

The Social Characteristics of the New York Area Jewish Community, 1981

Current Distribution and Recent Trends

IN 1981 AN ESTIMATED 1,670,700 Jewish persons resided in the eight-county area consisting of New York City (Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx, Queens, and Staten Island), Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk (see Table 1.1).^{*} Within New York City there were 1,133,100 Jewish persons, with an additional 537,600 in the three suburban counties. Brooklyn had the largest Jewish population—one fourth of the area's total—followed by Queens, Nassau, and Manhattan. The Bronx and Staten Island had the smallest Jewish populations; less than a tenth of the region's total Jewish population lived in these two counties combined.

Jews constituted 16 per cent of the population of the eight-county area, with the highest concentration (i.e., Jews as a percentage of total population) in Nassau, where Jews comprised 23 per cent of the total. In Manhattan and Brooklyn, the Jewish population was 19 per cent of the total population. By contrast, in Suffolk, Staten Island, and the Bronx, the Jewish population was less than one-tenth of the total. The other counties lay between these two extremes.

Note: In 1981, UJA/Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York asked the authors to conduct a scientific sample survey of Jews in Federation's eight-county service area. The 1981 Greater New York Jewish Population Study interviewed 4,505 Jewish respondents by telephone and mail. The study sought to ascertain population size and distribution, family patterns, Jewish identity, social status, and neighborhood orientations. This article is based on the public report issued by UJA/Federation. It contains a broad overview of the major social characteristics of New York area Jews, emphasizing the considerable inter-county diversity that exists.

Additional analytic and descriptive studies of the New York area Jewish community are currently under way. Among the subjects being dealt with are the Jewish family, patterns of Jewish identity, intermarriage and conversion, the Jewish poor, Soviet Jews, Israelis, and philanthropic behavior.

^{*}See Appendix for tables.

Between 1957 and 1981 there were significant changes in the distribution and location of the eight-county area population as a whole, as well as in the Jewish population specifically. One of the most striking changes was the growth of the Jewish suburban population. In 1957, only 18 per cent of the area's Jewish population resided in the suburbs. By 1981, 32 per cent of the Jewish population was suburban. By way of comparison, the total suburban population (i.e., Jews and non-Jews together) was 24 per cent of the area's total in 1957, and 33 per cent in 1981. Relative to the total population, the Jewish population was less suburbanized in 1957, but was equally suburbanized by 1981.

The older areas of Jewish settlement tended to decline, some quite dramatically, while the newer areas grew. The sharpest decline occurred in the Bronx, where the Jewish population decreased from several hundred thousand in the 1950's to 95,800 in 1981. The greatest increase in Jewish population occurred in Suffolk County; in the 1950's relatively few Jews lived in Suffolk, whereas by 1981 the Suffolk Jewish community numbered over 100,000 persons. During the same period, the total Suffolk population grew from 529,000 to 1,284,000.

Nassau was the only suburban county that experienced a decline in total population during the 1970's. Nassau's total population was 1,179,000 in 1957; it peaked at 1,424,000 in 1970; following that it dropped to 1,322,000 by 1980. The Long Island Regional Planning Board, in commenting on the decline in Nassau's population, pointed to several contributing factors. It noted, for example, that there had been a virtual cessation of in-migration to Nassau County by the 1970's. In addition, the Nassau population had been aging, thus leading to a reduction in the birth rate. Finally, young adults and retirees had been moving out of the county. These trends affected Nassau's Jewish population as well. An estimate of over 300,000 Jews in 1981 is consistent with what is known about general population developments in Nassau County.

With all the shifts and changes that have occurred in population numbers and population mix over the years, certain factors have remained constant. An example is the Jewish population of New York City as a fraction of the total white, non-Hispanic population. In 1940, 30 per cent of the white, non-Hispanic population was Jewish; in 1950, 31 per cent; in 1955, 31 per cent; and in 1981, 31 per cent.

Household Composition and Age Distribution

Of the eight counties, Brooklyn had the largest number of Jewish households, followed closely by Manhattan. At the other end of the spectrum, Staten Island had the smallest number of Jewish households. The Bronx and Westchester were closest to Staten Island.

The number of Jewish households in each of the counties of the study area where one or more persons in the household was Jewish is shown in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2. For purposes of this study, a Jewish household was defined as one in which there was at least one self-defined Jew. Thus, an intermarried household was defined as

"Jewish," even though there were one or more persons in it who were not currently Jewish. Two different population figures can be derived: (1) only Jewish persons residing in a household previously defined as Jewish and (2) a larger figure which encompasses non-Jewish persons as well. Both sorts of figures are shown in Table 2.1.

The New York area's nearly 700,000 Jewish households can be divided into recognizable social types of families based on stages in the life cycle—young singles, young couples without children, two and one-parent families with children, mature couples, and mature singles. Such distributions are found in Table 2.3, parts A and B. Table 2.3A gives the number of each type of household found in each of the counties, while Table 2.3B reports percentages.

The largest single group, 208,000 households, was made up of two-parent families with children. The two-parent household was most common in the three suburban counties and Staten Island. Though the three suburban counties accounted for only one-third of the total Jewish population of the area, they held almost half of the households with two-parent, two-generation families. Reflecting the recency of their settlement, over half of the Jewish households in Suffolk and Staten Island were in the "parent" category. Overall, there were 27,300 single-parent households.

The Bronx and Manhattan had the smallest average household sizes, and were most likely to contain single-person households. "Singleness" lies at the extremes of the adult life cycle. For the eight-county area, the number of young singles (under 45) and mature singles (45 and over) was almost equal. Half of the young singles in the eight-county area resided in Manhattan; none of the other counties approached Manhattan either in the proportion or absolute number of young singles. Approximately one-third of all mature singles in the eight-county area also lived in Manhattan. However, the Bronx, followed by Manhattan, had the largest proportion of mature singles relative to the population within the county. Mature couples without children living at home were found most frequently in the older areas of Jewish settlement, i.e., Brooklyn, the Bronx, Queens, Nassau, and Westchester.

The distribution of marital status (Table 2.4) presents patterns which are consistent with the distribution of household types. In each of the counties, the currently married were the most common type. The incidence of marriage was highest in the suburbs and Staten Island, and lowest in Manhattan. Manhattan was the preeminent home of the never-marrieds; very few never-marrieds lived in the suburbs or Staten Island. Manhattan also had a relatively large number and proportion of divorced Jews. The Bronx had a relatively large proportion of widowed Jews, a correlate of the county's age distribution.

Approximately two-thirds of all Jewish households were without children living at home (see Table 2.5). The highest proportions of households without children were in Manhattan and the Bronx, although the factors that were applicable in each case were quite different. At the other end of the spectrum, large families (3 or more children at home) were most frequently found in Staten Island, Suffolk, and Nassau.

Household size and composition tend to reflect age distribution. Overall, the

eight-county area median age for the Jewish population was 40 years; this may be contrasted with medians for the general American population and the general eight-county area population that were, respectively, ten to eight years less. The high Jewish median age was a result of both lower mortality and fertility. The proportion of persons aged 14 and younger in the Jewish community was smaller than in the general population of the eight-county area and the nation, while the proportion aged 55 and older was larger. (See Table 2.6)

The median age of the Jewish population varied by county: the youngest was in Staten Island and Suffolk; the oldest in the Bronx, Queens, and Brooklyn; the other counties fell between these extremes. The rank order of the median ages by county followed in part the relative recency of large-scale Jewish settlement. Staten Island and Suffolk were the two most recent areas of Jewish settlement, and they had the youngest populations. These two counties were followed by the older populations of Nassau and Westchester, which received large influxes of young Jewish families in the post-World War II period. Queens was the next oldest county, having experienced a very sizable Jewish influx in the immediate, post-World War II years. The Bronx was largely an area of second settlement, and its Jewish population reached a maximum size sometime between 1930 and 1940.

Table 2.7A and Table 2.7B present more detailed age distributions by county. The former reports the number of Jewish persons in each age category, while the latter reports their percentages. Senior citizens (65 years of age or older) comprised almost a third of the Jewish population of the Bronx. By contrast, Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Queens each had no more than a fifth of their populations in this age category. In the suburban counties and Staten Island, senior citizens amounted to less than a tenth of the population. As one would expect, Suffolk and Staten Island, the newest areas of settlement, had the highest proportions of dependent children, with approximately two-fifths of each of their Jewish populations under the age of twenty. In Nassau and Westchester the under-20 population was 29 per cent of the total. The other counties ranged from 13 per cent (the Bronx) to 21 per cent (Brooklyn) under-20 population. As was noted above, Manhattan had relatively few young children and large numbers of young singles. Manhattan, followed by Brooklyn and Staten Island, was the home of the young adults (ages 20-34), who were establishing themselves in their careers, and were in the early stages of family formation.

In significant ways, both Manhattan and Brooklyn prove exceptions to the common sense notion of a close connection between current age distribution and historic period of settlement. Manhattan, despite its being the first area of Jewish settlement (the turn-of-the-century Lower East Side received an enormous influx of new Jewish arrivals from abroad) was among the youngest counties in 1981. Brooklyn, with a predominantly second-generation Jewish population that was approximately one-and-one-half times as large as that which existed in the Bronx for many years (roughly from the Depression to the post-World War II period), still retained a very large Jewish population, with substantial numbers of children and young parents.

The Jewish population of the Bronx was less than a quarter of that of Brooklyn, and consisted of disproportionate numbers of the elderly.

The reasons for Manhattan's unique pattern are readily apparent. For over a decade, the county had experienced an influx of socio-economically "upscale" individuals (often singles or young couples) of all ethnic backgrounds. Why Brooklyn's Jewish population decreased very little, while that of the Bronx declined considerably, is more of a mystery. Among the factors that might have played a role here are the substantial number of Orthodox institutions that were historically located in Brooklyn, the availability of private homes in the county to accommodate and anchor an upwardly-mobile Jewish population, and Brooklyn's highly developed infrastructure of general community facilities, including major shopping areas, recreational outlets, and cultural institutions.

Nativity is an important correlate of age. Areas of older settlement would be likely to contain larger first-generation populations, while newer areas would be expected to have more native-born persons, whose parents were also born in the United States. Table 2.8 shows that this is in fact true. The suburbs, Staten Island, and Manhattan had larger proportions of third-generation Jews (native-born individuals with native-born parents), while the areas of second settlement (e.g., the Bronx) had the smallest fraction of third-generation adults.

Jewishness: Identification, Affiliation, and Practice

In this section the Jewishness of the Jewish population of New York will be described from several perspectives. Attention will be given to aspects of religious behavior and identification, affiliation with major communal institutions, Jewish education, relationships with Israel, and relationships with fellow Jews.

Table 3.1 reports eight Jewish rituals and practices in the order of their frequency of observance among Jewish households in greater New York. The most common Jewish observance was attendance at a Passover Seder. The Seder, with its gathering of family and friends, and festive meal, was observed by nine out of ten Jewish households. The wide appeal of the Seder was such that there was little variation by county. Following the Seder were the kindling of Hanukkah candles, having a *mezuzah* on the doorpost, and fasting on Yom Kippur. With the exception of unusually low rates in Manhattan, there was little variation in the proportions observing these practices. (Manhattan is a special case; the county's unconventional family patterns, particularly the absence of children, no doubt helped to depress ritual observance frequencies.) The next three practices—lighting Sabbath candles, having separate meat and dairy dishes, and buying only kosher meat—were observed by substantial minorities (30 per cent to 37 per cent). The most stringent ritual—not handling money on the Sabbath—was practiced by a much smaller group, 12 per cent.

The patterns of ritual observance suggest the existence of subcommunities within New York Jewry. At one end of the spectrum were the traditionalists, who were

strict Sabbath observers. At the other end of the spectrum were the totally secularized Jews, who observed none or few of the rituals. In the middle were the partially traditional Jews. In terms of these loosely constructed categories, Manhattan had the highest proportion of secularized Jews, while Brooklyn was home to the highest proportion of fully traditional Jews. The Bronx, Queens, and Staten Island were closer to the traditional pole, while the suburban counties leaned toward the secular end of the spectrum.

Turning to the service attendance data (Table 3.2), as many as 30 per cent of adult men and women never attended synagogue services. At the same time, one-seventh of the men, and one in twelve women, reported attending synagogue services at least weekly. The world of daily, public Jewish worship was largely a man's world. Consistent with the other ritual observances, Manhattan had the highest proportion of those who never attended synagogue services, while Brooklyn had the highest proportion of regular weekly and daily worshippers.

Two in five New York area Jewish households reported belonging to a synagogue. (Data not shown.) This percentage is somewhat higher than expected, although Jewish community studies in other cities generally report even higher rates of synagogue membership. It is important to note that some individuals may simply have attended synagogue services and participated in synagogue activities without being dues-paying members.

Manhattan reported the lowest level of affiliation. The suburbs, despite their relatively low rates of ritual observance and synagogue attendance, had high rates of synagogue membership—in two instances higher than that of traditionalist Brooklyn. Clearly, suburban Jews reflected the middle-class suburban penchant for joining voluntary organizations, especially religious congregations.

Area-wide, one out of eight Jewish households reported belonging to a YMHA or Jewish community center. There was little variation between counties.

New York Jews had little trouble in using denominational labels to describe their Jewishness. (See Table 3.3) Overall, more than three-fourths of New York Jews identified with one of the three large denominational movements. The largest single group claimed allegiance to Conservative Judaism. This was followed by the Reform Jews, and, finally, the Orthodox. Manhattanites, with their low levels of ritual observance, were twice as likely as all others to reject identification with a major denomination. Identification as Reform Jews occurred most frequently in the suburbs, where Orthodox adherents were least likely to be found. Orthodoxy was most common in the Bronx and Brooklyn; the latter county, with its large population, was the demographic "heartland" of New York's Orthodox community. Conservative Jews were fairly evenly distributed throughout the suburbs and in the city proper.

The maintenance of a large network of Jewish social, religious, and cultural services in New York is made possible by voluntary contributions. Historically, such philanthropic contributions have been an integral part of Jewish communal life. (See Table 3.4) One in four New York Jewish households reported having made a

contribution of \$25 or more to the UJA/Federation campaign during the previous year, and almost half reported contributions of \$25 or more to other Jewish causes, excluding synagogues. Over 60 per cent of Jewish households reported giving \$25 or more to non-sectarian causes. Westchester and Nassau, with their affluence and high rates of synagogue affiliation, had the highest proportions of UJA/Federation givers, while Brooklyn and the Bronx—two of the poorer counties—had the lowest. Manhattan was home to many economically comfortable Jews, but, because they tended to be secularized and unaffiliated, the county had a relatively low level of UJA/Federation giving.

Two crucial indicators of Jewishness within the family are rates of intermarriage and the kinds of Jewish education given to children. Intermarriage is here defined as marriage to a spouse who is *currently* not Jewish; where an originally non-Jewish spouse converted (formally or not) to Judaism, the household is *not* defined as intermarried. Area-wide, one out of ten Jewish households was intermarried. The intermarried were most common in Staten Island (18 per cent) and Suffolk (22 per cent), the two counties of newest settlement, as well as in secularized Manhattan (19 per cent); they were less common in Queens (7) and Brooklyn (6), the Bronx (9), Westchester (11), and Nassau (9). Analysis (not shown) indicates that intermarriage was more prevalent among younger Jews; the number of intermarriages among recently married couples was certainly higher than the composite figures reported here.

An estimated 67,000 Jewish children (48 per cent of all children attending a Jewish school) were reported to be enrolled in either a yeshivah or a day school. Over half (35,000 or 52 per cent) of all yeshivah/day school enrollment was in Brooklyn, with another 9,000 (13 per cent) in Queens. The yeshivah/day school enrollment data are consistent with other reliable studies on pupil enrollment in the New York area.

An estimated 52,000 (37 per cent) children were enrolled in supplementary afternoon schools (Hebrew schools or talmud torahs), and another 22,000 (16 per cent) in Sunday schools. Over 70 per cent of the Sunday school enrollment was in the suburbs, reflecting the suburban strength of Reform temples, which were the major sponsors of Sunday schools. Afternoon school enrollments were evenly distributed between the suburbs and city. The reported supplementary school data appear to be somewhat higher than currently collected school enrollment figures. This apparent discrepancy might be explained by the inclusion by survey respondents of informal Jewish education, such as private tutoring, community center educational programs, and bar/bat mitzvah lessons.

The respondents were asked to indicate whether they had been exposed to one or another form of Jewish schooling when they were children. About two-thirds reported that they had received some formal Jewish education. Almost half of the total (46 per cent) went to Hebrew school or some other part-time institution. About one in nine (11 per cent) attended Sunday school. Another one in nine studied in yeshivah, day school, or other full-time Jewish educational institution (Table 3.5).

Because of the association of certain types of Jewish schools with particular denominations, it is not surprising that the geographic distribution of the alumni of the schools roughly paralleled the distribution of the self-designated members of the various denominations. Thus, the highest proportion of yeshivah/day school-trained respondents within a county—21 per cent—was found in Brooklyn, which contained the largest proportion of Orthodox Jews. The percentage having attended Hebrew school was fairly uniform in six of the counties, ranging between 43 per cent and 52 per cent; it was highest in Suffolk (55 per cent), and lowest in Brooklyn (37 per cent). Sunday school alumni percentages also varied across the eight counties.

Social science research has demonstrated the remarkable extent to which American Jews restrict their friendship choices to their own group. Jews, in fact, do so more than any other white ethnic group. Many Jews tend to concentrate in certain neighborhoods for economic, cultural, and ethnic reasons. Moreover, American Jews have distinctive patterns of educational attainment, occupational achievement, and income. As a result, when Jews look for friends or marriage partners within their neighborhoods, professional communities, or social circles, they often encounter other Jews, even if they have no special desire to do so.

In line with these considerations, a full 70 per cent of the respondents stated that their three closest friends were Jewish. (Data not shown.) The patterns of inter-county variation in the rate of in-group friendship paralleled the patterns of intermarriage discussed above. Brooklyn, the Bronx, Queens, and Nassau had both the lowest rates of intermarriage and the highest rates of in-group friendship; at least three-quarters (71 per cent to 82 per cent) of the respondents in each of these counties reported that their three closest friends were Jewish. Westchester, which had an intermediate rate of intermarriage, exhibited an intermediate rate of in-group friendship (63 per cent). Conversely, in the areas of recent Jewish settlement—Manhattan, Staten Island, and Suffolk—where there were higher than average rates of intermarriage, there were also lower rates of in-group friendship; in these areas, roughly half of the respondents (48–57 per cent) reported that their three closest friends were Jewish.

The survey questioned respondents about their Jewish newspaper reading habits. Over the entire region, three households in ten (32 per cent) received at least one Anglo-Jewish paper, with *Jewish Week* and *Jewish Press* being read in roughly equal proportions (15 per cent and 13 per cent). The extent of Jewish newspaper readership varied geographically. It was lowest in the three counties of most recent Jewish settlement—Staten Island (16 per cent), Manhattan (24 per cent), and Suffolk (26 per cent). Queens, Brooklyn, and Nassau had the highest percentages of Jewish newspaper readership. (Table 3.6)

Particularly since 1967, Israel has come to occupy a central place in the religious and ethnic identity of American Jews. This has prompted participation in several activities connected with the Jewish state. Among New York area adult Jews, 37 per cent had visited Israel at least once, while 15 per cent had been there at least

twice. Eighteen per cent of the respondents reported that they had considered settling in Israel.

Education, Occupation, and Income

Various studies have documented the extraordinary socio-economic success of American Jewry. Still, there are poor Jews. The educational attainment, employment, and income data presented below reveal the reality of many poor and working-class Jews existing in a community with remarkably high overall averages in the major dimensions of status attainment.

In the United States generally, one in six adults, aged 25 years or older, has completed four or more years of higher education. In contrast, more than half (see Table 4.1) of the New York area Jewish heads of households had done so. Among Jewish male heads of households, four per cent held medical or dental degrees, and three per cent had Ph.D.'s or Ed.D.'s. This was substantially higher than the national pattern.

There was considerable inter-county variation with regard to education. Thus, 36 per cent of the male heads of households in Manhattan had graduate degrees, while in the suburban counties, the figures ran from 26 per cent to 37 per cent. The proportions were lower in Staten Island (23 per cent), and Queens (19 per cent), and lowest in the Bronx (14 per cent) and Brooklyn (12 per cent). Conversely, the majority of men in Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx did not have college degrees; comparable proportions in the other counties were no greater than 39 per cent.

As is true of American women generally, Jewish women had slightly lower levels of education than their male counterparts. However, the educational attainment of New York Jewish women was significantly greater than that of other American women. The county variations in educational attainment were the same for women as for men.

Employment patterns reflected inter-county variations in age, family structure, and values. Table 4.2 reports employment figures as proportions of all adults. As shown in the table, 75 per cent of adult male heads of households and 37 per cent of adult female heads of households were employed full-time. Of this full-time employed group, two out of five males and one out of six females were self-employed, as compared with under seven per cent in the total national labor force. Self-employment among men was particularly high in Nassau and particularly low in Staten Island. Among women, the highest rates of self-employment were in Manhattan and Westchester.

Over a third of Jewish men in the Bronx were retired, as were more than one-fifth in Brooklyn and Queens. In the other counties, the male retirement rate was substantially lower.

Women displayed a different employment picture than men. Fourteen per cent of the women were employed part-time, as compared with four per cent of the men. A fourth of the women were full-time homemakers. The full-time employment rates

for women were fairly uniform (about 37 per cent), except for the high rate in Manhattan, where over half of Jewish women worked full-time. As might be expected, female retirement rates paralleled those of men, and reflected the age structure of women; they were highest in the Bronx, relatively high in Brooklyn, Queens, and Manhattan, and significantly lower in Staten Island and the suburban counties.

The income figures (Table 4.3) display many of the central themes already noted in this section. Overall, the Jewish median income of \$34,000 far exceeded the national median (1980 census) of nearly \$20,000. The highest median incomes were in Westchester and Nassau, and the lowest in Brooklyn. The data reveal large numbers of lower-income Jewish households; 27 per cent (196,000) of the households in the eight county area were earning under \$20,000, while 11 per cent (83,000) were earning below \$10,000. (Table 4.3A)

A useful way of looking at incomes is to divide the population into four groups of equal size, following the rank order of income, with the poorest people at the bottom, and the richest at the top. The first quartile figure is the income of the household that stands exactly one-fourth the way up the scale. The median is the middle of the distribution, where 50 per cent of the population have incomes equal to or less than the median household, and 50 per cent have more. The third quartile number is the income of the household which stands three-fourths the way up the scale; 75 per cent of the households have incomes at or below that figure, while 25 per cent have incomes higher than the figure.

Table 4.3B, reporting first quartile, median, and third quartile incomes, summarizes the income data and readily facilitates cross-county comparisons. The first quartile figures give some idea of the distribution of lower-income families. Brooklyn and the Bronx, with first quartile figures of \$13,000 each, had the highest proportions of low-income households among the eight counties. The first quartile figures were highest in the three suburban counties; in Nassau, for example, the first quartile level reached \$35,000, a figure in excess of the eight-county median.

The third quartile figures indicate the distribution of affluent Jews. Two of the three suburban counties—Westchester and Nassau—reported the highest third quartiles; at least a quarter of all Jewish households in these counties earned incomes of more than \$60,000. Manhattan and Suffolk were close behind; third quartiles in these counties were about \$50,000. At the other end of the spectrum were Brooklyn and the Bronx, in which the top quarter of the income distributions were \$35,000. Queens and Staten Island had relatively few households at either end of the income distribution spectrum; they were disproportionately middle income.

The sizable number of households earning under \$10,000 suggests that a large number of Jews were living at or near the poverty line. The extent to which these Jews were suffering economic deprivation was, of course, partly dependent on the size of their families. Table 4.4 (A and B) presents the distribution of income within household size categories, first in absolute numbers and then in percentages. Low-income households tended to be small households. Almost 24 per cent of single-person households earned under \$10,000, as against 10 per cent of two-person

households, and five to six per cent of larger households. There were 25,900 two-person households earning \$10,000 or less. In addition, 14,900 households of three or more persons earned less than \$10,000. Another 27,700 households of three or more persons earned less than \$20,000.

In general, over four-fifths of three-or-more person households earned at least \$20,000 (the approximate national median), and almost half earned over \$40,000. In contrast, only about half of the single-person households earned over \$20,000, and only 12 per cent earned over \$40,000. Part of the reason for the higher incomes of the larger households was that some contained two wage earners, many of whom were approaching their peak earning potential.

Neighborhoods

Table 5.1 reports on length of neighborhood residence within each of the eight counties. There were considerable variations with regard to neighborhood newcomers (those resident five years or less) and neighborhood veterans (those resident 16 years or more). Newcomers were most in evidence in Staten Island, Manhattan, and Suffolk. The Bronx contained the smallest group of newcomers, only 15 per cent. About half of the Jews in Queens and Brooklyn had lived in their neighborhoods for at least 16 years. Somewhat smaller proportions of veterans—about two-fifths—were found in the Bronx, Nassau, and Westchester. The smallest proportions of long-term Jewish residents were found in Staten Island (nine per cent) and Suffolk (14 per cent).

Almost a third of the area's Jews resided in single-family homes (data not shown). Nearly half of New York's Jewish households owned the house or cooperative apartment in which they lived. Again, there was substantial variation between counties. Both Manhattan and the Bronx consisted almost entirely of apartment dwellers. On the other hand, Nassau, Suffolk, and Staten Island had few multiple-dwelling unit households. Westchester had a substantial minority (34 per cent) of apartment dwellers, while slim majorities in Brooklyn and Queens lived in apartments. The three suburban counties and Staten Island contained majorities living in one-family homes. Between a quarter and a third of the Jews in Staten Island and Brooklyn lived in two-family homes, a pattern undoubtedly reflecting their more modest economic means.

The inter-county variations in monthly housing costs probably reflected several factors, including differentials in income, large discrepancies in costs between owners and renters (owners spent about 50 per cent more on their dwellings every month), and differences in time of home purchase or in-migration. Average monthly, county housing costs among owners (data not shown) were highest in the three suburban counties and Manhattan (over \$700), and lowest in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens (between \$390 and \$480). Staten Island showed a figure of \$550 in owners' costs. Interestingly, there was relatively little inter-county variation in average renters' costs, which ranged from the mid-\$300's in Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Staten Island, to \$500 or more in Manhattan and Nassau.

Table 5.2 presents the reactions of heads of households to questions about neighborhood safety and cleanliness. In all, about one-fourth of the sample reported that they were very satisfied with the safety and cleanliness of their streets. As would be expected, suburbanites registered the highest proportions of very satisfied householders; they were followed at some distance by residents of Staten Island and Queens. Inhabitants of the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Manhattan expressed the lowest rates of satisfaction.

The suburban residents overwhelmingly expected their neighborhoods not to change for the worse (Table 5.3). A large fraction of householders in Queens, Brooklyn, and the Bronx expected conditions to worsen, with Bronx residents being particularly concerned about the future. Two-fifths of Manhattan residents expected conditions to improve.

While clean and safe streets are of concern to all residents of a community, certain specifically Jewish neighborhood characteristics interest Jewish families. The respondents were asked whether these Jewish attributes of neighborhoods were very important, somewhat important, or not important, in making a neighborhood attractive to themselves and their households. Over half of the people interviewed said that a sizeable number of Jews in a neighborhood was a very important factor, and another 30 per cent said that it was somewhat important. Jews in Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Queens were most desirous of a sizeable number of Jews in a neighborhood. They were followed by the three suburban counties and Staten Island. Manhattan had by far the smallest proportion of individuals expressing a preference for Jewish neighbors. Living near a synagogue had a similar rank order by county, though the proportions calling it very important and somewhat important were smaller. Still fewer Jews found living near a Jewish "Y" or a community center very or somewhat important, though here too the rank order by county remained the same.

When asked if they were looking for a new place to live, 21 per cent of Bronx residents said yes, while in the other counties the proportions responding affirmatively ranged from 10 per cent to 14 per cent (data not shown). Fully 37 per cent of Jews in the Bronx did not expect to be residing in the same neighborhood three years into the future, as compared with 18 per cent to 26 per cent of Jews in the other counties.

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TABLE 1.1 ESTIMATES OF JEWISH POPULATION

	State of New York					Suburban Subtotals	Total			
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island					
All persons (U.S. census)	1,169,100	2,230,900	1,427,500	1,891,300	352,100	1,321,600	7,070,900	3,472,400	10,543,300	
Total number of Jewish persons*	95,800	412,900	276,300	317,100	31,000	308,300	106,200	123,100	537,600	1,670,700
Jewish persons as per cent of all persons	8	19	19	17	9	23	8	14	15	16
County's per cent of total of eight- county Jewish persons	6	25	17	19	2	18	6	7	32	100

*Includes Jewish persons in households and group quarters

TABLE 2.1 JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	Westchester	Total
Total number of Jewish households	45,100	166,200	157,900	134,500	10,200	107,000	34,400	44,500	699,800
Average number of persons in Jewish households	2.14	2.52	1.88	2.42	3.25	3.09	3.38	2.84	2.49
Total number of persons in Jewish households	96,500	418,800	296,900	325,500	33,200	330,600	116,300	126,400	1,742,500
Average number of Jews in Jewish households	2.08	2.46	1.70	2.33	2.97	2.84	3.01	2.69	2.35
Total number of Jews in Jewish households	93,700	409,100	267,800	313,700	30,300	304,300	103,700	119,700	1,642,300

TABLE 2.2 JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS AND ALL HOUSEHOLDS

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West- chester	New York City	Suburban Subtotals	Total
All households (U.S. census)	429,200	828,300	704,300	712,000	114,600	423,400	385,700	307,500	2,788,400	1,116,600	3,905,000
Jewish households	45,100	166,200	157,900	134,500	10,200	107,000	34,400	44,500	513,900	185,900	699,800
Jewish households as per cent of all households	11	20	22	19	9	25	9	14	18	17	18
County's per cent of eight-county total of Jewish households	6	24	23	19	1	16	5	6	73	27	100

TABLE 2.3A HOUSEHOLD TYPES, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS

Household Type	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	Westchester	Total*
Young single	4,300	20,500	54,500	17,700	300	8,000	2,300	3,200	110,800
Young couple	3,400	14,700	19,100	12,600	1,300	6,700	3,300	4,200	65,300
Two-parent family	7,500	46,500	21,000	33,100	6,000	53,500	21,800	18,600	208,000
Single-parent family	1,200	7,400	4,700	5,700	400	4,600	1,700	1,600	27,300
Mature couple	14,500	45,700	25,300	45,700	1,300	30,100	4,100	12,500	179,200
Mature single	11,500	30,400	33,200	19,200	800	4,100	1,200	4,400	104,800
Total	42,400	165,200	157,800	134,000	10,100	107,000	34,400	44,500	695,400

Key:

Young single—not married, under 45 years of age.

Young couple—married, no children, under 45 years of age.

Two-parent family—married, children at home, any age.

Single-parent family—not married, children at home, any age.

Mature couple—married, no children at home, 45 years of age or older.

Mature single—not married, 45 years of age or older.

*Non-responses are excluded. As a result, totals are slightly below those in Table 2.1.

TABLE 2.4 MARITAL STATUS CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Current Status	Staten Island							Westchester	Total
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Island	Nassau	Suffolk		
Never married	12	12	33	12	3	6	4	6	15
Married	61	66	41	69	85	85	85	79	66
Divorced	3	4	13	5	5	4	7	4	6
Separated	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	2
Widowed	23	15	11	12	6	4	3	10	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Percentages of Those Ever Married	Staten Island							Westchester	Total
Per cent ever divorced	9	11	32	13	14	13	16	12	16
Per cent ever widowed	29	21	20	17	6	6	5	15	17

TABLE 2.6 COMPARISON OF POPULATION BY AGE CATEGORY, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Ages	Total U.S. (Census)	Eight-County Area (Census)	Total Eight-County New York Area Jews Per Population Study
0-14	23	21	16
15-54	56	56	55
55+	21	23	29
Total	100	100	100

TABLE 2.7A AGE DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH PERSONS, NUMBER OF PERSONS

Agers	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	Westchester	Total*
0-4	2,700	21,800	9,200	8,300	2,500	14,700	6,500	5,200	70,900
5-9	1,700	27,000	5,600	8,800	2,700	17,400	11,800	6,900	81,900
10-14	2,500	20,400	11,000	16,400	3,200	24,400	13,700	11,700	103,300
15-19	4,000	17,800	12,100	18,800	3,100	33,600	12,600	10,700	112,700
20-24	5,700	28,600	25,200	23,400	1,700	28,200	4,300	4,600	121,700
25-34	9,100	65,700	58,800	39,100	5,000	35,400	15,100	14,500	242,700
35-44	4,900	26,500	44,900	24,400	5,400	39,800	22,000	17,800	185,700
45-54	11,300	45,700	26,700	39,800	2,600	52,700	12,600	17,000	208,400
55-64	14,000	52,400	30,600	59,900	1,800	52,400	5,900	19,100	236,100
65-74	14,800	49,900	28,000	37,600	1,000	8,800	2,100	6,600	148,800
75+	10,400	23,100	18,300	19,300	600	4,200	800	2,000	78,700
Total	81,100	378,900	270,400	295,800	29,600	311,600	107,400	116,100	1,590,900

*Non-responses excluded. Totals are less than those in Table 2.1

TABLE 2.7B AGE DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH PERSONS, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Ages	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	Westchester	Total
0-4	3	6	3	3	8	5	6	4	4
5-9	2	7	2	3	9	6	11	6	5
10-14	3	5	4	6	11	8	13	10	7
15-19	5	5	5	6	11	10	12	9	7
20-24	7	8	9	8	6	9	4	4	8
25-34	11	17	22	13	17	11	14	12	15
35-44	6	7	17	8	18	13	20	15	12
45-54	14	12	10	13	9	17	12	15	13
55-64	17	14	11	20	6	17	5	17	15
65-74	19	13	10	13	3	3	2	6	9
75+	13	6	7	7	2	1	1	2	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 2.8 GENERATION OF ADULT RESPONDENTS, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	Westchester	Total
First	22	29	16	19	13	4	6	8	17
Second	59	51	41	53	43	55	38	47	49
Third	19	20	43	28	44	41	56	45	34
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Key:

First—foreign born.

Second—U.S. (or Canadian) born, foreign born parents.

Third—U.S. (or Canadian) born of U.S. (or Canadian) born parents.

TABLE 3.1 RITUAL PRACTICES IN THE HOUSEHOLD, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	Westchester	Total
Attends a Seder	88	91	83	90	88	93	92	96	89
Lights Hanukkah candles	81	81	57	80	85	83	83	81	76
Has <i>mezuzah</i> on front door	78	83	44	75	74	78	72	69	70
Fasts on Yom Kippur	72	74	53	72	72	70	72	64	67
Lights Sabbath candles	41	54	21	41	33	32	27	35	37
Buys only kosher meat	52	59	17	44	34	23	17	20	36
Uses two sets of dishes	39	50	16	36	33	15	17	19	30
Handles no money on Sabbath	16	24	8	14	10	4	3	4	12

TABLE 3.2 RELIGIOUS SERVICE ATTENDANCE OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS AND SPOUSES, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Men	Staten Island					Westchester					
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Nassau	Suffolk	Suffolk	Nassau	Staten Island	Westchester	Total
Never	24	23	42	30	28	35	22	22	34	28	30
High holy days only	31	29	23	25	26	22	24	24	24	26	25
Few times per year	23	18	17	20	30	24	29	29	18	30	22
1-3 times per month	6	5	8	8	10	14	19	19	8	10	9
Weekly	9	10	5	10	4	4	4	4	9	4	7
2 or more times per week	7	15	5	7	2	1	2	2	7	2	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Women	Staten Island					Westchester					
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Nassau	Suffolk	Suffolk	Nassau	Staten Island	Westchester	Total
Never	32	22	44	28	25	35	26	25	38	25	30
High holy days only	31	33	23	30	29	20	24	29	25	29	28
Few times per year	21	25	17	22	30	25	29	30	17	30	24
1-3 times per month	9	9	10	9	11	15	16	11	11	11	10
Weekly	6	9	6	10	3	4	5	3	8	3	7
2 or more times per week	1	2	*	1	2	1	*	2	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

TABLE 3.3 DENOMINATIONAL SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Staten Island							Westchester	Total
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Nassau	Suffolk	Westchester		
Orthodox	20	27	8	12	3	2	5	13	
Conservative	38	35	23	48	37	41	36	35	
Reform	23	22	28	22	43	37	42	29	
Other*	19	16	41	18	17	20	17	23	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

*Includes those who do not identify with specific religious movements but define themselves as ethnically or culturally Jewish.

TABLE 3.4 PHILANTHROPIC GIVING, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	Westchester	Total
<u>UJA-Federation</u>									
<u>Campaign</u>									
\$26-\$299	16	16	17	21	23	20	18	23	19
\$300+	3	1	8	7	3	11	5	15	7
<u>Other Jewish causes*</u>									
\$26-\$299	36	30	24	33	37	33	32	36	31
\$300+	10	13	18	20	15	18	14	26	17
<u>Non-sectarian causes</u>									
\$26-\$299	42	35	31	36	39	36	44	29	35
\$300+	16	20	34	29	30	31	26	44	28

*Does not include synagogue membership fees and contributions.

TABLE 3.5 JEWISH SCHOOLING OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AS A CHILD, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Staten Island					Westchester	Total
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Nassau		
Yeshivah or day school	11	21	9	11	4	4	11
Hebrew school	49	37	43	49	52	49	46
Sunday school	8	6	18	7	14	11	11
Other	5	7	5	7	4	3	6
None	27	29	25	26	26	26	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 3.6 OTHER MEASURES OF JEWISH IDENTIFICATION

	Staten Island					Westchester	Total
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Nassau		
Reads at least one Jewish newspaper	31	40	24	38	32	31	32
Visited Israel at least once	33	39	44	39	31	39	37
Considered settling in Israel	15	21	20	20	10	8	18

TABLE 4.2 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Men	Staten Island						Westchester	Total
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Nassau	Suffolk		
Self-employed full-time	18	23	31	25	47	34	30	
Other full-time	39	41	47	44	44	56	45	
Part-time	4	5	6	4	1	2	1	
Retired	35	25	11	21	5	6	16	
Other*	4	6	5	6	3	2	5	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Women	Staten Island						Westchester	Total
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Nassau	Suffolk		
Self-employed full-time	3	3	11	4	4	6	5	
Other full-time	27	28	40	32	31	33	32	
Part-time	12	10	11	11	21	16	14	
Homemaker	16	30	14	27	34	34	26	
Retired	32	23	18	19	6	6	17	
Other*	10	6	6	7	4	5	6	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	

*The "other" category includes student, unemployed, and disabled.

Note: The employment categories are treated as mutually exclusive. They are also ranked as to participation in the labor force.

TABLE 4.3A HOUSEHOLD INCOMES, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Income Category	Staten Island					Westchester	Total
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Nassau		
Under \$10,000	18	20	9	13	4	3	11
10,000-19,999	17	28	15	14	4	11	16
20,000-29,999	32	20	18	24	14	13	20
30,000-39,999	16	15	15	21	15	11	17
40,000-49,999	10	14	17	17	19	17	16
50,000-59,999	3	2	4	5	17	11	6
60,000+	4	1	22	6	27	34	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 4.3B FIRST QUARTILE, MEDIAN, AND THIRD QUARTILE HOUSEHOLD INCOMES, IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS

	Staten Island					Westchester	Total
	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Nassau		
First quartile	\$13	\$13	\$22	\$18	\$35	\$27	\$18
Median	25	22	35	28	50	50	34
Third quartile	35	35	52	43	61	70	50

Note: The first quartile figure is the income of the household that stands at exactly one-fourth up the ladder. That is, 25 per cent of the population have incomes at or below the first quartile figure. The median is the middle of the distribution where 50 per cent of the population have incomes equal to or less than the median household and 50 per cent have more. The third quartile number is the income of the household which is three-fourths up the scale such that 75 per cent of the households have incomes at or below that figure and 25 per cent have incomes higher than that figure.

TABLE 4.4A INCOME BY SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD, NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

Income Category	<u>Size of Household</u>				Total
	1	2	3-4	5+	
Under \$10,000	38,700	25,900	11,800	3,100	79,500
10,000-19,999	42,800	38,800	21,600	6,100	109,300
20,000-39,999	58,100	96,400	77,300	20,100	251,900
40,000+	19,500	104,800	104,300	25,600	254,200
Total	159,100	265,900	215,000	54,900	694,900

TABLE 4.4B INCOME BY SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Income Category	<u>Size of Household</u>				Total
	1	2	3-4	5+	
Under \$10,000	24	10	5	6	11
10,000-19,999	27	15	10	11	16
20,000-39,999	37	36	36	37	36
40,000+	12	39	49	46	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 5.1 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN NEIGHBORHOOD, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	Westchester	Total
0-5 years	15	22	37	23	47	27	32	21	27
6-15 years	42	30	32	25	44	32	54	40	32
16 or more years	43	48	31	52	9	41	14	39	41
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 5.2 NEIGHBORHOOD EVALUATION AND CRITERIA, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL, VERY SATISFIED

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	Westchester	Total
Safety	10	10	17	16	30	46	47	53	23
Cleanliness	18	14	11	25	30	60	59	58	28

TABLE 5.3 WHAT RESPONDENTS EXPECT THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS TO BE LIKE THREE YEARS HENCE, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	Westchester	Total
Better	7	12	40	9	18	17	21	9	19
Same	46	58	47	65	72	76	72	78	61
Worse	47	30	13	26	10	7	7	13	20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 5.4 WHAT RESPONDENTS LOOK FOR IN CHOOSING A NEIGHBORHOOD, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL, VERY IMPORTANT

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	Westchester	Total
Sizeable number of Jews	68	70	32	61	50	49	40	48	53
Near synagogue	49	55	23	44	43	35	32	38	39
Near YMHA	28	27	11	23	23	9	21	16	19