

For the purpose of analysis the demographic study divides the Milwaukee Jewish community into three planning areas using zip codes. The three areas are: the North Shore, the City of Milwaukee, and the Metropolitan ring.

# Demography - Introduction

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## Foreword

The 1984 population study of the Milwaukee Jewish community was undertaken in order to ascertain the changes that have occurred since the 1964 Study. The principle purpose of the study is to gain an understanding of the important social and economic characteristics of the population to aid in the planning of communal facilities and programs and in the development of community decisions. The study also provides an understanding of the major trends affecting the population.

The data confirms some generally held beliefs and contradicts others. Most important it confirms that Milwaukee is a vital, committed and affiliated Jewish community.

This project was made possible by a grant from the Milwaukee Jewish Community Foundation. It was a project of the Community Planning Committee, and conducted by a special Demography Sub-Committee. Commissioned to conduct the study was the Policy Research Corporation of Chicago, President, Eve Weinberg. Analysis of the data was developed by Dr. Bruce Phillips, Associate Professor of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. In addition to the committee members listed below we wish to thank the numerous agencies, synagogues and community organizations who assisted in various phases of this study.

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## Methodology

To determine the population, a modified random digit dialing sampling technique was used. In this method telephone numbers are generated at random by computer. Telephone interviewers dialed those numbers to determine residential numbers and if anyone in the household was Jewish. Since no systematic information about the extent and distribution of the Jewish population in Milwaukee had been analyzed since 1964 it was necessary to conduct a pilot study. 121 of the 125 three digit prefixes in the Milwaukee telephone directory were utilized. The prefixes excluded contained no residential numbers. This pilot study determined that 36% of the numbers called were not households and 2% of the households reached, reported one or more Jewish persons living in the household.

It became apparent that a total random digit dialing approach would be fiscally prohibitive. Since the pilot study also indicated that only 6% of the Jewish households reached had unpublished telephone numbers it was safe to create a sample selected from a reverse directory. Use of such a directory increased household phone numbers as a percent of all phone numbers from the 36% achieved in the pilot study to 80%. It was also determined that elimination of prefixes where no Jewish households were located would increase the Jewish household rate to approximately 3%.

Two separate samples were drawn: a sample similar in size to the pilot study, and a second larger sample selected from further reduction in the number of prefixes. The prefixes eliminated were those outlying telephone prefixes that had yielded no Jewish households in either sample one or sample two, and that were located in areas where Federation staff and community members expected no Jewish households.

The final sample utilized 93 prefixes. The number of calls per prefix was proportional to the total telephone numbers in that prefix.

All numbers were randomly selected. Altogether, in the three samples 475 households were identified and 402 or 85% were interviewed.

The United States 1980 census of population provides its population statistics for the urbanized area of Milwaukee and its component parts. To arrive at the number of Milwaukee area households from

which Jewish households were identified two calculations were necessary: first, the total population for the urbanized area of Milwaukee (1,207,008) minus those component parts that were excluded from the sample (54,494) as a result of eliminating 17 prefixes for sample three, and second, the number of households represented by that population.

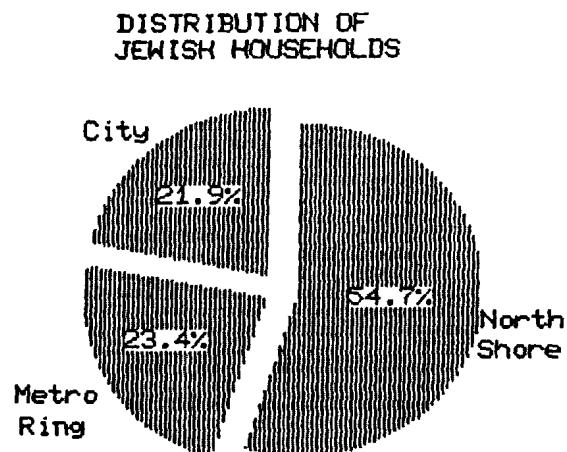
The questionnaire that was developed for the interviews includes geographic location, age, generation -a measure of Americanization, family structure and household composition, income, occupation and education, and geographic mobility. In addition, the questionnaire sought information on special populations such as the elderly, the pre-retirement population, those with chronic illness or handicaps, youth and singles. An attempt was made to gather information concerning the use of services available through the Jewish communal agencies, patterns of marriage, remarriage and intermarriage, factors related to Jewish identity, and finally resource development including patterns of charitable giving and volunteerism.

*“These are they that were numbered”*  
*Numbers 26:51*

Study analysis reveals that the Milwaukee Jewish community consists of 12,000 Jewish households. The average persons per household is 2.5 and the population of non-institutionalized Jews in Milwaukee is approximately 30,000.

## Residential Patterns

The largest proportion of Jews resides in the North Shore planning area. While represented by only 3.5 zip codes, the North Shore contains 55 percent of Milwaukee's Jewish households and 59 percent of its Jewish population. The other two planning areas are each represented by about the same number of zip codes, but the geographic spread of the Metropolitan Ring is much greater than that of the City. These two planning areas each contribute just under one fourth of the Jewish households (23 percent for the Metropolitan Ring and 22 percent for the City), but due to the many single person households in the City, that planning area contributes only one sixth of the Jewish population while the Metropolitan Ring contributes one fourth.



## Length of Residence (Percent)

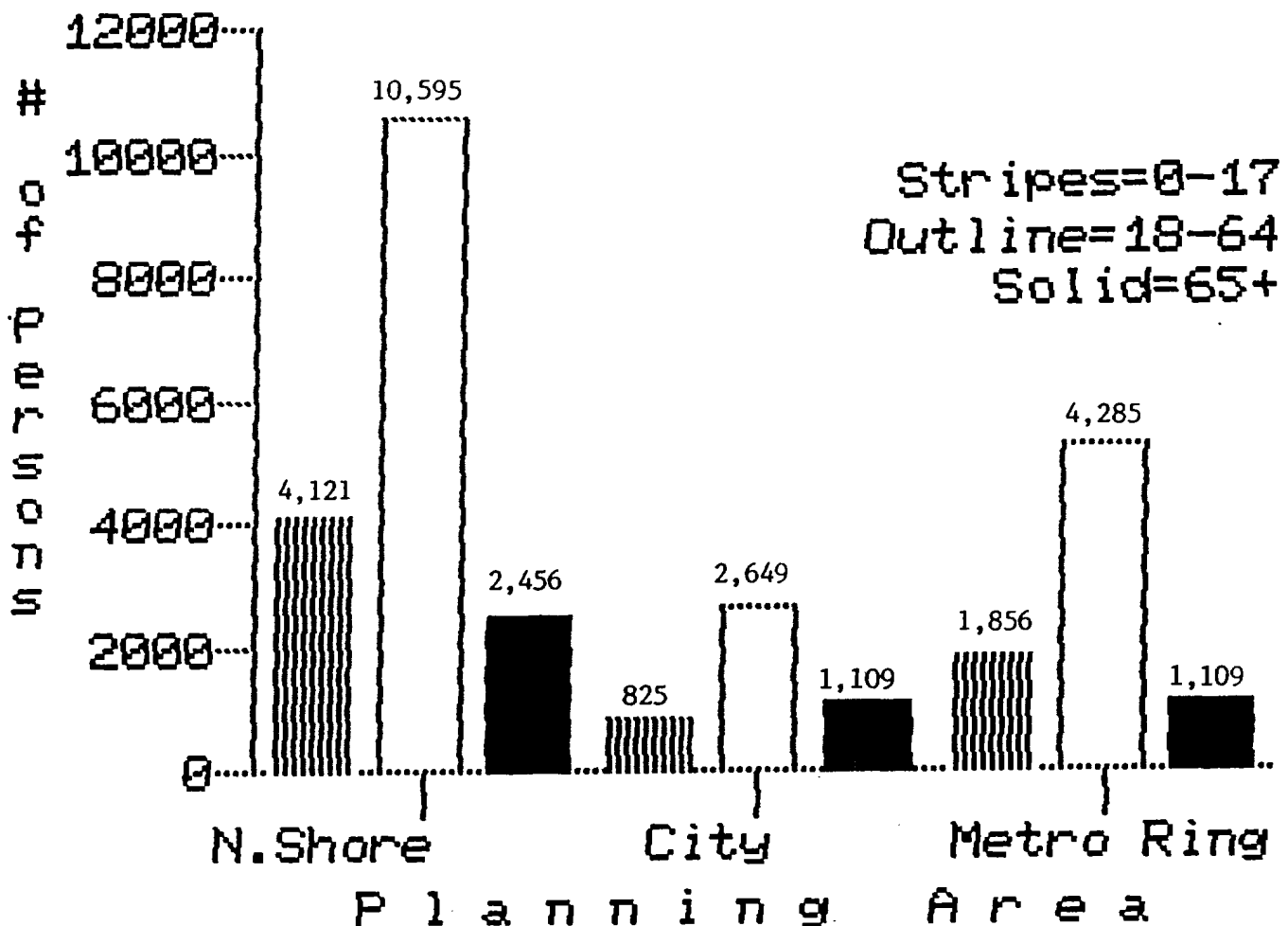
Number of Years Lived in Milwaukee	North Shore	City of Milwaukee	Metropolitan Ring	All Areas
5 Years or less .....	8.3	20.5	12.8	12.0
6 - 10 years .....	5.5	9.1	10.6	7.5
11 - 15 years .....	4.6	6.8	2.1	4.5
16 - 20 years .....	3.2	3.4	—	2.5
21 or more years .....	78.4	60.2	74.5	73.5
TOTAL .....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N.....	(218)	(87)	(93)	(398)

The Milwaukee Jewish population is essentially stable. As many as three-fourths of the heads of household were in Milwaukee at the time of the last Jewish population survey in 1964. Of the three planning areas, the North Shore, with close to 80 percent of the household heads living in the area twenty-one or more years, is the most stable. The newer Milwaukee Jewish households are being concentrated in the City of Milwaukee, with

Sixty percent of all households plan to live in the same apartment or house in three years. City households are more likely to be unsure about their whereabouts in three years, and they are more than twice as likely as suburban households to expect to move to a different city. Thus, the City planning area is relatively a greater contributor to movement out of Milwaukee than are the other two planning areas.

## Age Distribution

### AGE DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH POPULATION



Overall, females constitute 51 percent and males 49 percent of the Jewish population. In the 70 and over age group, the preponderance of females increases to 55 percent. More boys than girls appear to have been born to Milwaukee Jews in the youngest generation. Fifty two percent of the children from infancy to 17 years are male.

The age profile of the City planning area looks quite different from that of the other two planning areas. Although only 15.8 percent of Milwaukee's Jewish population lives in the City planning area, 30 per-

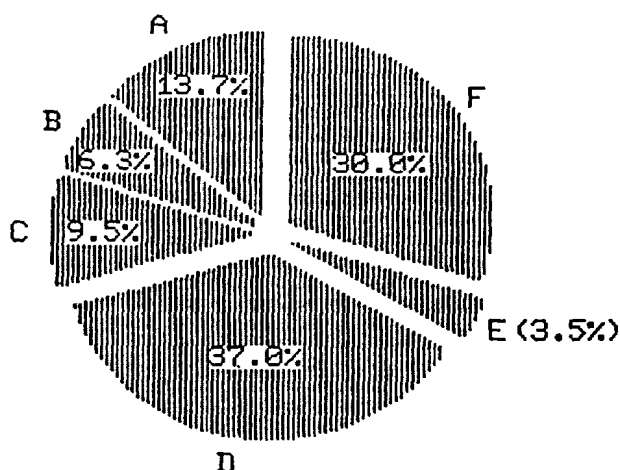
cent of its young adults (25-34) and 24 percent of its elderly (65 and over) live there. The age profiles of the North Shore and Metropolitan Ring are similar to each other with two notable exceptions: 71 percent of Milwaukee's Jewish teenagers live in North Shore households, comprising 15 percent of the Jewish population of that planning area; the younger Metropolitan Ring households contribute 40 percent of Milwaukee's Jewish babies and preschoolers although only 25 percent of the total Jewish population lives in that planning area.

*Family Structure*

## Marital Status

The two-parent Jewish family with children is no longer typical of Jewish households in Milwaukee. Less than a third of the households consist of a married couple with children. Only 34 percent of the Jewish households have children under 18. Every third Milwaukee Jewish household is headed by some kind of single person, either never married, divorced, separated, or widowed. The actual number of single parent families is considerably smaller than the emphasis on single parent families might lead one to believe. This is consistent with other Jewish communities and is explained by two trends within the Jewish family: a low rate of fertility and a high rate of remarriage. In other words, many couples divorce before having children, and many single parent families become "blended" families.

FAMILY STRUCTURE:  
ALL PLANNING AREAS



A = Never Married

B = Divorced/Separated — No children at home

C = Widowed — No children at home

D = Married Couple — No children at home

E = Single Parent Family

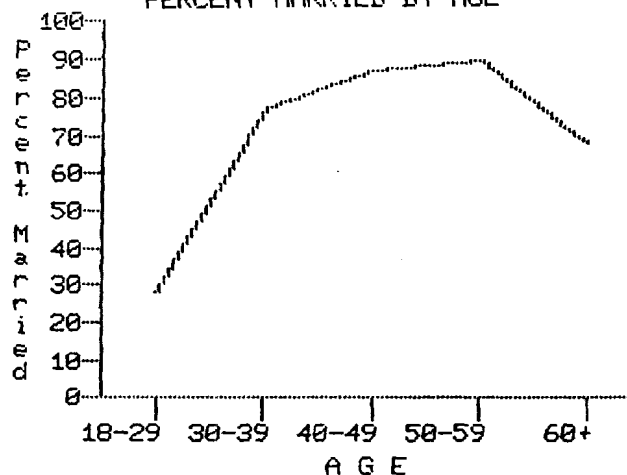
F = Married Couple — With children

## Age and Marriage

Almost half (47 percent) of the households in which the respondent is under 30 are headed by a single, never married person, with another 3.5 percent headed by a divorced person. The proportion of single parent families is highest in the 30-39 age group representing 9 percent of all households, and 12 percent of all households with children. Since only about 30 percent in the 18-29 age group have ever married, it is reasonable to assume that this group will reflect a general trend towards later first marriages. The vast majority of all current marriages (87 percent) are first marriages for both partners, and 90 percent of current marriages with children at home are first marriages for both partners.

The remarriage rate is highest among couples in their forties and the divorce rate is highest among individuals in their thirties. If Jews divorce, they are most likely to do so in their thirties and to remarry in their forties.

PERCENT MARRIED BY AGE



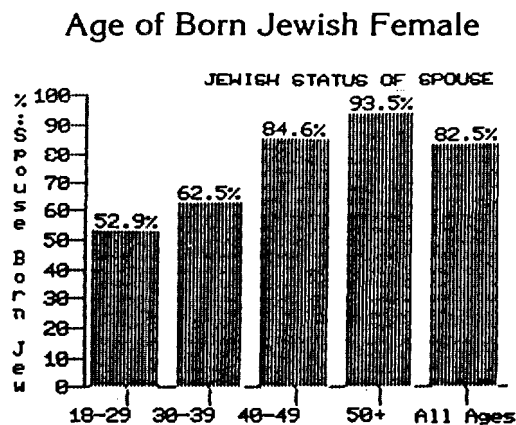
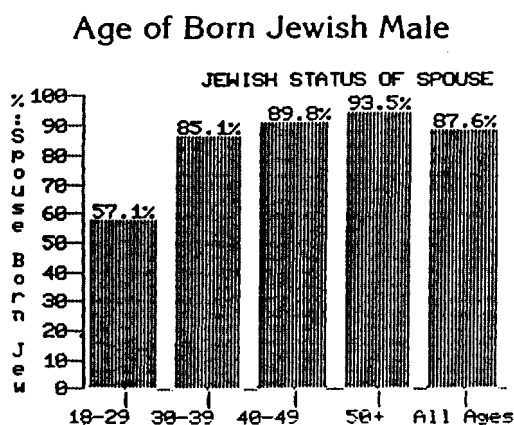


## Intermarriage

Almost three-fourths (74 percent) of all Milwaukee Jewish marriages are between two persons who are born Jewish. The remaining 26 percent are mostly between a born Jew and a non-Jew. Only 7 percent of the marriages are between a born Jew and a convert. Born Jews, under age 30 are more likely than those 30 and over to marry a non-Jew or a convert (47 percent).

The non-Jewish woman who marries a born Jewish man is more likely to convert than a non-Jewish man who marries a born Jewish woman.

This difference may be explained by the issue of Jewish status: the child of a Jewish woman is considered a Jew according to Jewish law (Halacha), so there is no need for the non-Jewish male to convert in order for the children to be Jewish.



## Children Of Intermarriage

(Percent)

Child Being Raised:	Born Jew	Convert	Non-Jew	All Children
Jewish.....	98.0	100.0	33.3	81.8
None .....	2.0	—	26.3	8.0
Catholic .....	—	—	26.3	6.6
Protestant .....	—	—	3.5	0.9
Other .....	—	—	10.5	2.7
TOTAL.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N .....	(150)	(19)	(57)	(226)

Virtually every child of two Jewish parents (whether born Jewish or converted) is being raised as a Jew, but only one-third of the children in households with one non-Jewish parent are raised as Jews. Similar number of children from one Jewish and one non-

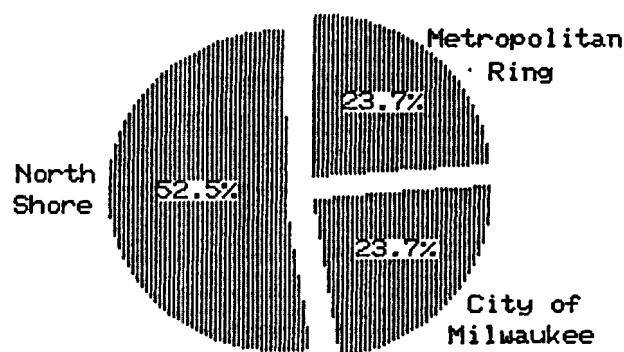
Jewish parent is raised in no religion at all or as Catholics. Taken together, 82 percent of all children in Milwaukee Jewish homes are being raised as Jews.

*Special Populations*

## Elderly

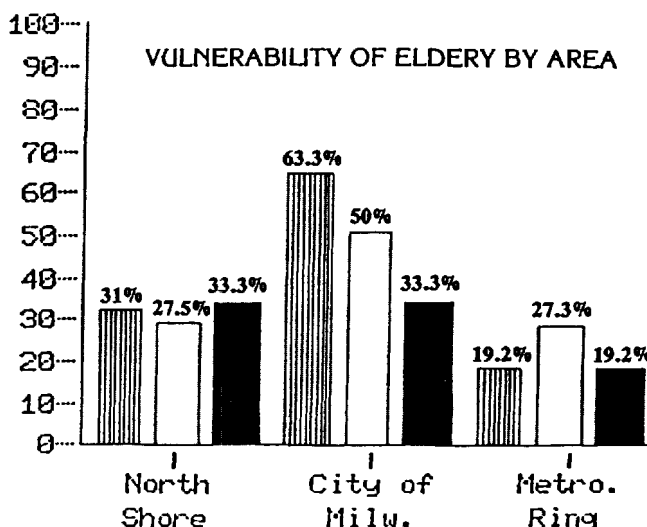
There are nearly 5,000 elderly Jews in Milwaukee, making up approximately 3,600 households. Half of all elderly persons live in the North Shore area, with equal numbers living in Milwaukee and the Metropolitan Ring. Although the majority of the elderly reside in the North Shore area, the City Planning area has the highest concentration of elderly: 25 percent of all Jews in the City are 65 or older, as compared with 15 percent in the North Shore area and the Metropolitan Ring.

THE ELDERLY BY PLANNING AREA



## A Population at Risk

Living arrangement, age and income affect the ability of older people to live independently of institutional care. Older persons most "vulnerable" or "at risk" are those living alone, persons over 75 because they are more likely to be weak, ill, or easily injured in household accidents, and lower income persons because they are less able to purchase help. The elderly in the City planning area are the most vulnerable: they are older, less affluent, and more likely to live alone. The elderly in the Metropolitan Ring are the least vulnerable: they are the youngest, more affluent, and the most likely to live with someone else. The North Shore area falls in the middle.



Stripes = Living Alone  
Outline = Income Less Than \$15,000/Yr.  
Solid = Percent Over Age 75

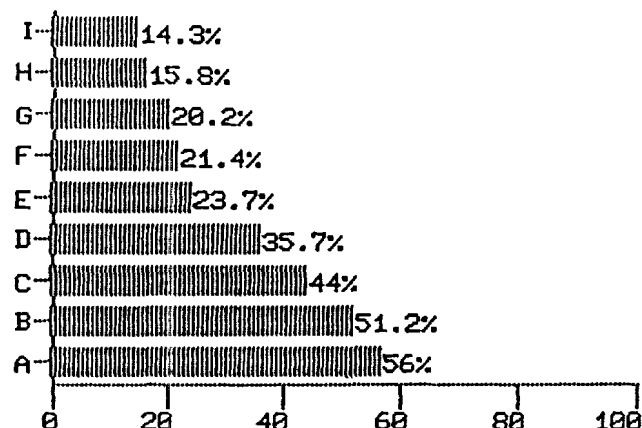
## Singles - Getting Together

(Percent)

Singles are an increasingly high Jewish communal priority. The reasons for this emphasis is twofold. First, they have become critical of what they see as a tilt toward families on the part of Jewish services and organizations. Second, as the age of marriage has been postponed and the divorce rate has increased, single households have become more numerous.

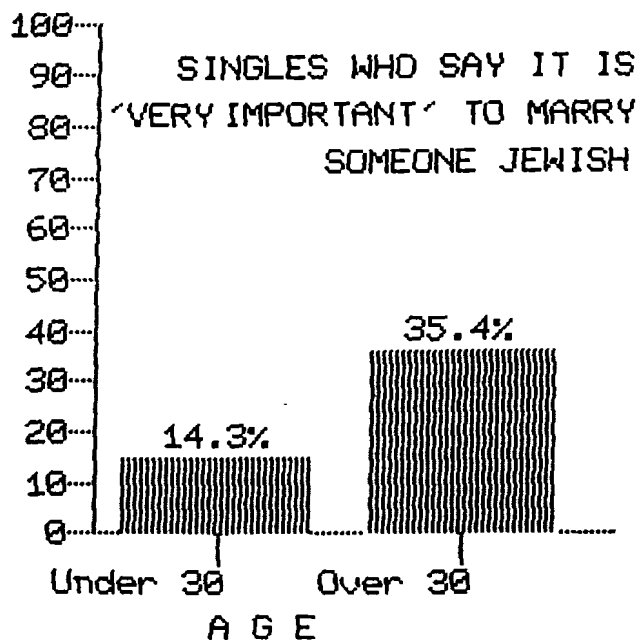
- A = At parties or social gatherings
- B = Through friends
- C = Through college, university, extension courses
- D = Through or at work
- E = At the Jewish Community Center
- F = Through other Jewish organizations
- G = At singles bars, resorts, travel packages
- H = Through general organizations or clubs
- I = At synagogue

PLACES TO MEET SINGLES



## Marrying Jewish

(Percent)



The vast majority of singles feel it is either "important" (35 percent) or "very important" (35 percent) to marry. They are much less committed to marrying a Jew, however.

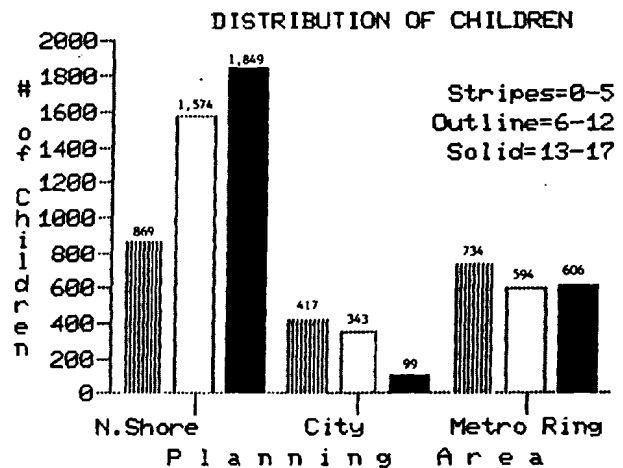
While some singles feel strongly about the importance of marrying a Jew, they are clearly not in the majority. Present or proposed services to singles may be viewed in light of the extent to which they can affect the attitudes of never married singles from the "it is not at all or not very important to marry someone who is Jewish" to the other end of the scale.

## Children and Youth - Residence

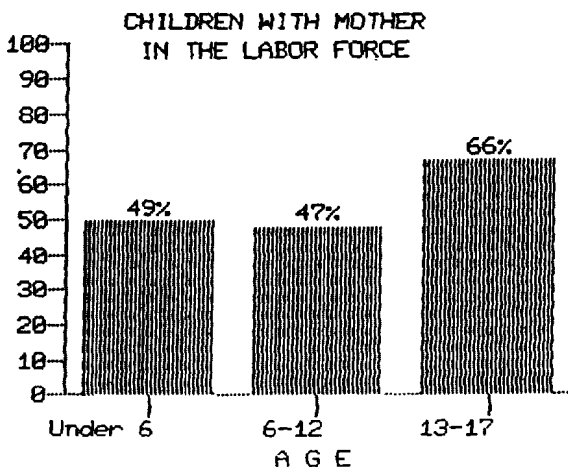
The North Shore Planning area claims 55 percent of the Jewish households and 61 percent of Milwaukee's Jewish children under 18 years of age. The City Planning area has 22 percent of the Jewish households and only 12 percent of the Jewish children, and the Metropolitan Ring with 23 percent of the Jewish households has 27 percent of the Jewish children.

Teen agers are concentrated in North Shore households to an even greater degree than children as a whole (72 percent vs. 61 percent). The population of babies and very young children, on the other hand, are almost as likely to live in Metropolitan Ring as in North Shore households.

It is notable that although children under six represent only 29 percent of all Jewish children in Milwaukee they account for 38 percent of all children in the Metropolitan Ring.



## Employment Status of Parents (Percent)



A higher percentage of mothers are employed full time if the children are teen agers than if they are younger.

A bare majority (57 percent) of children under six are in some kind of child care program, almost half of which are under Jewish auspices. Children enrolled in day care are there either because their single parent or both of their parents are employed. Nursery school enrollment, on the other hand, is made up primarily of children whose mothers are not in the labor force.

## Teen Affiliation (Percent)

Name of Youth Group	Percent Belonging*	(N)
BBYO (B'nai B'rith Youth Organization) .....	32.5	(77)
JCC (Jewish Community Center) .....	22.1	(78)
USY (United Synagogue Youth) .....	5.2	(77)
NFTY (Nat'l Fed. of Temple Youth/"Nifty" ..	5.2	(78)
Habonim .....	2.6	(78)
BETAR .....	—	(78)
Hashachar .....	—	(78)

\*Based on report of Household Head about 13-17 year old children. Responses were Yes or No to each organization.

The majority of young people who belong to a youth group come from families that belong to synagogue and/or other Jewish organizations, according to their parents.

Over half of the teens do not belong to any group. Of those who are members, the vast majority belongs to only one of the youth groups. BBYO and JCC appear to draw the largest number of members.

## *Jewish Identity*

To Judaism the existence of the  
Jewish people is essential and indispensable,  
not only for its realization in life, but  
for its very idea.

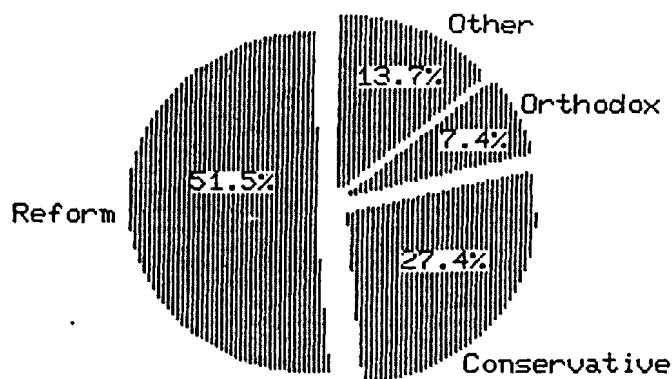
S. W. Baron, *Social & Religious History*, 1952

## Religious Identification

(Percent)

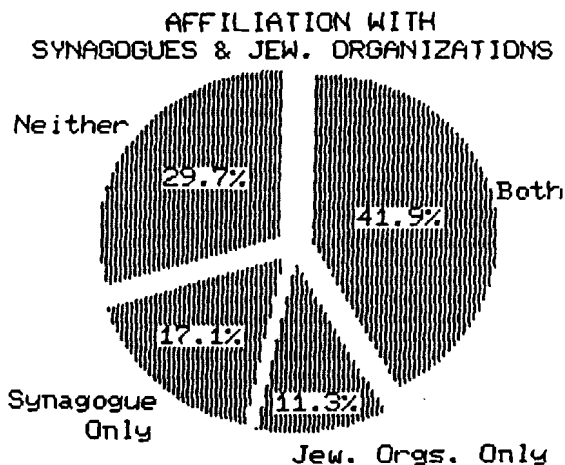
Even without formally affiliating with a synagogue, Jews identify with one of the three major movements within Judaism — Reform, Conservative, Orthodox, or they identify as Jews outside this framework of religion. Reform, the predominant identification in every generation, increases from 37 percent of the first or immigrant generation to 74 percent of the fourth generation. Conservative Judaism is strongest in the second (38 percent) and third (32 percent) generations, but is mentioned by only 11 percent of the fourth generations. Orthodoxy is the strongest among the first generation (19 percent) but declines to only 2 percent of the fourth. First generation respondents are almost twice as likely as fourth generation respondents to identify themselves as secular or "just Jewish." Born Jews married to non-Jews are the most likely to identify as Reform and the least likely to identify as either Conservative or Orthodox. Ten percent of all born Jews married to non-Jews identify with no religion or "other."

JEWISH SELF IDENTIFICATION



## Patterns of Affiliation

(Percent)



Orthodox households are the most likely to belong to a synagogue followed by Conservative and Reform. The younger the respondent, the less likely the household is to belong to a synagogue. Fifty-one percent of the respondents in their thirties, and over 60 percent of all other age groups belong to a synagogue. Only a third of the divorced and separated respondents belong, making them the least likely to join.

Milwaukee is a heavily affiliated Jewish community: 70 percent of all households are affiliated either with a synagogue, a Jewish organization or both. Synagogue members are more affiliated with Jewish organizations than non-members. The affiliation rate and the number of organizational memberships held by the affiliated increases with age. Only 27 percent of those under age 30 are affiliated. Born Jews married to non-Jews have almost no contact with Jewish organizations. Respondents who have lived in Milwaukee for less than five years are less likely to belong to Jewish organizations and synagogues than respondents who have lived in Milwaukee six years or more.

Income is related to both the affiliation rate and the average number of memberships held. The North Shore area, which is the most affiliated of the three planning areas in other respects, is also the most organizationally affiliated; 61 percent of the North Shore households belong to a Jewish organization as compared with 49 percent of the Metropolitan Ring and 38 percent of the City.

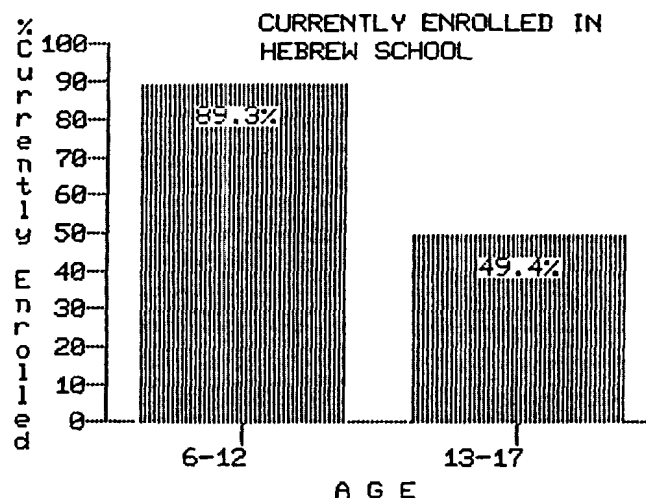


## Formal Jewish Education

(Percent)

Studies of Jewish communities have shown that providing a Jewish education is sometimes perceived as a sensitive issue, and some parents give what they consider to be the "right" answer to this question, even when their children are not actually enrolled in a Jewish educational program.

Once children have reached Bar Mitzvah age, the drop out rate is considerable. Four factors were examined for a possible relationship with the post-Bar Mitzvah enrollment of children in formal Jewish education: household income, number of years in Milwaukee, home observance, and Jewish education of parents. Of these, only the Jewish education of parents was associated with post-Bar Mitzvah formal Jewish education. If both parents have received a Jewish education, children over the age of thirteen are more than twice as likely to continue their Jewish education.



## Agency Awareness

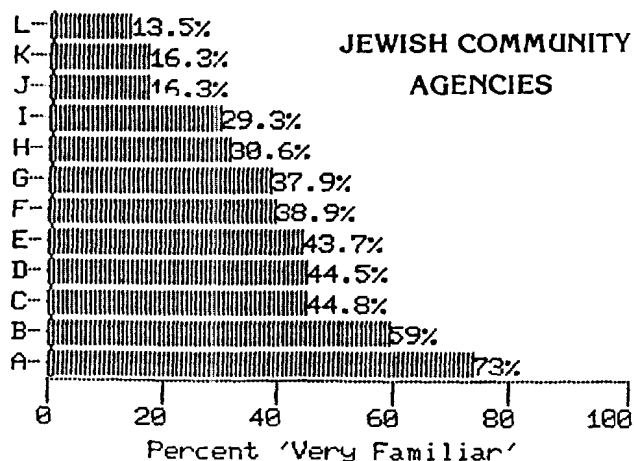
(Percent)

Overall, the Milwaukee Jewish population is familiar with its Jewish agencies. The best known agencies, the Jewish Community Center, Mt. Sinai Medical Center, Milwaukee Jewish Home, and the Kosher Restaurant at the Jewish Center are all highly visible institutions in the most literal sense; they occupy large buildings and are centrally located. The agencies with which respondents are least familiar tend to be behind the scenes agencies - the Jewish Chaplaincy Program and the Milwaukee Jewish Council.

Different family types had varying levels of familiarity with the agencies. Single parents are the most likely to be familiar with the Jewish Family and Children's Service; married couples and single parents are most familiar with B'nai B'rith Youth programs; divorced and separated respondents are more familiar with Mt. Sinai than other households. Generally, those who are synagogue members, have higher incomes and have lived in Milwaukee more than five years are most familiar with local agencies.

### JEWISH COMMUNITY AGENCIES

- A = Jewish Community Center
- B = Mt. Sinai Medical Center
- C = Milwaukee Jewish Home
- D = Jewish Vocational Service
- E = Kosher Restaurant at the JCC
- F = Jewish Family & Children's Service
- G = B'nai B'rith Youth Programs
- H = Hillel Academy Day School
- I = Milwaukee Jewish Convalescent Center
- J = Milwaukee Jewish Council
- K = Milwaukee Association for Jewish Education
- L = Jewish Chaplaincy Program



## *Making A Living*

Hebrew has but one word  
— *Avoda* — for work and  
worship.

*Hugo Bergmann, 1919*

## Education (Percent)

Highest Grade or Year Completed	Males			Females		
	18-39	40-64	65 +	18-39	40-64	65 +
8th Grade or less . . . . .	—	2.3	4.6	1.5	—	7.2
Grades 9 to 11 . . . . .	1.1	0.8	4.6	1.0	1.5	8.4
High school graduate . . . . .	4.6	12.1	26.2	9.3	17.7	36.1
Technical training . . . . .	2.3	0.8	—	1.0	3.8	4.8
Some college . . . . .	19.5	17.9	15.3	18.5	26.0	25.3
College graduate . . . . .	25.3	21.4	17.2	23.7	26.7	14.5
Some graduate/ professional school . . . . .	9.2	7.6	7.6	19.6	7.6	3.6
Master's Degree . . . . .	12.6	15.9	4.6	19.6	13.7	—
Professional degree . . . . .	21.8	13.6	10.8	5.2	1.5	—
Other doctorate . . . . .	3.4	7.6	9.1	2.1	—	—
TOTAL . . . . .	99.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
N . . . . .	(87)	(131)	(64)	(97)	(131)	(83)

## Occupation (Percent)

Occupation	Males			Females		
	18-39	40-64	65 +	18-39	40-64	65 +
Manager . . . . .	15.0	32.8	27.4	9.1	10.7	13.9
Professional . . . . .	53.8	35.2	33.9	57.6	40.5	22.2
Technician . . . . .	—	—	1.6	3.0	1.2	—
Sales . . . . .	15.0	21.9	19.4	9.1	19.0	25.0
Clerical . . . . .	1.3	2.3	4.8	12.1	26.2	33.3
Service . . . . .	2.5	2.3	1.6	4.5	2.4	—
Skilled . . . . .	3.8	3.1	8.1	1.5	—	—
Semi, unskilled . . . . .	8.8	2.3	3.2	3.0	—	5.6
TOTAL . . . . .	100.2	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0
N . . . . .	(80)	(128)	(62)	(66)	(84)	(36)

# Income By Family Structure

(Percent)

Income	Family Structure					
	Never Married	Divorced/ Separated Children	Widowed No Children	Married No Children	Single Parent	Married with Children
Under \$5,000 . . . . .	7.8	—	30.8	1.8	—	0.9
\$ 5,000 - \$ 10,000 . . . . .	21.6	14.3	7.7	4.5	8.3	0.9
\$ 10,000 - \$ 15,000 . . . . .	7.8	19.0	15.4	6.4	25.0	4.7
\$ 15,000 - \$ 20,000 . . . . .	21.6	14.3	15.4	7.3	16.7	4.7
\$ 20,000 - \$ 30,000 . . . . .	19.6	42.9	15.4	13.6	25.0	25.5
\$ 30,000 - \$ 50,000 . . . . .	15.7	—	15.4	33.6	8.3	33.0
\$ 50,000 - \$ 75,000 . . . . .	3.9	4.8	—	20.0	8.3	12.3
\$ 75,000 - \$100,000 . . . . .	2.0	4.8	—	7.3	8.3	5.7
\$100,000 - \$150,000 . . . . .	—	—	—	1.8	—	8.5
\$150,000 and over . . . . .	—	—	—	3.6	—	3.8
TOTAL . . . . .	100.0	99.7	100.1	99.9	99.9	100.0
N* . . . . .	(51)	(21)	(26)	(110)	(12)	(106)

\*76 respondents provided no income data.

Nearly half of Milwaukee Jewish households are concentrated in the middle income categories. The City of Milwaukee is the poorest planning area, with the highest proportion of households having incomes under \$10,000. The low income of never married singles (which could be a function of age and therefore temporary) may limit their ability to participate in Jewish life and may create obstacles to obtaining social services. A majority of married couples with children under 18 while not affluent, have incomes above \$30,000; yet twenty-six percent of all married couples with children have incomes between \$20,000 and \$30,000. While this latter group is by no means "poor," it is an income bracket which may not leave much for Hebrew School tuition, Jewish summer camp, or synagogue dues.

The difference in educational attainment between the under 40 and 40-64 age groups is greater among Jewish women than among Jewish men. While younger born Jewish women have not entirely "caught up" with their male counterparts, they more closely resemble the men educationally than they

resemble older women. The percentage of college graduates among Jewish men and women under 40 is identical, yet the men are more likely to have attained professional degrees and doctorates, while the women are more likely to have completed their education with a Master's degree, or some graduate work.

The proportion of professionals is highest among Jewish women under 40, but the biggest difference is between women over and under 65. Full time employed Jewish women are more likely than born Jewish men to be in the professions but half as likely to be managers or in sales.

Among Jewish males, the greatest difference is between the under 40 and other age groups. More than half of the under 40 Jewish males are in professions as compared with around a third of the older groups.

## *Giving*

Nobody is ever impoverished  
through the giving of *tzedakah*.  
Maimonides

## Patterns of Giving (Percent)

Type of Organization	Percent Contributing (N = 360)
United Way . . . . .	69.2
Synagogue . . . . .	64.7
Milwaukee Jewish Federation . . . . .	56.2
Any hospitals or health agencies . . . . .	47.7
Museums, Art Centers or Performing Arts . . . . .	45.3
Any other local Jewish organization, agency or school (in the Milwaukee area) . . . . .	42.8
Any national Jewish organization or cause . . . . .	40.9
Political organizations or causes of any kind . . . . .	39.0
Colleges or universities in the U.S. . . . .	28.7
Directly to universities, Yeshivot, hospitals or other causes in Israel . . . . .	26.5
Any other type of organization or cause . . . . .	22.8

Reasons	Percent Who Say "Yes" (N = 205)
To support the Jewish Community . . . . .	94.1
It is part of being Jewish . . . . .	91.2
To support Israel . . . . .	89.8
To fight anti-semitism . . . . .	83.7
To support Federation sponsored organizations . . . . .	74.0
Because it makes me feel good to give . . . . .	68.8
Because the family has always given . . . . .	57.1
For tax reasons or on advice of accountant . . . . .	13.8
Because you were convinced to give by the person who solicited the contribution . . . . .	10.8
It is expected because of your (or husband's/wife's) business . . . . .	10.3
Because you feel it will look bad if you don't give . . . . .	8.3

\*Respondents were asked to say "yes" or "no" for each possible reason.

Milwaukee Jews give to both Jewish and non-Jewish causes. Almost three out of four Jewish households give to some kind of Jewish cause, and over half give specifically to the Federation. The more Jewish organizations to which a household contributes, the more likely it is to give to the Federation. This is in part a reflection of contact, for members of two or more Jewish organizations were almost all (91 percent) asked for a contribution as compared with 63 percent of those who belong to only one, and 46 percent of those who belong to none. Of those contacted, organization members were more likely to give than non-members.

Also affecting giving are:

**Age** — Older respondents are more likely to be givers.

**Length of residence in Milwaukee** — Respondents who have lived in Milwaukee for 10 years or less are less likely to give.

**Intermarriage** — Born Jews married to other born Jews are more likely to contribute to the Federation than born Jews married to converts, and more than seven times as likely to give as born Jews married to non-Jews. They were also much more likely to have been contacted.