

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

- This report investigates how Jews who do join synagogues and/or Jewish organizations differ from those who do not affiliate.
- The affiliated Jew is married to another Jew, usually has children, is a manager, doctor, or in sales, is self-employed, and has been a Denver area resident for 10 years or more.
- Nearly 40 per cent of Jewish households claim current synagogue membership. Fifteen per cent claim previous membership. This leaves 45 per cent who have never held a synagogue membership.
- Forty-two per cent of the Jewish households are not currently married. When these singles do affiliate with something Jewish they tend to join a "singles group."
- Where a Jew is married to a non-Jew that household is far less likely to be affiliated with a Jewish organization or religious institution.
- Affiliation with traditional women's organizations is much higher for women age 50 and over.

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INTRODUCTION

There are two levels of "Jewish community" in Denver. The larger level is the community made up of all Jewish households in Denver. This is the community that was surveyed, the community to which the Federation provides services, and the community toward which the Federation directs its planning efforts. Within the larger community there is another level of community sometimes called the "organized Jewish community" that consists of the institutions and organizations to which members of the larger community belong. This report on affiliation examines the degree to which the members of the Jewish community at large belong to or "affiliate with" the variety of organizations and institutions that make up the "organized Jewish community."

This report is intended for use by Jewish organizations, synagogues, and Federation. All three of these sectors of the organized Jewish community wish to know about affiliation for purposes of outreach, membership and community building. The basic question addressed in the report is: WHO JOINS JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS AND SYNAGOGUES AND HOW ARE THEY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE WHO DO NOT JOIN SYNAGOGUES OR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, AND TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THE MEMBERS OF SYNAGOGUES AND THE MEMBERS OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS THE SAME POPULATION? Jewish organizations are covered in Part I, and synagogues in Part II.

The findings for both synagogue and organizational affiliation are reported at two levels of analysis--individual and household--depending at which level the data were collected. Questions asked of both respondent and spouse are analyzed at the individual level (for example, sex, type of Jewish organizations, and Jewish self-identification). Questions asked about the household itself (such as synagogue membership) constitute the household level of analysis.

I. JEWISH MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATION

A Jewish membership organization is defined as anything to which someone belongs that is not a synagogue per se. The question was phrased as follows in the survey questionnaire:

"Now I would like to ask you about clubs and organizations to which you (or your husband/wife) might belong? Do you (yourself) belong to any Jewish clubs or organizations?"

If the respondent was married, the same question was repeated for the spouse. Up to three actual organizations were recorded for each respondent and spouse. The total number of Jewish organizations or clubs given was then computed for the household as a whole, with the largest number being six for a couple and three for an unmarried head.

Four variables are examined at the household level of analysis: intermarriage status (for couples), the length of time the household has resided in Denver, family structure of household, and household income. At the individual level the organizational patterns of men

and women are compared, with particular attention paid to the joint influence of age, education, occupation and sex on both the number and kinds of organizations joined.

A. Household Affiliation

1. Intermarriage

Previous reports have already demonstrated that there are significant differences among in-marriages (born Jews married to born Jews), conversionary-marriages (born Jew married to converted Jew) and intermarriages (born Jew married to non-Jew) with regard to Jewish giving and enrollment of children in religious school. Thus, the logical starting point here is to examine the relationship between intermarriage and organization affiliation. As Table 1 demonstrates, that relationship is significant. The most likely to belong to Jewish clubs and organizations are Jews married to Jews, followed by Jews married to converted Jews, with born Jews married to non-Jews the least likely to be so affiliated: 65 per cent of the in-marriages, 42 per cent of the conversionary marriages, and 14 per cent of the intermarriages belong to at least one Jewish organization.

Since intermarriage is related to age, Table 2 repeats Table 1 controlling for age to ensure that the difference in affiliation among the three intermarriage statuses are not simply reflections of mutual age differences. Within each age group the in-marrieds are far more likely to be affiliated with a Jewish organization than are the inter-marrieds. There are not enough marriages between born Jews and converted Jews to make that comparison meaningful except for the 30-39 year old age cohort where, interestingly, the born-Jews married to other born-Jews are still more likely to be organizationally involved than born-Jews married to converted Jews. The in-married couples are also more likely to belong to a greater number of Jewish organizations.

The reason for this disparity is not at this point clear. It could be that intermarrieds and conversionary marrieds are less attracted to Jewish organizations, or it could be that they are made to feel less welcome. This question will be explored further in a future report on intermarriage.

2. Family Structure and Age

The intermarried couples are not included in the rest of the household analysis since their overall rate of organizational affiliation is so low. While it would be interesting to compare in-married and conversionary-married couples with each other, the small number of conversionary-marriages make this impossible and they are included with the

TABLE 1. AFFILIATION WITH A JEWISH ORGANIZATION BY INTERMARRIAGE STATUS

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Intermarriage Status		
	Born-Jew & Born-Jew	Born-Jew & Non-Jew	Born-Jew & Convert
None	35.4	86.4	57.9
1-3	45.2	12.4	39.5
4-6	19.4	1.2	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

CHI Square = 1.30

P .001

TABLE 2. AFFILIATION WITH JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS BY INTERMARRIAGE CONTROLLING FOR AGE

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Age of Respondent								
	18-29			30-39			40-49		
	BJ- RJ	BJ- NJ	BJ- Con	BJ- BJ	BJ- NJ	BJ- Con	BJ- BJ	BJ- NJ	BJ- Con
None	57.4	93.6	x	37.0	85.0	56.7	39.4	88.1	x
1-3	41.9	6.4	x	48.4	14.0	43.3	49.8	11.9	x
4-6	0.7	0.0	x	14.6	0.0	0.0	10.8	0.0	x
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=26	N=80	N=6	N=71	N=76	N=20	N=63	N=10	N=3

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Age of Respondent		
	50+		
	BJ- BJ	BJ- NJ	BJ- Con
None	29.2	62.9	x
1-3	42.4	27.6	x
4-6	28.4	9.6	x
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=153	N=24	N=5

CODE

BJ-BJ Born Jew Married to Born Jew

BJ-NJ Born Jew Married to Non_Jew

BJ-Con Born Jew Married to Convert

x = Too few cases

in-marrieds. From a religious point of view this is appropriate because converted Jews, while sociologically different from born Jews, share the same religious status .

Age and family structure are related to each other (e.g. younger households tend to be single, older households tend to be married without children) and thus these two variables are considered together (Tables 3 and 4 respectively). Younger households are less likely to belong to Jewish organizations than older households: 26 per cent of the under-30 households belong to one or more Jewish organizations as compared with 62 per cent of the over-50 households and 48 per cent of the households headed by a respondent between 40 and 49 years of age. The number of organizational memberships also varies by age, with 18 per cent of the over-50 households belonging to four or more Jewish organizations as compared with 8 per cent of the 40-49 year old households and 6 per cent of the 30-39 year old households.

Affiliation differences are also found among five household types in Table 4: 1) single, never married and couples living together; 2) single-parent families; 3) divorced and widowed household heads without children; 4) married couples with children under 18, and 5) married couples without children under 18. The most likely to belong to Jewish organizations are married couples with no children: 70 per cent of them have such an affiliation, and 22 per cent belong to four or more Jewish organizations. Nuclear families are the next most affiliated: 46 per cent belong to at least one Jewish organization, and 10 per cent belong to four or more. Widowed and divorced households follow closely behind the married couples without children: 42 per cent belong to one or more Jewish organizations. Divorced and widowed households do belong to fewer organizations than do married couples with children, but they also have one less adult to be counted.

The single parent households and the single, never married households are the least likely to belong to Jewish organizations. 24 per cent of the former and 20 per cent of the latter belong to one or more Jewish organizations. The low rate of single parent household affiliation stands in sharp contrast with the two other household types that share a common characteristic with them: married couples with children and other previously married (i.e. divorced and widowed) households without children. We do not know about the previous organizational affiliations for single parent households when they were married couples with children, thus we cannot say whether affiliation dropped as a result of the divorce. Still, the single parent family is uniquely unaffiliated, particularly in comparison with married couples who have children and previously married individuals who do not. Since

TABLE 3. AFFILIATION WITH JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS BY AGE OF RESPONDENT (BORN-JEWS AND CONVERTS ONLY)

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Age of Respondent			
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50+
None	73.6	61.6	52.3	38.1
1-3	26.3	32.7	39.8	44.1
1-6	0.1	5.7	7.9	17.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=161	N=182	N=95	N=249

CHI Square = 71.9

P .001

TABLE 4. AFFILIATION WITH JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS BY FAMILY STRUCTURE

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Family Structure				
	Single/ Living Together	Single- Parent Family	Divorced/ Widowed	Married Couple With No Children	Married Couple With Children
None	76.4	80.0	57.8	30.0	53.6
1-3	23.6	20.0	41.4	47.7	36.1
4-6	0.0	0.0	0.9	22.3	10.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=180	N=36	N=111	N=205	N=154

CHI Square = 129.0

P .0001

family structure is related to age, the question arises as to whether the differences in organizational affiliations are due to family structure, to age, or to both. In other words, are married couples with children more likely than single, never married households to belong to Jewish organizations because they are married with children or because they tend to be older than single-never-married individuals?

Table 5 compares the affiliation patterns of the five family structures above within four age groupings of "cohorts." Because the resulting age and family structure profile is useful to planning and outreach efforts, each of the age cohorts in Table 5 is discussed separately.

The large majority (70 per cent) of the respondents between 18 and 29 are single, never married, which limits the scope of comparison for this age group. Only the married couples with no children under 18 in this age cohort have an affiliation rate above 25 per cent, but there are only 13 such cases. In the 30-39 year old age cohort, where a more substantial distribution of household compositions is found, significant difference in organizational affiliation appear.

In this age cohort, married couples (with or without children) are more likely to belong to Jewish organizations (over 50 per cent) than any of the other household types. While both the married couples are equally likely to belong to Jewish organizations, the married couples with children are more likely to belong to four or more (it should be kept in mind that the married couples in their thirties mostly have children, leaving only 12 married couples without children in this age category).

In the 30-39 age group individuals who have been previously married are less likely to belong to Jewish organizations than are currently married couples: only 13 per cent of divorced and widowed households and 19 per cent of single-parent families have a Jewish organizational affiliation. Single, never married individuals are a little more likely to belong (26 per cent) than are the other single households.

In the 40-49 year old cohort married couples without children are more likely to belong to a Jewish organization (82 per cent) than are married couples with children (40 per cent), although both groups are equally as likely to belong to four or more Jewish organizations (11.3 and 11.8 per cent respectively). The difference remains even when synagogue sisterhoods and brotherhoods are excluded. Why children should deter their parents from organization affiliation is not readily obvious and probably is related to some other factor which must remain outside the scope of the report. Whatever the reason, the deterrent effect of children for

TABLE 5. ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION OF FAMILY STRUCTURE CONTROLLING FOR AGE OF RESPONDENT

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	18-29			
	Single/ Living Together	Single- Parent Family	Divorced/ Widowed	Married Couple With No Children
None	79.5	x	x	76.5
1-3	20.5	x	x	23.5
4-6	0.0	x	x	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=113 N=2 N=9 N=13 N=24

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	30-39			
	Single/ Living Together	Single- Parent Family	Divorced/ Widowed	Married Couple With No Children
None	73.9	81.1	86.8	47.4
1-3	26.1	18.9	13.2	40.5
4-6	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=50 N=19 N=16 N=12 N=85

TABLE 5. (CONTINUED) ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION OF FAMILY STRUCTURE CONTROLLING FOR AGE OF RESPONDENT

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Memberships for Respondent and Spouse	40-49			
	Single/Living Together	Single-Parent Family	Divorced/Widowed	Married Couple With No Children
None	x	86.8	88.7	18.5
1-3	x	13.2	11.3	69.7
4-6	x	0.0	0.0	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=3	N=14	N=12	N=24
				N=41

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Memberships for Respondent and Spouse	50+			
	Single/Living Together	Single-Parent Family	Divorced/Widowed	Married Couple With No Children
None	71.7	x	48.1	28.7
1-3	28.3	x	50.5	43.9
4-6	0.0	x	1.3	27.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=14	N=1	N=74	N=156
				N=4

married couples in their forties should be noted. Single-parent families, divorced and widowed persons remain far less likely to be affiliated (under 15 per cent) than either kind of married couple. This is also true in households where the respondent was 50 years old or over. The two consistent findings are that: 1) married couples are more likely to be organizationally affiliated than previously married people who in turn are more likely to be affiliated than never married persons. 2) married couples with children are less likely to belong to a Jewish organization than married couples without children. While the second finding remains somewhat mysterious, two possible theories are suggested to explain the greater degree of affiliation in organized Jewish life among married couples. The first is that married couples are already participating in a social institution (marriage), are thereby more "stable," and thus tend to belong to other social institutions. A second, alternative explanation, focuses on the institutions themselves, suggesting that these institutions may in fact discourage unmarried persons from joining since their unstated assumption is that Jews are married, and activities are geared this way. This is certainly an argument made by leaders in Jewish singles organizations.

3. Income

Jewish organizations tend to make financial support a part of involvement, either through membership dues, or fundraising. Although not all organizations have the same dues structure, or expectations for fundraising, income does turn out to be strongly related to organizational affiliation (Table 6) in a limited way. The poorest households (those with incomes under \$20,000) have the same affiliation rate (37 per cent) as middle income households (those with incomes between \$20,000 and \$40,000). The wealthier households with yearly incomes between \$40,000 and \$60,000 and \$60,000+ have affiliation rates of 61 per cent and 73 per cent respectively. Why the "cut-off" point should be as high as \$40,000 is puzzling. Perhaps countervailing trends exist among the under \$40,000 households. Older persons (especially over 65) who are the most likely to join organizations, are also the most likely to have lower incomes. Conversely, younger persons who are the least likely to join, also tend to have higher incomes than the elderly. Thus, if income is related to affiliation, it is possible that the effects get tangled with those of age. The report on Jewish giving (Fundraising P. 2) indicated a similar trend in which the wealthier households were most likely to be givers and were also the most likely to have been contacted. Perhaps there is a larger network operating that makes givers into joiners and joiners into givers. Given the democratic aspirations of Federation and its desire to have all interested Jews participate in communal life, this income finding raises some policy questions about the possible exclusion of some communal elements from Jewish life.

TABLE 6. AFFILIATION WITH A JEWISH ORGANIZATION BY INCOME

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Income			
	Under \$20,000	\$20,000- \$39,999	\$40,000 \$59,000	\$60,000+
None	62.7	62.3	38.8	27.1
1-3	34.3	33.7	38.9	46.9
4-6	3.0	4.0	22.4	26.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=276	N=216	N=94	N=96

CHI Square = 99.7

P .001

TABLE 7. AFFILIATION WITH JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS BY LENGTH OF TIME
IN DENVER (BORN-JEWS AND CONVERTS ONLY)

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Length of Time in Denver			
	5 years or less	6-10 years	11-15 years	16+ years
None	79.6	71.2	47.8	37.0
1-3	20.4	25.0	45.2	46.8
4-6	0.0	3.8	7.0	16.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=184	N=86	N=62	N=292

CHI Square = 105.7

P .0001

4. Family Structure and Income

Both family structure and income are related to affiliation and to each other (e.g. married couples tend to have larger incomes than single headed households). The relationship between family structure and organizational affiliation was tested while controlling for the effects of income, and both were found to be related to affiliation independently of each other. Thus the greater propensity of married couples to be affiliated is not simply a reflection of their larger household incomes.

5. Geographic Mobility

Over half of all Denver Jewish households arrived in the city within the last 10 years (and over a third of all Denver Jewish households moved here within the last 5 years alone). This rapid growth is closely related to Jewish organizational affiliation (Table 7). The longer the household has lived in Denver, the higher the rate of affiliation, with 10 years being the major cut-off point: 20 per cent of the households in Denver for 5 years or less belong to one or more organizations, as do 30 per cent of those in Denver between 6 and 10 years. In contrast, 52 per cent of the households in Denver between 11 and 15 years and 63 per cent of those 16 or more belong. The percentage of those belonging to four or more organizations increases in the same way from 0.0 to 3.8 to 7.0 to 16.2 per cent of the four lengths-of-residence categories.

Whether affiliation is measured as simply belonging to a Jewish organization or the actual memberships, 10 years of residence is the "threshold" at which both measures increase dramatically from under 30 per cent to over 50 per cent (single affiliation rate) and from under 4 per cent to over 7 per cent (per cent belonging to four or more Jewish organizations).

The relationship between length of time in Denver and organizational affiliation holds controlling for age (Table 8). Both age and length of residence are independently related to affiliation which means that affiliation increases with length of residence regardless of age, and affiliation increases with age regardless of length of residence.

The number of years at current residence is also related to organizational affiliation (Table 9). Affiliation increases with length of time at current residence from 31 per cent of those households at their current residence 5 years or less to 72 per cent of the households at their current residence for 11 or more years. Similarly, the proportion belonging to four or more Jewish organizations increases from 3 per cent of those at their current residence less than 5 years to 20 per cent of those at their current residence for 11 or more years.

TABLE 8. NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS BY LENGTH OF TIME
IN DENVER CONTROLLING FOR AGE OF RESPONDENT (BORN-JEWS AND CONVERTS
ONLY)

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Age 30-39					
	5 years or less	6-10 years	11-15 years	16+ years		
None	81.7	76.6	35.6	42.6	P	.0001
1-3	18.3	20.7	51.1	46.5		
4-6	0.0	2.7	13.3	10.9		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
	N=45	N=52	N=29	N=47		

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Age 40-49					
	5 years or less	6-10 years	11-15 years	16+ years		
None	83.3	x	66.7	42.3	P	.05
1-3	16.7	x	33.3	47.9		
4-6	0.0	x	0.0	9.7		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
	N=18	N=7	N=14	N=46		

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Age 50+					
	5 years or less	6-10 years	11-15 years	16+ years		
None	76.5	x	51.1	28.7	P	.0001
1-3	23.5	x	46.5	49.3		
4-6		x	2.4	22.0		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
	N=21	N=5	N=18	N=174		

TABLE 9. AFFILIATION WITH JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS BY TIME AT
CURRENT RESIDENCE (BORN-JEWS AND CONVERTS ONLY)

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Length of Time at Current Residence		
	5 years years	6-10 years	11+ years
None	68.7	46.8	28.4
1-3	28.1	40.4	52.0
4-6	3.2	12.8	52.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=396	N=86	N=198

CHI Square = 101.5

P .0001

Table 10 repeats Table 9 controlling for age. Since most of the under 30 households have been at their residence for 5 years or less, it is not possible to separate the effect of age from the effect of mobility in this age cohort. For households where the respondent is 30 or over, length of time at current residence remains associated with organizational affiliation regardless of age.

Thus, both aspects of residential stability (years in Denver and years at current residence) are important factors for organizational affiliation. These findings suggest that Jewish organizational membership in Denver will start to increase dramatically in the next 5 years assuming, of course, that: 1) these Jews remain in Denver; 2) they stay at their current residence.

B. Individual Affiliation: Patterns of Men and Women

Differences between men and women are re-examined on the individual level, looking at each sex separately. Questions about Jewish organizational involvements were asked only for the respondent and spouse in the household. In single-headed households (i.e. divorced, widowed, never-married) only the respondent's affiliations were recorded, even if there were Jewish roommates. In this section differences in the number of organizational affiliations are examined by sex and by sex in combination with other factors such as education and occupation. Differences in the particular Jewish organizations which men and women join are discussed as well. The analysis is restricted to born-Jews and converted Jews only.

1. Overall Popularity of Individual Organizations

Each respondent was asked to list 3 Jewish organizations he or she belongs to or is most active in (if more than 3 were listed) and 3 to which the spouse belongs to or is most active in (if spouse belongs to more than 3). The list of the most popular organizations is presented in Table 11. This table is not expected to be exact for two reasons: 1) only 6 organizations were listed per household (3 for respondent and 3 for spouse), so that the less popular ones might be undercounted; 2) the respondent might not be as familiar with the spouse's organizations as his or her own. It is assumed, however, that the respondents would at least be aware of those in which the spouse was most active. The effect of these biases, then, would be to miss less popular organizations, and the purpose of Table 11 is not to state the exact membership of organizations (that, after all is available from these organizations), but to ascertain the general trends. It should also be kept in mind that respondents might have considered previous affiliation as a current affiliation. It is recommended that actual memberships be checked against Table 11 for verification.

TABLE 10. AFFILIATION WITH JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS BY LENGTH OF TIME
AT CURRENT RESIDENCE CONTROLLING FOR AGE (BORN-JEWS AND CONVERTS ONLY)

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Age 30-39				
	5 years or less	6-10 years	11+ years		
None	70.3	47.6	27.5	P	.01
1-3	26.0	45.3	53.5		
4-6	3.7	7.1	19.0		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		
	N=159	N=43	N=15		

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Age 40-49				
	5 years or less	6-10 years	11+ years		
None	68.6	72.5	24.2	P	.0001
1-3	25.8	25.8	62.8		
4-6	5.6	1.7	13.1		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		
	N=45	N=14	N=36		

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Member- ships for Respondent and Spouse	Age 50+				
	5 years or less	6-10 years	11+ years		
None	53.0	34.4	29.6	P	.01
1-3	39.2	39.2	49.0		
4-6	7.9	26.3	21.4		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		
	N=68	N=29	N=146		

TABLE 11. PER CENT OF ALL RESPONDENTS AND SPOUSES AFFILIATED
WITH PARTICULAR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Per Cent Affiliated</u>
Hadassah	8.4
Jewish Community Center	5.7
B'nai B'rith	4.9
Synagogue Sisterhood	4.5
Synagogue Brotherhood	2.7
B'nai B'rith Women	2.5
Jewish Singles Group	2.5
Beth Israel Hospital	2.0
ORT	1.7
National Council of Jewish Women	1.6
Rose Medical Center	1.3
Day School Board	1.3
National Jewish Hospital	1.1
National Asthma Center	1.1
Columbine Masonic Lodge	0.8
Fraternity	0.6
Pioneer Women	0.5

Organizations with less than one-half a percentage respondents and spouses are not listed.

Hadassah is the most popular Jewish organization in Denver with 8.4 per cent of the respondents and spouses combined indicating membership. This is all the more impressive given the fact that Hadassah is exclusively a women's organization. The second most popular Jewish organization given by respondents and spouses is the Jewish Community Center. This includes membership in the Center per se or membership in a particular club or group sponsored by the Center.

Third, fourth, and fifth most popular are B'nai B'rith, sisterhoods, and brotherhoods respectively. If synagogue sisterhoods and brotherhoods are combined, they account for just over 7 per cent of all respondents and spouses, which would put them in second place. It is interesting to note that sisterhoods are more popular than brotherhoods (just as women tend to be more involved than men in Jewish organizations overall). It is possible that some respondents did not list sisterhood or brotherhood as a Jewish organization if they did not consider it to be such.

Among the "top ten" most popular Jewish organizations in Denver are the various singles groups available. Given the lower overall affiliation rate already observed for singles, this finding is all the more noteworthy. It would appear that when singles join a Jewish organization, they join singles groups, which would account both for the low organizational involvement of singles and the popularity of singles organizations.

2. Organizational Affiliations of Men and Women

Given the variety of Jewish organizations in Denver, the percentage of respondents and spouses belonging to any single one are well below 10 per cent, thus making it difficult to carry out the individual analysis for any particular organization. In order to facilitate an analysis by both sex and age, the Jewish organizations listed were grouped into eight categories:

- 1) National & Zionist organizations: Such as the ZOA, American Jewish Committee, ARZA and Colorado Zionists.
- 2) Fraternal Organizations: These include Jewish singles, B'nai B'rith, Refugee club, Russian Jewish club, fraternities, Jewish War Veterans, Hillel and Israeli club.
- 3) Women's Organizations: These include ORT, B'nai B'rith Women, Brandeis Women, Hadassah, Mizrahi, National Council of Jewish Women, Pioneer Women, and Jewish League of Women.

- 4) Jewish Hospitals and Health: Bikur Cholim, American Medical Center, Jewish Consumptive Relief Society, National Asthma Center, Beth Israel, National Jewish Hospital and Rose Medical Center.
- 5) Federation: This includes any mention of the Allied Jewish Federation or Jewish Family & Children's Service. For example, any committee, leadership group or Campaign division.
- 6) Jewish Community Center: This includes membership in the Health Club as well as general membership.
- 7) Synagogue or Day School: That would be the brotherhood or sisterhood of a synagogue or a position on a day school or synagogue board.
- 8) Secular Jewish Organizations: This last category combines specific Jewish organizations which are secular in nature with organizations that have mostly Jewish members but are not specifically Jewish. Among the former are Jewish lawyers, physicians and other professional groups, the Denver University Judaic Center, Rocky Mountain Jewish Historical Society, Town Club, Green Gables Country Club and independent Jewish study groups. Among the latter are the Masons, Eastern Star, Hope Center for Retarded Children and Heather Gardens. These are considered to be Jewish by the persons who listed them, and as such are considered to be Jewish here.

Table 12 compares born Jews and converted Jews combined with non-Jews. Among both males and females the born-Jews and converted Jews are almost 10 times as likely to belong to one or more Jewish organizations as are the non-Jews who are married into the Jewish community. In fact, the percentage of non-Jews who belong to a Jewish organization is almost negligible (less than 5 per cent). Women are one and one-half times more likely to belong to a Jewish organization than are men (regardless of Jewish status).

Table 13 compares the organizational affiliation rates for different age cohorts among male and female born Jews and converted Jews. For both sexes the affiliation rates for the 35 through 64 year olds are consistent: between 34 and 40 per cent for males and between 53 and 60 per cent for females. For males the increase in affiliation at age 65 is much higher than for females (where the 65+ females have about the same high rate as the 50-64 year old females). It would appear that Jewish men increase their organizational participation after retirement. For both men and women the least affiliated are the 18-34 year olds.

TABLE 12. TOTAL NUMBER OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS
BY SEX AND JEWISH STATUS

<u>MALES</u>		
<u>Number of Jewish Organizational Affiliations</u>	<u>Born Jews & Converts</u>	<u>Non-Jews</u>
None	68.6	97.0
One or More	31.4	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0
	N=582	N=90

CHI Square = 30.1

P .0001

<u>FEMALES</u>		
<u>Number of Jewish Organizational Affiliations</u>	<u>Born Jews & Converts</u>	<u>Non-Jews</u>
None	54.6	94.9
One or More	45.4	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0
	N=622	N=131

CHI Square = 72.5

P .0001

TABLE 13. TOTAL NUMBER OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS BY AGE AND SEX (BORN-JEWS AND CONVERTS ONLY)

Number of Jewish Organizations	MALES					FEMALES				
	Age				All Males	Age				All Females
	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+		18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	
None	87.6	65.6	60.9	39.8	68.6	72.3	47.4	40.1	37.2	65.6
One or More	12.4	34.4	39.1	60.2	31.4	27.7	52.6	59.9	62.8	45.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=216	N=134	N=127	N=98	N=582	N=252	N=149	N=116	N=103	N=622

CHI Square = 78.1

P .0001

CHI Square = 57.4

P .0001

The kinds of Jewish organizations Denverites join also vary by age and sex. Among the men the fraternal and social organizations are the most popular: 22.7 per cent of the men belong to at least one of these. They are followed by synagogue or day school affiliations (7.2 per cent). The Jewish Community Center is as popular as secular organizations.

Among the females the women's organizations are the most popular, with 26 per cent of the women holding at least one such affiliation. These are followed by synagogue or day school organizational affiliation (13 per cent), hospitals (12 per cent). The men's fraternal and social organizations seem to parallel the women's organizations, at roughly comparable levels of involvement (23 versus 26 per cent for men and women respectively). Of course, if the women's fraternal and social organizations are added to the specifically women's organizations, the involvement rate for women is increased accordingly to 32 per cent, thereby maintaining the higher affiliation rate observed for women overall.

Males are more likely than females to be involved in the "secular" Jewish organizations (6 per cent of the men as compared with 1 per cent of the women). This might be explained by the higher labor force participation of men and the possibility that these Jewish professional organizations might not be open to women (this is not known). Men are also more likely to be involved in National and Zionist organizations (3 per cent) than are women (1 per cent). Females are far more likely than males to have an affiliation with a Jewish hospital (12 per cent) than are males (2 per cent).

Among both men and women the kind of organization affiliated with differs by age. Affiliation with a fraternal or social organization which is highest for men overall, seems to reflect the preference for this kind of organization among men 65 and older. The percentage of men affiliated with fraternal and social organizations drops to 20 per cent of 50-64 year olds, 14 per cent of the 35-49 year olds and less than 5 per cent of the 18-34 year olds. In other words, the overall popularity of fraternal and social organizations among born Jewish men is in good part a reflection of higher affiliation rate of the 65+ group who have a particular preference for this kind of organization. Despite their decline in popularity by age, fraternal and social organizations are still the most popular for all men over the age of 35. Brotherhood and day school affiliations are highest for men between 35 and 49 (13 per cent) and between 50 and 64 (11 per cent). Perhaps this is because these are the men who have (or have had) children. Under 34

TABLE 14. AFFILIATION WITH ORGANIZATIONAL GROUPINGS BY AGE (BORN-JEWS AND JEWS-BY-CHOICE ONLY) (PER CENT WHO BELONG TO ONE OR MORE)

Organization	MALES					FEMALES				
	Age				All Males	Age				All Females
	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+		18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	
National & Zionist	0.6	2.9	0.9	8.4	2.5	0.0	1.3	0.2	2.7	0.8
Fraternal & Social	4.5	13.7	18.9	32.4	22.7	10.6	5.1	0.8	2.2	6.0
Women's	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8.9	26.4	47.6	50.9	25.7
Hospital	1.1	2.6	2.2	1.2	1.7	2.2	9.3	23.4	25.9	11.8
Federation	6.2	6.1	6.1	9.6	7.0	9.6	10.8	7.5	8.8	9.3
Synagogue/ Day School	0.3	13.0	11.3	9.1	7.2	2.2	27.6	20.7	11.8	13.1
Secular Jewish	0.6	6.9	5.6	14.9	5.6	0.5	0.3	1.0	2.9	0.9
	N=216	N=134	N=127	N=98	N=575	N=252	N=149	N=116	N=103	N=620

the percentage so affiliated drops to well under 1 per cent. Affiliation with national and Zionist organizations is highest over the age of 65. Assuming that Federation involvement is at least partly motivated by an interest in Israel, it would appear that the Federation is replacing the traditional Zionist and national organizations as a vehicle for participation in Jewish affairs.

The most popular organizations for women overall are less popular among the younger women. Affiliation with one or more of the traditional Jewish women's organizations declines from half of all women 50 and over to a quarter of all women aged between 35 and 49 and to less than 10 per cent of all women under 35.

For reasons not understood here, fraternal and social organizations are more popular among women in the under 35 age group (11 per cent) than among women in the over 35 age groups (5 per cent or less, depending on the particular cohort). As with the males, sisterhood and day school involvement are highest in the 35-49 year old cohort (28 per cent) and the 50-64 year old cohort (21 per cent) and Federation involvement is uniquely consistent across all age categories. Again, this is not only Federation per se, but agencies as well, which could explain why women have a higher Federation involvement rate than men: they are more likely to be an agency volunteer in some capacity. The hospitals, like the women's organization see a decrease in affiliation under the age of 50, with a particularly sharp decrease under the age of 35. This could be related to women working more, or women may be identifying less with the kinds of organizational involvements most associated with women in the past.

3. Occupation, Education and Organizational Affiliation

The occupations of men and women were divided into five categories: professionals, managers, physicians, salespeople, clerical and skilled workers. Physicians were kept as a separate category because their affiliation is generally considered to be lower than other professionals (on the assumption that their primary interest and loyalty is professional rather than ethnic). The exact opposite was found to be the case among the males (there are not enough women doctors in the sample): the physicians are almost twice as likely as other professionals to be organizationally affiliated (Table 15). In fact, the professionals are only slightly more likely to be affiliated than clerical and skilled workers.

The managers (both salaried and self-employed) have almost the identically high affiliation rate (42 per cent) as do the physicians (43 per cent). These two groups are followed by salesmen, both salaried and self-employed (31 per cent).

TABLE 15. JEWISH ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION OF MEN AND WOMEN BY OCCUPATION
(BORN-JEWS AND JEWS-BY-CHOICE ONLY)

Number of Jewish Organizations	MALES			
	Manager	Professional	Physician	Sales Clerical-Skilled
None	58.2	77.2	57.0	69.3 79.2
One or More	41.8	22.8	43.0	30.7 20.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=141	N=135	N=56	N=119 N=02

Number of Jewish Organizations	FEMALES			
	Manager	Professional	Physician	Sales Clerical-Skilled
None	51.4	64.3	x	57.1 73.6
One or More	48.6	35.7	x	42.9 26.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=55	N=166	N=89	N=201

Among the women, the managers are more likely to be affiliated (40 per cent) than are the professionals (36 per cent), but it should be kept in mind that the female professionals include a much higher proportion of teachers, social workers, and other lower salaried professionals than do the male professionals. In all occupational categories (as in all other kinds of categories) the women are more affiliated than the men.

Self-employed males and females are more likely to be affiliated organizationally than are salaried males and females (Table 16). Organizational affiliation is lower among both men and women who have gone beyond high school graduation than for those who have not (Table 17).

It has already been established that occupation, education, and self-employment are related to age as well as to affiliation. Thus, the analysis could continue here (as it has with other variables) to examine occupational, educational, and self-employment differences controlling for age. This was not deemed necessary, however, because the purpose of this report is to produce a statistical portrait which differentiates between the affiliated and the unaffiliated. The affiliated Jew is married, usually (but not always) has children, is a manager, doctor or in sales, is married to another born Jew, and self-employed. The organizationally unaffiliated Jew is single, younger, a professional or skilled worker (depending on age) less affluent, and better educated. Of course, if these factors were to be combined in just that way, very few such individuals would be found in the sample. Rather, these are all separate factors which are associated with organizational affiliation and should be kept in mind when planning outreach and membership efforts.

TABLE 16 JEWISH ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION BY SELF-EMPLOYMENT
(BORN-JEWS AND JEWS-BY-CHOICE ONLY)

Number of Jewish Organizations	MALES		FEMALES	
	Self- Employed	Salaried	Self- Employed	Salaried
None	52.1	78.7	51.7	67.5
One or More	47.9	21.3	48.8	32.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=437

N=91

N=347

N=218

CHI Square = 42.4

CHI Square = 7.6

P .0001

P .01

II. SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION

Introduction

Synagogue affiliation is considered two ways: from the point of view of self-identification and from the point of view of actual membership. Self-identification is the movement (or lack of one) with which the individual identifies, and membership is the kind of synagogue joined (if at all). Both are examined here. The patterns of self-identification not only tell us about Jewish life in Denver, they also inform the synagogues about the social and demographic characteristics of their actual (affiliated) and potential (unaffiliated but identifying) constituencies.

A. Self-Identification of Individuals and Couples

Self-identification was ascertained by asking respondents: "Do you consider yourself to be Reform, Conservative, Orthodox, atheist, Just Jewish, or what? I don't mean what you belong to, but how you consider yourself." Respondents who were married were also asked to provide this same information about their spouses. Measured by self-identification only (actual membership is discussed in Part B) the Reform movement is the most popular, with 35 per cent of the born-Jews and 59 per cent of the converted Jews so identifying. There are two possible explanations for why converted Jews are so heavily identified with the Reform movement. The first is that Reform Jews are more likely to marry non-Jews in the first place and thus their spouses who convert identify as Reform. An alternative (but not mutually exclusive) explanation is that the Reform movement is more open to conversion, makes conversion easier, and/or is perceived to be that way among non-Jews desiring to convert and/or their spouses.

Among born-Jews the Conservative movement is the second most popular (28 per cent so identify) followed by those who identify as "just Jewish"--meaning that they do not see themselves as associated with any of the "established" movements in Judaism. Interestingly, the distribution of personal Jewish identification outside of the Reform and Conservative movements is almost identical. This is particularly striking for the "Just Jewish" group as it implies that those who have come to be Jewish via a religious ceremony are as likely to see themselves as essentially ethnic as do the born-Jews. This is equally true for the atheist-agnostic and "other" categories which, taken together with "Just Jewish," can be considered as an ethnic cluster. If Jews do not identify themselves in religious terms, then (by process of elimination) they must view themselves in strictly ethnic terms.

1. Age and Generation

Age and generation are two ways to look for changing patterns of self-identification. Generational differences, but not age differences were found to be significant (Table 19).

TABLE 18. JEWISH SELF-IDENTIFICATION BY JEWISH STATUS
(RESPONDENTS AND SPOUSES)

Identification	Jewish Status	
	Born-Jews	Jews-by-Choice
Reform	34.9	59.1
Conservative	28.4	10.6
Orthodox	6.7	4.6
Reconstruction	1.4	0.0
Atheist-Agnostic	2.7	1.5
Just Jewish	21.5	19.7
Other	4.3	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0
	N=1130	N=66

TABLE 19. JEWISH SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF BORN-JEWS BY
GENERATION (RESPONDENTS AND SPOUSES)

Identification	Generation			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Reform	17.2	33.8	39.3	43.4
Conservative	28.5	33.3	27.9	19.2
Orthodox	15.9	9.6	3.0	0.0
Reconstruction	0.0	1.9	1.7	1.5
Atheist-Agnostic	0.0	2.9	2.2	4.6
Just Jewish	37.8	15.6	18.5	26.8
Other	0.7	2.9	7.5	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=151	N=417	N=362	N=198

The greater the number of generations that the family of a born Jew has lived in the United States, the more likely that person is to identify as Reform, and the less likely to identify as Orthodox. This is the only pattern that is consistent across all generations. The proportion identifying themselves as Conservative fluctuates between 28 and 33 per cent among the first, second and third generation of born Jews, dropping to 19 per cent of the fourth generation.

Since generation is a measure of American acculturation, the Reform movement may be said to be at least the potential beneficiary of that acculturation (potential because no data on actual affiliation has yet been discussed).

Self-identification as "Just Jewish" is highest in the first generation (38 per cent), lowest in the second and third generation (16 and 19 per cent respectively) but returning to popularity among the fourth generation (27 per cent). The explanation put forward here, once again, is acculturation. For the first-generation, or foreign born individual, American movements in Judaism do not necessarily make sense or adequately express a Jewish identity shaped in a different culture. The fourth generation Jew who has American born parents and grandparents probably has had less Jewish exposure than the second and third generation Jew, and thus may know that he or she is Jewish, but may not have been raised to identify with a particular movement. In fact, against the background of four generations of American exposure, the continued identification with at least some movement indicated that denominational identification is still the most attractive label for Jewish self-expression, no matter how limited that identification might be.

2. Intermarriage and Self-Identification

Patterns of intermarriage have previously been found to be related to Jewish education for children, Jewish giving, and organizational affiliation. Intermarriage is also related to how the individual born Jew identifies denominationally (Table 20). Born Jews married to converted Jews, like their spouses, are most identified with the Reform movement. In comparing Tables 19 and 20 it will be noted that the number of born Jews in the sample who are married to converted Jews is smaller than the number of converted Jews themselves. This is because the sample includes converted Jews who are not currently married and converted Jews who are currently married to non-Jews. (This last case is statistically small, and is not included in the analysis of intermarriage reported in the initial report.)

Born Jews married to other born-Jews, to non-Jews, and born-Jews not currently married are all equally as likely to identify as Reform Jews (between 34 and 37 per cent). On the other hand, born-Jews married to other born-Jews and born-Jews married to

TABLE 20. JEWISH SELF-IDENTIFICATION BY INTERMARRIAGE STATUS OF BORN-JEWS (RESPONDENTS AND SPOUSES)

Self Identification	Born-Jew Married to			Not Currently Married
	Born-Jew	Non-Jew	Jew-by-Choice	
Reform	33.7	33.7	50.0	36.9
Conservative	35.6	11.1	35.3	22.9
Orthodox	8.8	1.1	5.9	5.8
Reconstructionist	1.9	0.0	0.0	1.4
Athiest-Agnostic	1.9	3.4	0.0	3.8
Just Jewish	18.1	40.9	5.9	24.9
Other	2.9	9.4	2.9	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=623	N=181	N=34	N=293

TABLE 21. COMBINED JEWISH SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF MARRIED COUPLES BY INTERMARRIAGE STATUS

Combined Identification	Born-Jew Married to		
	Born-Jew	Non-Jew	Jew-by-Choice
Both Reform	28.1	19.4	37.0
Both Conservative	30.1	5.0	8.1
Both Orthodox	6.8	0.0	0.0
Both Reconstructionist	2.0	0.0	0.0
Neither Identifies with Movement	18.2	56.9	8.9
Mixed Movements	14.8	18.7	45.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=313	N=189	N=34

CHI Square = 237.5

P .0001

converted Jews are more likely to indicate that they are Conservative Jews (36 and 34 per cent) than are born-Jews married to non-Jews (11 per cent) or born-Jews who are not currently married. It should not be inferred from these findings that people from Reform backgrounds are more likely to marry non-Jews than are people from Conservative backgrounds, since neither cause nor effect are known here. It is possible that Conservative Jews who marry non-Jews or converted Jews identify as Reform as a result of that marriage. The fact remains that born-Jews married to other born-Jews identify almost equally between Reform and Conservative while born-Jews married to non-Jews and born-Jews married to converted Jews are more closely identified with the Reform movement than with the Conservative movement (particularly so among the born-Jews married to non-Jews).

Born-Jews married to non-Jews are the most likely to identify simply as "Just Jewish": 41 per cent do so, even higher than the 34 per cent who identify as Reform. It makes some intuitive sense that born-Jews married to non-Jews would not be concerned with the branch of Judaism that best reflects their ideological stance.

The born-Jews who are not currently married are the next most likely to identify themselves as "Just Jewish." This suggests that marriage itself may be a factor in Jewish identification. Controlling to eliminate the possible effects of age (tables not presented in Report) does not substantially alter this pattern, leaving the conclusion intact that single persons, who tend to be less affiliated than married persons in other regards (i.e. Jewish giving, organizational affiliation), are also less likely to see themselves as part of an established movement.

Finally, born-Jews married to non-Jews are the most likely (9 per cent) to identify themselves as some unique type of Jews, for example a Buddhist-Jew. Once again they are followed by born-Jews not currently married (4.4 per cent so identify).

Another way to look at identification is at the couple level: how consistent are respondents and spouses in their patterns of self-identification? Stated more simply, do Reform Jews tend to be married to other Reform Jews, Conservative Jews to other Conservative Jews, and so forth. Six categories of self-identification for couples are compared with the three intermarriage categories (in Table 21) to answer this question. The first four categories in Table 21 are all couples where both agree as to their self-identification: both Reform, both Conservative, both Orthodox, or both Reconstructionist. The fifth category is made up of couples in which both partners are identified as either atheist-agnostic, Just Jewish, or "other." In other words, neither identifies with any of the

four movements within Judaism. The sixth category, "mixed," includes combinations of two movements (such as Reform and Conservative, Orthodox and Conservative, Reform and Orthodox) and combinations of a movement and a non-movement (for example, Reform and atheist, Conservative and Just Jewish, etc.).

The pattern of denominational identifications for the three different kinds of couples does in fact vary by intermarriage status. Consistent with the previous discussion, the born-Jew married to a converted Jew is more likely to identify as Reform than a born-Jew married to a converted Jew or another born-Jew. Surprisingly, the most prevalent born-Jew and converted Jewish couple is the mixed category rather than Reform itself. This comes as a surprise because 60 per cent of the converted Jews and 50 per cent of the born-Jews married to converted Jews identify as Reform. These findings do not contradict each other, they simply mean that while both converted Jews and born-Jews married to them tend to identify with the Reform movement, they do not do so within the same couples as much as the previous findings might have led us to expect. Still, some caution should be kept in mind here since there are only 34 cases of born-Jews married to a converted Jew.

Born-Jew-non-Jew couples are the least likely, and less likely than the other two kinds of couples, to identify with any movement at all (57 per cent of these couples neither partner identified with an established movement). Given the relative liberalism of Reform when it comes to recognizing intermarriages, it is surprising that couples in which a born-Jew is married to a non-Jew are the least likely to have both partners identify as Reform (19 per cent). Couples in which a born-Jew is married to another born-Jew, on the other hand, did follow the patterns that individual identifications would suggest. Just as born-Jews married to other born-Jews indicate a split preference between Reform and Conservative Judaism as individuals, couples in which a born-Jew is married to another born-Jew are equally divided between both partners Conservative and both partners Reform.

In summary, couples made up of two born-Jews tend to identify with the same movement; couples made up of a born-Jew and non-Jew tend to identify with no movement; couples made up of a born-Jew and a converted Jew tend to identify either with the Reform movement, or with two different movements.

B. Patterns of Synagogue Membership for Households

Three categories of synagogue membership are used in the analysis of households: current membership, previous membership rather than individual membership since synagogue memberships are made on a household basis and the question was asked about the household. The previous member category means that the household does

not currently hold a membership in a synagogue, but either the household itself or the respondent only (assuming a previous marriage for the respondent in a married couple or a single individual) has held a previous membership in a synagogue. Over a third of the Jewish households in Denver (39 per cent) currently claim membership in a synagogue with an additional 16 per cent having belonged at some point in the past, making a total of 55 per cent of the Denver Jewish households having held or now holding a membership. It is noteworthy in this context that the number of current member households is more than twice the number of previous only households. That leaves close to half (45 per cent) of all Jewish households never having held a synagogue membership.

The purpose of this section is to seek out and explain the difference among households that are synagogue members now, households that have been members in the past, and households that have never held a synagogue membership.

1. Intermarriage and Synagogue Membership

Synagogue membership, like other forms of Jewish affiliation, is appreciably lower among intermarried couples than among the two kinds of in-married couples (born-Jews married to born-Jews and born-Jews married to converted Jews): 71 per cent of the in-married couples currently belong, with another 14 per cent having held a previous membership (for a total of 85 per cent); 46 per cent of the born Jew-converted Jewish couples currently belong with another 6 per cent having held a previous membership (for a total of 49 per cent); 10 per cent of the intermarried born-Jew and non-Jew couples are currently synagogue members with another 15 per cent having held a previous membership for a total of 25 per cent). The pattern, then, is that in-married couples have the highest affiliation followed by conversionary marriages, followed by intermarriage (Table 22 "all ages"). This pattern persists controlling for age (Table 22 "18-29," "30-39," "40-49," "50 and over") which means that differences among the three marriage types are not simply reflections of age differences. This pattern is highlighted in the 30-39 year old cohort of Table 22: 65 per cent of the in-married couples in this age cohort are currently synagogue members as contrasted with 31 per cent of the conversionary couples and 5 per cent of the intermarriages.

Possible reasons for these differences will be explored in a forthcoming report on intermarriage. Regardless of the reason, it is clear that affiliation with a synagogue is largely limited to in-married couples which constitute the majority of Denver Jewish households overall but do not constitute the majority of marriages made by the younger third and fourth generation Jews in Denver. Further, while affiliation with a synagogue increases with age for the in-married couples, it does not do so among the intermarried couples.

TABLE 22. SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP BY AGE AND INTERMARRIAGE STATUS

Age of Respondent	Synagogue Membership	Intermarriage Status		
		Born-Jew & Born-Jew	Born-Jew & Non-Jew	Born Jew & Jew-by-Choice
All Ages	Current	70.5	9.5	46.2
CHI Square=203	Previous	14.1	14.5	6.3
P .0001	Never	15.4	76.1	47.5
TOTAL		100.0	100.0	100.0
N=		311	185	33
18-29	Current	37.9	12.5	
CHI Square=18.4	Previous	12.2	1.9	
P .001	Never	49.9	85.6	
TOTAL		100.0	100.0	
N=		26	79	
30-39	Current	64.6	4.9	31.1
CHI Square=60.5	Previous	7.7	15.5	0.0
P .001	Never	27.7	79.6	68.9
TOTAL		100.0	100.0	100.0
N=		71	73	20
40-49	Current	88.8	6.3	
CHI Square=34.6	Previous	5.4	44.6	
P .001	Never	5.8	49.1	
TOTAL		100.0	100.0	
N=		63	10	3
50 & Over	Current	71.4	15.3	
CHI Square=37.3	Previous	21.0	40.9	
P .0001	Never	7.6	43.8	
TOTAL		100.0	100.0	
N=		151	23	

2. Family Structure and Synagogue Membership

The analysis of family structure and synagogue membership excludes the intermarrieds (born-Jew married to Non-Jew) so as not to confuse the effects of intermarriage and because these couples have such a low rate of synagogue affiliation (only 10 per cent). Within the population of born-Jew and converted Jew married couples are the most likely group to be synagogue members (Table 23--"All Ages"): 63 per cent of the married couples with children, 69 per cent of the married couples without children, are currently members. Among the households headed by a single person, those in which respondent has been previously married are more likely to be synagogue members than the single-never-married respondents: 38 per cent of the divorced and widowed households, and 31 per cent of the single parents are currently members as compared with 18 per cent of the single-never-married respondents (Table 23, "All Ages").

While these findings remain generally true when controlling for age (see remainder of Table 23), the patterns among the different age cohorts differ enough from each other to warrant further examination.

In the 18-29 year old cohort the difference among family structures are not statistically significant (Table 23) for two reasons: most of the households in this age group are single-never married to begin with, combined with the low affiliation rate for this age group overall. In the 30-39 year old cohort, however, significant differences in synagogue membership among family structures are statistically significant. Two groups in this age cohort most likely to be synagogue members are the married couples with children (57 per cent) and single parents (50 per cent). The married couples with no children in this age group are the next most likely to be members (30 per cent). The single, divorced, and widowed households in this age group are the least likely to be members (about 2 per cent of each). However, 24 per cent of the divorced or widowed households have previously been members as compared with only 7 per cent of the single never-married households in this age range. Thus, in the 30-39 year old age cohort those who are married now are more likely to be members than those who are not, and those singles who have been married previously are more likely to have belonged previously than single-never-married individual households heads.

In the 40-49 year old age range there are only 3 households headed by a single, never-married individual, and this category cannot thus be included in the analysis. The single parents in this cohort have dropped from the 50 per cent affiliation observed in the 30-39 year old age range to only

TABLE 23. SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION BY FAMILY STRUCTURE AND AGE (BORN-JEWS AND JEWS-BY-CHOICE ONLY)

Age of Respondent	Synagogue Membership	Family Structure				
		Single Living Together	Single-Parent Family	Divorced/Widowed	Married Couple With No Children	Married Couple With Children
All Ages	Current	17.5	31.0	37.9	68.5	63.0
CHI Square=135.1	Previous	7.3	31.6	28.4	18.6	9.8
P .0001	Never	75.1	37.4	33.6	12.9	27.2
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=	174	36	105	203	153
18-29						
Not statistically significant						
30-39	Current	2.2	50.3	1.8	29.7	56.6
CHI Square=57.9	Previous	6.7	4.9	23.7	21.6	11.0
P .0001	Never	91.1	44.9	74.5	48.7	32.3
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=	47	19	15	12	85
40-49						
CHI Square= 48.6	Current		13.2	25.9	84.3	92.0
P .0001	Previous		63.4	44.5	9.5	2.7
	Never		23.4	29.6	6.2	5.2
Total			100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=	3	14	12	24	41
50+						
CHI Square= 28.1	Current	33.7		46.9	71.0	
P .0005	Previous	27.6		30.5	20.6	
	Never	43.7		27.6	8.4	
Total		100.0		100.0	100.0	
	N=	10	1	69	154	3

13 per cent affiliated. However, 63 per cent of the 40 year old single parents have been previous members, as compared with only 5 per cent of the 30 year old single parents. Apparently they drop their membership at age 40. Once again the married couples have the highest affiliation rate. This remains true in the 50+ age cohort.

The close relationship observed between marital status and synagogue membership is intriguing. Two separate but not mutually exclusive hypotheses are conjectured here. The first hypothesis is that the synagogue is intrinsically oriented toward the nuclear family. The unmarried household head if not made to feel unwelcome, at least feels uncomfortable or out of place; and this is a common assertion made by organized singles groups in the community. The second explanation looks to something about marriage itself. This argument infers from the findings that institutions tend to go together, and participation in the institution of marriage goes along with synagogue affiliation. Which explanation is better is less important than having confirmed that for whatever reasons, the synagogue is an institution that draws largely from married couples.

3. Income and Synagogue Affiliation

The higher the combined household income, the more likely the household is to belong to a synagogue (Table 24). Over three-quarters of the households with income of \$40,000 and over currently belong to a synagogue as compared with only 30 per cent of the households with incomes under \$20,000. Since both age and family structure are related to income as well as to synagogue affiliation, these two variables were tested for association with synagogue affiliation while controlling for income. The relationship between income and synagogue membership was found to be consistent even when controlling for age and family structure. Similarly the relationships among affiliation, age and family structure remained when controlling for income (Tables not reported).

4. Geographical Mobility and Synagogue Membership

Following a pattern similar to that observed for organizational affiliation, synagogue membership increases both with the length of residence in Denver, and the length of time at the current residence (Table 25). Ten years of residence in Denver has a major effect on the synagogue affiliation rate: 21 per cent of the households which have been living in Denver for up to five years and 25 per cent living in Denver between 6 and 10 years belong to a synagogue as compared with 52 per cent of those in Denver between 11 and 15 years and 67 per cent of those in Denver 16 years or longer.

TABLE 24. SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION BY INCOME

Synagogue Membership	Income				
	Under \$20,000	\$20,000-\$39,999	\$40,000-\$59,999	\$60,000-\$97,999	\$100,000 Plus
Current Member	30.4	46.2	63.9	82.4	75.1
Previously a Member	19.1	17.2	13.3	5.4	1.9
Never a Member	49.9	36.5	22.7	12.2	23.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	268	212	94	69	27

CHI Square =85.3

P .0001

TABLE 25. SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP BY LENGTH OF TIME IN DENVER
(BORN-JEWS AND JEWS-BY-CHOICE ONLY)

Synagogue Membership	Number of Years Household has Lived in Denver			
	Up to 5 years	6-10 years	11-15 years	16 or more years
Current	20.8	24.9	51.9	67.2
Previous	16.4	14.4	28.5	13.6
Never	62.8	60.6	19.6	19.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	181	83	62	295

CHI Square =143.2

P .0001

TABLE 26. SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP BY LENGTH OF TIME AT CURRENT RESIDENCE

Synagogue Membership	Number of Years at Current Residence		
	5 Years or Less	6-10 Years	11+ Years
Current	30.1	64.7	73.3
Previous	13.7	20.9	18.3
Never	56.2	14.4	8.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	388	86	196

CHI Square = 155.3

P .0001

To eliminate the influence of other variables related to synagogue affiliation, the relationship between synagogue affiliation and length of time in Denver was tested controlling for income, age and family structure (Tables not presented). The overall pattern generally persists in the presence of these variables, meaning that the relationship between the dependent and independent variables is not an artifact caused by some other relationship. In fact, it appears that length of time in Denver is even more important than income for synagogue affiliation: the variation by income is less prevalent for income than for length of time in Denver when each is controlled for the other. Further, the ten-year benchmark remains evident for all family structure, income and age categories.

The number of years at current residence is also related to synagogue membership (Table 26): 30 per cent of those living at their current residence for 5 years or less currently belong, as compared with 65 per cent of those living at their current residence for between 6 to 10 years, and 73 per cent of those living at their current residence for 11 years or more. This relationship is consistent controlling for age, income and family structure.

Thus residential stability, whichever of the two ways it is measured, is related to synagogue affiliation. Given the high proportion of recent movers both to and within Denver, these findings suggest both future growth and new areas of outreach for synagogues.

5. Self-Identification and Synagogue Membership

The most appropriate way to conclude a discussion of synagogue membership is to examine the relationship between the Jewish self-identification of the household (respondent and spouse) and synagogue affiliation. In other words, which movement is most likely to affiliate? Table 27 represents a comparison of affiliation rates for the different movements controlling for intermarriage status. Among couples where both respondent and spouse are born-Jews, the households in which both partners identify as Reform are as likely to join as those in which both partners are Conservative. The households in which both respondent and spouse are Orthodox have the highest affiliation rate (95 per cent) while those where neither respondent nor spouse identify denominationally (though both are either born-Jews or converted Jews) have the lowest rate of synagogue membership: 38 per cent. The "combination of movements" category, though convenient, is slightly misleading as it combines those households in which one partner identifies with a movement and the other identifies with nothing with households where the partners differ only in the movement of personal association. The affiliation rate for the former group is

TABLE 27. SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION BY JEWISH SELF-IDENTIFICATION AND INTERMARRIAGE STATUS

Intermarriage Status	Synagogue Membership	Jewish Self-Identification					Combination of Movements
		Athiest, Just					
		Both Reform	Both Conservative	Both Orthodox	Jewish, Others		
Born Jew & Born-Jew or Jew-by-choice P .0001	Current Previous Never	74.6 15.2 10.2	78.6 14.4 7.0	94.6 5.4 0.0	37.5 14.7 47.8	56.3 11.6 32.1	
Total	N=	100.0 100	100.0 97	100.0 20	100.0 50	100.0 71	
Born Jew & Non-Jew P .10	Current Previous Never	14.4 4.9 80.8			4.8 13.6 81.6	11.5 22.5 66.0	
Total	N=	100.0 31	8	1	100.0 86	100.0 54	
Born Jew & Jew-by-Choice Unmarried P .0001	Current Previous Never	25.7 20.8 53.5	40.5 10.5 49.0	78.3 4.1 17.6	8.0 19.8 72.2	N/A	
Total	N=	100.0 120	100.0 70	100.0 17	100.0 104		

lower than for the latter. In other words, couples in which both partners agree on their denominational identification are the most likely to be affiliated, followed by those in which one partner identifies with a denomination and the other does not. The lowest affiliation rate is for couples who identify with nothing.

This is true for intermarried (born-Jew to non-Jew) couples as well, with the caveat that affiliation for this group is very low to begin with.

Among single persons (not currently married) identification with a movement is as important for individuals as it is for couples. It is only among single persons that Conservative identifiers have a higher affiliation rate than the Reform identifiers and this remains true controlling for age (Tables not presented).

The relationship between self-identification and synagogue membership controlling for family structure was tested using only born-Jews married to born-Jews, born-Jews married to converted Jews, and born Jewish and converted Jewish individuals (not currently married) (Table 28). Single never-married individuals who identify as Conservative are the most likely to be current members (there are only 5 Orthodox individuals in this category). The Reform identifiers among the never-married are less likely to be current members of a synagogue (18 per cent as compared with 31 per cent for the Conservative identifiers), but are more likely than the Conservative Jews to have been previous members. It is suspected that they may be reporting a membership through their own families while growing up, since the single-never-marrieds tend to be under 30. Those singles who identify themselves as "Just Jewish" atheist, agnostic, or "Other" are the least likely to belong: 6 per cent belong now, and 88 per cent have never belonged at all. This same overall pattern persists among divorced and widowed single persons also: the Orthodox are most affiliated (89 per cent) followed by the Conservative (67 per cent) with the Reform divorced and widowed half as likely as the Conservatives to be members (34 per cent). Once again those identifying as Just Jewish, Atheist, or "other" are the least affiliated (11 per cent). Divorced and widowed persons identifying Reform have an affiliation rate approaching that of Conservative Jews when previous affiliation is added to current: 83 per cent of the Conservative identifiers have been affiliated at some point as compared with 75 per cent of the Reform. Thus, for divorced and widowed persons the Orthodox have the highest affiliation, followed closely by the Conservative identifiers. The Reform are more likely to have been previous members than to be current members.

TABLE 28. SYNAGOGUE AFFILIATION BY JEWISH SELF-IDENTIFICATION CONTROLLING FOR FAMILY STRUCTURE
(BORN JEWS AND JEWS-BY-CHOICE ONLY)

Family Structure	Synagogue Membership	Jewish Self-Identification			
		Reform	Conservative	Orthodox	Just Jewish, Athiest, Other, Combination of Two
Single	Current	17.8	30.7		5.6
P .05	Previous	11.9	2.2		6.5
	Never	70.4	67.2		87.9
Total		100.0	100.0		100.0
	N=	66	44	5	58
Divorced/Widowed	Current	33.6	67.0	89.4	11.2
No Children	Previous	41.6	16.3	6.8	29.7
P .0001	Never	24.8	16.7	3.8	59.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=	34	22	11	37
Married Couple	Current	80.1	75.2	92.2	22.4
No Children	Previous	18.5	17.7	7.8	24.1
P .0001	Never	1.4	7.1	0.0	53.5
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	N=	61	66	14	26
Married Couple	Current	62.5	78.7		55.5
With Children	Previous	10.2	14.9		4.8
P .0001	Never	27.3	6.3		39.7
Total		100.0	100.0		100.0
	N=	41	34		23

Single-Parent Family Too few cases for statistically significant findings

Among married couples without children the difference in affiliation between Reform and Conservative couples tends to disappear (80 per cent of the former and 75 per cent of the latter). Married couples with no children in which both partners identify as Orthodox have the highest affiliation rate: 92 per cent. Those who identify with no movement have the lowest affiliation rate: 22 per cent.

Conservative identifiers among the married couples with children are somewhat more likely to be currently affiliated than are the Reform identifiers, but the gap is relatively small. The most striking observation for this family status is that the Just Jewish, atheist, and "other" non-denominational Jews have an affiliation rate of over 50 per cent. In fact, this group is a perfect test-case for the impact of both marriage and children on affiliation. The Just Jewish, atheist, agnostic, "Other," or what we call the non-denominational group, do not identify with any movement. As a result, in every family status category their affiliation rate is lower than for those who do affiliate with a movement. However, the per cent of the non-denominational Jews who affiliate increases when marriage and children are added in. The least affiliated of the non-denominational Jews are the single, never-marrieds (6 per cent) with those who have been previously married (i.e. the divorced and widowed households) almost twice as likely to be affiliated (11 per cent). The married couples without children who are non-denominational are twice as likely again to be affiliated (22 per cent) and the married couples with children are even more than twice as likely again to be affiliated (56 per cent). Thus, both self-identification and family status are almost equally important for synagogue affiliation. In other words, those who identify with a more traditional movement (i.e. who are Conservative or Orthodox) are more likely to join as individuals than are Reform Jews, but when Reform and Conservative Jews marry other Reform and Conservative Jews, these affiliation differences are minimal, and their affiliation even approaches that of Orthodox couples.

6. Correspondence Between Self-identification and Synagogue Choice

If identifiers are more likely to affiliate than non-denominational Jews, does that mean that they join a synagogue of the movement with which they identify? The identification of households which are current members was compared with the type of synagogue they belong to (Table 29). The Reform households are the most "loyal" to their movement: 28 per cent belong to a Reform congregation. The Conservative are the next most loyal, with 79 per cent belonging to a Conservative synagogue. The attraction of Orthodoxy to Conservative Jews is evident in the 12 per cent of Conservative identifiers who belong to an Orthodox synagogue. The Orthodox identifiers are almost the mirror image of the Conservative: 76 per cent of the Orthodox identifiers belong to Orthodox congregations and 10 per cent to Conservative, suggesting that Conservative Judaism may have the same attraction for the Orthodox that Orthodoxy has for the Conservatives.

TABLE 29. SELF-IDENTIFICATION BY TYPE OF SYNAGOGUE (MEMBERS ONLY)

Type of Synagogue	Self-Identification				Athiest, Just Jewish, Other	Combination of Two
	Reform	Conservative	Orthodox	Reconstruction		
Reform	88.2	6.1	10.0	x	40.0	32.7
Conservative	5.0	78.9	9.6	x	36.9	32.9
Orthodox	3.4	12.2	75.7	x	8.1	34.4
Reconstructionist	0.0	0.2	0.0	x	0.0	0.0
Other	3.4	2.6	4.7	x	14.9	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	110	107	32	7	31	45

CHI Square = 426.5

P .0001

There is much less overlap affiliation between the Reform and Conservative movements, however: 5 per cent of the affiliated Reform Jews belong to Conservative congregations, and 6 per cent of the affiliated Conservative Jews belong to Reform congregations.

The non-denominational households which are affiliated are almost evenly divided between Reform and Conservative synagogues, with a slight edge toward Reform. They are the most likely to have given some "other" answer for the kind of synagogue to which they belong. They behave as might be expected, given their lack of a denominational preference. Couples which combine two movements of identification, or a movement and no movement are equally divided among Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox congregations. Again, it would be fascinating to pursue this particular thread further, but that, too, is outside the scope of this report.

7. Synagogue and Organizational Affiliation

Affiliation with a synagogue goes along with organizational affiliation (Table 30). Current synagogue members are the most likely to belong to at least one organization (69 per cent) and to four or more organizations (17 per cent). Conversely 69 per cent of the households that belong to one or more Jewish organizations also belong to a synagogue as compared with 20 per cent of those households that have no organizational membership. This remains true controlling for age and intermarriage.

Earlier it was pointed out that households are either currently synagogue members or never have been members, with the previous members being half the number of current members. This observation is echoed here as well: the households which have been previous members are much less likely to be organization members than the current members. Further, they are only slightly more likely to belong to a Jewish organization than households that have never been members at all. Thus, the organized Jewish community is made up of the same group of people who belong both to synagogues and to Jewish organizations. Overall, 27 per cent of all Denver Jewish households belong to both a synagogue and an organization, and 39 per cent belong to either a synagogue or a Jewish organization.

TABLE 30. ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION BY SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP

Total Number of Jewish Organizational Memberships	Synagogue Membership of Household		
	Currently a Member	Previously a Member	Never a Member
None	31.3	74.9	81.6
1-3	51.6	19.2	18.4
4-6	17.0	5.9	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	334	133	388

CHI Square-219

P .0001

III. Discussion

This report substantiates other data we have about the Denver area Jewish community. Those households that are members of synagogues and affiliated with Jewish organizations tend to fit one general profile:

- over 40
- married to another Jew
- self-employed manager, professional or sales
- income = \$40,000+
- gives to Jewish causes
- lives in Denver 10 years or more.

However, more than 40 per cent of the households fit quite a different profile. These household heads are more likely to be:

- under age 40
- a salaried professional
- income \$20,000-\$40,000
- 3rd or 4th generation American
- single, or in a second marriage
- if married, non-Jewish spouse
- lived in Denver less than 10 years.

If we do not develop creative new means to reach out and include more of these households in our community the organized Denver Jewish community of the future will indeed be smaller. In each supplement we have reported a radically lower level of involvement with Jewish communal affairs for two groups of Jewish households: the intermarried and the under 40 single. In the future (5-15 years) when the baby boomers have matured there will be a decrease in the numbers of young singles. The group who are intermarried will continue, however.