IDEOLOGICAL AND RITUALISTIC DIMENSIONS

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INTRODUCTION

THE IMPACT of American culture and social structure, together with the thrust of Jewish tradition, has had the effect of magnifying the religious component in the group identification of the American Jew. This magnification has occurred despite the tendency for each generational group to be more highly acculturated and secularized than its predecessor.

The data presented by Sidney Goldstein and Calvin Goldscheider on the Jews of Providence, Rhode Island, provide insight into changing patterns of religiosity among American Jews. As with all small communities, Providence tends toward consensus and therefore it does not exhibit the wide variation in Jewish religious practice encountered in larger communities. For example, both ultra-Orthodox and ultra-Reform groups are poorly represented in the community. But despite the fact that the Jewish population of Providence is comparatively small and therefore atypical of American Jewry, Providence has the advantage of being located in the Northeastern section of the nation—the area where the concentration of Jewish population is the highest in the country.

Goldstein and Goldscheider find that attendance at religious services is at a very moderate level. But despite the degree of

secularization implicit in this finding the great majority of Providence Jews are willing to accept the label of either "Reform," "Conservative," or "Orthodox." We can only speculate as to what these labels mean to those who accept them—what is impressive is that they are accepted so readily.

Like other investigators, Goldstein and Goldscheider devote concentrated attention to what they term the "ritualistic dimension." Their attention to this factor grows out of their familiarity with traditional Judaism, in which the ritualistic element tends to overshadow other dimensions of religiosity. Their finding is that a significant proportion of Providence Jews fail to observe the norms of the group with which they are seemingly affiliated. But despite such latitudinarian behavior most Providence Jews evince a desire to observe some Jewish rituals.

As with the pseudonymous communities of Riverton or Lakeville, the Jews of Providence are moderate in their level of religious observance. * But what is particularly impressive about the Providence findings is evidence which can be interpreted to mean that the drift toward nonobservance (or what the authors designate as "secular" in contrast to "moderate" or "traditional" levels of ritual observance) has been arrested. The rise in the moderate level of observance among Reform Jews who are second- or third-generation Americans is a case in point. It is possible to interpret this finding conservatively, by maintaining that the descendants of old-line Reform or secular families have assimilated, leaving behind a hard-core group which is represented in the survey population. It is also possible to claim that highly secular Jews do not settle (or remain) in communities like Providence. But it seems more valid to take the increase in the moderate-observance category (and the fact that only 15 percent of the households fall into the "secular" category) to mean that there is a continuing ritualism in Providence. It appears that a pattern of Jewish identification in which the ritual element is absent finds few supporters.

Providence Jews are not only moderate observers, they are highly selective observers as well. Consequently the pattern of ritual performance which they have created does not follow traditional

*Cf. Marshall Sklare and Marc Vosk, *The Riverton Study: How Jews Look at Themselves and Their Neighbors* (New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1957), pp. 9-13, and Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum, *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier: A Study of Group Survival in the Open Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), pp. 45-59.

norms. As an example, from the traditional perspective their pattern places undue emphasis on celebrating the minor festival of Chanukah and on the lighting of the menorah even as it underemphasizes the observance of the Sabbath. If the pattern is incongruous from the standpoint of traditional norms it becomes understandable when we keep the following factors in mind: 1) the Jews of Providence are the inheritors of a tradition in which ritualism is accorded priority; 2) they constitute a minority group which practices a deviant religion; and 3) they wish both to retain their ethnic and religious distinctiveness and to participate in the larger society.

M. S.



ALTHOUGH ALL JEWS may share core values of a religio-cultural complex, within the Jewish group, as within other religious groups, there are variations in the degree of commitment to and identification with its religious value system. Even casual observers of the American Jewish community are aware of the different patterns of Jewish religious identification, of variation in the performance of religious rituals, and of the variety of ways Jews maintain religious and cultural attachments. The religiosity continuum ranges from the traditional-observant Jew, actively participating in the Jewish community, to the unaffiliated, nonobservant, secular Jew, with the overwhelming majority between these extremes. Moreover, in the process of integrating into American society, Jews have altered the forms of their religious expression and the degree of their religious commitments. . . .

Facets of Religiosity

Religiosity is a complex phenomenon involving a number of dimensions. This complexity stems from the nature of religion in general. According to Lenski, religion encompasses a system of beliefs about the nature of forces shaping man's destiny and the practices associated therewith; religious group involvement may be communal or associational and religious orientations vary in "doctrinal orthodoxy" and "devotionalism."¹ In a more elaborate definition of religion and religious systems, Talcott Parsons identifies at least five dimensions: 1) an integrated set of beliefs; 2) a set of symbols, acts, and persons which have the quality of sacredness; 3) a set of prescribed activities which is interpreted as important and often obligatory in the light of the beliefs involved; 4) a sense that those sharing common beliefs constitute a collectivity; and finally, 5) a sense that man's relation to the supernatural world is connected with his moral values.²

¹Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 18-26, 330-336.

²*Religious Perspectives of College Teaching in Sociology and Social Psychology* (New Haven: The Edward W. Hazen Foundation, n.d.), p. 7.

Discussions concerning the nature of religion lead to the inevitable conclusion that commitment to and expressions of religion, i.e., religiosity, must also be viewed multi-dimensionally. Some suggest that a comprehensive study of the religious experience and expression encompasses three dimensions: 1) theoretical expression—doctrine; 2) practical expression—cultus; and 3) sociological expression—communion, collective, and individual religion.³ Others specifically concerned with the problem of the several dimensions of religiosity have outlined five dimensions: experiential, ideological, ritualistic, intellectual, and consequential.⁴

What are the common elements of these various typologies of religion and religiosity and how can these be applied to the study of religiosity among Jews? The first relevant⁵ dimension of religiosity that will be examined is religious ideology as manifested in institutional identification. . . .

The Ideological Dimension

Identification and membership with one of the three religious divisions within Judaism—Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform—reflect the degree of association with religious doctrine, Orthodox being the most traditional and Reform the least. Historically, Jews settling in the Providence community were originally Orthodox, as were the majority of the Jews who migrated to the United States at the turn of the century. However, early in the community's history a Reform congregation was established (1877) and, following the national pattern, a Conservative congregation was organized in the early 1920's. The central role of the synagogue in Jewish communal life as a place for prayer, study, and assembly is attested to by the manifold increase in the number of congregations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Between 1855 and 1910 no less than 23 separate synagogues were chartered, and probably a number of others existed on a less formal basis. Many of these early

³Joachim Wach, *Sociology of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), pp. 19-34.

⁴Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, *Religion and Society in Tension* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965), pp. 20-38.

⁵We will be concerned with religious behavior rather than beliefs and attitudes, and the typology developed is therefore not intended to be exhaustive. Rather, it serves to organize the ensuing data analysis and discussion. The measures that will be used for each of these dimensions will be discussed when we focus on specific dimensions.

congregations have since disappeared as neighborhoods lost their Jewish population, or as ethnic ties which bound their members together weakened; other congregations merged to form larger and stronger organizations; and still others have recently emerged to meet the needs resulting from the shifts of Jewish population to the suburbs as well as changes in religious affiliation. At the time of the survey [1963], there were 18 synagogues and temples in the community: 8 were Orthodox, 8 were Conservative, and 2 were Reform.⁶

Two measures of religiosity will be used as indicators of the ideological dimension. The first is religious self-identification: how do members of the Jewish community define themselves, given the alternatives Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or Other.⁷ Second, synagogue membership data were obtained and the respondents were classified as Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform according to their affiliation with specific congregations. Religious self-identification and congregational affiliation may reveal different patterns and are thus separated. Their interrelationship will be discussed later.

The overwhelming majority of the adult Jewish population, 95 percent, identify themselves as either Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform (Table 1). Within this threefold division, persons identifying with Conservative Judaism far outnumber the other two segments; more than half of the Jewish population identify as Conservative, 20 percent as Orthodox, and 21 percent as Reform. The small percentage of the Jewish population who are not identified with one of the three religious divisions testifies to the very strong tendency

⁶Sidney Goldstein, "The Providence Jewish Community After 125 Years of Development," *Rhode Island History*, XXV (April, 1966), pp. 51-52; the history of the Jewish community may be found in *Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes*, Vols. I-III (Providence: Rhode Island Jewish Historical Association, June 1954-May 1962). For discussions of the immigrant Orthodox community and the emergence of Conservative Judaism see Moshe Davis, *The Emergence of Conservative Judaism* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964); Marshall Sklare, *Conservative Judaism* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955); Charles S. Liebman, "Orthodoxy in American Jewish Life," *American Jewish Year Book* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1965), LXVI, pp. 21-92; Charles S. Liebman, "A Sociological Analysis of Contemporary Orthodoxy," *Judaism*, XIII (Summer, 1964), pp. 285-304.

⁷The survey asked the respondent, "What do you consider yourself?"; besides Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform the choices included Yiddishist, Secular, Unitarian, Christian, and Other. The overwhelming majority considered themselves members of one of the three major religious divisions. The small percent who identified themselves with the remaining categories have all been grouped as "Other" in this analysis of religiosity.

toward some denominational affiliation and clear-cut lines of religious categorization.

An examination of the data by generation and age reveals the dramatic shifts that have occurred with respect to religious identification. The proportion identifying as Orthodox has declined sharply from over 40 percent among the foreign born to 6 percent among third-generation Jews. Conversely, the proportion who identify with Reform Judaism has almost trebled in three generations—from 12 to 35 percent. The Conservative group is the largest in any generation but the proportion identifying with Conservative Judaism declined from the second to the third generation after increasing from the first to the second. The shift in identification appears to be from Orthodoxy among the immigrant generation to Conservative among the second generation and some

TABLE 1
Religious identification, by generation and age

<i>Generation and age</i>	<i>Orthodox</i>	<i>Conservative</i>	<i>Reform</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total Percent</i>
<i>All ages</i>					
First generation	41.1	42.4	11.6	5.0	100.0
Second generation	14.9	61.0	20.1	4.0	100.0
Mixed parentage	7.1	56.7	34.0	2.2	100.0
Third generation	6.3	49.0	35.3	9.4	100.0
TOTAL	19.8	54.1	21.2	4.9	100.0
<i>25-44 age group</i>					
First generation	22.6	50.0	19.0	8.3	100.0
Second generation	12.5	63.8	20.7	3.0	100.0
Mixed parentage	7.7	62.4	27.6	2.3	100.0
Third generation	4.5	51.9	36.7	6.8	100.0
<i>45-64 age group</i>					
First generation	35.1	49.1	11.1	4.7	100.0
Second generation	16.0	61.3	18.6	4.0	100.0
Mixed parentage	5.9	42.4	49.4	2.4	100.0
Third generation	18.4	32.7	28.6	20.4	100.0
<i>65 & over age group</i>					
First generation	51.8	33.5	10.2	4.5	100.0
Second generation	17.9	45.5	28.6	8.0	100.0

greater shift toward Reform in the third generation. This pattern can most clearly be seen in the differential gains and losses within each generation. In the first generation Orthodox and Conservative identification was equally divided, and it accounted for over 80 percent of the total. Among second-generation Jews, Conservative and Reform gained at the expense of a declining Orthodoxy, with over a 40 percent difference between Conservative and Reform identification in favor of the former. However, among third-generation Jews the difference between the Conservative and Reform was only 14 percent, indicating that gains in Reform identification resulted from losses to both Orthodox and Conservative Judaism. . . .

Attendance at Religious Services

In order to evaluate the scope of religious practices among Jews two aspects of the ritualistic dimension will be examined: 1) attendance at religious services and 2) ritual practices in the home. We will first turn to an analysis of the number of times each adult member of the household had attended religious services during the previous year. This section deals with generation changes in regularity of religious service attendance among Jews and non-Jews and then examines in more detail the pattern of synagogue attendance among several groupings within the Jewish community. . . .

A detailed look at generation changes in synagogue attendance reveals several striking points (Table 2). First, only a small proportion of the adult Jewish population never attend the synagogue. Although the third generation has the highest proportion of those who never attend, there are no systematic patterns of increase, and the percentage is, for all generation categories, less than 15 percent.⁸ Second, there is a regular pattern of decline in synagogue attendance of once a week or more with distance from the immigrant generation. Among the foreign born, 22 percent attend the synagogue once a week or more but less than 4 percent among the third generation do so. Third, the modal

⁸The lack of change in nonattendance and, if anything, slight increases in nonattendance among both age groups of the third generation are in contrast to a report of a Gallup Public Opinion Poll sponsored by the *Catholic Digest*. The poll revealed that among Catholics and Jews, nonattendance at religious services declined between 1952 and 1966; among Jews the decline was from 56 to 39 percent. Reported in *The New York Times*, 14 July 1966, p. 18.

category of synagogue attendance for each generation is attendance four to eleven times a year rather than the stereotyped image of attendance just at High Holiday services (the Jewish New Year and the Day of Atonement). More than one out of every three Jews apparently attends religious services on the High Holidays as well as on a number of occasions throughout the year: probably a few times on Friday evening, Bar or Bat Mitzvahs, some holidays, or to recite the memorial prayer on the anniversary of a relative's death or at memorial services on specified holidays (Yiskor). Both the "four to eleven times a year" and the "one to three times a year" models have increased with distance from the first generation at the expense of more frequent attendance. These data on generation changes suggest a continual and striking decline in synagogue attendance but only a small increase in nonattendance. Together with indicators of the ideological dimensions, reduction in the frequency of synagogue attendance has occurred without signs of total nonaffiliation or nonattendance.

In traditional Judaism women are excused from a number of religious commandments in order to do full justice to their family and home responsibilities. Embedded in the Jewish cultural tradition has been the association of men with the synagogue.⁹ Moreover, studies have pointed to the importance of analyzing men and women separately when examining generation changes in church attendance among Catholics.¹⁰ Yet, behaviorally, differences between Jewish men and women in synagogue attendance are minimal. Although slightly more women never attend and fewer women attend once a week or more, differences for all other categories are small. In addition, the pattern of decline in synagogue attendance with distance from the first generation characterizes both sexes; differences between the sexes are most pronounced among the foreign born and diminish steadily among the native born. Together with the trend toward family as opposed

⁹In describing Eastern European shtetl life, Zborowski and Herzog point out: "The man's area is the Shul as House of Study, as House of Prayer and as House of Assembly. . . . The woman's area is the Home . . ."; Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog, *Life Is With People* (New York: Schocken Books, 1962), p. 124 and pp. 125-141. See also Marshall Sklare, "Aspects of Religious Worship in the Contemporary Conservative Synagogue," in *The Jews*, ed. Marshall Sklare, pp. 358-361.

¹⁰Bernard Lazerwitz and Louis Rowitz, "The Three-Generations Hypothesis," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIX (March 1964), pp. 529-538.

TABLE 2
Frequency of synagogue attendance, by generation and age

Generation and age	Frequency of synagogue attendance								Total percent
	Never	1-3 times a year	4-11 times a year	Once a month	2-3 times a month	Once a week	Several times a week	7 or more times a week	
<i>All ages</i>									
First generation	12.7	18.8	32.9	7.9	5.0	13.5	8.5	0.7	100.0
Second generation	11.3	23.7	39.4	7.4	6.9	7.7	2.5	1.0	100.0
Mixed parentage	9.3	29.3	41.5	8.0	4.2	5.5	2.3	0.0	100.0
Third generation	14.6	29.5	43.8	5.1	2.5	2.5	1.1	0.8	100.0
TOTAL	11.8	23.7	38.4	7.4	5.7	8.3	3.8	0.9	100.0
<i>25-44 age group</i>									
First generation	7.2	24.1	48.2	6.0	4.8	4.8	4.8	0.0	100.0
Second generation	12.3	26.8	42.1	5.6	5.2	5.0	2.6	0.2	100.0
Mixed parentage	9.1	31.8	39.1	8.2	4.1	5.5	2.3	0.0	100.0
Third generation	13.8	31.9	42.4	4.9	2.6	3.0	1.0	0.3	100.0
<i>45-64 age group</i>									
First generation	8.5	18.8	37.5	8.5	4.1	16.1	5.9	0.6	100.0
Second generation	10.3	23.0	37.8	8.6	7.6	9.1	2.6	1.0	100.0
Mixed parentage	9.4	24.7	45.9	8.2	4.7	4.7	2.4	0.0	100.0
Third generation	14.9	17.0	53.2	6.4	2.1	0.0	2.1	4.3	100.0
<i>65 and over age group</i>									
First generation	18.4	17.5	24.4	7.8	6.0	13.0	12.0	0.9	100.0
Second generation	14.3	15.2	40.2	7.1	8.9	8.9	0.9	4.5	100.0

to male synagogue membership noted earlier, these data suggest a change in the traditional role of women in terms of synagogue attendance. . . .

Judged by these statistics, the high rates of synagogue membership and formal religious identification are not directly transferred to high rates of participation in religious services. Jews may well be following the model set by their non-Jewish neighbors in displaying an increased rate of identification with religious institutions. Nevertheless, the data on generation changes in synagogue attendance suggest that identification and membership do not necessarily involve an intensification of religious behavior as evidenced by synagogue attendance. Rather, they seem to be part of a larger complex wherein the contemporary Jew, secure in Americanism, feels no reluctance about identifying himself with institutionalized Judaism and thereby affirming his Jewishness. In fact, such identification becomes virtually compelling since it is the only way, outside of the intellectual subsociety, in which the American Jew can locate himself in the larger community. To this extent, the data support the conclusion of other studies showing the large proportion of Jews belonging to and identifying with synagogues. The conclusion that increased identification represents increased concern with religious practice as manifested by synagogue attendance is not, however, warranted.

Furthermore, the decline in synagogue attendance characterizes persons in each of the residence, education, and religious identification categories. Consequently, among third-generation Jews there appears to be a greater homogeneity toward less regular synagogue attendance. Not only has Orthodox Judaism declined but synagogue attendance (religious practices) of third-generation Jews who identify as Orthodox has also declined.

Observances in the Home

Together with the synagogue, the home has traditionally been a stronghold of Judaism. In fact, many religious practices associated with Judaism are focused on the home and the everyday life of Jews rather than on synagogue worship. In attempting to assess the nature of religiosity and generation changes along the ritualistic dimension, inquiry into Jewish ritual practices in the home is

essential. Five religious rituals will be examined:¹¹ 1) lighting Sabbath candles Friday night; 2) having or attending a seder on Passover; 3) buying kosher meat; 4) using separate dishes for meat and dairy foods; and 5) lighting Chanukah candles.

Based on whether each of the five rituals was observed always, usually, sometimes, or never, a composite ritual performance index was constructed and each household was classified as being "traditional," "moderate," or "secular." One point was assigned for a response of "always," 2 points for "usually," 3 points for "sometimes," and 4 points for "never." Each question on ritual practices was equally weighted in importance. Thus, the family who always performed all five rituals received a score of 5 points; the family who never performed any of the rituals received a score of 20. Families receiving a score of 5 through 9 points were classified as traditional; at the other extreme, those receiving a score of 16 through 20 points have been classified as secular; the intermediary group, ranging in score from 10 through 15, has been classified as moderate.

According to the classification, slightly less than one-half of the households were moderate in their ritual practices, over a third were traditional, and 15 percent practiced the rituals so seldom as to be categorized as secular (Table 3). As with Orthodox identification and regular synagogue attendance, sharp declines are noted in the proportion of households classified as traditional. Among the foreign born¹² 58 percent were traditional in their ritual practices; among the third generation the proportion declines to less than 20 percent. However, the major decline in traditional practices has not led to a significant increase in the proportion of households that are secular in ritual practices. Rather the major shift has been toward the center, as were the sharp increases in Conservative membership and identification. Families classified as secular gained slightly in three generations (13 to 17 percent), while families classified as moderate more than doubled (29 to 64 percent). Without exception, these patterns persist with age controls. Furthermore, among the

¹¹In contrast to other measures, the questions regarding home rituals focus on the household unit rather than the individual. The native born of mixed parentage were eliminated because of their small number.

¹²Generation status as well as the other characteristics to be discussed are based on the characteristics of the head of the household.

TABLE 3
Ritual performance index, by generation and age

<i>Index of ritual performance</i>				
<i>Generation and age</i>	<i>Traditional</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Secular</i>	<i>Total percent</i>
<i>All ages</i>				
First generation	58.2	28.7	13.0	100.0
Second generation	32.3	52.4	15.3	100.0
Third generation	19.0	64.1	17.0	100.0
TOTAL *	37.3	47.6	15.1	100.0
<i>25-44 age group</i>				
First generation	38.7	54.8	6.5	100.0
Second generation	33.7	57.7	8.6	100.0
Third generation	18.7	65.7	15.7	100.0
<i>45-64 age group</i>				
First generation	59.3	28.6	12.1	100.0
Second generation	31.3	50.6	18.1	100.0
Third generation	25.0	56.3	18.8	100.0
<i>65 & over age group</i>				
First generation	60.3	24.7	14.9	100.0
Second generation	33.8	45.9	20.3	100.0

*Includes a small number of native born of mixed parentage.

first generation the youngest age group differs significantly from the oldest age group in the direction of less traditional ritual practices (60 versus 39 percent), but within the second and third generation variation by age is minimal. As suggested earlier, among the third generation greater homogenization in terms of religious behavior appears to have taken place. . . .¹³

Both Orthodox and Conservative Judaism call for strict conformity to the five rituals measured here. Reform Judaism does not demand either the use of kosher meat or the maintenance of separate meat and dairy dishes. For the most part, however, sharp differences in ritual practices characterize the three religious

¹³Although the number of female heads of households is small and is concentrated in the first and second generation, similar patterns of decline in traditional ritual practices were observed.

groupings (Table 4). Three-fourths of the Orthodox Jewish households were traditional, compared to 35 percent of the Conservative and only 10 percent of the Reform. Conversely, one-fourth of the Reform Jewish households were secular, compared to 12 percent of the Conservatives and 5 percent of the Orthodox. These patterns are maintained for each of the generations without exception. Investigation of the changes in religious rituals for each religious division indicates several significant points. First, with distance from the immigrant generation, declines in religious ritual adherence occur for each of the three religious divisions. Even among the Orthodox, traditional ritual observance declines from 85 percent of the first generation to 50 percent of the third generation. Second, the decline in traditional ritual observance among Conservative and Reform households has not resulted in a concomitant increase in secular households. In fact the proportion who perform religious rituals so rarely as to be classified as secular has declined slightly among Conservative Jews and declined even more among Reform Jews with increased Americanization. Moreover, among the Orthodox the proportion of households that are secular has increased slightly. As before, what emerges is the growth of moderate adherence to ritual practices with the avoidance of both extremes. Fully three-fourths of the third generation who are Reform are classified as moderate in the extent of their ritual practices. As a consequence of generational shifts, there is greater similarity in the amount of ritual practices among the religious divisions of the third generation than among either the first or second generation.¹⁴

In order to provide additional insight into generation changes in ritual practices, each of the five rituals will be examined separately by generation. Two distinct patterns emerge out of the five rituals considered (Table 5). On the one hand, always lighting candles Friday evening and adhering to kashrut (both purchasing kosher meat and keeping separate dishes) have minimal adherence and their practice has radically declined in three generations. On the other hand, attending a seder on Passover and lighting Chanukah candles are very popular, with little or no change by generation.

¹⁴Because of the small number of persons who identified themselves as Other, a detailed analysis was not possible. The data on Others nevertheless show the decrease in traditional and increase in secular ritual practices. Almost two-thirds of this group were secular, 27 percent were moderate, and 8 percent were traditional.

TABLE 4
Ritual performance index, by generation and religious identification

<i>Ritual index and religious identification</i>	<i>First generation</i>	<i>Second generation</i>	<i>Third generation</i>	<i>Total*</i>
<i>Orthodox</i>				
Traditional	84.4	64.7	50.0	75.6
Moderate	12.7	26.9	40.0	19.2
Secular	2.9	8.4	10.0	5.2
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Conservative</i>				
Traditional	47.9	33.8	23.8	34.8
Moderate	38.5	55.1	65.5	53.7
Secular	13.6	11.1	10.7	11.5
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Reform</i>				
Traditional	11.8	11.5	3.8	9.5
Moderate	56.9	66.5	75.5	65.7
Secular	31.4	22.0	20.8	24.8
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Includes a small number of native born of mixed parentage.

The proportion lighting candles every Friday night declines with generation from 61 percent to 26 percent and, conversely, the proportion never lighting Sabbath candles has more than doubled in three generations. Even more radical changes characterize kashrut adherence. Among first-generation Jews 62 percent always buy kosher meat and 53 percent have separate dishes; among the third generation only 19 percent always buy kosher meat and a mere 16 percent have separate dishes.¹⁵ As a further indication of the

¹⁵Of the households who reported buying kosher meat "usually" or "sometimes," many did so for nonreligious reasons, either because one of the household members liked a particular cut of meat or because the housewife thought that the meat was of a better quality than that available in a nonkosher store. Some persons who usually bought kosher meat were tempted to take advantage of a sale of nonkosher meat in the local supermarket. Reflecting the religious inconsistencies in their practices, several were careful to indicate that they "koshered" (salted) the meat purchased in supermarkets.

TABLE 5

Five selected rituals, by generation

<i>Selected rituals</i>	<i>First generation</i>	<i>Second generation</i>	<i>Third generation</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Sabbath candles</i>				
Always	60.6	37.2	25.5	42.4
Usually	5.8	10.1	16.3	9.4
Sometimes	15.3	25.1	24.2	22.1
Never	16.5	25.3	34.0	24.3
Total percent*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Passover seder</i>				
Always	82.5	77.6	72.5	78.6
Usually	5.6	5.8	11.1	6.2
Sometimes	6.3	8.1	8.5	7.5
Never	4.1	7.2	7.8	6.6
Total percent*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Kosher meat</i>				
Always	62.0	33.8	19.0	39.7
Usually	4.9	6.5	3.9	5.7
Sometimes	17.3	27.6	32.7	25.2
Never	13.6	30.5	43.8	27.7
Total percent*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Separate dishes</i>				
Always	53.0	25.2	15.7	31.7
Usually	1.7	0.7	0.0	0.9
Sometimes	2.7	3.4	1.3	2.9
Never	39.7	68.3	81.7	62.1
Total percent*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Chanukah candles</i>				
Always	74.5	74.0	76.5	74.1
Usually	2.4	3.3	4.6	3.2
Sometimes	4.4	6.8	3.9	5.8
Never	16.3	13.9	15.0	15.1
Total percent*	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Percentage may not add up to 100 percent owing to the small number of cases for whom no information was available.

striking declines in these ritual practices, the proportion who never buy kosher meat and do not maintain separate dishes for meat and dairy increases consistently with distance from the first generation; the former increases from 15 to 44 percent and the latter from 40 to 82 percent.

Attending a Passover seder and lighting Chanukah candles differ significantly from this pattern. Although there have been slight decreases in attendance at seder, almost three-fourths of the third generation always attend and only a small minority of the Jewish population never attend. Always lighting Chanukah candles has slightly increased among the third generation to 77 percent. The youngest ages within each generation are even more likely to have a seder and light Chanukah candles in contrast to patterns observed for each of the other rituals.¹⁶

The increased and sustained popularity of Chanukah and Passover may stem from the emphasis given to these practices in both the Jewish educational system and the community at large. In particular, the treatment of Chanukah along with the Christmas holiday in many public schools, as well as its use by some parents as a substitute for Christmas, accounts for the high proportion of families who adhere to this ritual. Similarly, sustained popularity of the Passover seder may be related to the increasing de-emphasis of its religious or historical significance and its use as an occasion for family reunions. At the same time, the much greater publicity given to the seder in recent years in the mass media, particularly television, and its coincidence with Easter must be considered. . . .

The data on specific ritual practices suggest that religious rituals are increasingly adhered to by the third generation in those instances where children are involved, where the ritual is family oriented, and where pressures for conformity are exerted by both the Jewish and non-Jewish community. However, adherence continues to decline in day-to-day rituals (kashrut) or weekly activities (Sabbath candles and synagogue attendance) that are somewhat demanding and on which no strong emphasis for

¹⁶For similar findings regarding the decline in kashrut, see Albert Gordon, *Jews in Transition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949), p. 90; Howard Polsky, "A Study of Orthodoxy in Milwaukee: Social Characteristics, Beliefs and Observances," in *The Jews*, ed. Marshall Sklare, pp. 332-333. On Chanukah practices, see Arthur Hertzberg, "Religion," *American Jewish Year Book* (1958), LIX, pp. 118-120; Herbert Gans, "The Origins and Growth of a Jewish Community in the Suburbs," in *The Jews*, ed. Marshall Sklare, p. 220.

conformity is placed either in the religious school or in the public image of what constitutes being a Jew.

Analysis of specific ritual practices also helps to explain the decrease in the proportion of family units in the traditional category of ritual practice and the sharp increases of the third generation in the moderate group. The change noted stems from the net effects of a decline in adherence to such practices as Sabbath candlelighting and kashrut and an increase and stability in Chanukah and Seder observance. Again, these data on the changing components of ritual practices and the changing nature of religious identification within the context of Judaism suggest that the identification of Jews with the Jewish community is not so much the result of increased religiosity; rather, the changes appear to have resulted in a new form of religious expression among third-generation American Jews which reflects the acceptance of external symbols that identify the Jew as Jew in conformity with the patterns of religious identification stressed by the larger American community.