

# The Jewish Population of Greater Washington in 1956

REPORT ON AN INTERVIEW SURVEY OF  
SIZE, SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS, RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY,  
COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION, AND OBSERVANCE OF  
SOME TRADITIONAL JEWISH PRACTICES

*by*

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THE JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF GREATER WASHINGTON  
1420 NEW YORK AVENUE, N.W. Washington, D. C.

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## P r e f a c e

On January 13, 1957 it was my privilege to present to the Delegate Assembly of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington a preliminary report on some of the findings of the population survey which is extensively described and analyzed in the pages that follow. Some of the introductory comments that preceded the presentation of that preliminary report are as germane today as they were five months ago:

"In January 1947, America lost one of its most distinguished philosophers, one who for about 40 years had been a dominant figure in the American philosophical, literary, and scholarly scene. His name was Morris Raphael Cohen. His name tells you that he was a Jew. But he was a Jew not only in name. He took a keen interest in American Jewish life, and participated actively in many facets of it. One of the remarkable things about this philosopher was that, in matters of Jewish community concern, he was the most soberly practical of men, and always insisted on the facts, the cold, bare facts, as a guide to community action.

"As an introduction to this report on the findings of our Jewish Population Survey, I want to quote to you several sentences from Professor Morris Raphael Cohen's autobiography, entitled 'A Dreamer's Journey':

'...we found an appalling reliance upon guesswork and rumor even in the most high-minded of practical endeavors. Indeed, the more practical the endeavor the more likely were its sponsors to resent factual inquiry with the warning that this was a time for vigorous action and not for study. But Jewish problems like other problems cannot be satisfactorily dealt with on the basis of preconceptions, rumors, or the policy of muddling through. And we found that the basic data of Jewish population, age groups, and occupational distribution were nowhere available. Indeed we found that the basic figure which is a factor in every generalization about American Jews, namely, their total number, was not known with any degree of accuracy.... This lack of knowledge was reflected in all sorts of local enterprises.... We soon decided that it was necessary to inaugurate a series of factual studies of the composition of the Jewish population....'"

The survey has now been completed. The tabulations have been processed. The report which explains and analyzes these tabulations has now been written. The principal impact of the report is in the realization it affords that we are now a large Jewish community, much larger than many of us thought. It demonstrates that we ought to banish from our thinking any residues of 'klein shteteldigkeit', any residues of small-townishness.

The information about the size and certain characteristics of the Jewish population of Greater Washington is contained in the present report. It is of great practical utility, and will continue to be so for a number of years to come, if our Jewish community will choose to make use of it. Indeed, some of the preliminary information about the size and geographic distribution of our Jewish population has already been utilized by two or three of our community institutions in their discussions of future planning. We have reason to hope that the material in this survey is also of theoretical value. The care with which the survey design was developed, the size and character of the sample - both of Jewish households and of households from the general population - the high percentage of coverage by the interviewers, the careful statistical analyses on which the population estimates are based, and

the procedures which resulted in the extensive tabulations and cross-tabulations of the data, give us reason to believe that this report represents a scientific undertaking of high reliability, with scrupulous adherence to the requirements of responsible scientific method in social research.

The decision to conduct a survey of the Jewish population was arrived at by the Executive Committee of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington at its meeting of March 10, 1954, after extensive discussions of the need to reassess our community work in the light of the growth of the suburbs. Subsequently an outline for the proposed survey was developed, which stated that the survey would seek "three types of data":

- "(1) The size, distribution, and composition of the Jewish population in Greater Washington.
- "(2) Participation and behavior relative to Jewish philanthropic, religious, and community activities.
- "(3) Attitudes and opinions of the Jewish population with respect to identification with organized Jewish life and activity."

At a meeting held with several rabbis and the executives and other professional staff members of Jewish community agencies and institutions, an inventory was drawn up of the information most needed by these institutions, and therefore of the kind of questions to be included in the interview questionnaire to be administered to the Jewish households. As illustrations of the kinds of specific information which was to be sought, the "Outline of the Proposed Survey" listed the following:

".....place of birth, age distribution, size of family, education, occupation, government or private employment, income level, length of residence here, degree of permanence, to which Jewish and non-sectarian or non-Jewish causes they contribute, affiliation with Synagogues and other Jewish and non-sectarian institutions, Jewish education, teenagers' participation in organized Jewish group activity, trends in movement to and from geographic areas within Greater Washington, attitudes to aspects of organized Jewish life, etc."

The first version of the questionnaire was submitted to a special committee of the Council which approved it after several modifications were made. Mr. Joseph Andelman served as Chairman of this committee. The questionnaire was further modified after being pre-tested in a pilot survey. A copy of the final version of the questionnaire is attached to each copy of this report.

The stated objectives of the survey have been fulfilled with a high degree of satisfaction. Least satisfactory is the section on Jewish education. This resulted partly from faulty definition in the minds of the interviewers and in the minds of the respondents of such terms as "afternoon Hebrew School", "all-day Hebrew School", etc.; partly from the major differences between the methods and organizations of Jewish education in the United States, and the Jewish education received in Europe by some of the older respondents; and partly from the fact that, for the major information about Jewish education, we relied upon the Survey of Jewish Education that is shortly to be completed in Greater Washington by the American Association for Jewish Education.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the small group of generous and civic-minded men who contributed the money required for this survey and report. The Jewish community will always be under deep obligation to them for their financial participation in a project which promises to afford such far-reaching values to so many of our community endeavors.

Thanks are due also to a large number of other individuals and institutions for various kinds of help. The population experts, sampling statisticians and other social scientists, without whose participation on a volunteer basis this survey could not have been conducted, are listed in Mr. Bigman's Introduction. We are most grateful to them. We are grateful above all to Mr. Stanley K. Bigman, who carried the major responsibility for the conduct of the survey, and persevered through it often under most adverse conditions. A large portion of the time and energy devoted by him to the survey was on a completely volunteer basis.

We are deeply grateful to the Bureau of Social Science Research, and the Division of Research of the American University, to the University itself, to its President, Dr. Hurst R. Anderson, and to its Dean of Administration, Dr. Donald Derby. Nor can we ever adequately repay the American University in dollars for all the human and technical resources it employed for the completion of this survey. This is but another example of the vital and significant role this institution of higher learning is playing in the life of Greater Washington.

Our thanks are due to the several hundred men and women who did the interviewing in that portion of the Survey's field work which was done by volunteer interviewers. We wish to express, especially, our gratitude to Mrs. Henry Gichner, who did a mammoth job of recruiting these volunteer interviewers. We acknowledge also the able assistance of Mrs. Gichner's committee and the help, in the recruitment, of the Community Council's member organizations and of other community-minded groups.

An enormous amount of detailed administrative and office work had to be done in advance of the interviewing, in the implementation of the sampling procedures, the copying of addresses, the organization and assignment of interviewer's kits, and a variety other steps. A large number of volunteers put in a staggering number of hours on this administrative work. Each and every one of them contributed significantly to the progress and final completion of the survey, and our thanks go to them. However, this vast job could not have been done without the work and tenacity of Mrs. Aaron Goldman, and of my wife, Pearl C. Franck, who recruited volunteers, supervised them, and themselves gave generously of their time to this tedious but imperative part of the total job.

We are grateful to the office of the United Jewish Appeal of Greater Washington, and particularly to Mrs. Meyer R. Bernstein, for use of the U. J. A. master mailing list, which served as the starting point for one of the sampling procedures, and for assistance in various other ways.

Rabbis Balfour Brickner, Simon Burnstein and Tzvi H. Porath were most helpful in the construction of indices of religious observance.

Primarily, this survey has been the product of the imagination and perseverance of one man, Mr. Aaron Goldman, during whose term of leadership in the Presidency of the Jewish Community Council the survey was initiated and brought to completion. He perceived the importance of this basic social research from the moment the need for it was first discussed by the Council's Executive Committee. He made inquiries among

leaders of other Jewish communities where population surveys had been made, in order to ascertain the practical uses to which the findings of the surveys were put. He kept in close touch with the progress of our survey throughout the long and often painful process of preparation, field work, and analysis. It is my considered judgment that this survey is a major contribution on his part to the welfare of our Jewish community.

I consider it a high privilege at long last to make available to the public, on behalf of the Jewish Community Council, this REPORT ON THE JEWISH POPULATION OF GREATER WASHINGTON IN 1956.



Isaac Franck, Executive Director  
Jewish Community Council of  
Greater Washington

May 1957.

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## Introduction

### Section A. Purposes and Background of This Study

#### Why a Study of Washington's Jewish Population?

The practical value of this study is suggested by Isaac Franck in his apt reference to Professor Cohen's demand for facts as a basis for action. In the year in which Professor Cohen died - 1947 - a small-scale study of the Washington Jewish Community was prepared for the Jewish Community Center by the National Jewish Welfare Board. A principal conclusion of that study was that large-scale and "definitive" research on the community was required.

"Definitive" the present study does not pretend to be. It does, however, provide the material for answering a great many questions. It will, I hope, go a long way to furnishing the information which, according to an early "Outline of the Proposed Survey," was lacking:

"Estimates of the Jewish population of Greater Washington vary greatly. Some estimates are as low as 40,000, others as high as 70,000. In addition to the uncertainty about the size of our Jewish population, there is also a great deal of uncertainty about its geographic location in the District of Columbia and the suburban areas; about the movement of the Jewish population into any particular areas; about the degree to which Jews in our community are reached by the UJA and by other religious, educational, cultural, and philanthropic activities; and about the degree of permanence of our Jewish population. This, and a great deal of other information, is urgently needed for the intelligent conduct of our communal affairs."

In addition, we have gathered information, much of which is not published here, from which we hope to learn things of a more general nature. What leads people to join, or not to join, a synagogue? How do they make up their minds on where to live? What is the relation of various social characteristics of people to observance of traditional Jewish practices? These and other questions we hope to be able to answer through subsequent analysis of the study's very rich data.

Before turning to the study itself, it will be worth while to review briefly "the Washington background" - what kind of community the study is set in - and the fragmentary information available on the Jewish population prior to 1956. We will then consider in turn, in this introduction, how the study was made, a summary of the principal findings, and the fashion in which the report is organized.

#### The Washington Background

Every city thinks itself unique. Washington is different - it really is unique. Of course it shares many of the characteristics of large American cities, but it has also its own peculiar qualities, deriving from its position as national capital and emerging world capital. Washington, then, is the center of the country's government. This has affected not only the political structure of the community, which does not concern us here, but also the economic structure.

The Federal government is the principal employer, the chief "industry." At the time of the last Census (1950), forty percent of those employed were working for the government. Manufacturing is unimportant, wholesale trade even more so - Baltimore, the larger city an hour to the north, has overshadowed Washington as a distribution center. Tourism plays an important part in the economy, while retail trade, personal services and professional services furnish the bulk of non-government employment. Recent growth has come through the attracting to the area of research and development firms and of the national headquarters of trade associations, trade unions and other organizations.

The occupational pattern arising from the industrial structure of Greater Washington is highly unusual. White collar jobs - largely clerical and professional - predominate, while there are relatively few manual jobs. Among the white population, over 60% were (in 1950) in clerical, sales, professional and technical positions, while fewer than 30% were in manual or service occupations.

What kind of population is found in such a city? Drawn from cities and towns all over the United States is a high-income well-educated group, characteristic with its roots and family ties elsewhere. The voteless condition of Washington residents encourages the maintenance of "home-town" ties and the persistence of feelings of transiency even after years of residence in the Washington area. Some government employees, especially at higher levels, do come for relatively short periods, while numbers of diplomatic and military personnel are assigned to the area for fixed short terms.

One other significant fact about Washington is its location. On a site chosen originally to create a city without sectional ties, Washington has been a border city in many respects. In its pattern of ethnic relations, until very recently, there has been widespread discrimination against and segregation of Negroes. The proportion of Negroes in the population of the city has been rising - it was over a third in 1950, and is higher now. While many Negroes occupy white collar (clerical and professional) positions, they also fill most of the manual and service jobs.

Washington's growth has been conditioned by domestic and international political developments. There was a spurt of population increase in the New Deal years following 1932, and again in the pre-war and war-time early 1940's. At the end of World War II this population burst out into the suburbs, especially from the older and decaying middle-class neighborhoods. An increased movement of Negroes from the South into Washington has caused the older Negro areas to overflow into the sections being vacated by the white - predominantly middle-class - move to the suburbs. As in most major cities, the unavailability of suburban housing for Negroes has resulted in an out-movement of whites and an increase in the proportion of Negroes in the central city's population.

Statistical data on the Greater Washington community, for comparison with this study's findings, may be found in the following publications of the U. S. Bureau of the Census: U. S. Census of Population: 1950. Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 9, Dist. of Col., Chapters B and C.

#### Previous Estimates of the Jewish Population

There has been no exact or even fairly systematic study of the Jewish population of the Washington area before this. We do, however, have a series of "educated guesses." Their relative accuracy cannot be judged, except that the figure accepted until the fall of 1956 was 60,000 compared to this study's estimate of 80,900.

Inexact or inaccurate though they may be, the "best guesses" of the past, being all we have, may suggest approximately the pattern of growth of Washington's Jewish population. From a study conducted by the National Jewish Welfare Board for the Jewish Community Center in 1947 we reproduce the following estimates:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Jews</u>	<u>Source</u>
1905	3,500	Not indicated
1907	5,100	Not indicated
1921	13,782	N.J.W.B. study conducted in 1922
1946	25,567	Jewish Community Council

That the N.J.W.B. was dissatisfied with the 1946 estimate is evident from the suggestion in its report that "a definitive study of the Jewish population of Washington and its suburbs" be undertaken.

Subsequent estimates, reported in successive issues of the American Jewish Year Book, are:

1948	30,000
1950	45,000

and the 60,000 figure supplied by the Jewish Community Council and used for the past several years.

Some slight information on the growth and movement of this population is also presented in the N.J.W.B.'s 1947 report. Their 1922 study, they say, "placed the center of Jewish population approximately ... at 11th and Pennsylvania. The study comments that the Jewish population ... was moving Northwest in the direction of Cleveland Park and Chevy Chase." Their 1946 estimate is reported to include 3,377 persons (1450 families) in "the suburbs." Among these they figured 400 families in Silver Spring and 150 in the Bethesda-Chevy Chase section, totaling about 1875 persons; 700 families in Arlington; and 200 in Alexandria.

## Section B. How and by Whom the Study was Made

This study was conducted by techniques resembling most nearly those used by the U. S. Bureau of the Census in conducting sample censuses. Some details of these techniques are contained in Appendix C. Here these are summarized, in connection with the very welcome task of acknowledging the ungrudging assistance of a host of collaborators, without which the study could not have been conducted. The very many volunteers who performed a great part of the extensive clerical work and conducted a third of all the interviews have been thanked elsewhere. In addition, some thirty professional people, mostly statisticians and sociologists, contributed their time and advice or (as members of the study's staff) gave far more of themselves than money alone could obtain.

### Planning the Study Design

In the spring of 1955 an informal Technical Advisory Committee was established to help the writer resolve technical problems. The Committee's first and major task was devising a plan for obtaining a sample of the general population of Greater Washington (and particularly of the Jewish population). From this sample we would be able to determine the number of Jewish families and persons, and their principal characteristics. After considerable discussion of various alternative plans, we selected a sample derived from a list of known Jewish persons, made available by the United Jewish Appeal, and a sample of all "dwelling units" (apartments and private houses) in the built-up section of the metropolitan area. These were selected and combined according to systematically developed techniques of scientific sampling adapted by the Committee from standard statistical procedures.

The Committee members were also of help in the succeeding stages of the study. They advised on construction of the schedule of questions through which we obtained the various kinds of information required by the Jewish Community Council and its affiliates. They helped plan interviewing procedures and evaluate interviewer performance, and offered guidance in estimating the size of the Jewish population.

The Committee included, for varying periods of time, the following persons:

Reuben Cohen, then Chief, Analysis Branch, Research Division,  
Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, now Chief  
Statistician, Opinion Research Corporation

Walter Hartmann, then Religious School Director, Washington Hebrew  
Congregation

Morton Kramer, Chief, Biometrics Branch, National Institute of  
Mental Health, U.S.P.H.S.

Jack L. Ogus, Chief, Statistical Methods Branch, Industry Division,  
U. S. Bureau of the Census

Morris B. Ullman, Office of the Assistant Director for Statistical  
Standards, U. S. Bureau of the Census

Joseph Waksberg, Chief, Statistical Methods Branch, Housing Division,  
U. S. Bureau of the Census

### Pilot Study and Preparations for Interviewing

When plans for selection of the sample, the questionnaire and other procedures were fairly concrete, they were tested by conducting a small-scale "pilot study" in Northeast D. C., during October, 1955. As a result, considerable revision was made in the sample design, the questionnaire and the interviewing plans.

After this, the sample of addresses to be called at was selected, and these were combined into interviewer assignments. Volunteer interviewers were recruited by the Jewish Community Council, which also sent a letter to each address drawn from the United Jewish Appeal list, announcing that an interviewer would call on February 2, 1956.

The volunteer interviewers used in the early part of the study were trained in nine simultaneous training sessions by the following volunteer instructors: Ira Cisin (Human Resources Research Office, George Washington University), Libert Ehrman (Stuart A. Rice Associates), David Fields (Operations Research Office, Johns Hopkins University), Isaac Franck (Jewish Community Council), David Futransky (Census Bureau), Leon Geoffrey (Census Bureau), Walter Gerson (Gerson-Chastka Associates), Edwin Goldfield (Census Bureau), Rabbi Meyer Greenberg (B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, University of Maryland), Alfred I. Jacobs (Census Bureau), Charles Merzel (Census Bureau), Emmanuel Reiser (Census Bureau), Morris B. Ullman (Census Bureau), Joel Williams (Census Bureau), David Yentis (U. S. Public Housing Administration).

Alice Riddleberger, now Instructor in Sociology at Howard University, was the only full-time staff member from September, 1955, when the study really got under way, to the beginning of interviewing in February, 1956. Mrs. Riddleberger assumed the principal responsibility for the tasks involved in organizing and carrying out the multifarious details of selecting the sample to be surveyed; of conducting the pilot study in Northeast Washington; and of preparing and distributing interviewer assignments. Her unfailing loyalty, initiative, ingenuity and energy held the project together and kept it moving for five wearying months.

#### Conducting the Interviews

Volunteer interviewers conducted about a third of the total interviews, during February, 1956. Subsequently professional interviewers were hired. They completed most of the remaining interviews between March 5 and May 5; the balance (about 10% of the total) were made in August. From February through May, the supervision of interviewers and of office records was the responsibility of Barbara Heller and Estelle Eisendrath, both of whom contributed significantly to the study as staff members.

#### Converting the Interview Data into a Report

When the interviewing was completed, each questionnaire was "edited" - checked for completeness and consistency - and its answers "coded" - classified and assigned numerical codes. The coded answers were transferred, as a series of punched holes, to IBM punch cards. Tabulations of the answers punched into the cards were planned, and prepared through the use of IBM tabulating and other machines. Tables for the report were planned, and constructed from the machine tabulations. Percentages were computed in practically all tables. From the tables, and other material derived from the questionnaires, the present report was prepared.

In connection with the planning and the writing of this report, the help of the following persons should be acknowledged: Justin C. Lewis, Principal Assistant for Program Analysis, Vocational Rehabilitation and Educational Programs, Veterans Administration, for preliminary planning of Chapters 1-3; David L. Kaplan, Chief, Occupation and Industry Statistics Branch, Population Division, Bureau of the Census, for guidance in coding the occupational data; Ben B. Seligman, Assistant to the Director of International Affairs, United Auto Workers, for

discussion of plans for Chapters 1-3; Charles M. Hersh, Associate Professor of Public Administration, The American University, for writing preliminary drafts of Chapters 1-4; Rabbi Solomon N. Skaist, Principal, The Hebrew Academy of Washington, for discussions of Jewish education and of Chapter 5; David Yentis, Chief of Program Statistics, Public Housing Administration, and Member of the Executive Board of the Jewish Community Council, for help in planning Chapter 7, and for critical reading and discussion of Chapters 5-8; and Aaron Goldman, immediate past President of the Jewish Community Council, for critical reading and discussion of Chapter 8 and advice on other aspects of the report.

Vivian Osias, who joined the study's staff in September, 1956, bore the principal burden of the work involved in turning the completed questionnaires into the material of this report. Mrs. Osias supervised the editing and coding of the questionnaires, the preparation and percentaging of tables, etc. She prepared the index to the tables. She also kindly read and checked the whole report prior to its publication.

Maps were prepared by James R. Crawford, Junior Planning Technician, Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission. Rose Moore of the AAA Letter Service was most helpful in the role of publisher.

The study was initiated by the writer while a Project Director of the Bureau of Social Science Research, then affiliated with The American University. When, in September, 1956, the Bureau left the University, the Division of Research of the American University assumed responsibility for completion of the study. Dr. Alva Davis, Director of the Division of Research, made available the requisite office space, other facilities and staff. The writer, at present an Associate of the Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., and a Project Director of the Division of Research, wishes to express appreciation to both organizations for their respective parts in housing and assisting the study.

To each of the above the writer is deeply indebted. None of them, of course, should be held accountable for the contents of this report; nor, in particular, for any errors which it may contain. The writer alone is responsible for the report.

### Section C. Summary of the Study Findings

In this section we have set down the principal findings reported in the succeeding eight chapters. The presentation here follows the order of the chapters, so that the reader who wishes more detail than is contained in the Summary need only turn to the parallel chapter in the body of the report.

The eight major areas covered in the Summary are:

1. The size, sex, age and marital status of the Jewish population
2. Education, employment, income and military service
3. Residential mobility: past, present and future residence
4. Participation in the Jewish community and in the community at large
5. Jewish education
6. Synagogue membership and attendance; religious identification
7. Observance of certain traditional practices of Judaism
8. Intermarriage

Concluding this section are two brief notes: one indicating the nature of further available data not published here, the other suggesting a source of material on other Jewish communities for those who may wish to make comparisons.

#### 1. Size, Sex, Age and Marital Status

##### Number of persons

There are approximately 80,900 Jews among the permanent residents of Washington and its suburbs. Half of these Jewish persons live in the District of Columbia. The other half are scattered unevenly through the built-up sections of Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties, Maryland, and the Virginia suburbs of Alexandria, Falls Church, Arlington County and the built-up part of Fairfax County. The largest concentrations of Jews are in the part of Northwest D. C. east of Rock Creek Park, and in Montgomery County - about 22,000-25,000 persons (between 1/4 and 1/3 of the Jewish population) in each. These areas also show the highest ratios of Jewish to total population. By contrast, Jews are relatively few in Southeast and Southwest D. C., and in the Virginia suburbs.

##### Number of households

Over 27,000 households contain at least one Jewish person. Close to 24,000 of these are entirely Jewish and account for about 77,000 persons: an average of 3.2 per household. Among these, 20,500 include a married couple; in the other 3400, the head of the household is not now married. The remaining 3300 (about one household in eight) are "mixed" - that is, of the persons within them who are related by blood or marriage, at least one is Jewish and at least one is not. These mixed households are relatively most common in Virginia, least so in Northeast Washington.

##### Sex and age

Among the Jewish population there are more males (41,000) than females (39,900), except in Northwest Washington, where there is a preponderance of women. About a third of each sex are under 15, and a similar proportion between 30 and 44. In between is a relatively small proportion of 15 to 29-year-olds, promising a

relatively low birth rate for the immediate future. Children (under 15) are relatively numerous in Northeast D. C. and in Montgomery County, but relatively few in Northwest D. C., east of Rock Creek. Older adults (over 45) comprise a high proportion of the Jews in both parts of Northwest D. C. (east and west of the Park), but a small proportion in the Maryland Counties.

#### Marital status

More than three-fourths of those over the age of 14 are married. In general, the women tend to marry earlier. All of the married persons under 20 are women; and there is therefore a tendency for women to be younger than their husbands. A higher proportion of the men than of the women never marry; and the men tend to die earlier, so that there are many more widows than widowers.

Married persons include half of those aged 20-24 and 9 out of 10 aged 25-45; as death and divorce take their toll, the proportion who are married drops to less than 3 in 5 after 65. Persons who have never married comprise 15% of the total, and one and a half times as high a proportion of males as of females. They include practically all those under 20; only 1 in 10 of those aged 25-44; and virtually none of those over 65. The currently widowed persons are about 5% of the total, but eight times as high a proportion of women as of men. Negligible in numbers under the age of 45, they increase with age to take in 2 of every 5 over 65, including 2 of every 3 women of that age. The currently divorced or separated are few; they are mostly women. As might be anticipated, the highest proportions of married persons are found in the suburbs; the highest proportions unmarried (including widowed and divorced) in the District, especially in the Northwest.

## 2. Education, Employment, Income and Military Service

#### Education

This is a well-educated population, in which 9 out of 10 persons aged 25 or over reported having had some high school training, and over half at least a year of college. Almost a quarter of the total had some college work beyond the 4-year undergraduate course. Persons with such graduate work include over half of Montgomery County's Jewish adults, and 40% or more of those in Northwest D. C., west of Rock Creek; in Virginia suburbs; and in Prince Georges County.

The men are markedly better educated than the women. Typically, the former are college graduates while the latter have not gone beyond high school. Of course this high level of educational achievement is most frequent among the younger, less among the older - the proportion of men who have had at least one year of college is 20% among those 65 and over, but 86% among those aged 25-34.

#### Employment status

Slightly over half of the Jewish population 14 years old or over are "in the labor force" - either working for pay or profit, or in the armed forces (2%) or unemployed (less than 1%). Of the men, 84% were working (but only 29% of the women) and 5% were in the armed forces. Those not "in the labor force" include women keeping house (60% of all women), persons of both sexes attending school (10% of both sexes over 14), a small number of retired persons and a few others.

Employment status of course varies with age. Over nine-tenths of those under 20 are attending school, a small proportion are already working full time and still fewer are in the armed forces. In the 20 to 24 year group, the largest

proportion of the men are in the armed forces, about one in three is in school and a slightly smaller number are working. Most of the women of this age are keeping house; a high proportion are working, having left school with no more than a high school education; and only one in five is still in school. Among those 25 to 64, almost all men are working, though a substantial proportion of those in their twenties are still completing their education, or performing military service, while retirement and unemployment claim some of the older men. Most women of the same age are keeping house. After 65, about half of the men are still working but three-eighths have retired; almost three-fourths of the women are keeping house and small numbers are working or retired from work.

#### Occupation

The general tendency for Jews to hold professional or other white collar jobs, or to be owners and managers, is exaggerated in Washington by the large number of white collar positions available. Almost a third of Washington's employed Jews are professionals - the major groups being lawyers; social scientists; engineers and architects; and natural scientists. About as high a proportion are office workers or salespersons. One-fifth are owners, managers or officials. Manual occupations account for about one-tenth. Men predominate in all of these occupational groups except for the office and sales workers, who are mostly women. Paralleling the differences in education, professionals are more numerous among the younger than among the older people.

#### Class of employer

Over a third of those who are working are government employees, including half of the professionals (mostly men in their 30's and 40's) and half of the clerical workers (mostly younger women). A similar proportion are working for private employers, including 80-90% of the sales and manual workers. This group includes a higher proportion of women than of men; but most employed men under 30 and over 65 appear to be in private employ. Less than one in four is self-employed. This group, of course, includes most of the owners, managers and officials (two-thirds of them); and in it men over 45 and women over 35 predominate.

#### Industry

Of those employed outside of government, the largest proportions are in retail trade and in various service industries. Retail trade employs about a third of the non-government workers, including half of the owners and managers and two-thirds of the salespersons. "Professional services," which means the private practice of doctors, lawyers and other professionals, as well as hospitals, social agencies, non-profit organizations, and the like, employ about a sixth, including (naturally) the bulk of the professionals and clerical workers outside of government. Another one in eight works in "business, repair or personal services," a category including on the one hand accounting and advertising, and drycleaning and repair shops on the other; such services account for most of the remaining professionals and many of the manual workers.

#### Income

The income distribution is what might be anticipated for a population with such high average education and concentrated in such occupations. About 15% failed to report their income; both general experience and evidence in our data suggest that these were mostly high-income people, and that, if anything, our figures on income are slightly low.

Over half the families reported a total family income of \$7000 or over; about half of those incomes were \$10,000 or over. Only 6% said they had incomes of under \$4000 (though probably this is an underestimate, since lower income families tend slightly to exaggerate their incomes). The high-income areas of Montgomery County, Virginia suburbs and Northwest D. C. west of Rock Creek reported between 60 and 65% of families with incomes of \$7000 or over; and over half the families in the last-mentioned area claimed incomes of \$10,000 or over, with an additional 21% not reporting income at all. By contrast, over half the families in Southeast and Southwest D. C. reported incomes under \$5000, with almost none failing to give income information.

Incomes of \$10,000 or over were reported by over one-third of the families of professionals and of owners, managers and officials. The highest incomes were found among the self-employed and the lowest among those working for private employers, with government employees in between.

#### Military service

Just half of the Jewish men 19 years old or over in the Washington area have served in the armed forces of the United States at some time, including the present. Among those aged 25 to 34, the proportion with military or naval service rises to 85%.

### 3. Residential Mobility: Past, Present and Future Residence

#### Birthplace, parentage and arrival in the United States

Over 80% of the Washington area Jewish population is native-born -- mostly born in the District of Columbia or in New York. About half of the foreign-born are from Eastern Europe, especially Russia and Poland. The proportion of native birth is highest among the young, lowest among the old. About 70% of those under 15 were born in the District, while two-thirds of those 65 and over are foreign-born. The largest number of those under 25 were born in D. C.; of those 25-44, in New York; of those 45 and over, outside the U. S. (mostly in Russia and Poland).

Half the native-born are of native-born parentage; about a quarter had Russian-born parents.

Of the foreign-born, two-thirds had arrived in the United States before 1933, practically all of East European origin. For obvious reasons, higher proportions of the more recent arrivals are of West European or non-European birth. Over half of the foreign-born live in the part of Northwest Washington east of Rock Creek; those from West Europe, however, tend to live in all other parts of the metropolitan area.

#### Previous residence outside the Washington area

Over half of the Jewish persons in the Washington area came here from elsewhere in the past 24 years - since 1932; this includes 30% who moved into the area since 1945. Those who arrived before 1933 are now living for the most part in Northwest D. C. on both sides of Rock Creek. The most recent arrivals seem to be concentrated in Southeast and Southwest D. C. and in near-by Virginia - about one in four persons in each of those areas came since 1952.

New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania have been the principal source of newcomers to the Washington area. One in three has come from these states; and from 1933 to 1952, over half. Before 1933, a sizable proportion came directly from

East Europe, while a similar proportion since 1952 has come to the Washington area directly from West Europe or non-European foreign countries.

About four-fifths of Greater Washington Jews are "big-city" people - for the most part born in the Washington area or formerly living in the City of New York. People from big and medium cities, especially New York, form a high proportion of those now living in Southeast and Southwest Washington; the highest proportions of ex-Baltimoreans are in Northeast and Northwest D. C.; and the Virginia suburbs have the highest proportion of those coming from small towns.

#### Last previous family residence

Almost 20% of the 27,000-odd families had moved to their present (as of 1956) address from outside the metropolitan area - and higher proportions in Virginia, in Southwest and Southeast D. C., and in Prince Georges County. Among those who moved from a previous address in Greater Washington, two principal tendencies were noted: one, movement within the same general area (for example, from one place in Montgomery County to another in that county); the other, movement out of Northwest D. C. east of Rock Creek. In five of the seven areas into which we divided Greater Washington, the largest or next to the largest proportion had moved from Northwest east of the Park.

The chief reasons given for having chosen the present neighborhood were: in order to be among Jews; to be near friends or family; and for convenience to jobs, to schools, to stores, etc.

#### Present home occupancy

Over half of the families own the houses in which they live; about 40% rent apartments; most of the others live in rented houses. Almost three-fourths of the families in Northwest D. C. and in Montgomery County own houses, but only one-fourth in Southeast and Southwest D. C. House-renters - probably the least stable group - are most frequent in Virginia, in Southeast and Southwest D. C., and in Northeast D. C.

#### Families expecting to move

About 13% of all families (numbering 3600) said that they were expecting to move within six months. Over a third of these were living in Northwest D. C. east of Rock Creek, and 10-20% each in Montgomery County, in Prince Georges County, and in Northeast Washington. The principal destinations were Montgomery County (especially the Silver Spring-Wheaton part), to which 40% of these families said they were planning to move; and Northwest D. C. west of Rock Creek.

Most of the families moving with children were going to Montgomery County. Families identifying themselves as Orthodox or Conservative seemed to be aiming for the Silver Spring-Wheaton section; those identifying themselves as Reform, or having no religious identification, for the Bethesda-Chevy Chase-Rockville section of Montgomery, or for Prince Georges County.

As might be anticipated, the proportion planning to move was highest among house renters, next highest among apartment renters, lowest among house owners. But the largest number of movers were apartment dwellers planning to buy their own homes.

#### 4. Participation in the Jewish Community and in the Community at Large

##### Membership in Jewish organizations

Most women belong to at least one Jewish organization; most men, to none at all. For each sex, the proportion belonging to any Jewish organization increases with age - that is, the older the age group, the higher the percentage belonging. The same is true with length of residence in the Washington area - newcomers of course take time to join new groups. Among women, the proportion who are members increases as income rises, but among men memberships decrease up to the \$10,000 income level; above this, the proportion belonging to a Jewish organization rises. Memberships are also most frequent among those attending synagogue most often.

##### Teen-age Jewish organizations

Among the younger teen-agers (through 15 years) a somewhat higher proportion of boys (about half) than of girls (about 40%) belong to at least one Jewish teen-age organization. In the 16-19 year old group, the reverse is true - the adult pattern of preponderantly female membership in Jewish groups begins to appear. These teen-age groups embrace a larger proportion of their potential members in the District than in the suburbs.

##### Adult non-sectarian organizations

Although a majority of the adults of each sex belong to at least one non-sectarian organization, there is a higher proportion of members among men. If we classify people as belonging to non-sectarian groups only, to Jewish groups only, to neither, or to both, men differ markedly from women in their relative numbers in each of these four categories. For men, the highest proportion belong to non-sectarian groups only; then, in descending order, to neither, to both, and to Jewish groups only. For women, by contrast, the order is: both, neither, Jewish only, non-sectarian only. The ties of the women, in short, are largely in toward the Jewish community; those of the men, out toward the larger community.

In general, the proportion maintaining membership in non-sectarian organizations rises with increased education, income and length of residence in Greater Washington. It seems to be at a peak between 35 and 44 years of age - lower both before and after.

The figures reported suggest that at least half of the Jewish families in Greater Washington belong to Parent-Teacher Associations (P-TA's) or similar groups, and about one-quarter to Citizen's Associations.

##### Philanthropic contributions

To a question on contributions to three major charitable campaigns of the preceding year, 90% of the families claimed to have contributed to each of the non-sectarian drives (Community Chest, Red Cross), but only 80% to the United Jewish Appeal. There is reason to view these as inflated figures; they may suggest, however, the relative significance of the three campaigns from the viewpoint of the Jewish community. Most of those contributing to the UJA gave also to the other agencies; some only to the others; virtually none to the UJA alone.

##### Eating meals with Gentiles

The extent of sharing meals with Gentiles in the home was viewed as one possible measure of social contact between Jew and non-Jew. Two-thirds of the

Jewish families reported that few or no meals had been eaten in the homes of Gentiles during the previous year; somewhat more than half of the families, that they had had few or no Gentile guests at meals.

## 5. Jewish Education

Breaking the population into three age groups - 17-29 years, 30-44 years, 45 or over - we find that in each group 80-90% of the men, and 60-70% of the women, have had some Jewish education. This may have been as little as a year of Sunday school, Hebrew afternoon school, Hebrew all-day school, a private tutor, or some other religious training. The highest proportion had attended Hebrew afternoon school. Sunday School, especially among the women, was attended by larger proportions among the young than among the old, and has thus been assuming greater importance than previously.

About three-quarters of the children 5-16 years old have had some Jewish education - mostly Sunday school, with Hebrew afternoon school next most frequent (especially among the boys). About half of the children of each sex, aged 5-8, have had some exposure to religious education, and over 80% of those 9-12. In the 13-16 year group, the proportion of boys having any Jewish education rises above 90%.

Three-quarters of the boys 13-19 have had a bar-mitzvah ceremony; only about 1 girl in 5, a bas-mitzvah. Between 10 and 15 percent of either sex have been confirmed. Not all boys who have had a Jewish education have had a bar-mitzvah ceremony as well. About one in ten who have been to Sunday school, and smaller proportions of those having other types of Jewish education, have had no bar-mitzvah ceremony.

## 6. Synagogue Membership and Attendance; Religious Identification

### Synagogue membership

Over half of the families report belonging to no synagogue; about a fourth belong to a Conservative, an eighth to an Orthodox and a sixteenth to a Reform Congregation. The Orthodox are relatively numerous in Northeast D. C., and the Northwest section east of Rock Creek; the Conservative in the suburbs and the Northeast; the Reform in Northwest west of Rock Creek; and those belonging to no synagogue, in Southeast and Southwest D. C. and in Prince Georges County.

The social characteristics of the Orthodox and those belonging to no synagogue are somewhat similar; the Conservative and Reform seem to share the opposite characteristics. The first two groups, for example, are most frequent among families with low incomes; as income rises, the proportions of Conservative and Reform families increase. Similarly with respect to occupation: the proprietors and managers plus the professionals account for 90% of the Reform, two-thirds of the Conservative and somewhat over half of the Orthodox, while the clerical, sales and manual occupations are high among the Orthodox and those who are not synagogue members. Education, which is closely related to income and occupation, shows a similar connection with synagogue membership: the Orthodox have less formal schooling, while of the Reform group, half have had some post-graduate college work. Since age is related to those other characteristics, it is not surprising that the Orthodox are most numerous among the older, while both Reform and Conservative are younger groups. Nativity shows the same relationship: the Orthodox are strongest among the foreign-born, the Reform relatively most numerous among the native-born of native parents.

Those currently married are more likely than the unmarried (including single, widowed and divorced) to be members of any synagogue.

The principal reasons for choosing one synagogue over another are its convenience or nearness, and the fact that family or friends belong to it. Those belonging to no synagogue gave as their main reason the fact that they had no children of an age to require the synagogue's services.

#### Synagogue attendance

About one-fifth of the household heads and their wives never attend synagogue; a similar proportion attend once a month or more often; most of the remainder - over half - attend less often than once a month. Attendance is more frequent among the older than among the younger; also more frequent among the foreign-born than the native-born.

The highest proportion among the Orthodox, among the Conservative and among the Reform attend three to eleven times a year (in effect on the High Holy Days only); over half of each attend less than once a month. Of the remainder - who attend at least once a month - the Orthodox are likely to attend somewhat more often: typically, once a week or more; the Reform least often: typically, once a month. Those who are not members are least likely to attend.

#### Religious identification

Regardless of membership in a congregation, what proportions of Jewish families "think of themselves" as Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or none of these? And what do they mean when they say "none of these"? Omitting the "mixed" households in which husband or wife is Gentile, about half of the completely Jewish families consider themselves Conservative, about one-fourth Reform and 15% Orthodox. This is a reversal of the proportions reporting membership in Orthodox or Reform congregations. Those who say "none of these" comprise three small groups who either cannot decide among the alternatives offered (6%), or profess some other religion (0.5%) or none (4%).

Of those families identifying themselves as Orthodox, nearly half belong to an Orthodox congregation, and most of the rest to Conservative synagogues. Of those identifying as Conservative, almost the same proportions belong to a Conservative synagogue, and to no synagogue (40-45% each). Of those who consider themselves Reform, over half belong to no synagogue, the rest being scattered among Reform, Conservative and Orthodox synagogues.

#### 7. Observance of Certain Traditional Practices of Judaism

Certain traditional practices were singled out, for study of the extent to which they are currently observed. For each of these practices a question was asked, such that one alternative answer was "No," "Never" or "None." These practices, arranged in order from the lowest to the highest proportion of families giving negative answers, are:

Participation in a Passover Seder (at the preceding Passover)  
Lighting Hanukah candles (on the preceding Hanukah)  
Lighting Friday night candles  
Having mezuzahs at doors of the home  
Two rules of kashruth: buying meats from a kosher butcher, and  
using separate dishes for meat and dairy foods

In general, observance was greatest among those who identified themselves as Orthodox, least among those who said they thought of themselves as Reform. Even substantial numbers who consider themselves Orthodox, however, do not observe these practices.

Participation in a Passover Seder was claimed by about four-fifths of the families. This was less often at home than elsewhere, especially among those with Reform or with no Jewish identification. At the other extreme, almost three-fourths said they never use separate meat and dairy dishes, over half said they observe neither the rules about dishes nor that concerning meats, and less than one in five claimed to obey both rules.

By means discussed in the body of the report, each family's answers concerning these practices were combined into a composite score. This score, naturally, refers only to observance of these specific practices, and not to observance or religiosity in general. A separate scoring system was used for Reform families, another for Orthodox and Conservative, since Reform Jews are not expected to follow the rules of kashruth. Complete observance was reported by about a third of the Orthodox but by almost none of the other families. On the whole, the Orthodox were reported most observant, the Reform slightly more so than the Conservative.

When synagogue members are compared with non-members, separately for the Orthodox, Conservative and Reform groups - members are consistently reported more observant than non-members.

#### 8. Intermarriage: Proportions Intermarried in Various Segments of the Population, Their Religious Behavior, Their Children

##### Proportion of "mixed" households

As indicated in the second paragraph of this Summary, approximately one household in eight (3300 in all) is "mixed" - among the related persons in it, there are at least one Jew and one Gentile. Among these, there are about 2100 in which the husband is Jewish and the wife is not, and about 1000 in which the wife is Jewish but the husband is Gentile. In the remaining small number of cases, we have mostly the results of an initial mixed marriage in which one partner accepted the religion of the other, but some other family member in the household has retained his original faith. For reasons outlined in the body of the report, it seems probable that families in which only one of the partners was originally Jewish number closer to 4000 than the figure of 3300 derived directly from the survey data.

##### Other mixed marriages in the family

Mixed marriages occur more often in families in which there has already been a mixed marriage. When asked whether any other member of the immediate family was married to a Gentile, a higher proportion of Jews in mixed households said "Yes" than of those in completely Jewish households. About a fifth of the intermarried were themselves products of a mixed marriage, but virtually none of those in "all-Jewish" households.

##### Type of wedding ceremony

The wedding ceremony marking the beginning of the married lives of the completely Jewish and mixed families were of course not the same. Over nine-tenths

of the former had had a religious ceremony, while a majority of the latter had had only a civil ceremony. Moreover, presumably very few of the mixed group had had a Jewish religious ceremony.

#### Proportions among various population segments

In general, the proportion intermarrying was found to be:

<u>higher among these groups</u>	<u>lower among these</u>
men	women
the more-educated	the less-educated
professionals, clerical workers	owners and managers, manual workers
those having higher family incomes	those with lower incomes
native-born (especially those of native parentage)	foreign born

The proportion of mixed households was lowest (close to none) among those who identified themselves as Orthodox, somewhat higher among those who consider themselves Conservative, and higher successively among those who identified themselves as Reform; those who could not decide which of these they were; and those who considered themselves none of these. Intermarriage was as frequent among those having some Jewish education as among those who had had none.

#### Religious identification and behavior of the intermarried

About three-fifths of the Jewish members of mixed households consider themselves Orthodox, Conservative or Reform; another fifth espouse no religion; the remaining fifth support some other religion. Four-fifths of the intermarried belong to no synagogue.

Close to half of the intermarried never attend a synagogue; practically all of the rest attend no more than "three to eleven times a year," which apparently means, in most cases, only on the High Holy Days. They fall into four groups:

1. About half, who still identify themselves with Judaism and who attend synagogue services at least once or twice a year
2. About an eighth, who identify with Judaism but never attend
3. About a third, who no longer identify with Judaism and never attend
4. A small fraction (less than 2%), who do not identify with Judaism but who have attended synagogue services once or twice in the preceding year

#### Children of the intermarried

Among the 3300 mixed households, there are 2400 in which there are children. In two-thirds of these, the children are being reared as not Jewish; in a quarter of these households, the children are being reared as Jewish; in the remainder, some of the children are being taught that they are Jewish while some are being taught that they are not. Very few are receiving any Jewish education, a bar-mitzvah ceremony, etc.

#### Additional Material Not Reported Here

The reader will note that we have not utilized in this report all of the material available from our survey. Answers to three or four questions have not yet been "coded" (classified). Of the various tabulations considered, not all were prepared - and of those prepared, not all were used. What is more, we have not been able to offer more than a slight analysis of those tabulations presented here.

More material is available upon request to the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington. In Appendix B there is a list of additional available tabulations, not used for this report. Besides these, many of the tables presented here exist in somewhat more detailed form, and are available for inspection.

#### Can We Compare Washington's Jewish Community with Those of Other Cities?

It would be very useful and illuminating to compare the findings of this study with similar information about the Jewish communities in other metropolitan centers. This is beyond the scope of the present report. The reader interested in making such comparisons may wish to consult summaries of previous studies appearing in the American Jewish Year Book, prepared by Ben B. Seligman. These include:

"The American Jew: Some Demographic Features," Vol. 51 (1950), pp. 3-52, which presents major findings of 15 studies, made between 1940 and 1949, notably the 1948 study of Essex County (Newark), N. J., with a Jewish population estimated at 86,000.

"Changes in Jewish Population in the United States, 1949-50," Vol. 52 (1951), pp. 3-16, which reviews six studies made in 1949 of small Jewish communities.

"Recent Demographic Changes in Some Jewish Communities," Vol. 54 (1953), pp. 3-24, which contains summaries of five studies conducted in 1949, 1950 and 1951, including a 1950 survey of Los Angeles, whose Jewish population was estimated at 323,000.

## Section D. How This Report Is Organized

Each of the eight chapters just summarized consists of a brief text discussion of a series of tables, with occasional notes. Some explanation of text, tables and notes is required here.

### What the Text Contains

On the whole, the text is slight, in the interest of economy of time and money. This report is intended to present the study's findings with a minimum of analysis or interpretation. The text for the most part describes and explains the tables, calling attention to some of the more salient relationships. Only occasionally is an interpretation of the data offered - when, for example, a preliminary reader of the report raised important questions, or when the data suggest unexpected or alternative conclusions.

Each chapter begins with a summary of its contents. This is followed by tables, and a text which explains the tables and defines the terms used. The earlier chapters are somewhat more detailed, partly because more explanation seemed required, partly in order to show the reader how we intend that the tables be read.

### How to Read the Tables

#### Their titles

Numbering of the tables begins again in each chapter. Thus, Table 4-1 is the first table in Chapter 4, Table 8-3 is the third table in Chapter 8, etc. The few additional tables in the Appendix have Roman numbers; for example, Table 3-I is the first table for Chapter 3 in the Appendix.

Most of the tables show persons or households classified simultaneously according to two or more characteristics; for example, employed persons classified according to their occupation and the industry in which they work. For the sake of shortening tables somewhat, we would call such a table "Occupation by Industry," where the "by" means something like "cross-classified" or "cross-tabulated by."

#### Figures in the tables

In almost all cases, numbers shown in the tables are percentages. This is done to facilitate comparisons and to emphasize relations which examination of the actual numbers of cases would reveal less readily. The actual numbers have been omitted because of the large size of most of the tables: any additional figures might be distracting, and the tables would tend to be unwieldy.

Virtually all tables are so prepared that they total down, in each column. One or two tables are designed to be added across; one or two may be read both ways (across or down); these are conspicuously identified by footnotes.

The "total," or "base" figure from which percentages were computed is shown, with the figures "100.0%," at the foot of each column. To find the actual number corresponding to a percentage in a table, it is merely necessary to multiply that percentage by the total at the bottom of the column. The answer thus obtained will be approximately correct. The reason for the inexactness is this:

Actual figures shown have been "rounded off" to the nearest 100 (if they are column or row totals) or to the nearest 50 (if they are within a table). Percentages, however, were calculated from the original unrounded figures. There are, therefore, occasional discrepancies.

#### Sub-totals

For the most part, if sub-totals are shown within a table, it is in this form:

Sub-total, all persons who are ... (21.9)

The parentheses indicate that the figure within them should not be added in with others in the column to reach a total of 100.0%. In a few large tables, rows of sub-totals have been set off with a horizontal line above and below, instead of parentheses.

#### Symbols used

Wherever no cases with given characteristics were found, we have used "..." rather than "0." This is a reminder that, since our data are based on a sample, we cannot say that no persons (or family) exists with these characteristics, but that the proportion of these is close to zero. When the proportion is less than .05%, we have used the symbol "\*."

#### Balancing the figures in tables

Not all tables are based on the same number of cases; for example, a table may omit persons who gave certain types of answers. To permit the reader to compare tables with one another, we have placed a footnote in many tables to show the disposition of cases, of one or the other of these forms: "Table does not include 'X' cases which ..." or "Total includes 'X' cases not shown in table."

#### Four year time periods

It will be noticed that all tables dealing with time (e. g., year of arrival in Washington) are organized in terms of 4-year, rather than conventional 5-year periods. This has been done not only because these intervals conform to the date of occurrence of significant international developments, but also because Washington's life is so deeply influenced by the 4-year rythm of national politics. For this community, the beginning years of our 4-year periods have exceptional significance: 1933, 1941, 1945; 1949, 1953.

#### Chapter Notes

The reader who glances casually at the report will not be bothered by footnotes. At the end of each chapter there are assembled such notes as seemed necessary or useful: source references, occasional comments on the findings, additional data of less than primary importance, etc.

#### And Other Things

At the end of the report are three Appendices, an Index to all tables in the report, and a copy of the questionnaire used. Appendix A contains a few tables not considered suitable for inclusion in the text. Appendix B is a list of other tabulations made but not presented in this report. Appendix C is a summary of the methods used in the study (see Introduction, Section B).

## CHAPTER 1

SIZE OF THE JEWISH POPULATION, AND ITS DISTRIBUTION  
BY AREA, SEX, AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

This chapter consists of two sections. In the first, Section A, we describe how we defined the Jewish community for this survey; how it was decided who is and who is not Jewish; which households were included in and which were excluded from the survey. Six tables show the numbers of Jewish persons and of Jewish households in the survey area, their distribution among the seven parts into which we divided this area, and how this distribution compares with that of the total population. We have also included here information on some related matters: the proportion of households in each part of the survey area in which all related members are Jewish, data on household size, etc.

Section B reports on the proportions of Jewish persons of each sex, their distribution according to age, and the proportions that are married, widowed, divorced, separated or never married. "Cross-tabulations" show relations among sex, age and marital status, as well as the geographical distributions of persons of various sex, age and marital-status groups. Tables showing the distribution of the Jewish population according to their position in the household (as head of household, wife or husband of head, child of head, etc.) are presented in the Appendix but briefly referred to in this Section.

## Section A

Jewish Persons and Households:  
Their Distribution in the Metropolitan Area

Number of Jewish People Living in Greater Washington

About 80,900 Jewish people live in the Greater Washington area. The Washington Jewish Community is thus the seventh largest in the country, being exceeded in reported size by those of New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and Cleveland. 1/

As Table 1-1 and Map 1 show, the population of the Jewish Community is divided almost evenly between the District of Columbia (49.9%) and the suburban counties and cities of near-by Maryland and Virginia (50.1%).

TABLE 1-1  
JEWISH POPULATION BY AREA

Area	Jewish Population	
	Number	Percent
Northeast	8,100	10.0%
Northwest-West of Rock Creek	6,400	8.0
Northwest-East of Rock Creek	22,200	27.4
Southeast & Southwest	3,600	4.5
Virginia (Metropolitan area)	6,400	7.9
Prince Georges County (Metropolitan area)	8,700	10.7
Montgomery County (Metropolitan area)	25,500	31.5
 Total Jewish population	80,900	100.0%

Two areas show a large number of Jews. Montgomery County, Maryland, has almost one-third of the total (25,500, or 31.5%); the part of Northwest Washington east of Rock Creek contains over one-quarter (22,200, or 27.4%). Together these areas account for almost six out of every ten Jews in Greater Washington - about 47,700 people. The remaining 33,200 Jews are distributed in smaller numbers in the other five areas, into which we have divided Greater Washington. There are about 8,000-9,000 each in Prince Georges County, Maryland, and in Northeast Washington; about 6,400 each in Northwest Washington west of Rock Creek, and in the Virginia suburbs; and about 3,600 altogether in Southeast and Southwest D. C.

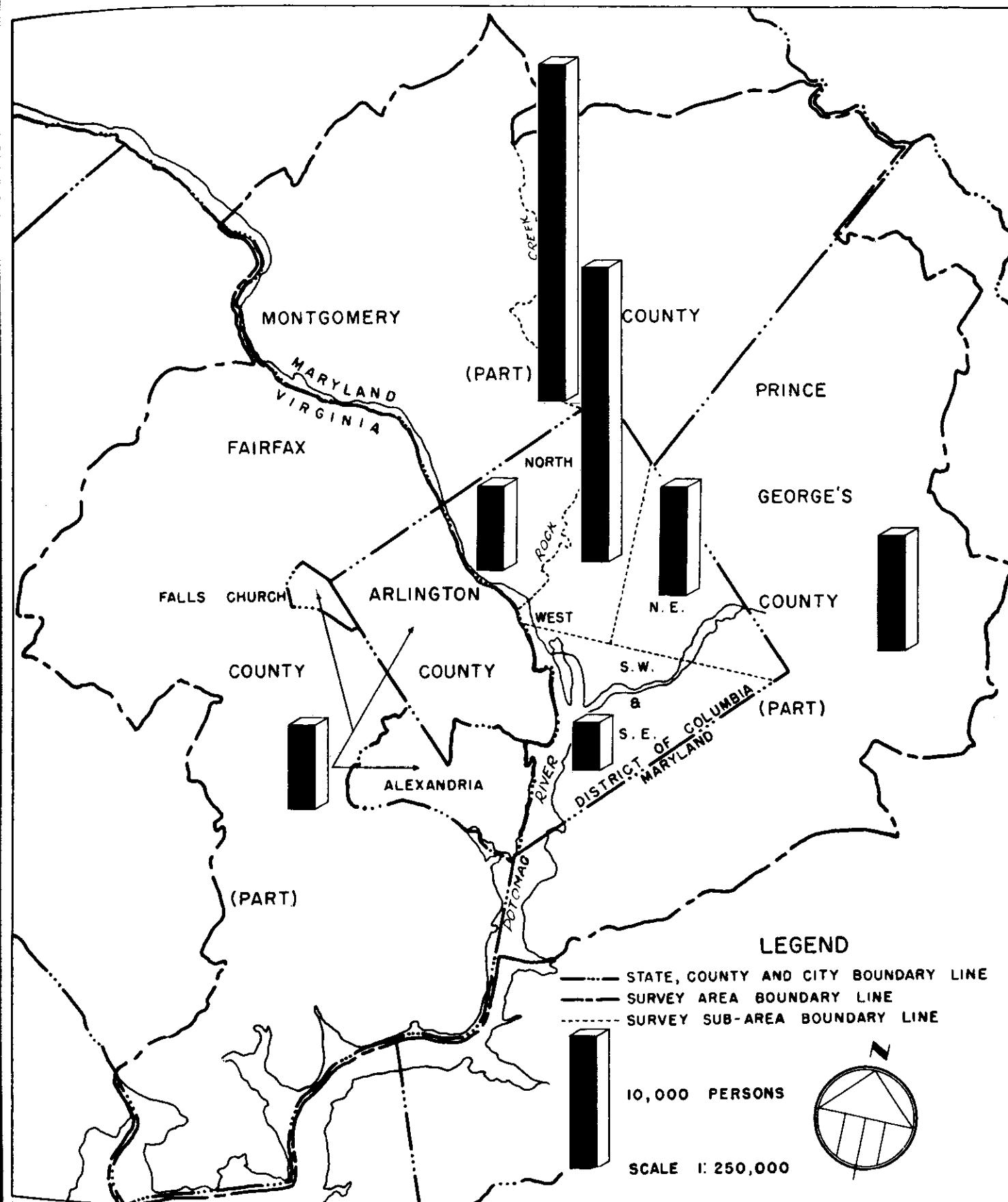
But just what do we mean by "Jewish people" who "live in" the area -- and exactly how is the "area" limited? Answering these questions will give us a kind of definition of what constitutes "the Washington Jewish Community," so far as this study is concerned.

Who are considered "Jewish persons"?

Here is how we decided who is Jewish and who is not for the purposes of this survey. The interviewer asked: "Are there any Jewish people living in this

1/ Notes will be found at the end of each chapter.

NUMBER OF JEWISH PERSONS BY SURVEY SUB-AREA, WASHINGTON  
METROPOLITAN AREA (URBANIZED PORTION), 1956



Source: Table I-1

household?" If the answer was "Yes," she made a list of all persons usually living there, and then asked "Which of these people are Jewish and which are not?" Any person so identified as Jewish was included in this survey as a Jew, and no other person, regardless of his ethnic (or so-called "racial") origin, or his present or past religion. We included, for example, persons converted to Judaism, as well as people who said of themselves:

"I do not consider myself Jewish, in the sense that I do not practice the Jewish religion - but other people would call me Jewish."

"I am a Jew ethnically, but not religiously."

On the other hand, we excluded cases reported by the interviewers in such terms as:

"Not a Jew, but converted to Christianity."

"Mr. C. 's family (parents) are Jewish, but he is not -- he attends the Unitarian Church."

And in the following case, we recorded only one Jewish person:

"The father-in-law is the only Jew in the household. His daughter (wife of the head of the household) was converted to Protestantism."

In short, we have counted as Jews only those people who say that they are Jewish. There are undoubtedly other persons in the area who are of Jewish origin and who might, by some other definition, be considered Jewish. Since they do not identify as Jews, they can hardly be considered members of the Jewish community. Therefore, their absence from this study is of little importance.

#### Who are considered "living in" the area?

Essentially, the survey includes the permanent residents, and excludes the transients. This means that we sought to include all those usually and permanently making their homes here - members of families, roomers, boarders and "live-in" domestic servants. Also counted in were those usually a part of the households, but temporarily away - 700 persons at college or boarding school, 250 in the armed forces, 200 on business trips, 100 in hospitals, 50 on vacation and 100 elsewhere. These add up to 1,400, or less than 3% of the total.

Not included in the survey - nor, therefore, in the Jewish community as we have defined it - are persons living in the following kinds of places: hotels, motels, auto courts and trailer camps (except that persons living in apartment hotels and residential hotels are in the survey); college dormitories; hospitals; homes for the aged, dependent or handicapped; prisons and jails; military installations; and similar places.

Thus, once more, we have excluded a number of Jewish persons resident in the area covered by the survey. These are for the most part only marginal members of the Jewish community. Some uncalculated number of them are probably intermittent users of the community's resources: the synagogues, the Jewish Community Center, etc.

What does the "survey area" include?

The area covered by this survey is based on the Washington Standard Metropolitan Area defined by the U. S. Bureau of the Census. We have used only that part of the Metropolitan Area which was "urbanized" or built-up in 1956. Having determined the boundaries of the area (which may be seen in Map 1, and which are described more fully in the Supplement on Methods to this report), we designated seven "sub-areas," as follows:

1. Northeast D. C.
2. Northwest D. C. - West of Rock Creek. This includes Georgetown, Cleveland Park, Forest Hills, Chevy Chase, Tenleytown, Palisades and other communities along Connecticut Avenue above Calvert Street, Wisconsin Avenue, MacArthur Boulevard, etc.
3. Northwest D. C. - East of Rock Creek. This includes the downtown section, Columbia Heights, Mt. Pleasant, Petworth, Brightwood, Colonial Village, Takoma and other communities along 16th Street, N. W., Georgia Avenue, New Hampshire Avenue, N. W., etc.
4. Southeast and Southwest D. C.
5. Virginia suburbs, including Arlington County, the cities of Alexandria and Falls Church, and the nearer parts of Fairfax County, - Vienna, Fairfax, Annandale, Springfield, Hollin Hills, etc.
6. Prince Georges County, Maryland - The parts nearest to the D. C. line: to College Park, Greenbelt, Lanham, Glenarden, Seat Pleasant, Morningside, Oxon Hill, etc.
7. Montgomery County, Maryland - The parts nearest to the D. C. line: Potomac, Rockville, Wheaton, Colesville, etc.

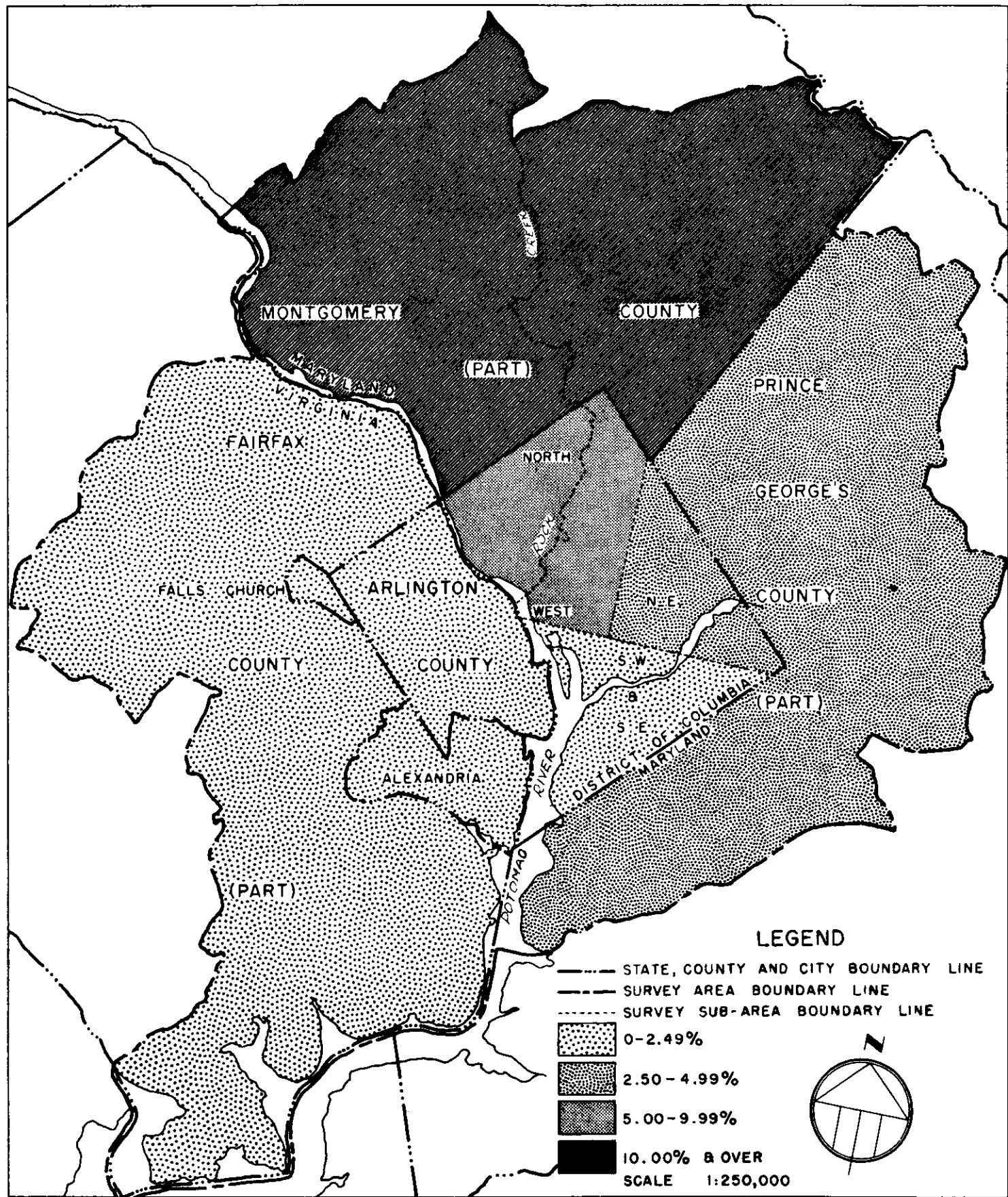
To sum up: Of the relatively permanent population of the District of Columbia and the built-up areas of adjacent Maryland and Virginia, not living in institutions, there are about 80,900 who identify themselves as Jews. This is the Jewish Community described and discussed in this report; this is the Jewish population we shall refer to.

Jewish Population Density

A higher proportion of Montgomery County's population is Jewish than that of any of the other sub-areas (see Table 1-2 and Map 2). Over 11% of the County's population is Jewish. The next highest concentration of Jews are in the two Northwest areas - 7% of the total population east of Rock Creek, 6.1% of the smaller population to the west. These are followed by lower concentrations in Northeast D. C. (4.1%) and Prince Georges County (3.4%). Southeast and Southwest D. C. and the Virginia suburbs have quite low proportions of Jews in their populations (1.7% and 1.6%, respectively). For the whole area, the percentage of Jews is 4.7.

(See Table 1-2 on page 5)

JEWISH POPULATION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL  
POPULATION OF EACH SURVEY SUB - AREA



Source: Table 1-2

TABLE 1-2  
JEWISH POPULATION COMPARED TO TOTAL POPULATION, BY AREA

Area	Jewish Population of Area	Total Population of Area	Jewish Population As Percent of Total Population of Area
Northeast	8,100	199,000	4.1%
Northwest-West of Rock Creek	6,400	105,000	6.1
Northwest-East of Rock Creek	22,200	318,000	7.0
Southeast & Southwest	3,600	218,000	1.7
Virginia (Metropolitan Area)	6,400	410,300	1.6
Prince Georges County (Metropolitan Area)	8,700	256,900	3.4
Montgomery County (Metropolitan Area)	25,500	226,800	11.3
Total population	80,900	1,734,000	4.7 %

Jewish Households in Greater Washington

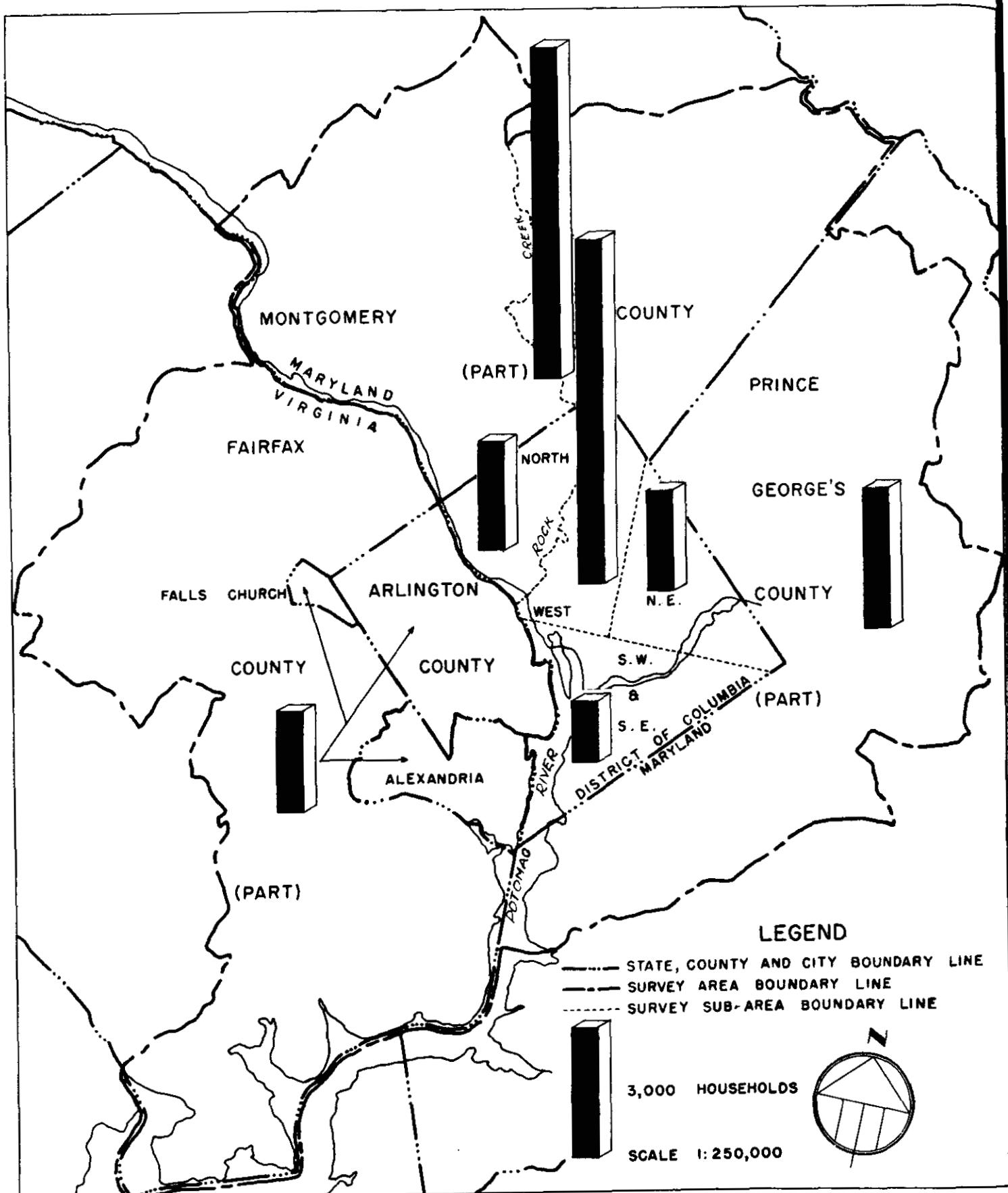
The Jewish population described above is found in a total of 27,200 households. A little over half of these are in the District (51.7%), the remainder (48.3%) outside, as shown in Table 1-3 and Map 3.

TABLE 1-3  
JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS BY AREA

Area	Jewish Households	
	Number	Percent
Northeast	2,300	8.4%
Northwest-West of Rock Creek	2,500	9.3
Northwest-East of Rock Creek	7,900	28.9
Southeast & Southwest	1,400	5.1
Virginia (Metropolitan area)	2,300	8.7
Prince Georges County (Metropolitan area)	3,200	11.7
Montgomery County (Metropolitan area)	7,600	27.9
Total Jewish households	27,200	100.0%

In general, the distribution of these households parallels the distribution of the Jewish population, as might be expected. The highest proportions are again in Montgomery County and in Northwest D. C., east of Rock Creek; the lowest proportion,

NUMBER OF JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS BY SURVEY SUB - AREA,  
WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA (URBANIZED PORTION), 1956



Source: Table 1-3

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once more, is found in Southeast and Southwest, D. C. Detailed comparison of Tables 1-1 and 1-3 does, in fact, show some differences. Montgomery County and Northeast D. C. each contain a higher proportion of the Jewish population than of the households. In each of the other areas, the contrary is the case. These differences, of course, result from differences in the average members of Jewish people per household in the seven areas.

At this point, we should consider what is meant here by "households" and "Jewish households."

What is a "household"?

To define what we mean by household, we can do no better than to turn to the Census Bureau, which says: "A household includes all the persons who occupy a house, an apartment or other group of rooms, or a room that constitutes a dwelling unit. In general, a group of rooms occupied as separate living quarters is a dwelling unit if it has separate cooking equipment or a separate entrance... A household includes the related family members and also the unrelated persons, if any... A person living alone in a dwelling unit, or a group of unrelated persons sharing a dwelling unit as partners, is counted as a household." 2/

What is a "Jewish household"?

Every household included in this survey is referred to here as a "Jewish household." By this term we mean any household in which at least one Jewish person is a regular resident. It will be immediately obvious that in this way we have included some households in which one or more members are not Jewish. We must therefore show the proportions of these households which consist completely of Jews, and of those which do not. Before this, however, we have one more table to examine.

Proportion of Households in Which There Are Jewish Persons

Of all households in the survey area, slightly more than one in twenty (5.3%) contain one or more Jewish persons (see Table 1-4). The proportion of households in each area which are "Jewish" by our definition is similar to the proportion of the population in each area (shown in Table 1-2). The highest proportions of Jewish households are in Montgomery County and Northwest D. C., the lowest in Southeast and Southwest D. C. and in Virginia.

TABLE 1-4

JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS COMPARED TO TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS BY AREA

Area	Number of Jewish Households in Area	Total Number of Households in Area	Jewish Households as Percent of Total Households in Area
Northeast	2,300	56,400	4.0%
Northwest-West of Rock Creek	2,500	36,100	7.0
Northwest-East of Rock Creek	7,900	102,200	7.7
Southeast & Southwest	1,400	60,300	2.3
Virginia (Metropolitan area)	2,300	120,100	2.0
Prince Georges County (Metropolitan area)	3,200	71,300	4.4
Montgomery County (Metropolitan area)	7,600	66,100	11.5
Total households	27,200	512,500	5.3%

Composition of "Jewish" Households: Jews and Non-Jews

From this point on, we shall be concerned only with the households which we have called "Jewish," and the people living in them. Some of these people, we have seen, were not identified as Jewish. These non-Jewish persons fall into two obvious groups:

1. Unrelated persons: in wealthier households (especially in Montgomery County), "live-in" domestic servants, such as housekeeper, maid or cook; in less wealthy households (especially in Northwest D. C., east of Rock Creek), roomers, lodgers or boarders; and unrelated single persons of the same sex, sharing a dwelling unit as partners.
2. Related persons: the non-Jewish partners in "mixed" marriages; the non-Jewish children of previous "mixed marriages"; the non-Jewish parent or other relative of a person who, originally not Jewish, has been converted to Judaism; adult children of Jewish parents, who have adopted another religion; and similar cases.

Table 1-5 shows the proportion of households in which the related members are all Jewish, or not all Jewish, for the whole survey area and for each of the seven sub-areas. The all-Jewish households constitute 87.8% of all those in the area, or 23,900. Within these 23,900 households, incidentally, are found 76,700 of the Jewish persons in the area. The remaining 4,200 Jews are in the 12.2% of the households (3,300 in number) which are not all Jewish.

TABLE 1-5

PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN WHICH ALL RELATED MEMBERS ARE JEWISH, BY AREA

Related Members of Household	Area							
	D. C.				Virginia		Maryland	
	North- east	North- west	North- West of Rock Creek	South- west of Rock Creek	(Metro- politan Area)	Prince Georges County (M.A.)	Mont- gomery County (M.A.)	Total
All Jewish	98.9%	81.8%	96.0%	89.8%	65.8%	79.2%	88.4%	87.8%
Not all Jewish	1.1	18.2	4.0	10.2	34.2	20.8	11.6	12.2
Total households	-%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	-#	(2300)	(2500)	(7900)	(1400)	(2300)	(3200)	(7600)(27,200)

A further look at Table 1-5 shows a sizable variation in the proportions of "mixed" households in the separate areas -- that is, households among whose related members there are at least one Jewish and one Gentile person. More than one-third of the Virginia households (34.2%) are mixed, in this sense, but virtually none in Northeast D. C. (1.1%). Relatively high proportions of mixed households are found in Prince Georges County (20.8%) and in Northwest D. C. west of Rock Creek (18.2%), but lower proportions in the other areas.

### Jewish Household and Family Size

The distribution of Jewish households according to their size, and in each area, is shown in Table 1-6. Size is measured in terms of the number of Jewish persons in the household, regardless of whether they are related to one another. This means that Jewish roomers or lodgers are included (but these are not numerous). It will be seen that hardly more than 10% of the households include more than four persons, and another 29.3% include four persons. Of these larger households (4 or more persons), the bulk are in Montgomery County, Northwest D.C. east of Rock Creek and Northeast D.C.

TABLE 1-6  
HOUSEHOLDS BY SIZE AND AREA

Size: Number of Jewish Persons in Household	Area								#	%		
	D. C.				Virginia (Metropolitan Area)	Maryland						
	N.E. West of Rock Creek	N.W., East of Rock Creek	N.W., S.W.	S.E.		Prince Georges County (M.A.)	Montgomery County (M.A.)					
1	50	800	1350	250	800	600	650	4500	16.5%			
2	450	600	2400	450	250	1000	1150	6300	23.2			
3	450	400	1750	400	350	600	1650	5600	20.4			
4	1000	500	1550	200	700	700	3250	7900	29.3			
5	300	200	400	100	150	250	800	2200	8.1			
6	50	*	350	*	50	50	100	600	2.0			
7	*	...	100	*	*	*	*	100	0.5			
Total households	2300	2500	7900	1400	2300	3200	7600	27,200	100.0%			

\* Less than 25 cases.

The households with only one or two Jewish persons include virtually all of the 3300 in which not all related persons are Jewish. To determine the average size of the Jewish family - defined by the Census Bureau as "a group of two or more persons related by blood, marriage or adoption, and living together" 3/ - we must omit these "mixed" households, as well as unrelated household members. The average Jewish family size for the survey area is 3.2 members.

These Jewish families include 20,500 in which there is a married couple (with or without children), and 3,400 with a head who is not married at present - that is, "broken families" resulting from death, divorce or separation, or other unmarried persons.

## Section B

Distribution of the Jewish Population by  
Age, Sex and Marital Status

Since no information was gathered about non-Jewish persons in the households surveyed, all references to "population", "persons", etc., in the remainder of this report refer to Jews only.

The six tables in this section show the proportion of the Jewish population at various age levels; the proportions of each sex; and the proportions who are presently married, widowed, divorced or separated, or who have never been married. In addition, some of the tables are slightly more complex, and show the relationship between, for example, age and sex -- that is (see Table 1-7) the proportions of men, and the proportions of women, separately, at each age level. We also discuss here, briefly, data gathered which show what proportion of the population are "heads of households", what proportions bear various relations to the heads, the marital status of these groups, and so on.

TABLE 1-7

## AGE BY SEX, AND SEX RATIO IN EACH AGE GROUP

Age	Sex				Sex Ratio (Males per 100 Females)	
	Male		Female		Total	%
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Under 5 years	4450	10.8	3850	9.6	8300	10.2
5 - 9	4250	10.4	4050	10.1	8300	10.3
10 - 14	3800	9.3	3400	8.5	7200	8.9
15 - 19	2450	6.0	1350	3.4	3800	4.7
20 - 24	1050	2.6	2450	6.1	3500	4.3
25 - 29	2700	6.6	3100	7.9	5800	7.2
30 - 34	4300	10.5	4100	10.2	8400	10.4
35 - 39	3600	8.8	3800	9.6	7400	9.2
40 - 44	4750	11.6	3450	8.5	8200	10.1
45 - 49	3200	7.8	2300	5.9	5500	6.8
50 - 54	1950	4.7	2350	5.8	4300	5.3
55 - 59	1550	3.7	1450	3.6	3000	3.7
60 - 64	900	2.3	1100	2.8	2000	2.5
65 - 69	1100	2.7	1000	2.5	2100	2.6
70 - 74	500	1.2	900	2.2	1400	1.7
75 years and over	150	0.4	350	0.9	500	0.6
"Under 20" years	*	**	*	0.1	*	**
"Over 21" years	200	0.4	900	2.3	1100	1.4
Not reported	100	0.2	*	*	100	0.1
Total population	41,000	100.0%	39,900	100.0%	80,900	100.0%

\* Less than 25 cases

\*\* Less than .05 %

### Age Distribution by Sex, and Ratio of Males to Females

Table 1-7 contains several series of figures, which must be considered separately. First (at the extreme left) it breaks down the population into five-year age groups up to age 74; persons 75 and over; and three groups of those whose age was reported indefinitely or not at all.<sup>4/</sup> Three pairs of columns show separately for each sex and then for the total population, the number and proportion of persons in each age group. The extreme right-hand column of the table shows the "sex ratio" -- that is, the number of males per 100 females -- for each age group. Some of the principal facts observable in the table are as follows:

Men and boys slightly outnumber women and girls - 41,000 to 39,900 - as indicated in the overall sex ratio of 103. Sex ratios for each age group, as presented in the table, vary from one age to the next in a most unusual and erratic fashion. In particular the ratio for the 20 to 24 year-old group (44) is exceptionally low. The 1950 Census also reports a tendency toward under-reporting of young men of this age. Some possible explanations of this deficiency of young men in their early 20's are suggested in a note at the end of this chapter.<sup>5/</sup>

In each sex, almost a third of the population are children under 15 (about 28-30%) and a similar proportion are 30 to 44 years. Between these is a relatively small number in the ages from 15 to 29. This is the group accounting for the bulk of marriages in the present period and in the next few years. Their small numbers promise relatively few children for several years to come, until the large groups now under 15 reach marriageable age. One cannot, however, attempt to project the future size of Washington's Jewish community from its present age and sex composition alone. As the data of Chapter 3 make clear, the bulk of the community are "in-migrants" from outside the area, brought here by the "New Deal", World War II, and similar national developments. Presumably the growth of the Jewish community is related much more to the growth of Washington as a whole than to the birth rate of present residents.

### Age Distribution in Each Area

The seven sub-areas differ to some extent in the age of their Jewish populations (see Table 1-8). We have grouped these populations into 10-year intervals for the most part, except that all children under 15 are combined. Montgomery County and Northeast D.C. both contain high proportions of children (39.0% and 36.9%, respectively, of all Jews in each area), Northwest D.C. east of Rock Creek relatively few (16.9%). Both sections of Northwest D.C. contain high proportions of persons 45 and over (about 40% in each case), while both Maryland counties have relatively few in this older group (about 12% each).

Further details of the composition of each area's population in terms of sex and age groupings are shown in Appendix Table 1-I. Perhaps the most striking fact in the table is that both Northwest D.C. sections have more women than men - particularly the area east of Rock Creek - unlike any of the other areas.

### Marital Status

Tables 1-9 through 1-12 are concerned with the 57,100 Jewish persons 15 years of age and over. These tables show the proportion of persons of each sex who are:

Married at present (regardless of whether this is a first or subsequent marriage)  
 Widowed  
 Divorced or separated  
 Never married (what we usually call "single")  
 and also the proportions in each of these groups of persons at various ages, in each of the seven areas in the survey, and so on.

TABLE 1-8  
AGE BY AREA

Age	Area						
	D. C.		Virginia		Maryland		
	N.E.	N.W.	West of Rock Creek	East of Rock Creek	S.E. and S.W.	(Metro- poli- tan Area)	Prince Georges County (M.A.)
Under 15 years	36.9%	22.4%	16.9%	21.9%	32.4%	32.1%	39.0%
15-24 years	8.4	14.8	11.8	16.4	4.3	7.0	6.3
25-34 years	17.0	9.2	13.0	15.6	20.6	32.4	18.4
35-44 years	18.4	13.2	15.4	28.7	23.3	16.2	23.1
45-54 years	8.7	21.9	18.0	6.5	12.6	5.8	8.4
55-64 years	9.2	10.0	12.1	6.3	2.6	3.0	1.1
65 years and over	1.0	8.5	9.5	4.4	3.2	3.2	2.3
Under 20 years	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	0.1
Over 21 years	0.4	...	3.0	0.2	0.7	0.2	1.3
Not reported	...	...	0.3	...	0.3	...	...
Total population - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(8100)	(6400)	(22,200)	(3600)	(6400)	(8700)	(25,500)

TABLE 1-9  
MARITAL STATUS BY SEX

(Population 15 years of age and over)

Marital Status	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Married	79.6%	76.1%	77.9%
Widowed	1.2	9.5	5.3
Divored or separated	0.5	2.4	1.5
Never married	18.0	11.8	14.9
Not reported	0.7	0.2	0.4
Total population, 15 years and over - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(28,500)	(28,600)	(57,100)

Marital Status by Sex and by Age

Over three-fourths (77.9%) of local Jews aged 15 or over are married, according to the "Total" column of Table 1-9, while most of the remainder (14.9%) have never been married. Relatively few are widowed (5.3%), or divorced or separated (1.5%) and not remarried. That is, the proportion listed as married includes some cases of re-marriage following divorce or the death of a husband or wife. Consequently, it cannot be said that only 1.5% of this group have been divorced or separated, or 5.3% ever widowed.

Comparison of the two sexes shows that about the same proportions of each are now married. However, the percentage who are widowed is about 8 times as high among women (9.5%) as among men (1.2%). A higher proportion of "never married" persons is found among the men and boys over 15 than among the women and girls (18.0% compared to 11.8%). The percentage who are separated or divorced is higher among the women.<sup>6</sup>

The relation between marital status and age is shown in Table 1-10. The young people 15-19 years old are virtually all (99.3%) unmarried. In the 20 to 24-year-old group, slightly over half (52.4%) are married, somewhat fewer (47.4%) are not yet married and there is already an occasional separation or divorce (0.1%). In the years from 25 through 44, over 90% are married, the proportion who have never been married is under 10%, the proportion divorced or separated is around 1%, and a few widowed persons are found.

TABLE 1-10  
MARITAL STATUS BY AGE  
(Population 15 years of age and over)

Marital Status	Age							Age Indefi- nite or Not Reported
	15-19 Years	20-24 Years	25-34 Years	35-44 Years	45-54 Years	55-64 Years	65 Years and Over	
Married	0.3%	52.4%	91.2%	93.3%	87.1%	78.7%	56.9%	35.3%
Widowed	...	...	...	0.4	4.5	14.3	42.2	13.0
Divorced or separated	...	0.1	1.6	0.8	2.4	2.7	0.1	9.4
Never married	99.3	47.4	7.2	5.5	5.6	3.9	0.8	32.9
Not reported	0.4	0.1	...	...	0.4	0.4	...	9.4
Total population, 15 years and over - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(3800)	(3500)	(14,200)	(15,600)	(9800)	(5000)	(4000)	(1200)

From age 45 on, the proportion never married declines steadily toward zero (only 0.8% among those 65 and over). The proportion separated or divorced but not remarried is at its highest (between 2 and 3%) in the 45 to 64-year-old groups, but very low (0.1%) among those 65 and over. The proportion who are widowed rises steadily and sharply to 42.2% among those 65 or older, while the percentage of those still married declines to 56.9%.

Those whose ages were not reported definitely, or at all, include various proportions in each marital status.

Table 1-11 compares the relation between marital status and age among the two sexes. The upper part of the table shows the distribution of the male population, the lower part that of the female. Let us consider first the proportions shown as married in the two parts of the table. The few married persons under 20 are women; and the percentage who are married between 20 and 25 is over twice as high among women as among men (64.0% compared to 25.7%). In short, the women tend to marry earlier than the men. On the other hand, if we compare the two lines showing the widowed, we find that the proportions are again higher among the women at each age. For example: at ages 35-44, the percentages who are widowed are 0.1% among men, 0.6% among women; at ages 45-54, the percentages are 0.6% and 8.8%; and by the time the "65 and over" group is reached, five times as high a proportion of the women as of the men are widowed (65.5% to 12.9%). Consideration of the proportions never married, as well, supports the following generalizations: the women tend to marry earlier than the men;<sup>7/</sup> a somewhat higher proportion of the men never marry; the men tend to die earlier than the women, leaving the latter more often widowed. Divorce without remarriage is found more often among women than among men: in each succeeding age groups there are more women than men available for marriage or remarriage.

TABLE 1-11  
MARITAL STATUS BY AGE AND SEX <sup>a/</sup>  
(Population 15 years of age and over)

Sex and Marital Status	Age						
	15-19 Years	20-24 Years	25-34 Years	35-44 Years	45-54 Years	55-64 Years	65 years & Over
<b>Male</b>							
Married	...	25.7%	87.5%	92.6%	93.0%	90.0%	86.0%
Widowed	...	...	...	0.1	0.6	2.4	12.9
Divorced or separated	...	...	0.5	0.4	0.7	2.4	...
Never married	99.6%	73.9	12.0	6.9	5.7	4.4	1.1
Not reported	0.4	0.4	...	...	...	0.8	...
Total male - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(2400)	(1100)	(7000)	(8300)	(5100)	(2500)	(1800)
<b>Female</b>							
Married	0.7%	64.0%	94.8%	94.2%	80.3%	67.9%	33.9%
Widowed	...	...	...	0.6	8.8	25.8	65.5
Divorced or separated	...	0.2	2.7	1.4	4.4	2.9	0.2
Never married	98.9	35.8	2.5	3.8	5.6	3.4	0.4
Not reported	0.4	...	...	...	0.9	...	...
Total female - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(1400)	(2400)	(7200)	(7300)	(4700)	(2500)	(2200)

<sup>a/</sup> Table does not include 900 female, age "over 21", 200 male "over 21" and 100 male, age not reported.

Distribution of Marital Status in Each Area

In Table 1-12 we have shown the distribution of marital status among persons of each sex, for each of the survey sub-areas, and separately for the whole of the District and for the suburbs combined. As in the preceding table, the upper half presents figures for the male, the lower half for the female, part of the population. Let us compare, first, the District and the suburbs. For both sexes, the suburbs show a higher proportion of married persons, and fewer never married ("single"), widowed and divorced. Differences exist among the three suburban areas, but not such as can be described in any general fashion.

TABLE 1-12  
MARITAL STATUS BY AREA AND SEX  
(Population 15 years of age and over)

Sex and Marital Status	Area								
	D. C.				Virginia		Maryland		
	N.E.	N.W., West of Rock Creek	N.W., East of Rock Creek	S.E. and S.W. D.C.	Total	(Metro- poli- tan Area)	Prince Georges County (M.A.)	Mont- gomery County (M.A.)	Total Suburbs
<b>Male</b>									
Married	85.0%	75.1%	65.9%	75.2%	71.5%	85.6%	91.5%	88.8%	88.9%
Widowed	1.0	0.8	1.2	...	1.0	4.7	0.6	0.8	1.4
Divorced or separated	0.2	1.6	0.7	1.1	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3
Never married	13.4	22.5	30.6	23.7	25.7	8.2	7.5	10.2	9.2
Not reported	0.4	...	1.6	...	1.0	1.2	0.1	*	0.2
Total male, 15 years & over	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(2500)	(2500)	(8700)	(1500)	(15,200)	(2200)	(3100)	(8000)	(13,300)
<b>Female</b>									
Married	82.5%	69.2%	59.4%	89.4%	67.0%	88.4%	90.3%	86.8%	87.8%
Widowed	3.7	5.7	20.2	3.4	14.0	2.3	5.1	3.5	3.6
Divorced or separated	1.0	2.4	3.9	0.3	2.9	0.8	1.1	2.2	1.7
Never married	12.6	21.9	16.3	6.9	15.8	8.0	3.5	7.4	6.7
Not reported	0.2	0.8	0.2	...	0.3	0.5	...	0.1	0.2
Total female, 15 years & over	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(2600)	(2500)	(9800)	(1300)	(16,200)	(2100)	(2700)	(7600)	(12,400)

\* Less than .05%.

The four city areas show a greater diversity. Northeast D.C., with its high proportion of married and rather low proportion of unmarried adults, almost resembles the suburbs. Northwest, west of Rock Creek, has relatively high proportions of the unmarried of both sexes; Northwest, east of Rock Creek, very high proportions of never-married men and of widowed women; and Southeast-Southwest, a fairly high proportion of men never married.

#### Relation of Household Members to the Head of the Household

We shall have occasion, at various points in this report, to refer to "heads of households," "married heads of households," and so on. It is important for us to make clear what we mean by these terms.

Interviewers were instructed to ask, if they had established that any Jewish people lived in a household, the question: "Who is the head of this household?" Then, having listed the other members of the household, they asked: "What are their relations to the head of the household?" Our instructions explained that the "head of the household is usually the 'man of the house,' or 'the principal breadwinner,'" and that the head therefore might be a woman supporting a sick husband; a retired mother with grown working children; etc. In a household consisting of two or more unrelated unmarried persons of the same sex sharing a dwelling unit as partners, the person interviewed was arbitrarily designated the head of the household. A person living by himself is the head of his household.

Obviously, then, not all heads of households are male, nor are they necessarily married. Tables 1-II and 1-III, in the Appendix, show the distribution of all household members according to their relation to the head of the household - that is, head; spouse (husband or wife of the head); child of the head; or other relation (any other Jewish person in the household). From Table 1-II it is clear that 100 men are classified as "spouses" - that is, husbands of female heads - while there are 2400 female heads of households. Table 1-III shows the marital status of persons of each sex according to their relation to the household head. Here it is evident that while virtually all male heads (95.0%) are married, the bulk of the female heads are widowed (62.6%), divorced or separated (13.0%) or never married (22.0%).

It should also be noted, as Table 1-III indicates, that "heads of households" does not include all married persons. When the head of the household has his married children living with him, they are classified as "children," not "heads." About 50 young men and close to 300 young women are so listed.

Notes

- 1/ Like any estimate of a population based upon a sample, this estimate must be qualified. We may say that the chances are 2 out of 3 that the total Jewish population lies within one "standard error," or 6.24% of 80,900 (that is, between 75,800 and 86,000). Estimates of the populations of the Jewish communities in other cities cited, which are shown below in the footnote to Table 3-12 (in Chapter 3, Section B) were obtained from the summary by Alvin Chenkin, "Communities with Jewish Populations of 100 or More (Estimated)," in American Jewish Year Book, Vol. 57 (1950), Morris Fine, Ed., pp. 126-130.
- 2/ U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population, 1950. Vol II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 9, Dist. of Col., Chapter B, p. IX. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952.
- 3/ Ibid.
- 4/ Age was determined by asking for both year of birth and age at last birthday, and using the first when in doubt. As may be seen it was principally women who answered, in accordance with tradition, "Over 21." The proportion not reporting age at all was somewhat higher initially. Internal evidence in the questionnaire, such as date of arrival in the U. S. or in Washington, year of marriage, length of residence, etc., was used to classify some respondents as "over 21" or "under 20."
- 5/ According to the Census Bureau, "... for the United States as a whole there tends to be an underenumeration of ... males between the ages of 18 and 24 years." Op. cit., p. VII. Several possible explanations for the relatively small number of 20 to 24-year old men in this survey may be suggested. In the first place, as Table 3-2, in Chapter 3, Section A, demonstrates, the proportion of 15-24-year old males born in the District of Columbia as contrasted to other places is much higher than the corresponding figure for females. This means that a considerable number of young women have come to Washington, in this age-group, attracted, perhaps, by the possibility of government clerical jobs. This is one evident source of the excess of young women in the ages 20-24. It may also be that more Washington-born young Jewish men leave the area to find jobs than young women. A further possible source of the seeming deficiency of males of this age may be found in the absence of a number of them either at college or in the armed forces. Interviewers were instructed to obtain a complete enumeration of all persons "usually" living in the household. In some cases, either the interviewer or the interviewee may have failed to list those away on a long-term basis, as in the armed forces, or virtually all year, as at college through a misunderstanding of the word "usually."
- 6/ If the numbers of married men and of married women are calculated from the data of Table 1-9, they will be found not to agree. This is due to the 3100 Jewish persons married to Gentiles. Since the latter are not included in the survey, the numbers of husbands and wives cannot balance.
- 7/ This tendency is further indicated by a comparison of the ages of the husbands and wives in the 20,500 married couples included. Ages were grouped in 5-year intervals. The husband was older than the wife by one age-group (on the average, 5 years) in 44.5% of the cases; older by two age-groups, 8.5%; older by more than two age-groups, 2.7%; in the same age-group, 36.3%; and younger than the wife, 5.5%. In 2.5% of the cases the age of one or both was not reported.

## CHAPTER 2

## SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE JEWISH POPULATION:

## EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, INCOME AND MILITARY SERVICE

In the first of this chapter's five sections we are concerned with the education of Washington's Jewish population. The next three sections deal with economic details: employment status and class of employer; occupation and industry; and income. A final brief section reports on military service.

Section A is about the education of local Jews. The first three tables concern the adult population which generally speaking has completed its education (age 25 years and over), and compares the number of years of schooling of the two sexes, and of persons at each age level from 25-34 years to 65 and over. A succeeding table compares the educational attainment of household heads in each sub-area. The last table in this section deals with the adolescent and young adult population (15-29 years old), showing not only the extent of their schooling but also the proportions attending school currently at each age level.

In Section B, four tables show the distribution of Jewish persons according to their employment status - that is, whether they are currently "working for pay or profit" (employed), going to school, keeping house, unemployed, or retired - and, for those currently working, whether they are employed by the government, by a private employer or self-employed. Both employment status and class of employer are shown by age and sex.

The distribution of Washington Jews by occupation and industry are discussed in Section C. Relations of each of these to age and sex, to each other and to class of employer are displayed in this section's six tables.

Section D is devoted to "family income" - the total income of the family. The distribution of incomes according to size is shown for each sub-area. Relations between family income size and the head of household's occupation and class of employer are also presented.

In the final section, E, there is a brief discussion of military service of the Washington area Jewish population.

## Section A

## Education

1/

Education of the Adult Population

As Table 2-1 shows, the educational achievement of Washington Jews is strikingly high. Such achievement is typical of Jewish populations in the United States 2/; it also reflects the educational level of the white population of the Washington area generally. 3/ For the "adult population" we have selected persons aged 25 and over, following Census Bureau procedure. By the age of 25, most people have completed their schooling. According to Table 2-1, of the total (shown in the right-hand column), just 10.0% have had no high school at all. At the other extreme, over half (51.6%) have had at least a year of college (13 years or more of schooling). More than 1 in 3 (36.0%) have a college degree, while almost a quarter (23.2%) have had some post-graduate college work.

TABLE 2-1  
EDUCATION BY SEX  
(Population 25 years of age and over)

Education: Years of School Completed	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Four years or less	2.1%	5.5%	3.8%
5-8 years	6.0	6.4	6.2
9-11 years	7.9	7.2	7.5
12 years (High school)	16.5	38.2	27.3
13-15 years	15.6	15.6	15.6
16 years (College)	13.0	12.6	12.8
17 years or more	36.0	10.3	23.2
Not reported	2.9	4.2	3.6
Total population			
25 years and over	- % - # (24,900)	100.0% (24,800)	100.0% (49,700)

It should be noted here that this study has defined education in terms of the number of years of schooling completed, in public or private elementary, junior high or high schools, colleges or universities. Attendance at trade or vocational schools was not included. Foreign schooling was translated into equivalent American terms as far as possible.

Education and sex. When we compare the educational achievement of men and of women (still in Table 2-1)-- a marked difference is apparent. Just about half of the men (49.0%) have college degrees, but less than a quarter (22.9%) of the women.

Similar proportions of men and of women have less than a high school education (16% and 19.1%, respectively). More than twice as high a proportion of the women (38.2% to 16.5%) have completed just 12 years of schooling. As a consequence of this inequality of educational attainment, Jewish husbands tend to be better educated than their wives.

Education and age. As one finds in almost any population, so among Washington Jews -- among the adults, the lower the age, the higher the educational level (see Table 2-2).

TABLE 2-2

## EDUCATION BY AGE

(Population 25 years of age and over)

Education: Years of School Completed	Age					
	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 years & over	"Over 21" years
Four years or less	0.1%	0.1%	1.3%	11.4%	26.7%	9.0%
5-8 years	0.2	2.6	6.7	22.9	21.6	0.4
9-11 years	1.7	7.5	13.3	11.2	10.1	6.6
12 years (High school)	26.3	31.5	29.4	22.2	15.3	28.2
13-15 years	22.7	15.7	14.0	9.3	3.3	9.3
16 years (College)	16.4	15.5	11.7	6.3	2.7	4.0
17 years or more	30.5	26.6	21.2	11.0	3.8	21.7
Not reported	2.1	0.5	2.4	5.7	16.5	20.8
Total population						
25 years and over - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- # (14,200)	(15,600)	(9800)	(5000)	(4000)	(1100)	

Consider the first line of the table - this shows that the proportion with less than 5 years of schooling increases steadily with age. Conversely, the proportions opposite "17 years or more" of schooling drop as age increases. The older groups include higher proportions of foreign born (see Chapter 3, Section A) and "self-made" business men (see Table 2-11); the younger generation have been able to obtain more schooling. The contrast is sharpest in the following tabulation, drawn from Table 2-2:

Education in Years	Age 25-34	Age 65 and Over
8 or less	0.3%	48.3%
9-12	28.0	25.4
13 or more	69.6	9.8
Not reported	2.1	16.5
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Even if all those 65 or over whose education was "not reported" turned out to have had 13 or more years of education, the slight schooling of this group would be markedly in contrast with the education of the younger group.

Relation of education to age and sex. A more detailed analysis of the relations between education, age and sex may be obtained from examination of Table 2-3.

TABLE 2-3  
EDUCATION BY AGE AND SEX <sup>a/</sup>

(Population 25 years and over)

Education:	Age and Sex									
	25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		65 years & over	
	Years of School	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Completed		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Four years or less	...	0.2%	...	0.1%	0.4%	2.4%	9.1%	13.5%	15.3%	35.8%
5-8 years	0.3%	0.1	3.1%	2.1	8.9	4.2	12.6	33.0	26.0	18.1
9-11 years	1.1	2.3	9.5	5.2	11.0	16.0	14.2	8.3	10.4	9.8
12 years (High school)	10.8	41.3	17.9	47.3	19.9	39.8	18.8	25.6	18.3	12.8
13-15 years	25.4	20.0	13.7	18.1	14.2	13.8	6.3	12.2	3.4	3.3
16 years (College)	13.3	19.4	17.3	13.4	8.7	14.9	12.6	0.2	5.4	0.5
17 years or more	47.2	14.4	38.3	13.0	34.9	6.2	19.4	2.9	8.7	...
Not reported	1.9	2.3	0.2	0.8	2.0	2.7	7.0	4.3	12.5	19.7
Total population										
25 years & over	5100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	-(7000)	(7200)	(8300)	(7300)	(5100)	(4700)	(2500)	(2500)	(1800)	(2200)

a/ Table does not include 250 male and 900 female, age "over 21."

Once more the increase of those with 4 years or less of schooling, as age increases, may be seen, but we can also see that this group is larger among women than among men. By contrast, the proportions with 17 or more years' schooling increase steadily as one looks from right to left in the table (i.e., from older to younger), especially among the men. Let us sum up the contrast once more, with data from Table 2-3:

Education in Years	Age 25-34		Age 65 and Over	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
8 or less	0.3%	0.3%	41.3%	53.9%
9-12	11.9	43.6	28.7	22.6
13 or more	85.9	53.8	17.5	3.8
Not reported	1.9	2.3	12.5	19.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Thus at each age the education of women lags behind that of men.

#### Education of Household Heads by Area

To compare the educational level of the Jewish populations of the seven areas in the survey, we have used information on heads of households only (see Table 2-4).

TABLE 2-4.  
EDUCATION BY AREA  
(Heads of households only)

Education of Head: Years of School Completed	Area							
	D.C.		VA.		MD.		Total	
	North- east	N.W. West	N.W. East	Scuth- east	(M.A.)	Prince Georges County	Mont- gomery County	
	of Rock Creek	of Rock Creek	& South- Creek	west	(M.A.)	(M.A.)	(M.A.)	
Four years or less	6.2%	...	8.5%	2.5%	0.3%	1.3%	...	3.4%
5-8 years	6.2	4.5%	13.1	5.6	7.9	5.4	1.6%	6.8
9-11 years	8.1	3.8	9.4	37.6	2.7	2.8	7.5	8.4
12 years (High school)	27.7	13.5	25.8	9.9	8.4	17.2	11.6	17.7
13-15 years	17.4	15.3	10.3	7.3	26.8	16.4	16.0	14.8
16 years (College)	24.0	10.8	12.1	13.1	11.3	13.4	10.4	12.7
17 years or more	9.7	44.9	18.0	22.3	41.6	39.7	52.3	33.9
Not reported	0.7	7.2	2.8	1.7	1.0	3.8	0.6	2.3
Total, heads of households	- %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(2300)	(2200)	(7800)	(1300)	(2000)	(3000)	(7400)(26,000) <sup>a/</sup>

<sup>a/</sup> This figure is less than the number of households - 27,200 - because in 1200 households the head was not Jewish.

Consideration of the proportions with more than 16 years' schooling (that is, education beyond graduation from college) reveals marked contrasts, which we present below:

Area	% of household heads with 17 or more years' schooling
D.C. - N.E.	9.7%
N.W., W. of Rock Creek	44.9
N.W., E. of Rock Creek	18.0
S.E. & S.W.	22.3
Va. (Metropolitan area)	41.6
Prince Georges County (Metropolitan area)	39.7
Montgomery County (Metropolitan area)	52.3
All areas	33.9%

#### Education and School Attendance of Adolescents and Young Adults

The group whose educational achievement and current attendance is laid out in Table 2-5 ranges from the 15 to 19-year-olds, some of whom have had all the schooling they ever will have, through the 25 to 29-year-olds, a small proportion of whom are still attending college. The table shows two sets of information for the group

TABLE 2-5  
EDUCATION AND PRESENT SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, BY AGE AND SEX  
(Population 15-29 years of age)

Education: Years of School Completed	Present School Attend- ance	Age and Sex								
		15-19 Years			20-24 Years			25-29 Years		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Four years or less	Att.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Not att.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1%
5-8 years	Att.	1.1%	0.3%	0.8%	0.5%	...	0.1%	...	...	...
	Not att.	0.2	...	0.1	...	0.8%	0.6	0.3%	...	0.1
9-11 years	Att.	44.6	52.0	47.2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Not att.	4.4	...	2.8	19.6	...	6.0	1.3	0.8	1.0
12 years (High school)	Att.	25.1	9.9	19.7	2.4	0.3	0.9	...	...	...
	Not att.	3.8	4.7	4.1	18.9	51.2	41.4	11.8	37.3	25.5
13-15 years	Att.	5.5	18.4	10.1	26.0	15.2	18.5	8.1	...	3.8
	Not att.	0.3	0.8	0.5	6.5	20.3	16.1	19.2	13.3	16.1
16 years (College)	Att.	...	...	...	1.9	1.9	1.9	0.5	0.1	0.3
	Not att.	...	...	...	12.2	6.1	7.9	7.5	27.9	18.5
17 years or more	Att.	...	...	...	1.8	...	0.5	5.9	...	2.7
	Not att.	...	...	...	5.6	0.6	2.2	44.3	19.6	31.0
Not reported	Att.	15.0	13.5	14.5	0.8	1.2	1.1	...	0.3	0.1
	Not att.	...	0.3	0.2	3.8	2.4	2.8	1.1	0.6	0.8
Sub-totals	Att.	91.3	94.1	92.3	33.4	18.6	23.0	14.5	0.4	6.9
	Not att.	8.7	5.9	7.7	66.6	81.4	77.0	85.5	99.6	93.1
Totals	- %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(2400)	(1400)	(3800)	(1100)	(2400)	(3500)	(2700)	(3100)	(5800)

15-to 29 years of age: education (in years of school completed) and whether or not currently attending school. These are presented separately for three age groups, and within each of these by sex. While all the percentages in each column total 100.0%, the percentages shown as "attending" at each educational level are shown as a sub-total, and similarly for those "not attending," just above the column totals.

Let us look first at these sub-totals. We see that of those aged 15 to 19, over 90% of each sex are still going to school of those aged 20 to 24, about a third of the men (33.4%) but only 18.6% of the women are currently attending school of those aged 25 to 29, 14.5% of the men and just about none (0.4%) of the women are presently going to school

These figures represent not all who may be taking one or two courses, but those whose principal activity is attending school. That is, this is their "employment status," as defined in the following section of this chapter. The figures in these sub-totals show once more that the men obtain more education than the women.

The bulk of the 15-to 19-year-olds, of course, are in high school, with a few still finishing up their elementary schooling. A small proportion of boys of this age are already in college (5.5%), but a higher proportion of girls have entered (18.4%). About 7.4% of the total are "not attending" school -- presumably most of these have dropped out of high school prior to completing work there, or have ended their schooling with a high-school diploma. Some few are "not attending" due to physical or mental ailments or other causes. Of the group whose education was "not reported," most were apparently attending school in the grade appropriate to their age.

Among the 20 to 24-year-olds, two observations stand out: first, that almost all those of either sex still attending school have completed 13-15 years -- i.e., all but the last year of college; and two, that over half of the women have had 12 years (i.e., a high school education) and are no longer attending.

Among the 25 to 29-year group, the men still attending include almost equal proportions with 13-15 years (8.1%) and with 17 or more years (5.9%) of schooling -- that is, completing undergraduate college courses or working toward graduate (probably professional) degrees. Comparison of the women of this age and ages 20-24, incidentally, shows a lower proportion in this older group who have stopped at the end of high school.

## Section B

## Employment Status and Class of Employer

Employment Status

The term "employment status" refers to the way in which a person chiefly "spends his time." It was ascertained by asking, for each person in each household: "At present, is he working for pay or profit, keeping house, going to school, or what?" The answers to this question were classified as shown in Table 2-6. Let us take a few moments to explain what these terms mean, relying on Census Bureau definitions in part. 5/

TABLE 2-6  
EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY SEX  
(Population 14 years of age and over)

Employment Status	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
In labor force			
Civilian			
Working for pay or profit	77.1%	27.9%	52.5%
Unemployed	1.7	0.9	0.9
Military: in armed forces	4.7	*	2.4
Sub-total, in labor force	(83.5)	(28.8)	(55.8)
Not in labor force			
Keeping house	...	60.4	30.6
Going to school	12.5	7.6	10.0
Retired	3.1	2.0	2.5
Other	*	0.4	0.2
Sub-total, not in labor force	(15.6)	(70.4)	(43.3)
Not reported	0.9	0.8	0.9
Total population, 14 years of age and over	- %	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(29,200)	(58,200)

\* Less than .05%

Over half (52.5%) of the 58,200 persons aged 14 and over are shown as "working for pay or profit," or employed. This includes those working for others, working for themselves, or working as unpaid employees in family-operated businesses (e.g., the wife of a store-keeper who works in the store with her husband). Within this group are those who were at work at the time of the survey, and those who had jobs but were temporarily not working - for example, on vacation, ill, and so on.

Less than 1% of the total were unemployed - that is, did not have jobs but were actively seeking work.

Members of the armed forces on active duty comprised 2.4% of the total.

The labor force is composed of the three groups above: the employed and the unemployed, who together make up the civilian labor force, plus those who are currently in the armed forces. As Table 2-6 shows, 55.8% of the total local Jewish population were in the labor force.

Those not in the labor force include women who were primarily occupied with their own home housework (30.6% of the total), students who were primarily occupied with attending school (10.0%), retired persons (2.5%) and a very small proportion (0.2%) of "others." In the latter category are unmarried young women who, having completed their schooling, were not seeking work; older women living with their married children, formerly "keeping house" and now voluntarily idle; persons at present in institutions, and some others. 6/

#### Relation of Sex and Age to Employment Status

The two sexes, of course, show marked differences in their employment status (see Table 2-6). Of the men, 83.5% are in the labor force, but only 28.8% of the women. The latter figure is considerably lower than the 1950 Census report for the total white population. 7/ The males in the labor force also include 4.7% on active service in the armed forces, and a proportion of unemployment about twice as high as among the women.

Among those not in the labor force, the largest segment is the 60.4% of the women engaged in housekeeping. Since we observed previously that men receive more education than women, it is to be expected that a higher proportion of males than of females over 14 are reported as going to school (12.5 to 7.6%). The slightly higher proportion of men than of women shown as "retired" (3.1 to 2.0%) reflects once more the greater percentage of men who work (outside the home).

Table 2-7 permits us to examine the "life history," occupationally speaking, of men and of women. Considering first the men: in the 14-19-year group, the bulk (91.8%) are still in school, a small proportion (4.4%) are already working, a smaller number still (2.4%) are in the armed forces. Between 20 and 24 years, almost a third (32.4%) are going to school, but more (39.7%) are in the armed services and over a quarter (26.2%) are working. From age 25 through age 64 almost all are working, although some of the younger men are still completing their education or military service, and in the older group unemployment and retirement are increasing. Hardly more than half of those 65 and over (55.1%) are still working, while three-eighths (37.0%) are retired.

The pattern for women, of course, differs somewhat. Housekeeping is the chief status in all ages above 20, except in the 45 to 54-year-old group. A higher proportion are working, at this age, than at any other. Two possibilities suggest themselves: first, that this represents a consistent pattern in which women whose families are completed (that is, whose children are grown) tend to seek employment outside the home. A second possibility is that the women in this age group, for specific reasons not immediately apparent, have been working in greater proportions than those older or younger than themselves, more or less all of their adult lives.

TABLE 2-7  
 EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY AGE AND SEX <sup>a/</sup>  
 (Population 14 years of age and over)

Employment Status by Sex	Age						
	14-19 years	20-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 years & over
<b>Male</b>							
Working for pay or profit	4.4%	26.2%	86.8%	96.0%	92.1%	85.4%	55.1%
Unemployed	...	0.8	0.1	...	4.5	5.7	5.7
In armed forces	2.4	39.7	6.7	3.5	2.1	...	...
Sub-total, in labor force	(6.8)	(66.7)	(93.6)	(99.5)	(98.7)	(91.1)	(60.8)
Going to school	91.8	32.4	5.7	...	...	...	...
Retired	...	...	...	...	0.8	8.7	37.0
Other	0.2	...	...	...	0.1	0.2	...
Sub-total, not in labor force	(92.0)	(32.4)	(5.7)	...	(0.9)	(8.9)	(37.0)
Not reported	1.2	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.1	...	2.2
Total male, 14 yrs. & over - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(3100)	(1100)	(7000)	(8300)	(5100)	(2500)	(1800)
<b>Female</b>							
Working for pay or profit	2.9%	36.4%	24.1%	28.6%	50.8%	18.8%	13.3%
Unemployed	0.3	4.1	...	0.4	1.0	1.4	1.8
In armed forces	...	...	0.1	...	...	0.2	...
Sub-total, in labor force	(3.2)	(40.5)	(24.2)	(29.0)	(51.8)	(20.4)	(15.1)
Keeping house	...	40.8	75.3	70.7	46.9	69.4	70.5
Going to school	93.7	18.3	0.2	...	...	...	...
Retired	...	...	...	...	0.9	7.0	10.4
Other	1.1	...	*	0.1	*	0.8	2.5
Sub-total, not in labor force	(94.8)	(59.1)	(75.5)	(70.8)	(47.8)	(77.2)	(83.4)
Not reported	2.0	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.4	2.4	1.5
Total female, 14 years and over - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(1900)	(2400)	(7200)	(7300)	(4700)	(2500)	(2200)

\* Less than .05%

a/ Table does not include 200 male and 900 female, age over 21.

The other age at which a relatively high proportion of women are "working for pay or profit" is from 20 to 24 - that is, while a number of them are waiting to marry and retire from the labor force to keeping house. It is at this age, too, that unemployment among women is highest.

Class of Employer

Of the 30,500 Jewish persons in the Washington area who are at present working for pay or profit, slightly over a third (36.8%) work for the government, about the same proportion (35.9%) work for private employers and almost a quarter are self-employed (see Table 2-8). Twice as high a proportion of men as of women are self-employed (27.7 and 13.6%), while higher percentages of women than of men are in both government and private employment.

TABLE 2-8

## CLASS OF EMPLOYER BY SEX

(Population 14 years of age and over,  
working for pay or profit)

Class of Employer	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Government	34.8%	42.0%	36.8%
Self-employed	27.7	13.6	23.7
Private enterprise	33.9	42.0	35.9
Not reported	3.6	2.4	3.6
Total population, 14 years and over working for pay or profit - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(22,400)	(8100)
			(30,500)

The groups who are employed by private businesses, by government and by themselves differ in age, as Table 2-9 shows. For the men, we can see that the youngest groups (under 25) are almost all working for private enterprises, while the same privately-employed group shows the highest proportion aged 65 and over. These figures suggest that men may enter government service later than private business, and begin their own business or professional enterprises, if at all, even later in life. Differences in the proportions of men over 45 working for the government, for themselves or for other employers may be interpreted in various ways. The smaller proportions of older men in government service may point to relatively early retirement; to a shift from government to self-employment; or to the possibility that most of the Jews in government, dating from New Deal days or since, are relatively young.

For women the picture is slightly different. The government is the principal employer of the younger women, and also seems to hold a higher proportion of its female employees than of its male through age 55. It may be that women are less likely than men to leave government to establish their own enterprises. The self-employed women are somewhat older than self-employed men. The same comparison applies among the privately-employed.

TABLE 2-9

## CLASS OF EMPLOYER BY AGE AND SEX

(Population 14 years of age and over,  
working for pay or profit)

Age and Sex	Class of Employer				Total
	Govern- ment	Self- employed	Private enterprise		
<b>Male</b>					
14-19 years	...	...	1.8%	0.6%	
20-24 years	0.3%	0.7%	2.7	1.2	
25-34 years	24.8	20.8	33.1	27.2	
35-44 years	47.6	29.1	30.1	35.8	
45-54 years	16.3	28.8	18.6	21.1	
55-64 years	6.8	16.7	7.3	9.4	
65 years and over	3.5	3.6	6.3	4.3	
"Over 21" years	0.7	0.3	0.1	0.4	
Total male, 14 yrs. & over working for pay or profit-%	100.0% -# (7800)	100.0% (6200)	100.0% (7600)	100.0% a/ (22,400)	
<b>Female</b>					
14-19 years	1.0%	...	0.5%	0.7%	
20-24 years	14.7	...	11.0	10.9	
25-34 years	21.3	4.4%	28.4	21.5	
35-44 years	29.9	37.7	18.4	25.4	
45-54 years	24.4	40.2	32.5	29.2	
55-64 years	3.7	15.7	5.5	5.9	
65 years and over	0.1	1.6	2.2	3.6	
"Over 21" years	4.9	0.4	1.5	2.8	
Total female, 14 yrs. & over working for pay or profit-%	100.0% -# (3400)	100.0% (1100)	100.0% (3400)	100.0% b/ (8100)	

a/ Includes 800 cases - employer not reported - not shown in table.

b/ Includes 200 cases - employer not reported - not shown in table.

## Section C

## Occupation and Industry

Occupational Distribution

Jews in general tend to be concentrated in professional proprietorial and white-collar jobs. 8/ The Washington white population is likewise heavily weighted with professional, and clerical workers. 9/ It is therefore not surprising to learn the overwhelming majority of employed Washington Jews are in such occupations.

TABLE 2-10.

## OCCUPATION BY SEX

(Population 14 years of age and over, working for pay or profit)

Occupation	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Accountants and auditors	2.6%	0.3%	2.0%
Engineers and architects	5.3	...	3.9
Lawyers and judges	7.6	0.7	5.8
Medical professions	2.8	2.5	2.7
Natural scientists	4.5	2.4	3.9
Social scientists	5.5	1.4	4.4
Teachers	0.5	3.2	1.2
Other professional and technical	9.1	4.6	7.9
Sub-total, professional and technical	(37.9)	(15.1)	(31.8)
Managers, officials and proprietors	24.5	7.8	20.1
Bookkeepers	1.2	1.8	1.4
Secretaries, stenographers and typists	0.1	33.9	9.1
Other clerical	5.5	14.2	7.8
Sub-total, clerical workers	(6.8)	(49.9)	(18.3)
Insurance agents and brokers	0.6	2.3	1.0
Real estate agents and brokers	1.1	1.5	1.2
Other salesmen and sales clerks	12.3	6.1	10.7
Sub-total sales workers	(14.0)	(9.9)	(12.9)
Printing craftsmen	3.4	...	2.5
Other craftsmen, foremen, etc.	4.1	0.7	3.2
Sub-total, craftsmen, foremen, etc. ("Skilled")	(7.5)	(0.7)	(5.7)
Operatives, apprentices, etc. ("Semiskilled")	0.9	1.6	1.0
Service workers ("Semiskilled")	1.2	6.2	2.5
Laborers ("Unskilled")	*	0.2	0.1
Not reported	7.2	8.6	7.6
Total, 14 years of age and over working for pay or profit	-	%	100.0%
	-	#	(22,400)
			(8100)
			(30,500)

\* Less than .05%

Summarizing Table 2-10, we learn that of this group:

- 31.8% are in professional and technical occupations.
- 20.1% are managers, officials or proprietors
- 31.2% are clerical or sales workers
- 9.3% are manual workers
- 7.6% are in the "occupation not reported" category

Thus over half of the employed group are owners, managers or professionals. About half of those not reporting their occupation are government employees (compare Table 2-12). For many of these not reporting, the work was described as "classified."

A more detailed break-down of the occupation distribution, separately for each sex as well as for both sexes combined, is presented in Table 2-10. As might be anticipated, it is the men who are concentrated in the owner-manager-professional group, while the women are found chiefly in clerical jobs. While the meaning of most of these occupational titles is self-evident, a few words of additional explanation will be found in a note at the end of this chapter. 10/

Table 2-11 shows the occupational distribution for each sex in four age groups: under 35; 35-44; 45-54; and 55 and over. In general, the proportion of professionals is higher in the younger (and better-educated) groups, lower among the older. Most of the variations from one age group to the next do not fit any particular pattern, suggesting that many factors influence the distributions shown.

TABLE 2-11

OCCUPATION BY AGE AND SEX

(Population 14 years of age and over, working for pay or profit)

Sex and Occupation	Under 35 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55 years and over	Total
<b>Male</b>					
Professional & technical workers	45.2%	38.8%	32.4%	27.5%	37.8%
Managers, officials, proprietors	21.5	24.8	23.3	32.3	24.5
Clerical & sales workers	17.8	15.4	30.6	25.9	20.8
Manual workers	11.4	9.7	5.9	12.1	9.7
Not reported	4.1	11.3	7.8	2.2	7.2
Total male, 14 years & over working for pay or profit	- % - # (6500)	100.0% (8000)	100.0% (4700)	100.0% (3100)	100.0% (22,400) <sup>b/</sup>
<b>Female</b>					
Professional & technical workers	15.9%	28.0%	8.5%	a/	15.1%
Managers, officials & proprietors	1.1	7.1	12.5	a/	7.8
Clerical & sales workers	61.9	55.5	68.7	a/	59.9
Manual workers	14.9	1.3	7.6	a/	8.6
Not reported	6.2	8.1	2.7	a/	8.6
Total female, 14 years & over working for pay or profit	- % - # (2700)	100.0% (2100)	100.0% (2300)	100.0% (800)	100.0% (8100) <sup>c/</sup>

a/ Too few cases to show detail

b/ Includes 100 cases "over 21" not shown in table

c/ Includes 200 cases "over 21" not shown in table

### Relation between Occupation and Class of Employer

The class of employer for whom each occupation is practised is shown in Table 2-12. It will be seen that over half of the professional and clerical workers are government employees (respectively 56.4 and 57.0%) as are the greater part of the skilled craftsmen (43.2%) and those with occupations not reported (49.5%). Over 2/3 of the managers, officials and proprietors (68.0%) are self-employed. Most of the sales workers (81.3%) and of the semi-skilled and unskilled operatives, service workers and laborers (88.9%) are in private industry. 11/

TABLE 2-12

## CLASS OF EMPLOYER BY OCCUPATION

(Population 14 years and over, working for pay or profit)

Class of Employer	Occupation							
	Profes- sional & tech- nical workers	Man- agers, & offic- ials	Cleri- cal & pro- prie- tors	Sales workers	Crafts- men, fore- men, etc.	Opera- tives, men, etc.	Not service workers, laborers	Total
Government	56.4%	7.7%	57.0%	4.1%	43.2%	3.9%	49.5%	36.8%
Self-employed	21.0	68.0	0.6	13.7	19.0	6.8	2.1	23.7
Private enterprise	19.9	23.9	42.0	81.3	37.8	88.9	16.0	35.9
Not reported	2.7	0.4	0.4	0.9	...	0.4	32.4	3.6
Total population, 14 years & over, working for pay or profit	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	# (700)	(6100)	(5600)	(3900)	(1800)	(1100)	(2300)	(30,500)

Industry in Which Employed

Table 2-13 shows that almost two-thirds of those employed either by private business firms or by themselves are in retail trade (34.8%); business, repair or personal services (13.2%); or medical, legal, welfare or related services (16.9%). The industries grouped under the headings are described in the footnotes to the table. In this and the following two tables, it should be noted, figures refer to those employed outside of government.

The meaning of the figures in Table 2-13 is clarified by the detail of the succeeding table (2-14). This shows the occupation composition of each industry. It thus becomes clear that the organizations and businesses grouped under "medical, legal, welfare and related services" employ the largest shares of professional workers (54.4%) and of clerical workers (36.2%). The other fairly large group of professionals is the 13.3% in business, repair and personal services. Large groups of clerical workers are found in wholesale trade (18.8%) and finance, insurance and real estate offices (16.3%). Retail trade accounts for over half the managers and proprietors (54.9%) and two-thirds of the sales workers (65.2%). Craftsmen are mostly in manufacturing (32.2%) or in business, repair and personal services (31.8%), while over half (53.6%) of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers are in the latter group of services.

TABLE 2-13

## INDUSTRY IN WHICH EMPLOYED

(Population 14 years of age and over, working for pay or profit) a/

Industry	Percent
Construction	4.9%
Manufacturing b/	5.5
Wholesale trade	8.1
Retail trade c/	34.8
Finance, insurance & real estate	8.1
Business, repair & personal services d/	13.2
Entertainment & recreation services	3.0
Medical, legal, welfare & related services e/	16.9
Other f/	1.8
Not reported	3.7
Total a/	100.0%
	(18,300)

a/ Table excludes government employees

b/ Includes bakery, beverage and other food plants, metal fabrication, printing and publishing, etc.

c/ Includes retail stores generally (e.g., clothing, department, drug, furniture, grocery, hardware, jewelry, liquor stores), auto dealers, gasoline service stations, restaurants, etc.

d/ Includes accounting, advertising and other business services; auto repair shops, garages and other repair services; hotels, rooming houses, laundry, cleaning, dyeing, and other personal services.

e/ Includes medical practice, hospitals, law firms, private schools, non-profit organizations, etc.

f/ Includes agriculture, forestry and fisheries; mining; transportation, telephone, telegraph and other public utilities; and domestic service.

TABLE 2-14  
INDUSTRY BY OCCUPATION

(Population 14 years of age and over, working for pay or profit) <sup>a/</sup>

Industry <sup>b/</sup>	Occupation					
	Profes- sional & technical	Managers, offi- cials	Cleri- cal proprie- tors	Sales workers	Crafts- men, fore- men etc.	Opera- tives, service workers and laborers
		etc.				etc.
Construction		6.0%	7.2%	0.6%	0.7%	19.1%
Manufacturing		5.8	1.1	2.9	2.3	32.2
Wholesale trade		0.2	10.4	18.8	7.3	...
Retail trade		5.0	54.9	7.7	65.2	14.7
Finance, insurance & real estate		3.4	2.1	16.3	21.8	...
Business, repair and personal services		13.3	13.0	8.1	1.1	31.8
Entertainment and recreation services		2.6	6.4	0.2	0.4	...
Medical, legal, welfare and related services		54.4	0.7	36.2	0.1	...
Other		2.1	1.1	4.0	...	2.2
Not reported		7.2	3.1	5.2	1.1	...
Total <sup>a/</sup>	-	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	-	#	(4000)	(5600)	(2400)	(1000)

<sup>a/</sup> Includes government employees and 500 cases, occupation not reported.

<sup>b/</sup> For description of the industries in these groups see footnotes <sup>b/</sup> - <sup>f/</sup> in Table 2-13.

The industry and class of employer of employed men and women may be compared by examining Table 2-15. For both sexes, in general, the principal industries are retail trade; business, repair and personal services; and medical, legal, welfare and related services. The last group is clearly a more important source of jobs for women than for men (although, as the preceding tables suggest, the women are largely in clerical, the men in professional roles, in this industry).

Comparing those who are self-employed with those working for others:

Among both sexes, the self-employed include fewer persons in manufacturing and wholesale trade

Among women only, half of the self-employed are in retail trade, but less than a quarter of those working for others. Conversely, a higher proportion of those in "private enterprise" than of the self-employed are in finance, insurance and real estate

Among men only, the medical, legal, etc., services provide jobs for twice as high a proportion of the self-employed as of those working for private enterprises

Business, repair and personal services present this picture: among men, they include more of the self-employed; among women, more of those in private enterprise. That is, to oversimplify slightly: the men operate these services, women work for them.

TABLE 2-15

## INDUSTRY BY SEX AND CLASS OF EMPLOYER

(Population 14 years of age and over, working for pay or profit) <sup>a/</sup>

Industry <sup>b/</sup>	Male			Female		
	Class of Employer		Total	Class of Employer		Total
	Self-employed	Private enterprise		Self-employed	Private enterprise	
Construction	7.4%	5.5%	6.3%	...	0.4%	0.3%
Manufacturing	1.4	11.1	6.8	...	1.8	1.4
Wholesale trade	5.9	9.7	8.0	3.7%	9.8	8.3
Retail trade	37.6	34.8	36.0	54.3	23.6	31.0
Finance, insurance, & real estate	7.4	8.6	8.0	3.0	10.2	8.4
Business, repair & personal services	15.6	11.7	13.4	5.4	14.6	12.4
Entertainment & recreation services	1.5	4.7	3.3	3.7	1.4	2.0
Medical, legal, welfare & related services	17.9	8.4	12.7	26.7	31.2	30.2
Other	1.2	2.2	1.8	2.8	1.8	2.0
Not reported	4.1	3.3	3.7	0.4	5.2	4.0
<b>Total <sup>a/</sup></b>	<b>- %</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
	<b>- #</b>	<b>(6200)</b>	<b>(7600)</b>	<b>(13,800)</b>	<b>(1100)</b>	<b>(3400)</b>

a/ Table excludes government employees and 1000 cases, class of employer not reported.

b/ For description of the industries in these groups, see footnotes b/ - f/ in Table 2-13.

## Section D

## Family Income

Distribution of Incomes

Along with age, income is a "sensitive" topic for inquiry in surveys. As Table 2-16 shows, income was not reported for over 15% of the survey population. This was in part due to refusal to reply; in part due to confusion on the part of interviewees (some, for example, said that they had "no income"); in part due to the reluctance of the volunteer interviewers to ask about income. 12/

TABLE 2-16.

## FAMILY INCOME

Family Income	Percent of Families
Under \$2,000	1.8%
\$2000-2999	1.1
3000-3999	2.8
4000-4999	8.3
5000-6999	16.4
7000-9999	28.6
10,000-14,999	17.1
15,000-24,999	5.8
25,000 and over	2.9
Not reported	15.2
Total families	100.0%
	(27,200)

It is probable that our one question ("... will you please tell me in which of these groups your total family income fell last year?") did not succeed in getting the complete income of families having several sources (e. g., dividends, interest, etc.). In general, it is assumed that income is underestimated here, as in surveys generally and as Census Bureau experience would suggest. 13/

Table 2-16, then, shows about one-quarter of the families with total annual incomes reported at \$10,000 or over (25.8%). Slightly over one-quarter, in addition, reported incomes of \$7,000 - 9,999 annually (28.6%). At the other extreme, 5.7% of the families were reported having total annual incomes under \$4,000. Evidence in the following tables suggests that most of the unreported incomes were relatively high.

Family Income by Area

Table 2-17 shows the distribution of incomes in the seven sub-areas. The most salient fact is probably this: over half (51.6%) of the reported incomes in Northwest D. C., west of Rock Creek, were \$10,000 or over, with an additional 21.4% not reporting. By contrast, nearly half the incomes in Southeast and Southwest D. C. were reported as under \$5000 (47.6%), with almost none (2.6%) not reported. In order of the proportions of families reporting incomes of \$7,000 and over, the areas may be arranged as follows:

<u>Area</u>	<u>% of Incomes Report \$7,000 or Over</u>
Montgomery County (Metropolitan area)	65.6%
D.C. - N.W., West of Rock Creek	63.5
Virginia (Metropolitan area)	60.2
Prince Georges County (Metropolitan area)	50.8
D.C. - Northeast	47.3
D.C. - N.W., East of Rock Creek	45.0
D.C. - Southeast & Southwest	39.6

TABLE 2-17  
FAMILY INCOME BY AREA

Family Income	D. C.		VA.		MD.		
	North- east	North- west	North- west- West	South- east	(M.A.)	Prince Georges County (M.A.)	Mont- gomery (M.A.)
	of Rock Creek	Rock Creek	Rock Creek	South West			
Under \$4000	5.3%	3.2%	10.9%	8.2%	1.9%	7.4%	1.3%
\$4000-4999	11.4	4.8	13.0	39.4	5.3	4.3	0.7
\$5000-6999	30.3	7.1	12.1	10.2	9.6	30.0	17.3
\$7000-9999	31.6	11.9	16.8	27.5	32.8	42.3	38.7
\$10,000-14,999	10.7	26.3	19.8	11.8	23.3	7.4	16.2
\$15,000 and over	5.0	25.3	8.4	0.3	4.1	1.1	10.7
Not reported	5.7	21.4	19.0	2.6	23.0	7.5	15.1
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(2300)	(2500)	(7900)	(1400)	(2300)	(3200)	(7600)

Family Income and Occupation of Household Head

Family income differs according to the occupation of the head of the household, as Table 2-18 shows. About one-third of the families whose heads are in the professions, or are managers, officials or proprietors report total incomes of \$10,000 or over (35.5% and 35.1%, respectively). Families of clerical workers, sales workers and manual workers follow with 21.2%, 20.5% and 7.1%, respectively, at this income level.

TABLE 2-18

## FAMILY INCOME BY OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

(Families in which head of household is working for pay or profit)

Family Income	Occupation of Head						
	Professional and technical	Managers, officials & proprie- tors	Cleri- cal	Sales workers	Manual workers	Not reported	Total
Under \$4000	0.4%	2.8%	5.9%	3.5%	6.6%	1.3%	2.5%
\$4000-4999	2.3	6.0	28.3	9.6	14.3	0.7	7.3
\$5000-6999	22.1	14.8	18.1	19.8	20.4	7.8	18.5
\$7000-9999	34.6	26.1	23.8	26.6	40.2	49.0	31.9
\$10,000 - 14,999	22.9	21.8	21.0	10.8	5.6	12.9	18.6
\$15,000 and over	12.6	13.3	0.2	9.7	1.5	7.6	10.0
Not reported	5.1	15.2	2.7	20.0	11.4	20.7	11.2
Total families with head working	- %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(8400)	(5500)	(1800)	(3200)	(1900)	(1500)(22,300)

## Family Income and Class of Employer of Household Head

Income also differs according to the class of employer for whom the head of the household works (see Table 2-19). The higher family incomes are among the self-employed, of whom 26.9% have incomes of \$15,000 or over, and 14.3% have incomes of \$10,000 or over. More of the lower incomes are among those employed by private enterprise: 14.3% of these earn less than \$5000, a higher proportion than in either of the other two groups. Government employees' family incomes fall between the other two: higher on the whole than those of the privately employed, not nearly so high as those of the self-employed.

TABLE 2-19

## FAMILY INCOME BY CLASS OF EMPLOYER OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

(Families in which head of household is working for pay or profit)<sup>a/</sup>

Family Income	Class of Employer of Head of Household		
	Government	Self-employed	Private enterprise
Under \$4000	1.5%	2.7%	3.8%
\$4000-4999	5.4	6.7	10.5
\$5000-6999	23.7	13.8	17.5
\$7000-9999	41.7	18.1	33.0
\$10,000-14,999	22.7	14.3	17.6
\$15,000 and over	1.8	26.9	4.6
Not reported	3.2	17.5	13.0
Total families with head working	- %	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(7900)	(6100)
			100.0% (7400)

<sup>a/</sup> Table does not include 900 cases, class of employer not reported.

## Section E

## Military Service

Information about military service was obtained by asking, for each person over the age of 18, the following question:

"Has he (or she) ever served in the armed forces of the United States?"

The interviewer was instructed to consider as a "Yes" any peacetime or wartime service in the armed services of the United States. This excluded merchant marine service, whether in peace or in wartime.

A total of 13,900 Washington area Jews aged 19 or over have served in this country's armed forces at some time. About 500 of these are women. The remaining 13,400 are exactly 50.0% of the total Jewish men of their age. The distribution of these men by age is shown in Table 2-20.

The proportion of the 19 to 24-year group who have had military service with U. S. forces is 37.9%; in the 25-34 year group, over 85%; at succeeding ages the proportions drop off irregularly, reflecting the demands for military service made on successive generations by the incidence of wars.

TABLE 2-20

## MILITARY SERVICE OF MALES 19 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY AGE

Service in Armed Forces of United States?	Age						Total
	19-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 years and over	
Yes	37.9%	85.1%	55.9%	18.3%	33.0%	14.5%	50.0%
No	60.3	12.7	42.5	80.0	66.0	75.4	47.6
Not reported	1.8	2.2	1.6	1.7	1.0	10.1	2.4
Total males 19 years and over	- % (1900)	100.0% (7000)	100.0% (8300)	100.0% (5100)	100.0% (2500)	100.0% (1800)	100.0% (26,800) <sup>a</sup>

a/ Includes 200 cases, age "over 21" not shown in table.

Notes

1/ All tables in Sections A, B, C and E, which deal with persons of specified ages, exclude 100 persons, age not reported, all male.

2/ See, for example: Nathan Glazer, "Social Characteristics of American Jews," in American Jewish Year Book, Vol. 56 (1955), Ed. by Morris Fine, pp. 20-30, passim.

3/ See for 1950 educational level of Washington area population: U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population: 1950. Vol. II. Characteristics of the Population, Part 9, District of Columbia, Chapter B, Table 20 (pages 9-15 and 9-16). Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952.

4/ Among the 20,500 married couples, 47.0% of the husbands had more education, 33.4% had the same amount of education and 15.3% had less education than their wives. In the remaining 4.3% of the cases, education of husband, wife or both was not reported.

5/ Op. cit., p. X.

6/ Each person was assigned to only one employment status. Persons who reported "keeping house" and "working" were classified as the former if working less than 20 hours a week; otherwise, as "working." Women reported as "keeping house" and "working for the government" were classified as the latter, since there are no part-time government jobs in this area.

7/ Op. cit., Chapter B, Tables 25-27, pp. 9-17 and 9-18; Chapter C, Tables 66, pp. 9-46 and 9-47.

8/ See Glazer, op. cit., pp. 25-28.

9/ See U. S. Bureau of the Census, op. cit., Chapter C, Table 73, pp. 9-52 through 9-57.

10/ The occupations in which people are classified show what they do, not what training they have. Consequently, a man with a law degree who holds an administrative job in a government agency was classified among "managers, officials & proprietors," not "lawyers and judges." Similarly, a man with a degree in pharmacy who indicated his present occupation as "drug store owner" was also considered a proprietor rather than a pharmacist. This conforms to Bureau of Census occupational coding procedures, as do most other decisions made in this connection. An exception is our category of "medical professions," which includes, in addition to physicians and surgeons, such specialized fields as dentistry, osteopathy, podiatry, chiropractice and optometry. "Natural scientists" includes "mathematicians"; "social scientists" includes actuaries, statisticians and psychologists. Among "other professionals" are artists, actors, authors, athletes, editors and publishers, college professors or teachers, rabbis, dietitians, draftsmen, librarians, nurses, pharmacists, social workers, etc. "Other clerical" includes large numbers of specialized government desk jobs. "Other craftsmen" includes carpenters, electricians, mechanics, painters, plumbers, radio and TV repairmen, tailors, etc. "Operatives" includes deliverymen; dressmakers; bus, taxi and truck drivers; etc. "Service workers" includes beauticians, policemen, waiters and waitresses, etc. For further details see Bureau of Census, op. cit., p. XII.

- 11/ The apparently anomalous 4.1% of sales workers who are employed by government do have jobs in which they exercise a sales function; e. g., selling government publications.
- 12/ In the Supplement on Methods there is a more extended discussion of this problem, which compares the extent of non-response to the question on income reported by the volunteer and by the professional interviewers. In general the latter conducted 2/3 of the interviews, the former were the source of 2/3 of the "not reported" incomes.
- 13/ See Bureau of the Census, op. cit., p. XIV.

## CHAPTER 3

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY: PLACE OF BIRTH, PREVIOUS RESIDENCE,  
PRESENT HOME OCCUPANCY, FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE

The five sections of this chapter are concerned with various aspects of the movement of the Jewish population of the Washington area: from abroad to the United States; from elsewhere into Washington and its environs; from one part of the Metropolitan area to another. The chapter deals not only with the past, but also with the probable direction of future movement.

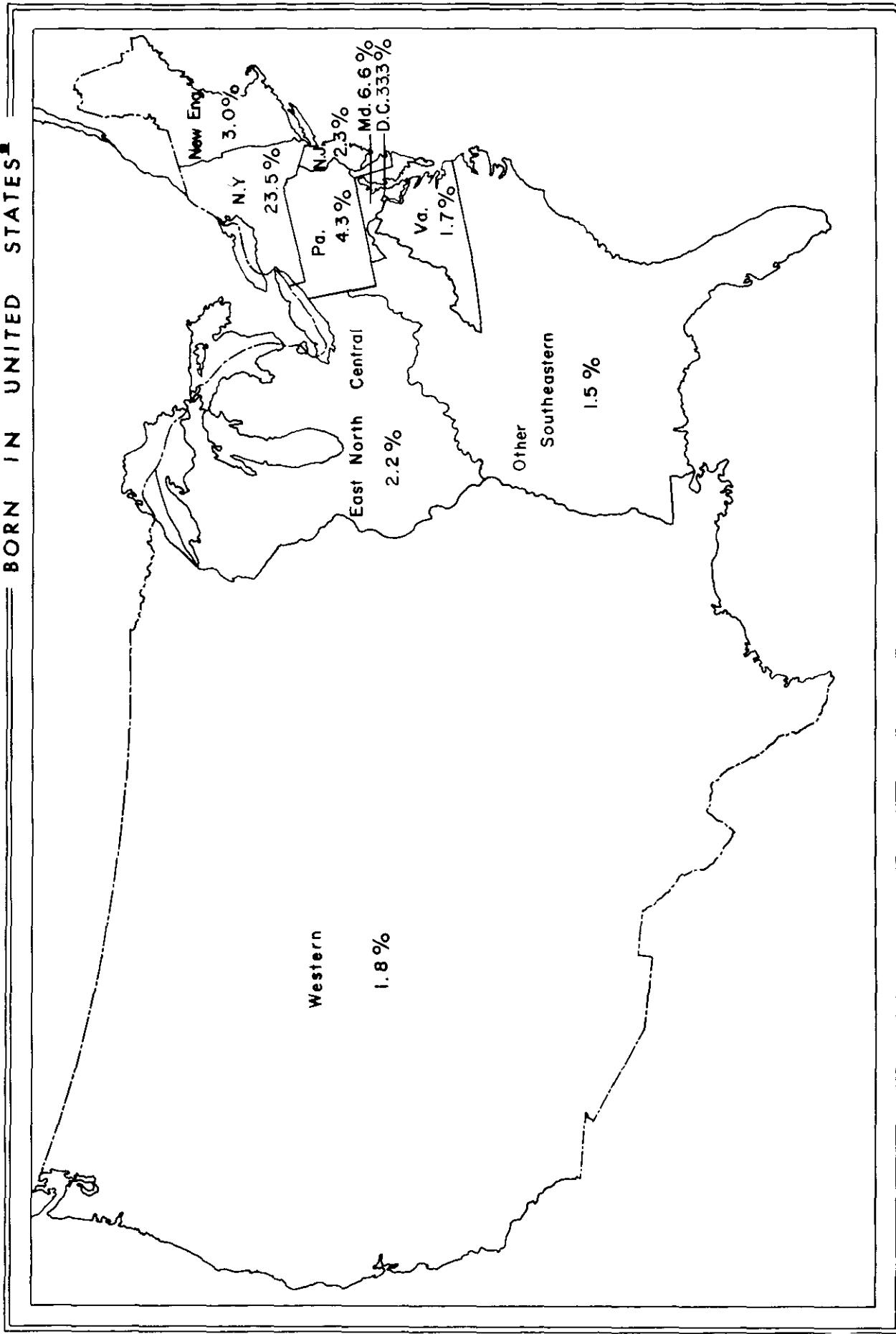
Section A discusses place of birth, or nativity - where Washington's present Jewish population, and the parents of this population, were born - for the whole group, as well as separately for various age-groups. For the foreign-born, when they arrived in the United States is shown, as well as the relations between year of arrival, place of birth, and the area in which they now live.

In Section B, we see where Washington's Jews lived just before coming into this area - the country or state; the size and type of community (big city, small town, farm, etc.); if a big city, which one. Comparison of year of arrival in the Washington area with the country or state from which they came permits us to see whether Washington's Jews have been coming from the same places as the years have passed. Similarly the seven sub-areas are compared to see whether there is any relation between when people came here, the kind of community they came from, and the area in which they live at present.

While the two sections above deal with individuals, the next three report on families. Section C shows where in the Washington area (or elsewhere) families lived just before moving to their present residences. Section D reports on "type of home occupancy" - whether the family lives in a house or apartment and whether the home is owned or rented.

Section E is concerned with those families who were expecting to move within the six months immediately following the survey: where they lived; where they were expecting to move to; their "home occupancy" at the time of the survey and whether they were planning to buy or rent; their income level, etc.

PLACE OF BIRTH OF THAT PART OF THE JEWISH POPULATION  
OF WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA  
BORN IN UNITED STATES<sup>a</sup>



<sup>a</sup>/ Map does not show 2.6%, born in the United States, but state not reported; 16.8% born outside the United States; and 0.4%, place of birth not recorded.

## Section A

## Nativity (Place of Birth)

Of the eight tables in this section, the first three treat the whole Jewish population of the Washington area; the fourth, the native-born only; and the remaining four, just the foreign-born.

Place of Birth of the Jewish Population

Over four-fifths of local Jews are native-born--82.8% as shown in Table 3-1. This table and the accompanying Map 4 show the distribution of the Jewish population according to their places of birth. The 82.8% includes 43.1% born in the Southeastern states (among them are the District of Columbia, Virginia and Maryland); 35.3% born in the Northeastern states; and 4.4% born in the Western states, in U. S. possessions or territories, or in some unspecified part of the U. S.

The remaining 17.2% consists of 11.4% born in Eastern Europe; 2.9% in Western Europe; 0.1% born in some unspecified European country; 2.4% born in some other place; and 0.4%, with birthplace not reported.

TABLE 3-1

## PLACE OF BIRTH OF JEWISH POPULATION

Place of Birth	Percent of Population
New England States (Maine, N. H., Vt., Mass., R. I., Conn.)	3.0%
New York	23.5
New Jersey	2.3
Pennsylvania	4.3
East North Central States (Ohio, Ind., Mich., Ill., Wisc.)	2.2
Sub-total, Northeast	(35.3)
District of Columbia	33.3
Maryland	6.6
Virginia	1.7
Other Southeastern states	1.5
Sub-total, Southeast	(43.1)
Western states, U. S. poss. & terr.	1.8
U. S. state not reported	2.6
Sub-total, U. S.	(82.8)
Russia	6.2
Poland	2.4
Other Eastern Europe	2.8
Sub-total, Eastern Europe	(11.4)
Germany	1.0
Austria	0.8
Other West European countries	1.1
Sub-total, Western Europe	(2.9)
Europe - country not reported	0.1
All other places	2.4
Not reported	0.4
Total population	100.0% (80,900)

What states were grouped together as Northeastern, Southeastern and Western, and which countries were classified as Eastern or Western Europe, may be seen in part from Table 3-1. (Further detail is contained in a note at the end of this chapter. 1/ ) The figure for the Southeastern states is principally the 33.3% born in the District, with small numbers contributed by Maryland and Virginia. New York's 23.5% is the one other large native-born group. The largest foreign-born element is of Russian origin (6.2% of the total).

Since the actual place of birth was classified, rather than the parents' usual residence, two notes should be added here:

1. Any child born to American parents abroad (e. g., diplomatic or military personnel) is shown as foreign-born.
2. In a number of instances, a Washington woman originally from New York or Baltimore went "back home" to bear a child, almost immediately returning to Washington. The child in such cases was reported by the interviewer as not born in Washington, and we have followed the interviewer's report.

#### Place of Birth by Age and Sex

In Table 3-2 we have presented information separately for the male and the female parts of the population, in the upper and lower halves respectively.

TABLE 3-2  
PLACE OF BIRTH BY AGE AND SEX

Place of Birth and Sex	Age						Total	
	Under 15 years	15-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years		
<b>Male</b>								
District of Columbia	69.7%	57.5%	26.3%	12.4%	3.6%	2.8%	6.5% 34.1%	
Maryland & Virginia	7.0	10.5	5.7	6.3	15.2	7.9	1.0 7.7	
N. Y., N. J., Pa.	12.5	20.4	45.3	56.4	35.8	17.6	16.1 31.2	
All other native-born	7.0	8.4	10.3	14.3	17.7	10.5	6.8 10.7	
Sub-total, native-born	(96. )	(96.8)	(87.6)	(89.4)	(72.3)	(58.8)	(30.4) (83.7)	
Eastern Europe	...	...	4.8	4.7	20.8	48.0	63.2 10.0	
Western Europe	1.9	0.4	5.2	1.0	6.1	7.4	5.3 3.2	
All other places	1.8	2.8	2.4	4.9	0.7	4.2	1.1 2.6	
Not reported	0.1	...	...	*	0.1	1.6	...	0.5
Total - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0% 100.0%	
- #	(12,500)	(3500)	(7000)	(8300)	(5100)	(2500)	(1800) (41,000) <sup>b</sup>	
<b>Female</b>								
District of Columbia	73.7%	40.3%	20.3%	12.5%	11.4%	3.5%	1.8% 32.6%	
Maryland & Virginia	8.7	5.6	13.4	6.1	7.5	9.8	6.3 9.0	
N. Y., N. J., Pa.	12.0	27.0	47.2	45.1	34.9	14.4	12.2 29.0	
All other native-born	5.0	14.9	12.6	21.5	14.3	8.0	3.3 11.5	
Sub-total, native-born	(99.4)	(87.8)	(93.5)	(85.2)	(68.1)	(35.7)	(23.6) (82.1)	
Eastern Europe	0.1	0.3	1.7	10.1	25.8	51.2	67.3 12.8	
Western Europe	0.1	5.5	3.2	1.3	2.3	7.3	9.1 2.6	
All other places	0.1	6.1	1.6	3.3	2.9	5.8	...	2.2
Not reported	0.3	0.3	...	0.1	0.9	...	...	0.3
Total - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0% 100.0%	
- #	(11,300)	(3800)	(7200)	(7300)	(4700)	(2500)	(2200) (39,900) <sup>b</sup>	

\* Less than .05%.

a/ Includes 300 cases, age not reported or "over 21," not shown in table.

b/ Includes 900 cases, age "over 21," not shown in table.

Let us look first at the upper (male) half. The sub-total for native born is from 85% to 95% for each age through 44 years; the proportion of foreign-born rises sharply in the ages from 45 up. A similar pattern holds for the women, except that the proportion of native-born after age 45 is even lower than among the men. In short, while over 90% of those under 45 are native-born, about 2/3 of those over 65 and about 1/2 of those between 55 and 64 were born in Eastern Europe.

Moreover, among the native-born, the proportion born outside the District of Columbia rises steadily with age. While some 70% of each sex under the age of 15 were born in the District, the comparable proportions among those 55 and over are from 2 to 7%. In general, those under 25 are mostly born in the D. C. area; those 25-54 are chiefly New Yorkers by birth; and the oldest group are largely East European (Russian and Polish) in origin. These generalizations hold for both sexes.

#### Place of Birth and Parent's Place of Birth

About half of the native-born had American-born parents (42.0%, among the 82.8% native-born), as may be seen in Table 3-3. This table also shows that of the group with native-born parents, about equal proportions were born in the District and elsewhere in the U. S.; while among those of foreign-born parentage, only about 1 in 4 were born in D. C. In other words, 2 out of 3 born in Washington have native-born parents, but only 2 in 5 of those born elsewhere in the U. S. 2/

TABLE 3-3.

#### NATIVITY: PLACE OF BIRTH BY PARENT'S PLACE OF BIRTH

Nativity	Percent of Population
Native-born of native parents	
Born in District of Columbia	22.3%
Born elsewhere in U. S.	19.7
Sub-total, native-born of native parents	(42.0)
Native-born of foreign parents	
Born in District of Columbia	11.0
Born elsewhere in U. S.	29.8
Sub-total, native-born of foreign parents	(40.8)
Foreign-born	16.8
Not reported	0.4
Total population	100.0%
	(80,900)

Nativity of household heads. The figures cited above and shown in Table 3-3 are based on the total Jewish population, including children as well as adults. A slightly different picture of the population's nativity emerges from consideration of heads of households only. Excluding those with a Gentile husband or wife, there are 23,900 heads, whose nativity is as follows:

- 14.7% are native born of native parents
- 56.9% are native born of foreign parents
- 1.3% are native born, parent's birthplace not reported
- 27.0% are foreign born
- 0.1% are of unreported nativity

In short, a higher proportion of the adults than of their children were born outside of the United States (as seen also in Table 3-2); and of the native-born, a higher proportion of the adults than of the children had foreign-born parents. 3/

#### Detailed comparison of "own" and parent's place of birth.

For the native-born population only, Table 3-4 shows the country of birth of the parents of those born in various states in the United States. For the total of the native-born the extreme right-hand column of the table shows slightly over one-half (50.7%) have American-born parents, a little over a quarter parents born in Russia (26.1%) and most of the remainder (20.3%) parents born elsewhere in Europe. These portions are by no means the same among those born in various parts of the U. S.

TABLE 3-4

NATIVE-BORN: PLACE OF BIRTH BY PARENT'S PLACE OF BIRTH

Those born in the District, and even more those of Virginian birth, are predominantly the children of American-born persons (70.1% and 77.8%, respectively). On the other hand, only 22.3% of those born in the New England states had parents born in the U. S. While Russia was the birthplace of most foreign-born parents of those born in most sections of the United States, the foreign-born parents of persons born in Virginia or in the other Southeastern states were more likely to be of German, Austrian or Polish origin.

The Foreign-Born: Birthplace, Year of Arrival in U. S., Present Residence

Of the 80,900 Jews in the Washington area, about 13,500 were born outside of the United States. As indicated by Table 3-5, almost two-thirds (63.8%) had come to this country before 1933. Another 10% came in the period from the rise of Hitler to the beginning of World War II. A small proportion (2.7%) came during the war years, 1941-1944. Since then the number arriving has increased slightly in each four-year period.

TABLE 3-5  
FOREIGN-BORN: YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN UNITED STATES

Year of Arrival	Percent of Foreign-born
1953-1956	8.8%
1949-1952	5.5
1945-1948	3.0
1941-1944	2.7
1937-1940	6.7
1933-1936	3.5
Before 1933	63.8
Not reported	6.0
Total, foreign born	100.0% (13,500)

Almost all (86.4%) of those who came to the U. S. before 1933 were of East European birth (see Table 3-6). Two-thirds of those who arrived between 1933 and 1944 were Western Europeans. Of those arriving in the post-war period, a high proportion (47.4%) were born outside of Europe.

TABLE 3-6  
FOREIGN-BORN: PLACE OF BIRTH  
BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN UNITED STATES

Place of Birth	Year of Arrival				Total
	1945- 1956	1933- 1944	Before 1933		
Eastern Europe	36.0%	28.7%	86.4%		68.2%
Western Europe	16.6	68.4	6.7		17.4
Other	47.4	2.9	6.9		14.4
Total, foreign born	- %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(2300)	(1800)	(8600)	(13,500)a/

a/ Includes 800 cases - year of arrival not reported, not shown in table.

Tables 3-7 and 3-8 show the same geographical distribution of the foreign-born in two ways. The "total" column in Table 3-7 indicates that over half the foreign-born group live in the Northwest section of D.C., east of Rock Creek. This is true for those who arrived prior to 1933 - East Europeans - and those who came to the U.S. since 1945 - East Europeans and non-Europeans by birth. On the other hand, the West Europeans who came between 1933 and 1944 have tended to settle in all other sections of the District and the suburbs, rather than in the section east of Rock Creek.

TABLE 3-7

## FOREIGN BORN: PRESENT RESIDENCE BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN UNITED STATES

Present Residence	Year of Arrival			Total
	1945-1956	1933-1944	Before 1933	
D.C. - Northwest - East of Rock Creek	73.3%	21.7%	53.6%	51.6%
D.C. - All other	8.4	39.9	20.9	22.5
Maryland & Virginia (Metropolitan Area)	18.3	38.4	25.5	25.9
Total, foreign Born - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- # (2,300)		(1,800)	(8,600)	(13,500) a/

a/ Includes 800 cases - Year of arrival not reported, not shown in table.

TABLE 3-8

## FOREIGN BORN: PRESENT RESIDENCE BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Present Residence	Place of Birth		
	Eastern Europe	Western Europe	Other places
D.C. - Northwest East of Rock Creek	56.7%	21.3%	64.4%
D.C. - All other	19.2	39.0	18.2
Maryland & Virginia (Metropolitan Area)	24.1	39.7	17.4
Total, foreign born - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(9,200)	(2,300)	(2,000)

## Section B

## Residence Just Before Coming to Washington Area

Year of Arrival in the Metropolitan Area

One of the survey questions asked for each person: "Since what year has he lived in or around Washington?" By "in or around" we meant (and so instructed our interviewers) not only our survey area, but also any place in Fairfax County, Montgomery County or Prince Georges County. In a few instances interviewers may have interpreted "in or around Washington" to include slightly more distant places (e.g., Loudoun County, Virginia).

Answers to this question are tabulated in Table 3-9. Just over a third (34.7%) have lived in the Washington area all their lives (this includes, of course, both children and adults). An additional 11.4%, having arrived before 1933, may also be viewed as all but native inhabitants. Thus a little over half of Washington's present Jewish population came to the area from elsewhere during the past 24 years - as many as 30.1% since 1945. 4/

TABLE 3-9  
YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA

Year of Arrival	Percent of Population
1953 - 1956	9.9%
1949 - 1952	9.9
1945 - 1948	10.3
1941 - 1944	8.4
1937 - 1940	7.2
1933 - 1936	5.1
Before 1933	11.4
Always lived in Washington Metropolitan Area	34.7
Not reported	3.1
Total population - %	100.0%
- #	(80,900)

Table 3-II, contained in the Appendix, shows the years of arrival in the Washington area of those currently living in each of the survey's sub-areas.

Northwest D.C. on both sides of Rock Creek contains the highest proportions of those who came here before 1933 (20.1% of those living west of Rock Creek, 24.3% of those to the east). The highest proportions of newcomers (since 1953) were found in the Virginia suburbs (24.9%) and in Southeast and Southwest D.C. (24.7%). Differences in the length of residence in Greater Washington of those living in each area reflect a number of factors, including what kinds of housing facilities are available in each area, the period in which the area became built-up, etc. This table provides one of several bits of evidence suggesting that Southeast-Southwest is an area in which new arrivals settle, but from which they move to other areas relatively soon. Virginia, on the other hand, appears to have a somewhat more stable population - the high proportion of newcomers being attributable, it would seem, to the recent large-scale development of the area.

State or Country of Last Previous Residence

Only 7.2% of Washington's Jewish population came here directly from places outside of the U.S., according to Table 3-10. Apart from the 34.7% born in the area, 56.4% came here from elsewhere in the United States. Thus, most of the foreign-born lived somewhere else in the U.S. before coming to Greater Washington. The principal source of "in-migrants" to Washington is found in the Middle Atlantic states - New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania - which supplied 34.0% of the population.

TABLE 3-10

LAST PREVIOUS RESIDENCE BEFORE COMING TO WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA:

STATE OR COUNTRY

State or Country of Last Previous Residence	Percent of Population
Washington Metropolitan Area	34.7%
a/	
Maryland, Virginia	9.5
New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania	34.0
All other U.S.	12.9
Sub-Total, U.S.	(91.1)
Eastern Europe	2.3
Western Europe	2.6
All other places	2.3
Sub-Total, Outside U.S.	(7.2)
Not reported	1.7
Total population - %	100.0%
- #	(80,900)

a/ Outside of Washington metropolitan area.

However, there has been some variation through time in the proportions who have come to Washington from different places (see Table 3-11). Before 1933 and since 1953, a quarter or more have come from outside of the U.S. In the earlier period, 19.0% came here directly from places in Eastern Europe; in the most recent four years, 17.3% have come from non-European places and 11.1% from Western Europe. In between, over 90% have consistently come from places in the United States. While over half have come from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania during the period 1933-1952, considerable numbers have come from other parts of this country, especially since 1944.

TABLE 3-11

LAST PREVIOUS RESIDENCE (STATE OR COUNTRY) BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON  
METROPOLITAN AREA

State or Country of Last Previous Residence	Year of Arrival in Washington Metropolitan Area								Not reported
	1953- 1956	1949- 1952	1945- 1948	1941- 1944	1937- 1940	1933- 1936	Before 1933	Always lived in area	
Washington Metropolitan Area									
Md., Va. a/	17.4%	7.4%	7.1%	19.6%	5.7%	10.9%	30.1%	0.1 b/	8.2%
N.Y., N.J., Pa.	38.7	58.0	59.8	64.8	72.2	61.2	30.8	0.4 b/	32.7
All Other U.S.	15.5	25.6	28.1	12.0	19.4	25.1	14.2	*	21.3
Total U.S.	(71.6)	(91.0)	(95.0)	(96.4)	(97.3)	(97.2)	(75.1)	(100.0)	(62.2)
Eastern Europe	...	*	0.5	...	0.4	0.8	19.0	...	0.4
Western Europe	11.1	8.2	1.9	2.4	1.6	0.4	1.5	...	...
All Other	17.3	0.4	2.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	1.8	...	0.9
Total - Out- side U.S.	(28.4)	(8.6)	(4.6)	(2.9)	(2.4)	(1.4)	(22.3)	...	(1.3)
Not Reported	...	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.3	1.4	2.6	...	36.5
Total Population-#	-%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		(8000)	(8000)	(8300)	(6700)	(5800)	(4100)	(9200)	(2500)

\* Less than .05%.

a/ Outside of Washington metropolitan area.

b/ See text for explanation of these figures.

Small proportions are shown in the table as always having lived in the Washington area, but as having been born elsewhere. These are cases, referred to on page 43, in which women resident in Washington returned to previous homes in New York or Baltimore to bear their children, whom they brought back to this area immediately after birth.

Last Previous Residence: Type of Community

After establishing the state or country in which each person had lived "just before moving to the Washington area", the interviewer asked: "Was that on a farm, in a small town, in a middle-sized city or in a big city?" And if the answer was "In a big city", she asked: "What city was that?" 5/

Table 3-12 shows the answers to these questions. The "big-city" answers plus the native Washingtonians account for 80.5% of the total. The biggest big city, New York, is second only to the Washington area as a source of the present Washington Jewish population. Baltimore, Philadelphia, Chicago and Boston also supplied small percentages of the local Jews. 6/

TABLE 3-12  
LAST PREVIOUS RESIDENCE BEFORE COMING TO WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA  
TYPE OF COMMUNITY

Previous Residence: Type of Community	Percent of Population
Washington Metropolitan area	34.7%
Big city:	
New York	24.2
Baltimore	6.7
Philadelphia	3.6
Chicago	1.2
Boston	0.8
Other Big city	8.4
City not reported	0.9
Sub-Total, Big city	(45.8)
Medium City	8.5
Small town	7.9
Farm	0.2
Other	0.2
Not reported	2.7
Total Population - %	100.0%
-#	(80,900)

Appendix Table 3-I shows the type of community from which each sub-area's population has come. Southeast and Southwest D.C. have the largest proportions from big and medium cities; metropolitan Virginia the largest proportion from small towns. Southeast-Southwest has the highest proportion of ex-New Yorkers; the other sections of the District (Northeast, Northwest) the highest proportions from Baltimore.

## Section C

## Previous Family Residence in Washington Area

Area From Which Family Moved to Present Address

The information presented in Table 3-13 is derived from answers to a question about the family, not its individual members: "Where were you living just before you moved here?" Table 3-13 compares the answers received from those living in each survey sub-area, in order to learn what the direction of previous population movement has been. Those who had lived all their lives as a family at the same address are shown as though they had moved from the area in which they now live. This is one, though by no means the chief reason that in five of the seven areas the largest percentage of those now living there are reported as having moved from the same area. The exceptions are Northeast D.C., where the largest proportion (41.8%) said they had moved from Northwest D.C., east of Rock Creek; and Southeast-Southwest D.C., where 24.6% indicated the same answer. In addition, substantial proportions in Northwest Washington, west of Rock Creek, and in Montgomery County, reported having moved from Northwest, East of Rock Creek. About a third of the families in Southeast-Southwest D.C., in metropolitan Virginia and in Prince Georges County, had lived outside the metropolitan area just before moving to the address at which they were interviewed.

TABLE 3-13

## AREA IN WHICH NOW LIVING, BY AREA FROM WHICH MOVED TO PRESENT ADDRESS

Area From Which Moved	Area in Which Now Living							
	D. C.		Va.		Md.			
	NE of Rk.Ck.	NW - W Rk.Ck.	NW-E. of Rk.Ck.	SE & Metro. SW	Prince Mtgy. Area	Prince Mtgy. Geo.Co.Co.(M.A.)	Total	
Northeast	10.1%	4.8%	4.6%	5.2%	5.2%	11.6%	4.2%	5.8%
Northwest-West of Rock Ck.	2.4	42.0	7.9	9.3	2.8	5.7	9.8	10.5
Northwest-East of Rock Ck.	41.8	19.8	59.9	24.6	5.0	10.9	14.6	29.7
Southeast & Southwest	17.7	5.5	6.1	22.7	3.5	11.3	11.7	9.8
Virginia(Metropolitan Area)	2.4	7.1	1.0	1.6	26.2	7.2	5.1	5.8
Prince Georges Co.(" ")	7.9	7.9	2.3	2.6	5.6	19.2	13.5	8.7
Montgomery Co. (" ")	6.3	1.8	2.5	...	1.1	1.3	15.9	6.1
Outside Metropolitan Area	10.7	7.1	10.2	34.0	38.4	32.4	19.8	18.9
Not reported	0.7	4.0	5.5	...	12.2	0.4	5.4	4.7
Total households - %		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(2300)	(2500)	(7900)	(1400)	(2300)	(3200)	(7600)
								(27,200)

Factors Involved in Choosing A Neighborhood

An additional question was asked: "What was there about this neighborhood that made you move here?" Answers to this were not classified or tabulated. Most frequently replies contained one or more of these three ideas:

"It was a Jewish neighborhood - I wanted to be among Jews."

"I have friends (or relatives) who live there - I wanted to be near them."

"It's convenient (or near) schools, stores, husband's job, etc."

Somehwat less often answers of this kind appeared:

"Housing in this neighborhood was cheap - it was all I could afford."

Infrequently, answers occurred like these:

"I wanted to live in a mixed neighborhood - some Jews, but some non-Jews too."

## Section D

## Type of Home Occupancy

Over half (52.7%) of the Washington area Jewish families own their own homes (see Table 3-14), while 40.8% rent apartments, 4.7% rent houses and the remaining 1.8% fall into a miscellaneous category. The latter includes families who live with relatives; receive lodgings as compensation for work; or otherwise live rent free; or live in a furnished room, a trailer; or some other place neither house nor an apartment.

TABLE 3-14

## TYPE OF HOME OCCUPANCY, BY AREA

Type of Home Occupancy	Area							Total	
	D.C.			Va.		Md.			
	NE of Rock Creek	NW - W of Rock Creek	NW - E of Rock Creek	SE & SW	Metro. Area	Prince Geo. Co. (MA)	Mont- gomery Co. (MA)		
Own House	76.4%	54.9%	36.8%	26.2%	52.4%	38.8%	72.1%	52.7%	
Rent House	10.3	2.4	3.0	12.7	17.6	1.8	1.2	4.7	
Rent Apartment	11.6	39.6	56.9	60.6	28.6	58.5	26.2	40.8	
Other	1.7	3.1	3.3	0.5	1.4	0.9	0.5	1.8	
Total Households	- % - #	100.0% (2300)	100.0% (2500)	100.0% (7900)	100.0% (1400)	100.0% (2300)	100.0% (3200)	100.0% (27,200)	

Differences among the seven areas are marked. Over three-fourths of those in Northeast D.C. (76.4%) and nearly the same proportion in Montgomery County (72.1%) own houses. The lowest percentage owning houses is in Southeast-Southwest D.C. (26.2%). House-renting - a symbol of impermanence is highest in the Virginia suburbs (17.6%), Southeast-Southwest D.C. (12.7%) and Northeast D.C. (10.3%).

## Section E

## Families Expecting to Move Within Six Months

To learn something about the extent and direction of Jewish population movement, we asked: "Do you expect now to move in the next six months?" Emphasis was placed on the word "now", and the time period limited to six months, because we wanted to identify only those really intending to move, and not that larger group who may have discussed moving, who may move at some time in the future, but who also may never move. Those who indicated definite intentions of moving were asked two further questions: "Do you expect to buy or to rent?" and "Where do you expect to move to?"

This section is concerned with the families who expected to move: where they were living (that is, planning to move from); where they intended to move to; how many children they were moving with them; and how they compared with the remaining Jewish population as to length of residence at their homes when surveyed, their family income, and their home occupancy. Two final tables show their intention to buy or rent, and the religious identification of those planning to move.

Extent and Direction of MovesWhere are they moving from?

Of the 27,200 families, 3,600 (or 13.2%) were planning to move. Where these families lived is shown in Map 5 and Table 3-15. Over a third (33.8%) were intending to move from homes in Northwest D.C., east of Rock Creek. Between 10% and 20% were planning to move from addresses in each of the following areas: Montgomery County; Prince Georges County; and Northeast D.C. Relatively small numbers in Northwest D.C., west of Rock Creek, and in the Virginia suburbs, said they expected to move.

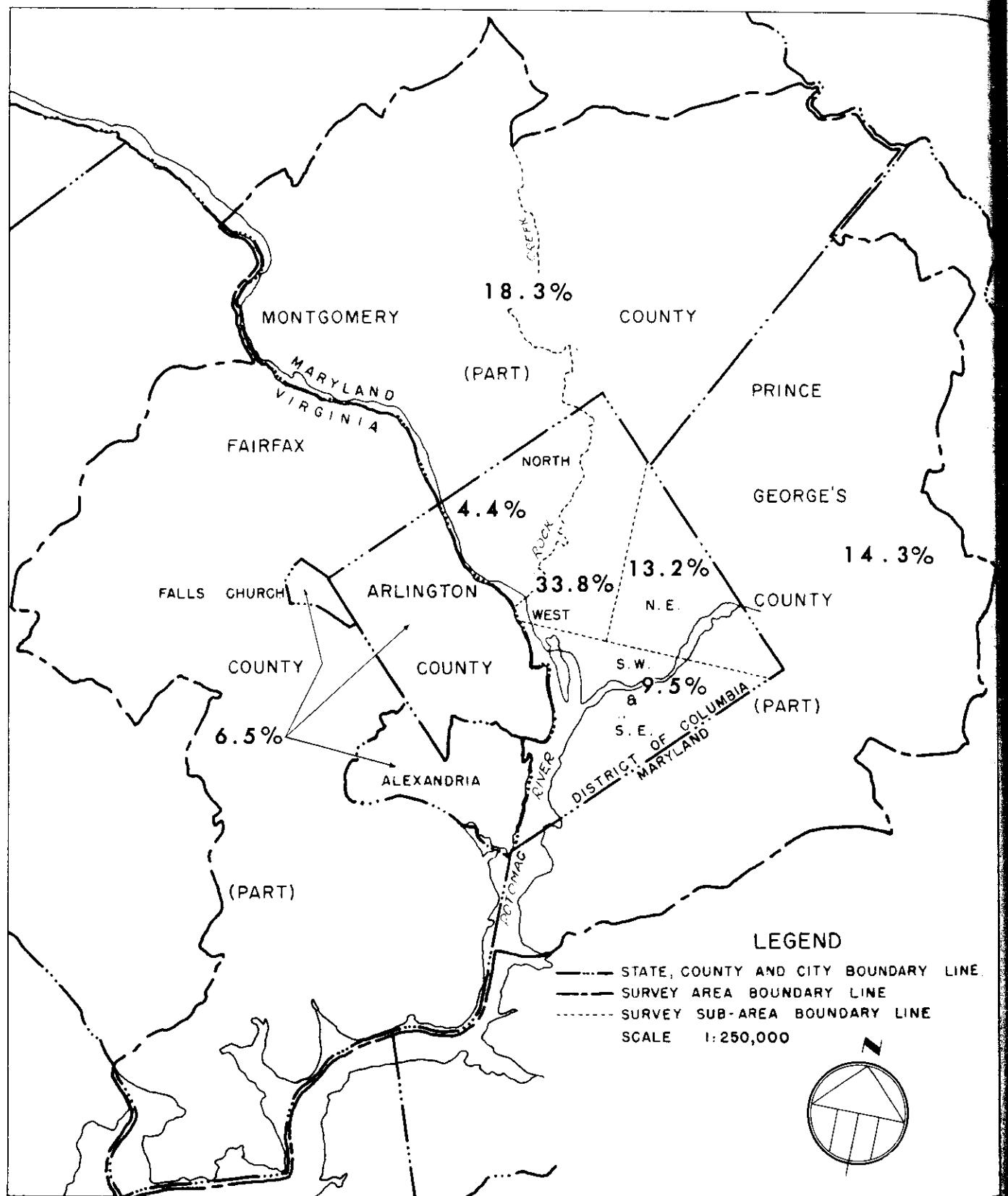
TABLE 3-15

## FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS:

## AREA IN WHICH NOW LIVING

Area In Which Now Living	Percent of families expecting to move
Northeast	13.2%
Northwest - West of Rock Creek	4.4
Northwest - East of Rock Creek	33.8
Southeast & Southwest	9.5
Virginia (Metropolitan Area)	6.5
Prince Georges County (Metropolitan Area)	14.3
Montgomery County (Metropolitan Area)	18.3
Total families expecting to move - %	100.0%
- #	(3600)

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE WITHIN  
SIX MONTHS: Area in which now living<sup>a/</sup>



Figures on map are percentages of 3600 families expecting to move.  
Source: Table 3-15

Source: Table 3-15

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But we must also take into account the total number of Jewish families in each area, and consider what proportions of these plan to move. This is done in the following tabulation:

<u>Area</u>	<u>Percent of Families Now in Area Who Expect To Move</u>
D.C. - Northeast	20.8%
- Northwest, West of Rock Creek	6.3
- Northwest, East of Rock Creek	15.5
- Southeast & Southwest	24.6
Virginia (Metropolitan Area)	9.9
Montgomery County (Metropolitan Area)	16.3
Prince Georges County (Metropolitan Area)	8.7

Where these families expect to move, and why, varies from one area to another. To understand somewhat more completely the figures just shown, we must consider some others as well.

Where are they moving to?

As Map 6 and Table 3-16 make clear, the two areas into which Jewish families are moving heavily in the present period are Montgomery County and Northwest D.C., west of Rock Creek. Of the 3600 "movers", no less than 40% expected to find homes in Montgomery County - mostly in the eastern part including Silver Spring, Wheaton, etc. - which already contains so high a proportion of the area's Jewish population. On the other hand, virtually none plan to move into Northeast, or into Southeast and Southwest, D.C., the two areas having the largest percentages of families expecting to move.

TABLE 3-16

FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS:

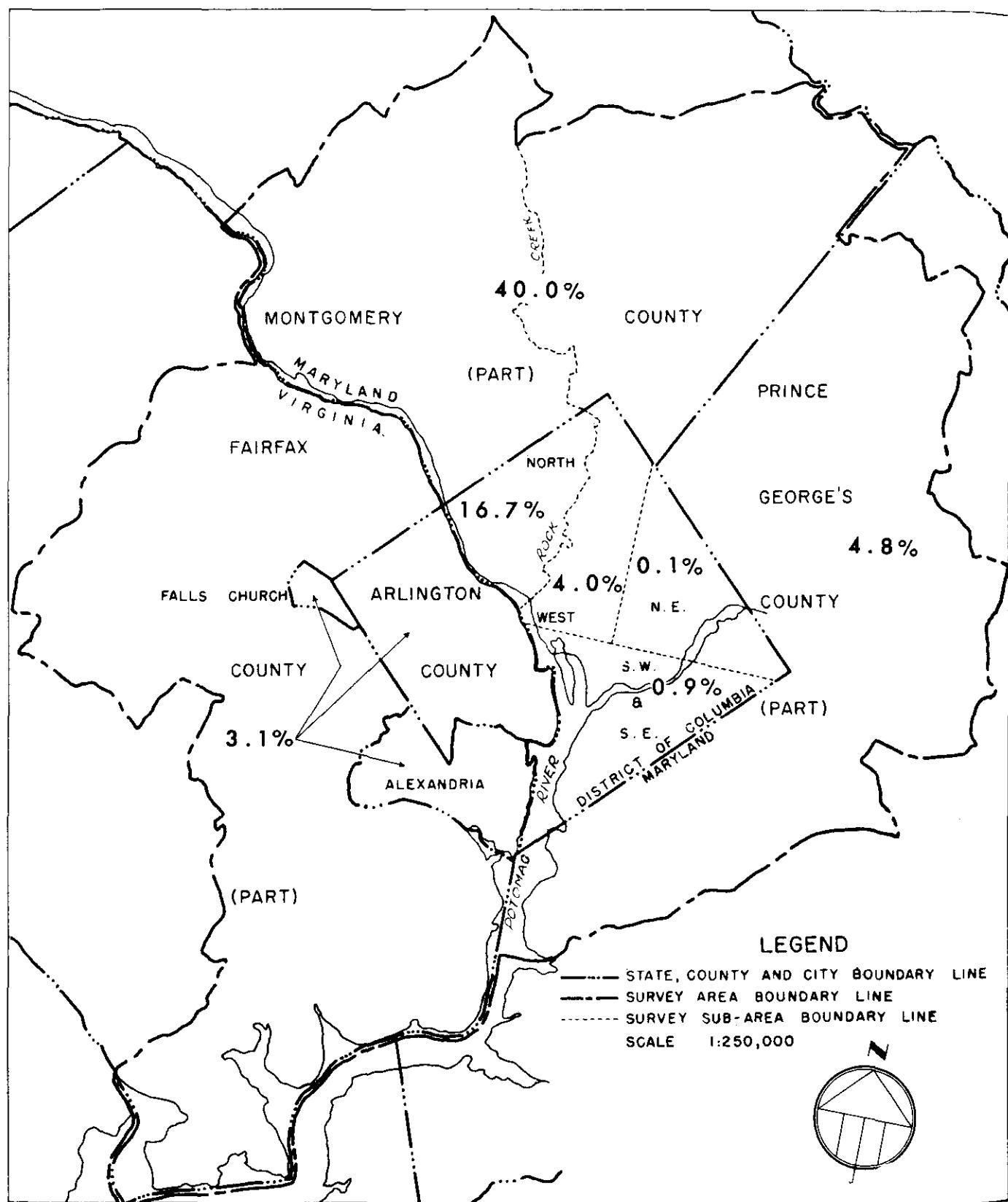
AREA TO WHICH EXPECT TO MOVE

Area to Which Expect to Move	Percent of families expecting to move
Northeast	0.1%
Northwest - West of Rock Creek	16.7
Northwest - East of Rock Creek	4.0
Southeast and Southwest	0.9
Virginia (Metropolitan Area)	3.1
Prince Georges County (Metropolitan Area)	4.8
Montgomery County - West a/ (Metropolitan Area)	16.5
Montgomery County - East b/ (Metropolitan Area)	23.5
Outside Metropolitan Area	30.4
Total families - %	100.0%
Expecting to move - #	(3600)

a/ Bethesda, Chevy Chase, Rockville, etc.

b/ Silver Spring, Wheaton, etc.

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE WITHIN  
SIX MONTHS: Area to which expect to move<sup>1/</sup>



<sup>1/</sup> Figures on map are percentages of 3600 families expecting to move.  
Map does not show 30.4% expecting to move outside metropolitan area.

Source: Table 3-16

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One more series of figures and we can assess the meaning of the preceding tables. The four largest groups of families expecting to move can be described as follows:

<u>Moving From</u>	<u>Moving To</u>	<u>Percentage of All Families Expecting to Move</u>
Montgomery County	Montgomery County	13.9%
D.C., N.W., E. of Rock Creek	D.C., N.W., W. of Rock Creek	12.5
D.C., N.W., E. of Rock Creek	Montgomery County	11.1
D.C., Northeast	Montgomery County	9.7
		47.2%

The following, then, seems to be the situation: Jews are moving from all sections of the metropolitan area (and from outside the area) into Montgomery County - especially from the older center of the Jewish population in the Northwest section east of Rock Creek. There is a secondary movement into the Northwest, west of Rock Creek - already showing a fairly high proportion of Jews (see Chapter 1, Section A) - and again, particularly from the area across the Park. For the latter area and Northeast, the movement is almost entirely out. Prince Georges County shows some drift of population to Montgomery County, probably compensated for partly by movement out from the city and partly by movement in from outside the metropolitan area. The latter factor also appears to be operating to maintain the size of the Jewish population in Southeast-Southwest D.C., and in the Virginia suburbs.

#### Movement of School-Age Children

The approximate numbers of school-age children involved in the movement of the 3600 families discussed above are shown in Table 3-17. Included here are only those who expected to move within the metropolitan area - about 3500 children under the age of 17, about 2/3 of them under the age of 8. Approximately 3/4 of these children (2600 of the 3500) were in the families planning to move to places in Montgomery County.

TABLE 3-17

FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS WITHIN METROPOLITAN AREA:

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 17, BY AREA TO WHICH EXPECT TO MOVE AND BY AGE

Area to Which Expect to Move	Number of Children				
	Under 5 years	5-8 years	9-12 years	13-16 years	Total Under 17 years
Northwest-West of Rock Creek	200	*	50	50	300
Elsewhere in D.C.	50	50	100	*	200
Virginia (Metropolitan Area)	100	50	50	*	200
Prince Georges Co. (M.A.)	150	*	50	*	200
Montgomery Co.-West a/ (M.A.)	350	350	100	300	1100
Montgomery Co.-East b/ (M.A.)	350	650	250	250	1500
<b>Total children in Families Expecting to move</b>	<b>1200</b>	<b>1100</b>	<b>600</b>	<b>600</b>	<b>3500</b>

\* Less than 25 children.

a/ Bethesda, Chevy Chase, Rockville, etc.  
b/ Silver Spring, Wheaton, etc.

Comparison of "Movers" and "Non-Movers"

We have compared the families who said they expected to move ("movers") with the remaining families ("non-movers") with respect to three characteristics (as shown in the following three tables): how long they have been at their most recent address, their income, and their "home occupancy" (whether they own a house, rent a house or rent an apartment).

Length of residence

Table 3-18 shows the highest proportions of "movers" among those who have lived in their present homes between 4 and 12 years - somewhat fewer among those living under 4 years, fewer still among those over 12 years, at the same address. Since, however, most Washington Jewish families have moved rather recently, the largest numbers of those expecting to move have only recently settled at their present address. Specifically, 41.8% of the "movers" had lived less than four years, 78% had lived less than eight years, in their present homes (see Appendix Table 3-IV).

TABLE 3-18

FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS: PROPORTION OF FAMILIES  
EXPECTING TO MOVE, BY YEAR MOVED TO PRESENT ADDRESS

Whether Or Not Expecting To Move	Year Moved to Present Address					Total families
	1953- 1956	1949- 1952	1945- 1948	1941- 1944	1940 or before	
Expecting to move	11.9%	16.7%	18.8%	4.6%	7.9%	13.3%
Not expecting to move	88.1	83.3	81.2	95.4	92.1	86.7
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(12,700)	(7,800)	(3,000)	(1,600)	(1,300)	(27,200) a/

a/ Includes 800 cases year moved to present address not reported.

Income

The proportion of "movers" is smallest among the families with the lowest incomes, according to Table 3-19 - those under \$4,000. No clear relation between income and likelihood of moving is suggested by the table. The highest proportions intending to move are found in the \$4,000 - \$4,999 and in the \$10,000 - \$14,999 income groups.

TABLE 3-19

FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS: PROPORTION OF FAMILIES  
EXPECTING TO MOVE, BY FAMILY INCOME

Whether Or Not Expecting to Move	Family Income						Not Reported
	Less than \$4,000	\$4,000- 4,999	\$5,000- 6,999	\$7,000- 9,999	\$10,000-\$15,000- 14,999 and over		
Expecting to move	4.1%	18.6%	14.2%	9.9%	21.4%	10.9%	11.4%
Not expecting to move	95.9	81.4	85.8	90.1	78.6	89.1	88.6
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(1,500)	(2,300)	(4,500)	(7,800)	(4,600)	(2,400)	(4,100)

Home occupancy

The small group who rent houses are apparently much more likely to be planning to move than either home owners or apartment dwellers (see Table 3-20). Those who own a house are least likely to be planning to move. But as Appendix Table 3-III indicates, since house-renters are so few, the "movers" come mostly from apartments (63.4% of all movers).

TABLE 3-20

FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS: PROPORTION OF FAMILIES  
EXPECTING TO MOVE, BY PRESENT TYPE OF HOME OCCUPANCY<sup>a/</sup>

Whether or Not Expecting to Move	Present Type of Home Occupancy		
	Own house	Rent house	Rent apartment
Expecting to move	6.6%	28.5%	20.6%
Not expecting to move	93.4	71.5	79.4
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(14,300)	(1,300)	(11,100)

<sup>a/</sup> Table does not include 500 cases "other" home occupancy.

Table 3-21 makes it clear that the families expecting to move intend for the most part to exchange their apartments for houses. Almost 3 in 5 (58.9%) hope to buy a house, about a quarter (24.6%) expect to rent; the remainder (principally those planning to leave the area completely) are not sure.

TABLE 3-21

FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS: EXPECTED TYPE OF HOME OCCUPANCY

Expected Type of Home Occupancy	Percent of families Expecting to move
Expect to buy	58.9%
Expect to rent	24.6
Don't know	16.5
Total Families - %	100.0%
Expecting to move - #	(3,600)

Religious Identification

Do those who were planning to move consider themselves Orthodox, Conservative or Reform? - or none of these? This kind of "identification" is discussed for the whole Jewish population in some detail in Chapter 6 (see especially Tables 6-14 and 6-15). Here, in Table 3-22, we compare the religious identification of those families planning to move to various places.

TABLE 3-22

FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS: RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

a/

BY AREA TO WHICH EXPECT TO MOVE

Area to Which Expect to Move	Religious Identification of Family		
	Orthodox or Conservative	Other	Total Families
Northwest-West of Rock Creek	18.9%	13.8%	16.7%
Elsewhere in D.C.	6.7	2.9	5.0
Virginia (Metropolitan Area)	2.0	4.6	3.2
Prince Georges Co. (M.A.)	1.4	9.3	4.8
Montgomery Co.-West b/ (M.A.)	15.4	17.9	16.5
Montgomery Co.-East c/ (M.A.)	34.5	8.9	23.4
Outside Metropolitan Area	21.1	42.6	30.4
Total Families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Expecting to move - #	(2,000)	(1,600)	(3,600)

a/ "Religious identification" as used here means "how the family thinks of itself" - as Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or "None of these". For further explanation, see Chapter 6.

b/ Bethesda, Chevy Chase, Rockville, etc. c/ Silver Spring, Wheaton, etc.

The larger proportion of those expecting to move (as of the whole Washington Jewish population) is Orthodox or Conservative; the smaller proportion includes Reform Jews and those who indicate no Jewish religious identification.

Of the Orthodox-Conservative group, half expected to move into Montgomery County homes - especially in the Silver Spring-Wheaton section. Northwest D.C., west of Rock Creek, and places outside the metropolitan area, were mentioned by about 1/5 each. Of the "Other" group, 2/5 planned to move away from Washington, and the next largest proportion to the Bethesda-Chevy Chase section of Montgomery County. Six times as high a proportion of the "Others" as of the Orthodox-Conservative group mentioned Prince Georges County destinations.

Notes

1/ Northeastern states, as shown in Table 3-1, include the Census Bureau's New England, Middle Atlantic and East North Central divisions; Southeastern states, its South Atlantic and East South Central divisions (Del., Md., D.C., Va., W. Va., N.C., S.C., Ga., Fla., Tenn., Ala., and Miss.). Western states are all others - the Census Bureau's West North Central, West South Central, Mountain and Pacific divisions. Eastern Europe, as used here, comprises the Soviet Union (Russia, the Ukraine, White Russia); Poland; and Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Yugoslavia. All other countries of Europe are classified here as Western Europe. Some confusion may occur because of intermittent boundary changes. For uniformity's sake, we arbitrarily selected the boundaries in effect during the period 1920-1938.

2/ Information on parent's birthplace was obtained only for the native-born. In at least 80% of the cases, the same country was reported for both parents. Where two countries were reported, the father's (if indicated) was selected; otherwise a systematic random procedure was used to choose between the two. Consequently, "mixed" parentage is not reported here.

3/ Nativity of the household head and wife (or husband) tend to be similar, though not identical. Of the 20,500 married couples, 67.3% are both native-born; 12.1% both foreign-born; 12.5%, husband only foreign-born; 7.9% husband only native-born; 0.2%, nativity of husband, wife or both not reported.

4/ Where a person's residence in the Washington area was broken by a period of absence of a year or more, unless the reason was military service, we used the last year of arrival. We have therefore slightly underestimated (by 1 or 2%) the proportions living here all their lives and for longer periods. It should be pointed out, also, that the figure of 34.7% for those "born in or around Washington" is necessarily higher than the 33.3% born "in the District of Columbia" reported in Table 3-1.

5/ Thus in general the interviewee classified the community according to size. However, we subsequently defined a big city as "any city whose population according to the latest census is 250,000 or over." A total of 42 U.S. and 200-250 foreign cities met this criterion. If the interviewee named a city smaller than that, we classified it as middle-sized (or medium-sized). If he answered "middle-sized city" but named one larger than 250,000 population, we reclassified his answer to "big city."

6/ These cities represent the nearest largest Jewish communities. It is these from which, on the whole, one might expect Washington's Jewish population to be drawn, with numbers proportional to the size of the Jewish population and inversely proportional to their distance from Washington. The Jewish population of these cities and their distances in miles are:

<u>City</u>	<u>Size of Jewish Population*</u>	<u>Distance (in miles) from Washington</u>
New York	2,050,000	225
Baltimore	78,000	38
Philadelphia	245,000	133
Chicago	262,000	764
Boston	140,000	454

\*For source, see Chapter 1, note 1.

7/ Since interviews were conducted between February and August of 1956, these families have presumably all moved by this time. Properly speaking, then, these are families who expected to move from homes they then occupied. For convenience sake, I have sometimes referred to the "present" homes of these families, meaning those at which they were living at the time of the survey.

## CHAPTER 4

PARTICIPATION IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY, AND IN THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE:  
ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP, PHILANTHROPIC CONTRIBUTIONS,  
AND EATING WITH GENTILES

We have brought together in this chapter information on several topics related to participation in the community. Some of these have to do with the Jewish community -- membership in Jewish organizations, contributions to the United Jewish Appeal. Others refer to the Washington "Gentile" or "non-sectarian" community -- membership in non-sectarian organizations, contributions to non-sectarian philanthropies, social contacts with gentiles as their hosts or guests at meals.

Section A reports on membership in Jewish adult organizations -- the proportions of men and of women who belong to various numbers of organized groups, and how membership varies according to a person's age, his family's income and how long he has lived in the Washington area. The relation between membership in these predominantly secular organizations and attendance at religious services appears in one table.

Membership in Jewish teen-agers' organizations receives brief attention in Section B. One table shows how such membership is related to age and sex; another, the geographical distribution of teen-agers who belong to these organizations, and of those who do not.

In Section C we turn to membership in non-sectarian organizations. As in Section A, we consider how belonging to these groups is affected by sex, age, education, family income and length of residence in and around Washington. A special "cross-tabulation" helps answer the question: "Do the same people belong to both Jewish and non-sectarian organizations?" The number of persons claiming membership in each of several specific organizations is also shown.

Section D is concerned with contributions to major charitable campaigns and compares the proportions who report giving to the United Jewish Appeal, the Community Chest and the Red Cross in the preceding year.

The extent to which Washington area Jews "break bread" with their gentile neighbors, in the homes of the latter or in their own homes, forms the subject of Section E.

## Section A

## Membership in Jewish Organizations

Extent of Membership Among Men and Among Women

Most Jewish men (60.9%) belong to no Jewish organization; but most Jewish women belong to at least one (see Table 4-1). Whether we compare the proportions of men and of women who belong to a single organization, or to two or to more, a higher percent of women are members. Moreover, few men belong to more than one group (8.3% out of 35.4% belonging to any), while a substantial proportion of the women belong to two or more (23.2% out of 56.4% who are members at all). What these figures mean will be clearer if we specify the men and women, and the organizations, involved.

TABLE 4-1

NUMBER OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO, BY SEX<sup>a/</sup>

Number of Jewish Organizations Belonged To	Sex	
	Male	Female
None	60.9%	40.3%
One	27.1	33.2
Two	5.9	14.5
Three or More	2.4	8.7
Not Reported	3.7	3.3
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	(23,700)	(23,600)

a/ For heads of households, and wives (or husbands) of married heads.

Which men and women?

Information on adult organization membership was obtained for only the head of each household <sup>1/</sup> and the wife or husband of each married head. We did not request this information for other possible adults in the household, such as parents of the head or his wife, brothers or sisters, grown children or boarders. <sup>2/</sup>

Which organizations?

Each interviewee was handed a card with a numbered list of organization names, and asked (for the appropriate persons): "Are you (is he) a member of any of these? Just tell me the number of each one, please." The list on the card was as follows:

JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

1. American Jewish Committee	6. National Council of Jewish Women
2. American Jewish Congress	7. Pioneer Women
3. B'nai B'rith	8. Sisterhood of Synagogue or of Temple
4. Hadassah	9. Zionist Organization of America
5. Jewish War Veterans	10. Any other Jewish organization? Which?

Several dozen other local and national organizations were mentioned. We excluded organizations like the Masons and Boy Scouts, which may have local units almost wholly Jewish in composition but are basically non-sectarian. On the other hand, we added (from the replies to a question on membership in non-sectarian organizations) some groups which we felt were essentially Jewish though superficially non-sectarian (e.g., City of Hope).

TABLE 4-2

NUMBER OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO, BY SEX AND AGE<sup>a/</sup>

Sex and Number of Jewish Organizations Belonged To	Age					
	Under 25 Years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 years and over
Male - None	*	70.0%	63.9%	48.7%	61.0%	45.6%
One	*	22.2	23.7	33.4	28.4	42.2
Two or more	*	7.0	7.4	11.4	9.5	8.2
Not Reported	*	0.8	5.0	6.5	1.1	4.0
Total <sup>a/</sup> - %		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- # (300)	(6200)	(8200)	(5100)	(2300)	(1500)
Female -						
None	53.6%	52.2%	36.0%	36.1%	21.6%	39.0%
One	38.1	30.4	34.8	35.7	36.5	17.9
Two or more	1.4	14.3	27.4	25.8	41.6	41.3
Not Reported	6.9	3.1	1.8	2.4	0.3	1.8
Total <sup>a/</sup> - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- # (1500)	(6800)	(7000)	(4300)	(2300)	(1100)

<sup>a/</sup> See footnote to Table 4-1. Table does not include 100 male and 600 female cases, age "over 21".

\* Too few cases in this column to permit showing details.

Membership and Age

In general, as age increases so does the percentage of men and women who belong to Jewish organizations. This is shown in Table 4-2. The highest proportions of each sex who are members of no Jewish groups are found under 35; the lowest, over age 55. At each age, a higher proportion of women belong than of men. But there are some exceptions to the general pattern. Membership among men increases through 45 to 54 years, drops off sharply among the 55- to 64-year group, then rises once more among those over 65. Among the women membership increases steadily through age 64, then declines. On the whole, the tendency for more people to belong to Jewish organizations as they grow older seems to be interrupted principally by the burdens of age.

### Membership and Family Income

The pattern for the two sexes is quite different, when we examine the relation between membership and income. As Table 4-3 indicates, among men, as income increases, so does non-membership -- up to \$10,000 income. Among those with higher incomes, the proportion belonging to no organization drops almost by half; from 73.9% (among those with incomes \$7,000-9,999) to 44.3% among those with family earnings of \$10,000-14,999. The figures go up not only for membership in one organization, but also for two or more.

Among women, however, the proportion belonging to at least one Jewish organization shows a steady increase from almost half (49.5%) in the "under \$5,000" group to almost two-thirds (66.1%) in the group with \$15,000 or larger incomes.

TABLE 4-3

NUMBER OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO, BY SEX AND FAMILY INCOME

a/

Sex and Number of Jewish Organizations Belonged To	Family Income					
	Under \$5,000 \$5,000	\$5,000- \$6,999	\$7,000- \$9,999	\$10,000- \$14,999	\$15,000- and over	Not reported
Male - None	59.1%	63.5%	73.9%	44.3%	45.1%	64.1%
One	32.1	30.5	20.5	38.9	24.9	18.2
Two or More	2.5	5.0	4.4	13.2	23.6	8.2
Not reported	6.3	1.0	1.2	3.6	6.4	9.5
<hr/>						
a/						
Total - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(2500)	(4100)	(7300)	(4500)	(2300)	(3000)
<hr/>						
Female - None	47.6%	43.8%	41.8%	33.5%	28.9%	40.0%
One	24.8	42.2	44.3	26.4	19.6	25.4
Two or More	24.7	13.0	12.0	36.9	46.5	26.1
Not reported	2.9	1.0	1.9	3.2	5.0	8.5
<hr/>						
a/						
Total - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(3600)	(3800)	(6800)	(3900)	(2000)	(3500)

a/ See Footnote to Table 4-1

### Membership and Length of Residence

Table 4-4 shows that for persons of either sex, the longer they have lived in the Washington area, the more likely they are to belong to at least one Jewish organization. The proportion reporting no memberships among those here four years or less is about three in four. For those in the area before 1933, only half the men and a quarter of the women claim no organization membership. Those who have always lived in the area include the relatively young as well as the relatively old "native-born" Washingtonians, and are therefore a very heterogeneous group.

TABLE 4-4

NUMBER OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO, BY SEX AND YEAR OF  
 a/  
 ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA

Sex and Number of Jewish Organizations Belonged To	Year of Arrival in Washington Metropolitan Area					
	1953- 1956	1949- 1952	1941- 1948	1933- 1940	Before 1933	Always Lived in area
Male - None	74.7%	69.8%	59.3%	57.0%	50.8%	67.3%
One	19.6	27.9	24.2	32.4	32.2	21.5
Two or more	1.6	1.3	9.9	9.1	14.0	9.2
Not reported	4.1	1.0	6.6	1.5	3.0	2.0
<hr/>						
a/ Total - %						
- #						
Female - None	76.0%	53.4%	33.2%	33.6%	24.9%	35.6%
One	15.9	23.0	46.1	28.8	29.5	48.2
Two or more	4.3	21.8	16.2	35.2	43.1	15.0
Not reported	3.8	1.8	4.5	2.4	2.5	1.2
<hr/>						
a/ Total - %						
- #						

a/ See Footnote to Table 4-1. Table does not include 600 male and 900 female cases, year of arrival not reported.

Membership and Its Relation to Religious Attendance

Being active in organizations does not necessarily imply interest in Jewish religious affairs - it might be expected to reflect in many cases a desire for social or business contacts. We have therefore sought to learn whether there is any connection between belonging to Jewish organizations and frequency of attendance at Jewish religious services. The result is shown in Table 4-5: the more often a man (or a woman) attends synagogue services, the more likely it is that he belongs to Jewish organizations. Also, the more frequent the attendance, the more organizations he seems likely to have joined. (Synagogue membership, it will be recalled, is not included in our list of organization memberships.) 3/

One difference between the figures for the two sexes should be noted. Among the women, the proportion belonging to one organization is about 30-40% regardless of frequency of attendance, while the percentage claiming two or more memberships rises as attendance becomes more frequent. For men, membership both in one group and in more than one increases with more attendance.

TABLE 4-5

 NUMBER OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO, BY SEX AND FREQUENCY  
 a/  
 OF ATTENDANCE AT RELIGIOUS SERVICES

Sex and Number of Jewish Organizations Belonged To	Frequency of Attendance at Religious Services				
	Not at all	1-2 times a year	3-11 times a year	Once a mo.	Not or more reported
Male - None	83.9%	68.9%	55.2%	36.9%	*
One	12.0	21.4	29.4	47.3	*
Two or more	1.5	6.2	10.0	13.9	*
Not reported	2.6	3.5	5.4	1.9	*
<hr/>					
a/ Total - %					
- #					
	100.0% (5100)	100.0% (5300)	100.0% (7900)	100.0% (4800)	(600)
<hr/>					
Female - None	57.9%	45.8%	37.9%	16.8%	52.4%
One	35.7	36.8	28.4	39.4	12.2
Two or more	4.3	14.3	28.6	43.2	25.5
Not reported	2.1	3.1	5.1	0.6	9.9
<hr/>					
a/ Total - %					
- #					
	100.0% (4900)	100.0% (5200)	100.0% (7600)	100.0% (4700)	100.0% (1200)

a/ See Footnote to Table 4-1

\* Too few cases in this column to permit showing details.

## Section B

## Membership In Jewish Teen-Agers' Organizations

Sex and Age Differences Among Teen-Agers

As with the adults, interviewee was asked to tell which organizations on a numbered list each teen-ager in the family belonged to. The list was:

Jewish Teen-Agers' Groups

1. B'nai B'rith (A.Z.A., B'nai B'rith Girls)
2. Fraternities or sororities
3. Habonim
4. Jewish Center Youth Groups
5. Temple or Synagogue teen-age groups
6. Young Judea
7. Other Jewish teen-age groups: Which?

In contrast to the greater number of women than men who are members of one or more Jewish organizations, 52.0 percent of boys and 43.4 percent of girls between 13 and 15 years of age are members. This condition reverses rapidly. For those between 16 and 19 years of age, 58.8 percent of the boys and 77.5 percent of the girls are members of one or more Jewish organizations. This information is shown in Table 4-6.

TABLE 4-6

NUMBER OF JEWISH TEEN-AGE ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO, BY SEX AND AGE  
(Population 13-19 Years of Age)

Number of Jewish Teen-Age Organizations Belonged To	Sex And Age					
	Male			Female		
	13-15 years	16-19 years	Total	13-15 years	16-19 years	Total
None	25.2%	31.6%	28.1%	46.2%	21.1%	36.6%
One	28.0	46.3	36.4	38.3	51.6	43.4
Two	12.1	11.4	11.8	5.1	15.6	9.1
Three or more	11.9	1.1	6.9	...	10.3	3.9
Not reported	22.8	9.6	16.8	10.4	1.4	7.0
Total population 13-19 years of age	% (#)	100.0% (2000)	100.0% (1800)	100.0% (3800)	100.0% (6700)	100.0% (1000)

We can compare these teen-agers with adults by referring back to Table 4-2. Notice that for the first age group for men, ages 25-3 $\frac{1}{4}$  years, total membership was only 29.2 percent. Thus a higher percentage of teen-age boys 13 to 15 or 16 to 19 years old belong to Jewish organizations than do these young adults.

Although the teen-agers and adults do not belong to the same organizations, there is value in this comparison. In each case we are measuring the relative success of the Jewish community in providing organized groups which can attract its constituents as members.

Similarly, girls in these teen-age brackets have a higher rate of membership in Jewish organizations, 43.4 and 77.5 percent, than do young female adults under twenty-five years (39.5 percent of whom report similar membership).

Membership in Jewish teen-age organizations is relatively higher in each section of the District than in the suburbs. This situation is shown in Table 4-7. Montgomery County, to take the extreme case, with 29.0% of local Jewish teen-agers, accounts for only 17.8% of memberships. By contrast, Northwest D. C. east of Rock Creek includes 36.8% of the teen-agers and 39.9% of the members.

TABLE 4-7  
MEMBERSHIP IN JEWISH TEEN-AGE ORGANIZATIONS BY AREA  
(Population 13-19 Years of Age)

Area	Membership in Teen-Age Organizations		
	Member of any	Not member of any	Total
Northeast	10.2%	4.9%	9.0%
Northwest - West of Rock Creek	16.0	3.9	11.7
Northwest - East of Rock Creek	39.9	34.0	36.8
Southeast and Southwest	7.7	1.4	4.8
Virginia (Metropolitan Area)	5.1	6.5	5.2
Prince Georges County (Met. Area)	3.3	4.1	3.5
Montgomery County (Met. Area)	17.8	45.2	29.0
Total population 13-19 years of age	% #	100.0% (3600)	100.0% (2100) (6500) a/

a/ Includes 800 cases - membership not reported, not shown in table.

## Section C

## Membership in Adult Non-Sectarian Organizations

Extent of Membership Among Men and Among Women

A majority of both men (61.0%) and women (50.9%) belong to at least one non-sectarian organization, as reported in Table 4-8. This is quite unlike the situation with respect to Jewish organizations discussed in connection with Table 4-1. More men are members, and they are members of more non-sectarian organizations than are women: for example, 13.5% men (but only 6.0% of women) are reported belonging to 3 or more such groups. Again, we must point out that only heads of households and their wives were asked for this information; and the nature of the organizations must be considered.

TABLE 4-8  
NUMBER OF NON-SECTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO, BY SEX <sup>a/</sup>

Number of Non-Sectarian Organizations Belonged To	Sex	
	Male	Female
None	36.8%	45.2%
One	31.4	29.9
Two	16.1	15.0
Three or more	13.5	6.0
Not reported	2.2	3.9
<hr/>		
Total	- %	100.0%
	- #	(23,700)
<hr/>		

<sup>a/</sup> See Footnote to Table 4-1

Which organizations?

With this question another list was handed the interviewee, who was asked to mention the numbers of organizations belonged to. This was the list:

Local Non-Sectarian Organizations

1. Board of Trade
2. Citizens Association
3. Junior Chamber of Commerce
4. League of Women Voters
5. Parent-teachers or Home and School Association
6. Service club, like Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis
7. Any other: Which?

Although it was intended to ask solely about groups such as those listed, interviewees mentioned under "Any other" an endless variety of organizations, both local and national. Perhaps too uncritically, we accepted and counted in all these answers. Thus the number of reported memberships per person is relatively high.

Comparison of Non-Sectarian and Jewish Organization Memberships

Examination of Tables 4-1 and 4-8 makes it evident that far more men belong to non-sectarian organizations (61.0%) than to Jewish groups (35.4%). Among women, on the other hand, similar proportions claim membership in Jewish (56.4%) and non-sectarian groups (50.9%). What these tables cannot tell us is whether the members of these two kinds of organizations are the same group of people, or two separate segments of the population.

Table 4-9 permits more detailed scrutiny of memberships in Jewish and other organizations, and helps answer our question. If we focus on the men, we see that of the 60.9% who did not belong to any Jewish organization, more than half (34.4%) belong to some other organization. On the other hand, of those (36.8%) who are members of no non-sectarian organization, the bulk (26.4%) also do not belong to any Jewish group.

TABLE 4-9

NUMBER OF NON-SECTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO, BY SEX AND

a/

NUMBER OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO

Sex and Number of Jewish Organizations Belonged To	Number of Non-Sectarian Organizations Belonged To					Total
	None	One	Two or more	Not reported		
Male - None	26.4%	20.8%	13.6%	0.1%	60.9%	
One	8.8	7.8	9.2	1.3	27.1	
Two or more	1.2	2.3	4.3	0.5	8.3	
Not reported	0.4	0.5	2.5	0.3	3.7	
a/						
Total - %	36.8%	31.4%	29.6%	2.2%	100.0%	
- #					(23,700)	
Female - None	23.1%	10.1%	6.5%	0.6%	40.3%	
One	14.3	10.5	6.5	1.9	33.2	
Two or more	7.6	7.9	7.2	0.5	23.2	
Not reported	0.2	1.4	0.8	0.9	3.3	
Total a/ - %		45.2%	29.9%	21.0%	3.9%	100.0%
- #						(23,600)

a/ See footnote to Table 4-1. Each figure in this table is a percentage of the grand total (23,700 for the male and 23,600 for the female). Percentages may therefore be added across or down.

The implications of such comparisons, as well as the situation among women, may be seen more clearly if the data of Table 4-9 are summarized as shown here:

<u>Report Membership in:</u>	<u>Proportion of</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
Both Jewish and other organizations	23.6%	32.1%
Jewish organizations only	10.0	21.9
Other organizations only	34.4	16.6
Neither Jewish nor other organization	26.4	23.1
Not reported	5.6	6.3
Total	- %	100.0%
	- #	(23,700) (23,600)

From this we can say: About one-fourth of either sex belong to no organization (men: 26.4%; women: 23.1%). A third of the men, but half as many women, belong to non-sectarian organizations only (34.4% and 16.6%, respectively). A tenth of the men but twice as many of the women, belong to Jewish organizations only (10.0% and 21.9%, respectively). Almost a quarter of the men and a third of the women (23.6% and 32.1%) claim membership in at least one organization that is Jewish and one that is not.

Brief consideration shows that the Jewish and non-sectarian groups differ widely from one another in their aims, functions and appeals. The non-sectarian ones, for example, include many business and professional groups. It is probably this type of difference, rather than a greater interest in Jewish affairs, that explains the women's greater tendency to join Jewish organizations, while the men belong more to non-sectarian groups.

#### Membership and Age

Again, contrasting with Jewish organization membership, belonging to other groups is most frequent of all in the 35-44 year period (for the men only, in the 45 to 54-year age as well). Earlier, a person probably has not yet developed so many interests; later, he begins giving up some of them. Table 4-10 shows this development.

TABLE 4-10  
NUMBER OF NON-SECTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO, BY SEX AND AGE<sup>a/</sup>

Sex and Number of Non-Sectarian Organi- zations Belonged To	Age					
	Under 25 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 years and over
Male - None	*	45.5%	25.0%	26.2%	47.6%	69.2%
One	*	37.7	33.9	24.5	32.2	22.0
Two or more	*	15.1	40.7	44.2	15.3	8.8
Not reported	*	1.7	0.4	5.1	4.9	...
Total <sup>a/</sup>	- %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(300)	(6200)	(8200)	(5100)	(2300)
Female - None	61.0%	45.6%	24.1%	48.2%	71.5%	86.6%
One	24.5	31.6	41.0	26.0	10.7	3.5
Two or more	0.7	22.0	33.3	20.9	6.3	4.4
Not reported	13.8	0.8	1.6	4.9	11.5	5.5
Total <sup>a/</sup>	- %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(1500)	(6800)	(7000)	(4300)	(2300)

a/ See footnote to Table 4-1.

Table does not include 100 male and 600 female cases, age "Over 21".

\* Too few cases in this column to permit showing details.

#### Membership and Education

For the women, the proportion belonging to no group drops from a high of 87.7% among those with less than high school, to 34.2% among those with at least a year of college, and then levels off. Among men there is a similar, though not so even, relation. (See Table 4-11) In short, membership generally increases with education.

TABLE 4-11

Sex and Number of Non-Sectarian Organi- zations Belonged To	Education: Years of School Completed					
	8 years or less	High School	College	13 yrs.		
	9-11 yrs.	12 yrs.	13-15 yrs.	16 yrs.	or more	
Male - None	57.7%	56.0%	36.4%	31.5%	40.1%	27.2%
One	23.5	21.3	25.2	42.2	31.9	34.7
Two or more	13.2	22.4	35.2	22.4	28.0	36.5
Not reported	5.6	0.3	3.2	3.9	...	1.6
Total <sup>a/</sup>	- %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(1900)	(1900)	(4000)	(3600)	(8600)
Female - None	87.7%	52.2%	45.1%	34.2%	35.8%	35.3%
One	8.3	21.3	31.5	38.0	38.5	28.3
Two or more	0.4	16.0	19.9	24.2	25.1	36.1
Not reported	3.6	10.5	3.5	3.6	0.6	0.3
Total <sup>a/</sup>	- %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(2200)	(1600)	(2600)	(3900)	(3200)

a/ See footnote to Table 4-1.

Table does not include 500 male and 600 female cases, education not reported.

Membership and Family Income

Income, too, is related to organization membership among both sexes -- the higher the income, the higher the proportions belonging to some group, as is shown in Table 4-12. Among men whose family income is less than \$5000, over half (55.5%) belong to no organization and only 13.2% to two or more. Among those in the \$15,000 and over range, the proportions are just about reversed (13.0% and 59.0%). Among women the same sort of relationship may be observed.

TABLE 4-12  
NUMBER OF NON-SECTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO, BY SEX AND FAMILY INCOME<sup>a/</sup>

Sex and Number of Non-Sectarian Organi- zations Belonged To		Family Income					
		Less than \$5000	\$5000- \$6999	\$7000- \$9999	\$10,000- \$14,999	\$15,000 and over	Not reported
Male	- None	55.5%	49.0%	33.8%	30.3%	13.0%	39.2%
	One	26.7	27.9	37.1	31.3	22.7	33.0
	Two or more	13.2	20.4	28.4	38.2	59.0	23.7
	Not reported	4.6	2.7	0.7	0.2	5.3	4.1
<u>Total</u> <sup>a/</sup>		100.0% (2500)	100.0% (4100)	100.0% (7300)	100.0% (4500)	100.0% (2300)	100.0% (3000)
Female	- None	65.4%	46.7%	42.2%	32.0%	32.6%	50.9%
	One	20.4	35.3	31.3	31.5	18.1	35.9
	Two or more	7.0	14.4	22.2	33.3	47.8	10.9
	Not reported	7.2	3.6	4.3	3.2	1.5	2.3
<u>Total</u> <sup>a/</sup>		100.0% (3600)	100.0% (3800)	100.0% (6800)	100.0% (3900)	100.0% (2000)	100.0% (3500)

a/ See footnote to Table 4-1.

Membership and Length of Residence

Organization membership likewise increases with length of residence in the Washington area. Generally, the longer a person has lived here the more likely he is to belong to any organization; likewise the proportions belonging to two or more groups tend to rise (See Table 4-13). However, there are some exceptions to this generalization: men who came before 1933, and women who came before 1940, claim fewer memberships than those who came later. Two possible explanations may be suggested. The more likely is that this is a reflection of the greater age of those who came here earlier; and especially in the case of the women, who belong to Jewish organizations as well and find themselves over-committed to organization activities at a period in their lives when they can

no longer be as active as they were. The other possibility is that those men who came before 1933, and the women who came then and in the years before 1940, are unlike the later arrivals in some respect that influences their tendency to join non-sectarian organizations.

TABLE 4-13

NUMBER OF NON-SECTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS BELONGED TO,  
BY SEX AND YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA<sup>a/</sup>

Sex and Number of Non-Sectarian Organi- zations Belonged To		Year of Arrival in Washington Metropolitan Area					
		1953- 1956	1949- 1952	1941- 1948	1933- 1940	Before 1933	Always lived in area
Male	- None	55.0%	55.5%	33.3%	20.9%	37.6%	35.7%
	One	29.9	25.4	30.4	36.2	30.8	36.5
	Two or more	14.8	18.8	31.9	42.2	28.8	27.5
	Not reported	0.3	0.3	4.4	0.7	2.8	0.3
<sup>a/</sup> Total		100.0% - # (2700)	100.0% (2800)	100.0% (5500)	100.0% (5000)	100.0% (4200)	100.0% (2900)
Female	- None	66.6%	50.0%	33.3%	37.1%	48.2%	45.4%
	One	27.7	30.2	36.5	30.5	29.9	21.7
	Two or more	2.3	18.6	23.1	31.0	18.4	28.3
	Not reported	3.4	1.2	7.1	1.4	3.5	4.6
<sup>a/</sup> Total		100.0% - # (2900)	100.0% (2600)	100.0% (6100)	100.0% (3700)	100.0% (4300)	100.0% (3100)

<sup>a/</sup> See footnote to Table 4-1. Table does not include 600 male and 900 female cases, year of arrival not reported.

#### Membership Reported in Individual Organizations

Table 4-14 shows the number of household heads and their wives (or husbands) who said they belonged to each of the organizations on our list. In addition, we have added the two other groups most often mentioned by interviewees.

The figures shown for Citizens and Parent-Teacher Associations are unfortunately too high. Membership in these is frequently (although not always) by family; and a number of our interviewers report membership in these for both the husband and the wife. It may be that membership in these should have been reported on a family basis. We would find that the number of families

belonging to a PTA or Home and School Association lies between 9000 and 17,900; and that the number belonging to a Citizen's Association is between 5300 and 9050.

Since membership in Masonic bodies and Boy or Girl Scout leadership were not on our list but were mentioned by interviewees, the figures we show are probably slight understatements (others who participate in these probably failed to add them).

TABLE 4-14

MEMBERSHIPS IN SPECIFIED NON-SECTARIAN ORGANIZATIONS, BY SEX<sup>a/</sup>

Organization	Number Reporting Membership in Each Organization	
	Male	Female
Board of Trade	750	150
Citizens Associations	5300	3750
Junior Chamber of Commerce	300	100
League of Women Voters	----	600
Parent-Teachers (or Home and School) Association	8900	9000
Service Clubs (Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary, etc.)	1400	350
Masons (including Shriners, Eastern Star, etc.)	1400	350
Boy Scout or Girl Scout Leadership	400	400
 Total <sup>a/</sup>	23,700	23,600

a/ See footnote to Table 4-1. Columns do not add to total because the number of people reporting memberships in other non-sectarian organizations (or in none) is not shown.

Section D  
Contributions to Local Charitable Campaigns

Over 90% of the families surveyed reportedly contributed to the preceding year's "Red Feather" campaign; almost as many to the Red Cross; and under 80% to the United Jewish Appeal (See Table 4-15). These figures appear somewhat inflated. They do, however, suggest the relative significance of the U.J.A. as compared to the non-sectarian philanthropies.

The table says that virtually all of those who contributed to U.J.A. also contributed to both of the non-sectarian campaigns (73.3% out of 79.3%) - that is, that they apparently give to "worthy causes," Jewish or not. In addition, 14.3% of the 20.7% who did not give to U.J.A. did give to both of the others. On the other hand, virtually none (0.4%) gave to U.J.A. and refused both of the other campaigns.

TABLE 4-15

## FAMILIES REPORTING CONTRIBUTIONS TO MAJOR LOCAL CHARITABLE CAMPAIGNS

Campaigns to Which Contributions Were Made	Percent of all families
Community Chest "Red Feather" Campaign	92.1%
Red Cross	89.6
United Jewish Appeal	79.3
United Jewish Appeal and two other	73.3
United Jewish Appeal and one other	5.6
United Jewish Appeal and no other	0.4
Not United Jewish Appeal--two others	14.3
Not United Jewish Appeal--one other	0.9
Not United Jewish Appeal--no other	5.5
Total families - %	100.0%
- #	(27,200)

## Section E

## Taking Meals With Gentiles

"Breaking bread" with another person has long symbolized friendliness, acceptance as an equal, relative intimacy. For this reason, the extent to which Jews bring Gentiles into their homes to share their meals, or eat in the homes of Gentiles, provides a slight measure of the extent of Jewish - Gentile social intercourse. This is, of course, somewhat complicated by the fact that, for the Jew observant of the rules of Kashruth, dining in the home of a Gentile becomes quite awkward, if not impossible.

Eating in Gentile Homes

We asked two questions dealing with this subject. The first was:

Of the times you have eaten a meal in someone else's home in the past year, about what proportion were in the homes of non-Jewish people? -- All of them, most, half, few or none?

Answers received to this question are shown in Table 4-16. About one-third each answered "Few" and "None", about one-sixth said "Half", and one-tenth replied "Most" or "All". 4/

TABLE 4-16

## RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF EATING IN HOMES OF NON-JEWISH PEOPLE

Answers to the question: "Of the times you have eaten a meal in someone else's home in the past year, <u>about</u> what proportion were in the homes of <u>non-Jewish</u> people?"	Percent of families
All	2.2%
Most	8.0
Half	16.1
Few	33.3
None	32.6
Don't eat out	4.0
Not reported	3.8
Total families - %	100.0%
	(27,200)

### Having Gentile Guests at Meals

The second question asked was:

Of the times you have had guests to eat with you in your home in the past year, about what proportion of the guests would you say were non-Jewish? -- All of them, most, half, few or none?

Table 4-17 presents the answers to this question. It appears that "Few" and "None" account for 57.3% of the answers, as compared to 65.9% of the replies to the preceding question; while the proportion of "Half" answers is correspondingly higher for "having guests" than for "eating out." 5/

TABLE 4-17

#### RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF HAVING NON-JEWISH GUESTS AT MEALS

Answers to the question: "Of the times you have had guests to eat with you in your home in the past year, <u>about</u> what proportion of the guests would you say were non-Jewish?"	Percent of families
All	2.7%
Most	7.5
Half	23.1
Few	37.8
None	19.5
Don't have guests	3.0
Not reported	6.4
Total families - %	100.0%
- #	(27,200)

The slight difference between the two sets of answers may reflect either the reluctance of observing Jews to eat where the rules of Kashruth are not kept; or a greater willingness of Jews to invite Gentile guests than of Gentiles to accept Jews; or merely the fact that the second question asks about the proportion of guests, the first about the proportion of occasions. 6/

#### Comparison of Adults and Children

Is eating with Gentiles more or less frequent among the children than among the adults? In the pilot study conducted in Northeast D.C. (See Introduction for details), we asked questions separately for adults and for children. Of the 62 families interviewed, 53 indicated the same frequency for both generations; 3 reported the children eating with Gentiles more often, and 3 less often (the remaining families included no children). The number of cases is neither large nor representative of the whole Washington area; but the result suggests no great difference between the generations.

Notes

- 1/ For explanation of the term "head of household" see Chapter 1, Section A. The members of males and of females in this series do not agree because we have included the 2100 Jewish husbands and wives in mixed marriages, whose Gentile partners are not in the survey.
- 2/ The reason for so limiting our inquiry was that we did not believe the one person interviewed -- the head or wife -- would be able to give accurate information about other adults in the household. The effect of this procedure is that any estimates we might make of membership in individual organizations would probably be too low.
- 3/ Synagogue membership is discussed in Chapter 6, Section A; frequency of attendance in Chapter 6, Section B (see particularly Table 6-10).
- 4/ In the Northeast Pilot Study, this question was asked in a slightly different form: "Have you or your children eaten in the homes of non-Jewish people -- often, seldom or never?" Answers to this were equated with answers quoted in the text as follows:

"Often"	--	"Half"
"Seldom"	--	"Few"
"Never"	--	"None"
- 5/ In the Northeast Pilot Study, the question was: "Have you had non-Jewish people eat with you or your children in your home -- often, seldom or never?" Answers were treated as indicated in note 4.
- 6/ For an examination of the relation between observance of Kashruth and eating in Gentile homes see Table 7-8. It should be noted that Tables 4-16 and 4-17 are derived from tabulations which include "mixed" (Jewish-Gentile) families. Had these been omitted, the proportions in these tables might have been heavier at the "Few" and "None" end.

## CHAPTER 5

JEWISH EDUCATION,  
BAR-MITZVAH AND CONFIRMATION

The two sections of this chapter deal respectively with the Jewish education of the adult population; and with Jewish education, and bar-mitzvah and similar ceremonies of children and adolescents.

In Section A, the type of Jewish education received by the population 17 and over is shown, separately for males and for females, and for ages 17-29, 30-44, and 45 and over. In addition, for each of the two types of education most often reported - Sunday school and Hebrew afternoon school - the proportions of each sex attending for various lengths of time are presented.

Section B contains a table indicating types of education received by children 5 to 16 years old, separately by sex and three age groupings. For the 13 to 19-year-olds, the proportions of each sex who have had bar-mitzvah, bas-mitzvah and confirmation ceremonies are shown; and for the boys of this age, the proportion with each type of Jewish education who have had a bar-mitzvah ceremony.

## Section A

## Jewish Education of Adults

Type of Jewish Education

The types of Jewish education which the Jewish population over 16 has had are shown in Table 5-1. Information is presented separately for males (in the upper half of the table) and for females (in the lower half) broken into three age groups. This table reports on the proportion in each sex-and-age group who have had any exposure to each of four types of Jewish education, or to any other, or to none at all. Thus, any person who has had as little as half a year of Sunday school, or of the services of a private tutor in preparation for a bar-mitzvah ceremony, will have been included here. Some persons, of course, have had two or more kinds of Jewish education; consequently, the proportions of the total shown as having each kind don't add up to 100%.

TABLE 5-1  
TYPE OF JEWISH EDUCATION BY AGE AND SEX  
(Population 17 Years of Age and Over)

Sex and Type of Jewish Education	Age			Total
	17-29 years	30-44 years	45 years and over	
<u>Male</u>				
Sunday school	38.3%	32.5%	17.3%	28.0%
Hebrew afternoon school	48.7	59.6	42.7	51.4
Hebrew all-day school	0.6	3.7	17.9	8.0
Private tutor	28.0	19.6	23.9	22.4
Other	4.7	3.0	7.1	4.7
Any at all a/	84.1	84.6	87.1	84.7
None	12.7	12.2	8.4	11.0
Not reported	3.2	3.2	4.5	4.3
Total, male, 17 years and over a/ - %	100.0% - # (4800)	100.0% (12,700)	100.0% (9400)	100.0% (27,100) b/
<u>Female</u>				
Sunday school	39.1%	42.1%	20.2%	33.7%
Hebrew afternoon school	30.4	26.9	22.9	25.8
Hebrew all-day school	3.7	1.5	8.3	4.2
Private tutor	1.1	10.6	15.7	10.2
Other	1.7	5.1	7.5	5.1
Any at all a/	63.7	69.3	64.9	66.1
None	30.5	28.0	27.5	28.3
Not reported	5.8	2.7	7.6	5.6
Total, female 17 years and over a/ - %	100.0% - # (6300)	100.0% (11,300)	100.0% (9400)	100.0% (27,900) c/

a/ "Any at all" is not the sum of the percentages shown for each type of Jewish education, since some persons have had more than one type. Similarly, the percentages above "Any at all" when added to those for "None" and "Not reported" do not total 100%.

b/ Includes 200 cases - age "Over 21" not shown in this table.

c/ Includes 900 cases - age "Over 21" not shown in this table.

These figures are probably less accurate than any other series in this report. An effort was made to learn the extent of Jewish education of every person in the household from one interviewee. The latter could report for himself or herself; presumably children were reported fairly accurately; but information concerning other adult members of the household seems frequently to have involved guessing by the person interviewed. (This became apparent, for example, when we asked how many years of each kind of education a person had had; as will be seen in Tables 5-2 and 5-3, the proportion not reported - which means, in this case, answers of "I don't know" - ran quite high. The figures of Table 5-1 for proportions attending Hebrew all-day school, in particular, appear too high. These may reflect confusion between "all-day" and "afternoon" schools.

What Table 5-1 appears to show, then, are such findings as these: Between 80 and 90% of the men at each age level have had some Jewish education; for the women, the proportion is some 20% lower (i.e., between 60 and 70%). In each age group, Hebrew afternoon schools have occupied the time of more of the men than any other type of Jewish education. Among the younger ones, Sunday school has been next most important, but among those 45 years old and over private tutors and Hebrew all-day schools reportedly trained a higher proportion than among the younger. Among the younger women, Sunday school has been attended by the highest proportion, followed by afternoon school. Among those 45 and over, these two have been of equal importance, followed closely by private tutors.

#### Amount of Jewish Education

As just mentioned, information obtained on the number of years of each type of education is of less value because of the high proportion not able to answer correctly. Tables 5-2 and 5-3 show, respectively, the proportions of each sex receiving various amounts of Sunday school and Hebrew afternoon school education. Percentages in each table are of those who had any of this type of schooling, not of the whole population. These may be summarized about as follows:

Sunday School - Relatively small proportions of each sex attended for more than eight years. At least half of the women and at least a third of the men attended less than five years. (assuming that some of the "not reported" fall into this category).

TABLE 5-2

#### NUMBER OF YEARS OF SUNDAY SCHOOL, BY SEX

(Population 17 Years of Age and Over, Who Attended Sunday School)

Number of Years Attended	Sex	
	Male	Female
1 - 4 years	33.6%	46.6%
5 - 8 years	37.9	28.7
9 years or more	6.6	7.6
Not reported	21.9	17.1
Total who attended Sunday school	100.0% (7600)	100.0% (9400)

Hebrew afternoon school - Between a third and a half of the men who attended at all went for less than 5 years; the proportion attending for 7 years or more is between 20 and 40%. Of the small number of women attending, the majority probably continued for no more than four years.

TABLE 5-3

## NUMBER OF YEARS OF HEBREW AFTERNOON SCHOOL, BY SEX

(Population 17 Years of Age and Over, Who Attended Hebrew Afternoon School)

Number of Years Attended	Sex	
	Male	Female
1 - 4 years	33.3%	54.3%
5 - 6 years	27.5	12.1
7 years or more	17.9	11.4
Not reported	21.3	22.2
Total who attended		
Hebrew afternoon school - %	100.0%	100.0%
	(13,900)	(7200)

## Section B

## Children and Adolescents

Jewish Education of Children

For children aged 5-16 there was also some tendency not to report the extent of Jewish education. Examination of individual questionnaires, as well as the fact that this deficiency is highest among the youngest children, leads to the belief that most of the children shown as "Not reported" had not had any Jewish education. The material presented in Table 5-4 suggests such patterns as these: Approximately half the children under nine, boys as well as girls, have had some Jewish education.

TABLE 5-4

## JEWISH EDUCATION, BY AGE, SEX AND TYPE OF JEWISH EDUCATION

(Population 5-16 Years of Age)

Sex and Type of Jewish Education	Age			
	5-8 years	9-12 years	13-16 years	Total, 5-16 years
<b>Male</b>				
Sunday school	42.3%	71.1%	62.7%	57.8%
Hebrew afternoon school	0.6	44.7	54.6	31.0
Hebrew all-day school	7.1	9.1	2.8	6.5
Private tutor	...	4.4	37.9	12.6
Other	2.8	0.3	0.1	1.2
Any at all <sup>a/</sup>	52.7	82.9	92.9	74.5
None	35.8	6.6	5.4	17.2
Not reported	11.5	10.5	1.7	8.3
Total, 5-16 years <u>a/</u> - %	100.0% (3600)	100.0% (3100)	100.0% (2800)	100.0% (9500)
<b>Female</b>				
Sunday school	49.3%	78.1%	77.5%	65.7%
Hebrew afternoon school	0.7	31.1	22.0	16.0
Hebrew all-day school	3.6	1.4	1.1	2.3
Private tutor	0.1	2.4	3.1	1.6
Other	...	0.2	...	*
Any at all <sup>a/</sup>	52.1	81.5	83.6	69.5
None	28.0	10.1	14.2	18.7
Not reported	19.9	8.4	2.2	11.8
Total, 5-16 years <u>a/</u> - %	100.0% (3400)	100.0% (2700)	100.0% (2000)	100.0% (8100)

<sup>a/</sup> "Any at all" is not the sum of the percentages shown for each type of Jewish education since some children have had more than one type. Similarly, the percentages above "Any at all," when added to those for "None" and "Not reported" do not total 100%.

\* Less than .05%.

This is mostly Sunday school, though more boys than girls have been in a Hebrew all-day school. In the 9-12-year group, over 80% of each sex have had some Jewish education; 70-80% have had at least some Sunday school, while close to half the boys and a third of the girls have had some afternoon school. In the 13-16-year group, over 90% of the boys have had some Jewish schooling, but a little over 80% of the girls. Among the latter Sunday school is again the most significant by far, though afternoon school has had almost as high a proportion of the boys as has Sunday school. A rather high proportion of the 13-16-year-old boys have had private tutoring -- possible in a last-minute spurt of training for anticipated bar-mitzvah ceremonies.

Bar-Mitzvah, Bas-Mitzvah and Confirmation

For each boy in the household over 12 and under 20 at his last birthday, the interviewer asked: "Has he had a bar-mitzvah ceremony, a confirmation ceremony, both, or neither of these?" A comparable question was asked for each girl of the same age. Results of these questions are shown in Table 5-5. The figures presented show that about 15-20% of the boys, and probably upwards of 60% of the girls, have had neither of these ceremonies. The proportion reporting a confirmation ceremony is about three times as high for the girls as for the boys. <sup>2/</sup>

TABLE 5-5

BAR-MITZVAH, BAS-MITZVAH AND CONFIRMATION CEREMONY, BY SEX  
(Population 13-19 Years of Age)

Type of Ceremony	Sex	
	Male	Female
Bar-mitzvah	71.0%	...
Bas-mitzvah	...	7.2%
Confirmation	5.4	14.3
Both	4.6	...
Neither	15.3	58.6
Not reported	3.7	19.9
Total, 13-19 years - %	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(3800)	(2700)

Relation between Jewish Education and Bar-Mitzvah Ceremony

From Table 5-6 in which percentages are to be added across, it appears that the proportion of boys 13 to 19 years old who have not had a bar-mitzvah ceremony is about one in ten among those who have had any Sunday school; slightly lower among those who have attended Hebrew afternoon school at all; lower still among those who have had some private tutoring; and just about zero for the small group who have attended a Hebrew all-day school. From this it cannot be concluded, however, that

the type of schooling determines the likelihood of the boy's having a bar-mitzvah ceremony; presumably the family background plays some role.

TABLE 5-6  
a/  
BAR-MITZVAH CEREMONY BY TYPE OF JEWISH EDUCATION  
(Boys 13-19 Years of Age)

Type of Jewish Education	Has Had a Bar-Mitzvah Ceremony			Total boys
	Yes	No	Not reported	
Sunday school	51.0%	5.6%	2.6%	59.2%
Hebrew afternoon school	46.8	3.9	1.6	52.3
Hebrew all-day school	2.0	...	...	2.0
Private tutor	34.4	0.9	2.1	37.4
Other	0.2	...	...	0.2
None	...	7.9	0.8	8.7
Not reported	1.4	...	0.1	1.5
Total boys 13-19 years	- %			100.0% (3,800)
	- #			

a/ Each figure in this table is a percentage of the grand total (3,800). Percentages add across, but not down, because some boys have had more than one type of Jewish education.

Notes

- 1/ It should be noted that the category "Other" includes Yiddish schools (Workmen's Circle, Sholem Aleichem, etc.); Jewish education reported as received in regular school periods in certain foreign countries; etc.
- 2/ In the Northeast Pilot Study, we asked about bar-mitzvah only. Boys reported as not having had a bar-mitzvah, and all girls, were tabulated here as "not reported".

## CHAPTER 6

SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP, FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE  
AND RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

This chapter consists of three sections, one devoted to each of the topics mentioned in the title of the chapter. Section A is concerned with synagogue membership. We have classified families, according to the congregation to which they belong, as Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or members of no synagogue. The nine tables in this section, show the relation between the family's membership in each of those kinds of congregation, or none, and various characteristics of the family or the head of the household, such as area of residence, income, education, occupation, age, marital status and nativity. Reasons offered for having chosen a particular congregation, or for belonging to none, are discussed.

Section B deals with frequency of attendance at Jewish religious (i.e., synagogue) services. Three tables are presented showing how this frequency varies with such personal characteristics as age, nativity and synagogue membership. Data on the relative frequency of attendance of husbands and wives are included.

The "religious identification" of families - whether they think of themselves as Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or "none of these" - is discussed in Section C. The "none of these" group is further broken into those who are undecided, those who adhere to some other religion, and those who profess no religion. The fashion in which this identification is related to education and to synagogue membership is indicated.

## Section A

## Synagogue Membership of Families

What proportion of Jewish families belong to any synagogue or temple?

What proportions belong to local Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or other congregations?

What are some of the characteristics of persons who belong to each kind of congregation, or to none?

Questions of this kind are discussed in this section of Chapter 6.

#### Synagogue Membership in General

To ascertain whether the family belonged to a synagogue, the interviewer asked, in a series of questions about the family: "Are you members of a synagogue or temple?" The word "members" was underlined to remind the interviewer that attending a synagogue is not the same as membership. If the answer to this question was "Yes," the interviewer asked: "Which ones?" A list of all local congregations was used to classify the answers as Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or other. The latter includes congregations which consider themselves "non-denominational," out-of-town congregations and cases in which interviewees who said they belonged to a synagogue didn't mention its name. 1/

The results of this question are shown in Table 6-1. More than half (53.3%) of the families claim no synagogue membership; of the remaining 46.7%, over half (25.0%) of the total) report membership in a Conservative congregation. Orthodox families are about half as numerous as Conservative, and Reform half as numerous as Orthodox.

TABLE 6-1  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY

Synagogue Membership of Family	Percent of families
Orthodox	11.9%
Conservative	25.0
Reform	6.3
Other a/	2.8
None	53.3
Not reported	0.7
Total families - %	100.0%
	(27,200)

a/ "Other" includes non-denominational, out-of-town and unspecified congregations.

For various reasons a family may maintain membership in two or more congregations. In the survey area approximately 500, or 1.9% of the families, belong to at least two synagogues; included among these are about 100, or 0.4%, who claim three or more synagogue memberships. No effort was made to tabulate these as Orthodox, Conservative or Reform.

#### Reasons for Choosing a Particular Congregation

For each congregation named in answer to the question on membership, the further question was asked: "How did you happen to choose that congregation?" The answers to this question were not classified, nor tabulated, but we did prepare a list of the answers occurring with considerable frequency. The answers we found most often were:

1. "We have friends who belong to it" or "People in the neighborhood go there".
2. "It's the nearest congregation to where we live".

Somewhat less frequently, answers were of these types:

3. "Our family has always belonged" or "That's where my father goes".
4. "It's the closest Orthodox (or Conservative, or Reform) congregation".

Much less often we came across answers like these:

5. "It has a good Sunday school" or "We like the services there".

Very rarely, the latter type of answer contained an added comment along the lines of: "We moved to this location in order to be near it."

#### Reasons for Not Belonging to Any Congregation

When a family belonged to no synagogue, the interviewer asked: "What would you say is your most important reason for not belonging to any?" These answers, too, were neither classified nor tabulated. Again, the answers given most often were listed, along with an indication of their relative frequency. The answers we met most often were:

1. References to the age of the family's children, such as: "We don't have any children yet; when we do, will probably join"; "We won't join until our children are old enough for Sunday school"; "Our children are grown now, so we no longer need to belong".

Next most frequent were such answers as:

2. "It's too expensive"; "We can't afford it"; "Belonging costs more than it's worth".

Less often, answers were given like these:

3. "We're not religious"; "We don't believe in it".
4. "We're too busy"; "We have no time for it".

And occasionally there were answers such as:

5. "Synagogue members are too class-conscious"; "Synagogues are for snobs who want to show off their fancy clothes".
6. "There's no synagogue near by".

#### What the "Reasons" Tell

Any proper attempt to find out why people choose one congregation over another, or why they don't join any, would have involved asking more questions than we could afford in this survey. People join a congregation partly because it

has certain characteristics (religious or social), partly because their family, friends or acquaintances have told them about these characteristics. What the "reasons for joining" that we have listed seem to say is that, for most people, choosing a synagogue doesn't mean weighing the religious qualities of several and then choosing "the best."

As to the so-called "reasons" for not joining, these seem to boil down to one general statement: "Synagogue membership is less important to me than other things in my life. These other things, therefore, have prior claim on my budget of money or time. When my children are of an age when the social pressure of the Jewish community will demand that I give them a Jewish education, I will join a synagogue in order to do so."

#### Synagogue Membership by Area

As Table 6-2 indicates, the proportion of families belonging to no congregation is lowest in Northeast and Northwest D.C., and highest in Prince Georges County and Southeast-Southwest D.C. The preponderance of Conservative congregation members over others is especially marked in all three of the suburban counties, but may be seen also in Northeast D.C. High proportions of Orthodox Jews are seen in Northeast D.C. and Northwest east of Rock Creek. Reform Jews are a high proportion of the total only in Northwest west of Rock Creek.

TABLE 6-2  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY BY AREA

Synagogue Membership Of Family	Area						
	D.C.			Virginia		Maryland	
	North- east W. of Rock Creek	North- west, E. of Rock Creek	North- west, South- west	South- (Metro- politan area)	Prince Georges County (M.A.)	Mont- gomery County (M.A.)	
Orthodox	22.6%	7.1%	22.4%	13.5%	1.8%	4.3%	5.4%
Conservative	33.1	21.4	21.9	11.9	25.2	19.3	31.7
Reform	0.4	24.6	5.6	1.2	11.1	1.3	4.2
Other	0.7	0.8	1.7	4.6	0.8	4.4	4.8
None	42.8	46.1	46.4	68.8	60.0	70.7	53.8
Not reported	0.4	...	2.0	...	1.1	...	0.1
Total families %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
#	(2300)	(2500)	(7900)	(1400)	(2300)	(3200)	(7600)

### Synagogue Membership and Income

In general, one can say that as income rises, the proportion belonging to no congregation declines, the proportion who are Orthodox declines, and the proportions who are Conservative or Reform rise (see Table 6-3). The principal exception to this generalization is the lowest income group (under \$4,000), which shows rather higher proportions of Conservative and Reform Jews, and lower proportions belonging to no congregation, than might be anticipated. Appendix Table 6-I shows in a slightly different way that the Orthodox are the least wealthy, followed by those who belong to no congregation, the Conservative and then the Reform group - almost two-thirds of whom report family incomes of \$10,000 or over.

TABLE 6-3  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY BY FAMILY INCOME

Synagogue Membership Of Family	Family Income						
	Less than \$4,000	\$4,000- 4,999	\$5,000- 6,999	\$7,000- 9,999	\$10,000- 14,999	\$15,000 and over	Not reported
Orthodox	19.7%	16.3%	13.3%	12.6%	7.2%	8.0%	11.0%
Conservative	17.4	9.5	25.3	21.0	34.3	31.1	29.6
Reform	5.1	1.9	1.0	3.7	11.6	22.8	4.1
Other	...	1.6	8.0	0.9	2.6	0.9	3.7
None	57.8	70.7	52.4	61.8	44.3	36.5	46.9
Not reported	...	...	...	...	...	0.7	4.7
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(1500)	(2300)	(4500)	(7800)	(4600)	(2400)	(4100)

### Synagogue Membership of the "All-Jewish" Families

It will be remembered that some 3,300 families are "mixed" - that is, either the head of the household or the husband or wife of the head is not Jewish, or neither is Jewish. The remaining tables of this section are based on the "all-Jewish" families in which neither husband nor wife is Gentile. Table 6-4 shows the synagogue membership of these families. Comparison with Table 6-1 shows that eliminating the "mixed" families has cut the proportion belonging to no congregation from 53.3 to 49.1%, thus increasing slightly the proportions belonging to each type of congregation.

TABLE 6-4  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY,  
OMITTING "MIXED" (JEWISH-GENTILE) FAMILIES

Synagogue Membership of Family	Percent of Families
Orthodox	13.1%
Conservative	27.5
Reform	6.7
Other	3.0
None	49.1
Not reported	0.6
Total (omitting "mixed") families - %	100.0%
- #	(23,900)

Synagogue Membership in Relation to Age and Marital Status

Table 6-5 is designed to permit comparison of heads of households belonging to Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or no congregations, according to their ages. The final column of the table, showing the age distribution of the total of heads of "all-Jewish" households, may be used as a standard of comparison for the other columns.

2/  
TABLE 6-5  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILIES BY AGE OF  
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD  
(Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Age of Head of Household	Synagogue Membership of Family					Total
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	None		
15-24 years	...	...	...	2.9%	1.4%	
25-34 "	13.1%	19.8%	8.5%	29.4	23.6	
35-44 "	29.4	35.3	32.7	33.1	32.9	
45-54 "	18.7	30.3	28.1	14.7	20.5	
55-64 "	22.0	9.1	18.3	10.1	12.0	
65 years & over	16.8	5.5	11.7	8.0	8.7	
Not reported	...	*	0.7	1.8	0.9	

Total (omitting  
"mixed") families-<sup>a/</sup> 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% 100.0% a/  
-# (3100) (6600) (1600) (11,700) (23,900)

\* Less than .05%.

a/ Includes 700 cases belonging to "other" congregations, and 200 cases, membership not reported, not shown in table.

Compared to the others, the Orthodox group contains a high proportion of persons aged 55 and over, and relatively low proportions in the younger ages. The Conservative group, on the other hand, is relatively low in older people, relatively high in younger ones. Reform Jews tend to include disproportionately low numbers under 35, and disproportionately high numbers from age 45 up. Finally, those belonging to no congregation are relatively most numerous in the ages up to 45.

If age is related to synagogue membership, one reason is that membership depends in part on whether a person is married or not. Table 6-6 presents the effects of age and of marital status on synagogue membership. Note that percentages in this table must be added across. The upper part of the table concerns only the married heads of households, and suggests that among married persons membership increases into the early 50's, and then starts declining. (Whether such decline represents decreasing interest following the maturation of children, or increasing physical disability, or some other factor, cannot be determined from the evidence here.)

The lower half of Table 6-6 compares membership among the married and the "not married" (which includes those never married and also the widowed and divorced) at two age levels - under 45 years, and 45 and over. This shows that both among the younger and among the older persons, the married heads of households are much more likely to be synagogue members than those not now married.

TABLE 6-6  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY BY MARITAL STATUS  
AND AGE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD  
(Omitting "Mixed" Families) a/

Head of Household Marital Status and Age	Synagogue Membership of Family			Total Families #
	Members of some synagogue	Members of no synagogue	%	
<b>Married:</b>				
Under 25 years	*	*	*	200
25-34 "	38.4%	61.6%	100.0%	5300
35-44 "	53.6	46.4	100.0%	7200
45-54 "	70.0	30.0	100.0%	4000
55-64 "	61.8	38.2	100.0%	2200
65 years & over	53.2	46.8	100.0%	1400
<b>Summary:</b>				
Under 45 years				
Married	46.3	53.7	100.0%	12,700
Not married	24.7	75.3	100.0%	1,100
45 years and over:				
Married	64.6	35.4	100.0%	7,600
Not married	47.8	52.2	100.0%	2,200

\* Too few cases to permit showing detail.

a/ NOTE THAT PERCENTAGES TOTAL ACROSS.

Table does not include 300 cases age "over 21".

### Synagogue Membership and Nativity 3/

Table 6-7 shows the composition of the Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and "no congregation" groups, according to the nativity of heads of households, and permits comparison of each of these with the total population. Over half the Orthodox are foreign-born, but decreasing proportions of the Conservative and Reform groups. On the other hand, virtually none of the Orthodox (1.9%) are native-born of native parents, but increasing proportions of the Conservative and Reform. Appendix Table 6-II presents these data in a slightly different fashion.

TABLE 6-7  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY BY NATIVITY OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD  
(Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Nativity of Head of Household	Synagogue Membership of Family				
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	None	Total
Native-born of native parents	1.9%	17.7%	23.6%	16.2%	14.7%
Native-born of foreign parents	44.2	61.5	66.7	55.4	56.9
Native-born, parents' nativity not reported	1.4	0.6	0.6	1.7	1.3
Foreign-born	52.4	20.2	9.1	26.7	27.0
Nativity not reported	0.1	...	...	*	0.1
 Total (omitting "mixed" families)	- % - #	100.0% (3100)	100.0% (6600)	100.0% (1600)	100.0% (11,700)
					a/ (23,900)

\* Less than .05%.

a/ Includes 700 cases belonging to other congregations, and 200 cases membership not reported, not shown in table.

#### Synagogue Membership and Education

The relation between education of the head of the household and synagogue membership is indicated in Table 6-8, organized like the preceding table.

TABLE 6-8  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY BY EDUCATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD  
(Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Education of Head of Household: Years of School Completed	Synagogue Membership of Family				
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	None	Total
Eight years or less	24.5%	4.6%	5.0%	12.4%	10.9%
9-11 years	12.0	6.1	4.1	11.1	9.0
12 years (high school)	24.3	22.7	11.9	16.5	19.1
13-15 years	7.5	21.2	9.8	11.4	13.3
16 years (college)	15.0	8.5	17.0	12.2	12.1
17 years or more	11.2	34.8	52.0	34.0	33.1
Not reported	5.5	2.1	0.2	2.4	2.5
 Total (omitting "mixed" families)	- % - #	100.0% (3100)	100.0% (6600)	100.0% (1600)	100.0% (11,700)
					a/ (23,900)

a/ Includes 700 cases belonging to 'other' congregations, and 200 cases, membership not reported, not shown in table.

This shows the less educated high among the Orthodox, low among the Conservative and lowest among the Reform Jews. Conversely the most-educated (i.e., those who have had post-graduate college training) are disproportionately low among the Orthodox, about the same as the figure for all Jews among the Conservative and extremely high (over one-half) among the Reform group. Those who are members of no congregation show no great difference from the figures for the total Jewish population. (See also Appendix Table 6-III). The implications of this are further clarified in the next table.

#### Synagogue Membership and Occupation

The concentration of Jews in the professions and among managers and proprietors is especially marked among the heads of households, in the Reform group, as Table 6-9 shows, and is apparently somewhat less characteristic of the Conservative and Orthodox. These two occupational groups constitute 90% of the Reform, 65% of the Conservative and 56% of the Orthodox Jews. It should be noted that fully a fifth (19%) of the Orthodox did not report their occupations. Consideration of the remaining figures of the table suggests that these non-reporting cases occur mostly among the clerical and sales workers. Those belonging to no synagogue seem to include a disproportionately large number of clerical, sales and manual workers.

TABLE 6-9

SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY BY OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD  
(Heads Who are Working for Pay or Profit, Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Occupation of Head of Household	Synagogue Membership of Family				
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	None	Total
Professional and technical	26.9%	33.9%	54.6%	34.7%	36.0%
Managers, officials and proprietors	29.7	31.5	35.9	20.3	25.5
Clerical and sales workers	14.8	23.8	7.3	25.3	21.9
Manual workers	9.6	5.1	0.8	13.1	9.2
Not reported	19.0	5.7	1.4	6.6	7.4
Total (omitting) "mixed" families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(2500)	(5600)	(1400)	(10,100)	(20,400) <sup>a/</sup>

<sup>a/</sup> Includes 700 cases, belonging to 'other' congregations, and 100 cases, membership not reported, not shown in table.

## Section B

## Frequency of Attendance at Jewish Religious Services

For the head of each household, and for the wife or husband of each married head, the interviewer asked:

"About how many times have you yourself attended synagogue or temple services during the past twelve months - not at all, just once or twice, once a month, or more often?"

If the answer was "More often" the interviewer asked: "How often?" For married couples, the additional question was asked:

"And about how many times would you say your husband (wife) has gone this past year?"

The information obtained from these questions is presented in this section, which shows relations between synagogue attendance, on the one hand, and age, sex, nativity and synagogue membership on the other.

#### Synagogue Attendance in Relation to Age, Sex and Nativity

Frequency of attendance is shown in Table 6-10 separately for each sex, and within each sex group, separately for those aged under 45, and those 45 years or over.

TABLE 6-10

## FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT RELIGIOUS SERVICES, BY AGE AND SEX

(Heads of Households, and If Married, Their Wives or Husbands,

Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Frequency of Attendance at Religious Services	Male			Female		
	Under 45 years	45 years & over	Total	Under 45 years	45 years & over	Total
Not at all	23.3%	11.1%	18.8%	24.9%	10.1%	19.7%
1-2 times a year	22.7	19.7	21.6	22.8	22.2	22.6
3-11 times a year	34.6	35.7	35.0	31.9	35.1	33.5
Once a month	7.9	8.6	8.1	8.4	12.8	9.9
2-3 times a month	3.4	6.7	4.7	5.3	4.6	5.0
4 or more times a month	6.2	13.9	9.0	4.3	10.0	6.0
Not reported	1.9	4.3	2.8	2.4	5.2	3.3
Total Jewish heads - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
and spouses - #	(13500)	(8100)	(21600)	(14700)	(7300)	(22700)

a/ Includes 700 cases, age "over 21" not shown in table.

If we compare first the "total" columns for each sex, we see that close to one-fifth of each (18.8% of the men and 19.7% of the women) report that they never attend, and over half (56.6% and 56.1%, respectively) say they go less than once a month. Those who claim to attend at least once a month constitute slightly over a fifth, both of the men (21.8%) and of the women (20.9%). Differences between the two sexes are slight. 4/

Now let us examine the columns "Under 45 Years" and "45 Years and Over", for male and for female. In each case we see that attendance is more frequent among the older than among the younger persons. This may mean that the older generation have all their lives been attending more often than their children have; or it may mean that as people get older they attend more often.

Some additional light is shed by Table 6-11, in which we attempt to see what effect nativity has on attendance.

TABLE 6-11

## FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT RELIGIOUS SERVICES, BY AGE, NATIVITY AND SEX

(Heads of Households and, If Married, Their Wives or Husbands,  
a/  
Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Sex, and Frequency of Attendance at Religious Services	Age and Nativity				
	Under 45 years		45 years and over		
	Native-Born	Parents native-born	Parents foreign-born	Foreign- born	Native- born
<u>Male</u>					
Not at all	21.8%	24.1%	23.6%	14.1%	7.6%
1-2 times a year	38.2	18.4	25.6	11.8	27.8
3-11 times a year	26.6	37.9	25.3	36.6	34.8
Once a month	6.2	9.1	3.1	12.5	4.6
2-3 times a month	5.0	3.2	2.3	11.3	1.8
4 or more times a month	2.0	5.8	13.6	13.4	14.7
Not reported	0.2	1.5	6.5	0.3	8.7
Total Jewish male heads and spouses - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(2500)	(9200)	(1500)	(4200)	(3900)
<u>Female</u>					
Not at all	39.7%	19.7%	8.6%	16.9%	3.1%
1-2 times a year	24.2	23.9	14.5	23.3	20.8
3-11 times a year	26.5	35.5	20.1	28.4	42.0
Once a month	3.4	9.3	21.2	13.6	12.0
2-3 times a month	3.5	4.1	19.3	2.7	6.6
4 or more times a month	2.3	4.7	9.1	12.8	7.2
Not reported	0.4	2.8	7.2	2.3	8.3
Total Jewish female heads and spouses - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(4800)	(8200)	(1400)	(3700)	(3600)

a/ Table does not include 100 male and 300 female, under 45 years of age, native-born, parent's nativity not reported, and 700 female, age 'over 21'.

In this rather complex table, the upper half presents data for men, the lower half for women. For those under 45, there were enough cases to compare the native-born of native-born parents; the native-born of foreign-born parents; and the foreign-born. For those 45 years old or over, comparison was possible for all the native-born and the foreign-born.

Broadly, this table indicates a somewhat different pattern among the foreign-born as contrasted with the native-born men. The former are more likely to attend 4 or more times a month (i.e., at least weekly), or else just occasionally (less than once a month), regardless of age, than are the native-born. But this may merely reflect the higher proportion of Orthodox Jews among the foreign-born.

Moreover, the table shows that among the native-born men there is considerably more frequent attendance in the older than in the younger group. Among the foreign-born men this is paralleled by the fact that a lower proportion of the older men never attend, and a higher proportion attend at least on the High Holy Days (3-11 times a year), than among the younger.

Similar description of the data concerning women's attendance, and comparison between the rates of attendance of men and women, may be made by the reader.

#### Relation Between Synagogue Membership and Synagogue Attendance

Table 6-12 shows the frequency of attendance among those belonging to Orthodox, to Conservative and to Reform Congregations, and of those who are not synagogue members.

TABLE 6-12

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AT RELIGIOUS SERVICES, BY  
a/  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY

Frequency of Attendance at Religious Services	Synagogue Membership of Family			
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	None
Not at all	1.5%	7.1%	4.2%	34.9%
1-2 times a year,	13.2	10.6	9.1	31.3
3-11 times a year	39.7	41.3	44.0	25.0
Once a month	14.8	13.6	26.4	1.2
2-3 times a month	4.0	12.1	8.7	1.3
4 or more times a month	23.3	15.1	7.6	1.6
Not reported	3.5	0.2	...	4.7
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(3,200)	(6,800)	(1,700)	(14,500)

a/ Table does not include 700 cases belonging to "other" congregations, and 200 cases, membership not reported. These plus cases shown in table total 27,100 (100 less than proper total) due to rounding.

The highest proportion among each group - Orthodox, Conservative, Reform - attend quite rarely ("3 - 11 times a year", which for the most part means only on the High Holy Days); over half of each attend less often than once a month. Among the Orthodox a sizable fraction (23.3%, or about one in four) attend at least weekly. Most of those belonging to no synagogue, not surprisingly, attend seldom or never. Whether membership leads to attendance, or the reverse - or whether, as seems more likely, membership and attendance reinforce one another - cannot be established from our data.

## Section C

## Religious Identification of Families

In the first part of this Chapter (Section A) we were concerned with actual membership in Orthodox, Conservative or Reform congregations. Here we consider how people think of themselves. In each interview, two questions were asked:

"As a family, do you consider yourselves Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or none of these?"

"When you say that you consider yourselves (whatever was answered to the preceding question), what do you have in mind?"

Answers to the latter question were not classified or tabulated, but were used only to help clarify the meaning of "none of these" as an answer to the former question.

Tabulations in this section exclude the families in which the husband, wife or both are Gentile. Information on the identification of those families is presented in Chapter 8 (Tables 8-3, 8-12 and 8-14).

#### Religious Identification of "All-Jewish" Families

What Washington area Jews "consider themselves" is shown in Table 6-13. Roughly half (47.4%) feel they are Conservative, about a quarter (24.7%) Reform, and 14.9% Orthodox. An additional 6.1% could not place themselves in one of these three groups: either because one family member considered himself (for example) Orthodox and another (for example) Conservative, or because they didn't care very much, or because (though concerned) they were unable to decide.

TABLE 6-13

## RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY (Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Religious Identification of Family: "Do you consider yourselves . . .?"	Percent of families
Orthodox	14.9%
Conservative	47.4
Reform	24.7
None of these - family undecided	6.1
None of these - other religion	0.5
None of these - no religion	3.9
Not reported	2.5
Total (omitting "mixed") families - %	100.0%
	(23,900)

The two remaining groups are of some interest. A small number (0.5% of all) explained that, although they thought of themselves as being Jews in terms of their cultural background, they were adherents not of Judaism, but of some other religion, organized (e.g., Christian Science, Unitarian) or not ("personal religion"). A slightly larger group (3.9% of the total) professed no religion at all, reporting themselves as "freethinkers", "agnostics", or families holding "no religious beliefs".

#### Religious Identification and Synagogue Membership

Relations between actual membership in a synagogue and identification are displayed in Table 6-14. Among the more salient points are these:

Of those identifying themselves as Orthodox, the greatest proportion (46.4%) are members of Orthodox congregations.

Of those identifying themselves as Conservative, nearly equal proportions are members of Conservative (44.9%) or no congregations (40.8%).

Of those identifying themselves as Reform, the greatest proportion (59.0%) are members of no congregation.

Of those who are undecided, an overwhelming majority (84.9%) are members of no congregation.

TABLE 6-14

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY BY SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY  
 a/  
 (Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Synagogue Membership of Family	Religious Identification of Family			
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	"None of These" family undecided
Orthodox	46.4%	10.9%	1.2%	3.5%
Conservative	20.2	44.9	10.7	7.7
Reform	0.3	1.6	22.6	2.6
Other	0.8	1.8	6.5	1.3
None	32.1	40.8	59.0	84.9
Not reported	0.2	...	...	...
Total (omitting "mixed") families	100.0% -# (3600)	100.0% (11,400)	100.0% (5900)	100.0% (1400)

a/ Table does not include 100 cases "Other Religion"; 900 cases "No Religion" and 600 cases religious identification not reported.

Not to be overlooked are the proportions who identify with one strain of Judaism but belong to a congregation of differing persuasion; for example, the 20.2% of those who consider themselves Orthodox but belong to Conservative congregations. These data are presented in a somewhat different way in Appendix Table 6-IV.

The meaning of these feelings of identification would be made clearer if the answers to the second question listed at the beginning of this section could have been analyzed. It is the writer's impression, based on examination of these answers, that a number of those who "consider themselves" Conservative mean that "we don't observe all the rules, so we're not Orthodox" or "we aren't Orthodox, but we're not Reform, so we must be Conservative". On the other hand, many of those who say that they belong to no congregation but think of themselves as Reform, seem to mean that although they were reared in traditional Orthodox homes, they now observe a minimum of their parents' practices.

#### Religious Identification and Education

The final table on religious identification (Table 6-15) shows the dominance of Conservative identification at all educational levels. At the lowest level (less than high school), Conservatism is rivalled by Orthodoxy - a reflection of the fact that the Orthodox are largely foreign-born, older and therefore tend to have less education. At the other extreme, among those with post-graduate college education (17 years or more), identification with Reform Judaism is about as frequent as Conservative identification. Those whose identification is "undecided" or who have "no religion" are most frequent among the groups with most schooling.

TABLE 6-15

## RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY BY EDUCATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

(Omitting "Mixed" Families)<sup>a/</sup>

Religious Identification of Family	Education of Head of Household: Years of School Completed				
	8 years or less	High School 9-11 years	12 years	College 13-15 years	17 years 16 years or more
Orthodox	38.7%	21.0%	13.0%	8.8%	12.8%
Conservative	42.5	52.9	52.6	63.9	44.1
Reform	11.4	9.6	23.4	19.7	28.2
None of these - family undecided	6.5	2.2	4.3	5.2	6.4
None of these - other religion	...	0.2	0.1	0.6	...
None of these - no religion	0.9	3.0	2.0	1.8	5.0
Not reported	...	11.1	4.6	...	3.5
Total (omitting "mixed")-% families	100.0% -# (2600)	100.0% (2200)	100.0% (4600)	100.0% (3200)	100.0% (2900)
					100.0% (7900)

a/ Table does not include 500 cases education not reported.

Notes

- 1/ Synagogue membership, we assumed, is a family affair. Where the head of the household was specifically reported not a member, but some other person in the household (e.g., parent or brother of the head, or some unrelated person) claimed membership, we have reported the family as not synagogue members. This may have resulted in an estimate of total synagogue membership too low at most by 200 - 300 families.
- 2/ On the assumption, again, that synagogue membership is a characteristic of the family, we chose characteristics of the head of the household (as the most significant family member) to relate to synagogue membership.
- 3/ For definitions of "nativity", "native-born", and "foreign-born", see Chapter 3, Section A.
- 4/ A comparison was also made of the frequency of attendance of husbands with that of their wives (20,500 married couples), which showed that 72.5% attended with the same frequency; in 15.5% of the cases, the husband attended more often; and in 8.2% of the cases, the wife more often. In 3.8% of the cases, frequency of attendance was not reported for one or both. In short, there is a slight tendency for the husbands to attend more often.

## CHAPTER 7

## OBSERVANCE OF CERTAIN TRADITIONAL PRACTICES OF JUDAISM

The purpose of this chapter is to present a brief report on the extent to which Washington's Jewish families maintain certain traditional practices of Judaism. In choosing a limited number of these practices to be asked about in this survey, we were guided by several considerations. Some practices have so manifestly fallen into disuse in this community that a survey is hardly required to determine the fact; for example, we know without inquiry that the proportion of Washington Jewish men who do not shave is infinitesimal. Some practices seemed too complex to be dealt with in a survey of this sort - for example, Sabbath observance. With respect to certain other practices, some persons felt that there would be community resistance to inquiry - for example, whether the circumcision of male children had been performed by a mohel or by a doctor.

In the pilot study conducted in Northeast Washington, a question on circumcision was asked; but this was eliminated from the major part of the study. 1/ For that we selected eight practices. One of these - having a bar-mitzvah (or related) ceremony - was discussed in Chapter 5. A second - having a religious marriage ceremony - is treated in Chapter 8. The remaining six, which form the subject of this chapter, are:

1. Participation in a Passover Seder
2. Lighting of Hanukah candles
3. Lighting of Friday night candles
4. Placing of mezuzahs at the doors of the home
5. Buying of kosher meats
6. Use of separate dishes for meat and dairy foods

The material of this chapter is presented in three parts. Section A deals with the relative frequency of observance of these six practices, and with the extent of observance of each of the first four by families that identify themselves as Orthodox, Conservative or Reform.

Section B discusses the observance of the two major rules of kashruth numbered 5 and 6 above, and the relation between observance of these and eating in the homes of Gentiles.

In Section C, we have tried the experiment of combining for each family the extent of its observance of each of these six practices. On a tentative basis we have assigned a "weight" to each observance and added these up to provide a total score. The relation of family scores to religious identification and to synagogue membership is reported here.

It should be pointed out that information on observance is on a "household" or "family" basis - that is, we asked about the extent of observance in each household. A household, as indicated in Chapter 1, may consist of a single person living by himself. Such a person is unlikely to engage in some practices (e.g., lighting of Friday night candles). The degree of observance of some practices would probably be higher if we confined our attention solely to married couples.

## Section A

Passover Seder, Hanukah Lights,  
Friday Night Candles, Mezuzahs

The question asked about the observance of each practice necessarily varied slightly. In each case, one possible answer was "No," "Never," or "None." Here is a list of these questions, with the proportion giving such a negative answer to each:

<u>Question</u>	<u>Negative Answer</u>	<u>Percent Negative</u>
"Last Passover, did you have a Seder in your own home, or attend one elsewhere, or not at all?"	Not at all	20.9%
"Last Hanukah, did you light Hanukah candles?"	No	31.8
"Do you light Friday night candles always, sometimes or never?"	Never	50.4
"Do you have mezuzahs on all, some or none of your doors?"	None	53.9
"Do you do each of these things always, sometimes or never --		
"Buy meats at a kosher butcher?"	Never	48.0
"Use separate dishes for meat and dairy foods?"	Never	72.5

It is beyond the scope of this report to attempt to explain why some of these practices are so widely observed, others so widely disregarded. We may merely suggest at this point two kinds of explanation. One of these has it that those customs which have tended to isolate the Jew have been the first to weaken. The other is couched in terms of required frequency of observance, and says that those practices have tended to be discarded which require most frequent - that is, daily - observance. Though neither of these is wholly satisfactory, each seems to make a valid point.

In this section, we consider those four of the above practices which were reported to be observed most by Washington Jews. For each practice one table is presented, showing the proportions of families of various religious identifications reporting adherence to the practice. "Mixed" families - those in which the husband or wife is not Jewish - are omitted from these tables.

Passover Seder<sup>2/</sup>

Table 7-1 shows the proportions of Jewish families reporting participation in a Seder during the preceding Passover, in their own home, elsewhere, or not at all. "Elsewhere" includes on the one hand participation at the home of parents and on the other hand participation in a public institutionally-arranged Seder. Only 20.9% of the total said they hadn't participated at all; of the remainder, slightly more had been "elsewhere" than had had their own Seder.

The table also provides comparisons according to religious identification (discussed in the preceding chapter, Section C). Ten to 15% of those who consider themselves Orthodox or Conservative said they had participated in no Seder, and about a quarter (26.6%) of the Reform families. Those who were undecided or claimed no Jewish religious identification showed majorities not participating in a Seder. There is also a steady drop in the proportion who had a Seder in their own home, from Orthodox across to "Other or no religion." Among the Orthodox, far more made their own Seder than attended elsewhere. Virtually all of those identifying with no or other religion who participated in a Seder at all were "elsewhere."

TABLE 7-1  
PARTICIPATION IN PASSOVER SEDER BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY  
(Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Participated in Seder on the Preceding Passover?	Religious Identification of Family					Total
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	None of these - undecided	None of these - other religion, no religion	
In own home	52.4%	42.2%	27.1%	11.6%	1.7%	35.6%
Elsewhere	32.4	45.9	45.2	34.0	23.7	41.0
Not at all	14.3	10.9	26.6	54.2	70.8	20.9
Not reported	0.9	1.0	1.1	0.2	3.8	2.5
<hr/>						
Total (omitting "mixed" families) - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(3600)	(11,400)	(5900)	(1400)	(1000)	(23,900) <sup>a/</sup>

a/ Includes 600 cases, religious identification not reported - not shown in table.

Hanukah Candles<sup>3/</sup>

From Table 7-2, similar to the preceding table, we observe that close to 2/3 of the families claimed that they lit candles on the preceding Hanukah. This proportion was highest among the Orthodox (83.7%), lower among the Conservative (74.2%), the Reform (52.9%) and the undecided (46.3%). Those with no Jewish religious identification in almost all cases did not light Hanukah candles.

TABLE 7-2

 LIGHTING OF HANUKAH CANDLES BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION  
 OF FAMILY (Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Religious Identification of Family						
Lit Hanukah Candles on the Preceding Hanukah?	Ortho- dox	Conser- vative	Reform	None of these - undecided	None of these - other religion, no religion	Total
Yes	83.7%	74.2%	52.9%	46.3%	8.6%	65.0%
No	14.0%	23.7	46.4	53.0	87.2	31.8
Not reported	2.3	2.1	0.7	0.7	4.2	3.2
 Total (omitting "mixed" families)- %						
- #	100.0% (3600)	100.0% (11,400)	100.0% (5900)	100.0% (1400)	100.0% (1000)	100.0% (23,900) <sup>a/</sup>

a/ Includes 600 cases, religious identification not reported, not shown in table.

At first blush it may seem paradoxical that almost 9% of those who do not identify themselves as Jews in the religious sense (i. e., who reported that they have no religion, or one other than Judaism) should claim that they lit Hanukah candles on the preceding Hanukah. As we shall see below, small proportions of this group also say that they light Friday night candles (Table 7-3) and have mezuzahs at some of their doors (Table 7-4). "How can it be," you may ask, "that people who say they have rejected Judaism nevertheless observe its practices?"

To this there are at least three answers. In the first place, it should be remembered that these are all people of Jewish backgrounds, who were included in this survey because they think of themselves as Jews (though not in a religious sense). Such people as these might feel that Hanukah is a "national" rather than a religious holiday, and therefore worthy of celebration. Secondly, we asked for the family's identification and got a reply from one member of the family. But another member may be responsible for the observance of Jewish practices - one who still feels some identification with the Judaism which our interviewee has rejected. This might explain the mezuzahs at the doors.<sup>4/</sup>

Friday Night Candles

Half of the Jewish families say that they never light Friday night candles (50.4%), as shown in Table 7-3; close to 30% say they always do, while the rest (18.9%) report that they do so "sometimes." The proportion saying "never" rises steadily, while that answering "always" drops off, as we move from Orthodox through Conservative and Reform identification to "None."

TABLE 7-3

LIGHTING OF FRIDAY NIGHT CANDLES BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY  
(Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Light Friday Night Candles?	Religious Identification of Family					Total
	Ortho- dox	Conser- vative	Reform	None of these - undecided	None of these - other religion, no religion	
Always	62.0%	31.5%	13.9%	3.3%	2.1%	28.9%
Sometimes	11.1	22.6	20.2	20.0	4.7	18.9
Never	26.1	45.6	65.9	76.0	90.6	50.4
Not reported	0.8	0.3	....	0.7	2.6	1.8
Total (omitting "mixed" families) - %	100.0% ## (3600)	100.0% (11,400)	100.0% (5900)	100.0% (1400)	100.0% (1000)	100.0% (23,900) <sup>a/</sup>

<sup>a/</sup> Includes 600 cases, religious identification not reported, not shown in table.

Most plausible to the writer is an explanation which emphasizes the fact that we are speaking of things people do, and not their state of mind as they do them. People report that they light candles on Friday night. Is it because they are observing a rule of Judaism? Or is it because they enjoy dining by candlelight, especially on a leisurely Friday evening at the end of the work week? Nowhere have we asked people about the meaning of their behavior - only what they do.

Use of Mezuzahs at Doors

The use of mezuzahs at house doors is reported by less than half the families (see Table 7-4) - at most 46.1%. Almost all (81.9%) of those considering themselves Reform say they have no mezuzahs at the doors. Several interviewees, incidentally, stated that although their doors had no mezuzahs, "I carry one on my person," or "around my neck," or "in my purse."

TABLE 7-4  
USE OF MEZUZAH BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY  
(Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Have Mezuzahs on Doors?	Religious Identification of Family					Total
	Ortho- dox	Conser- vative	Reform	None of these - undecided	None of these - other religion, no religion	
All doors	40.9%	16.5%	5.4%	2.3%	....	15.5%
Same or one	33.1	36.4	12.6	18.3	5.0%	26.7
None	24.9	44.4	81.9	78.5	92.5	53.9
Not reported	1.1	2.7	0.1	0.9	2.5	3.9
<hr/>						
Total (omitting "mixed" families) - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(3600)	(11,400)	(5900)	(1400)	(1000)	(23,900) <sup>a/</sup>

a/ Includes 600 cases, religious identification not reported, not shown in table.

A higher proportion said they had a mezuzah at some doors (especially just the front door), than claimed to have them at all doors (26.7% compared to 15.5%). Frequently the explanation was offered that the door frames were of metal and therefore could not have anything fastened to them.

Once again, the proportions answering "all doors" are highest among the Orthodox and lowest among those with no Jewish religious identification, while the proportions answering "no doors" show the opposite relationship with identification.

## Section B

## Observance of Two Rules of Kashruth

The practices considered in this section - the rules of Kashruth - differ from those discussed in the preceding section. These are not viewed as obligatory upon Reform Jews, as are the other practices. We may therefore expect even less observance of these, especially among those identifying as Reform.

The first two tables in this section are parallel in form to those of the preceding section. They omit the "mixed" (Jewish-Gentile) families, and compare the responses of families with various religious identifications.

Purchase of Kosher Meats

As Table 7-5 shows, less than half of the families (48.0%) say that they never buy kosher meats, while 27.0% say they always do, and 23.4% state they do sometimes. Just two-thirds of the Orthodox report that they buy kosher meats only, but lower proportions of the Conservative and Reform families. Here the "undecided" group falls between the Conservative and Reform.

TABLE 7-5

PURCHASE OF KOSHER MEATS BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY  
(Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Purchase meats at a kosher butcher?	Religious Identification of Family						Total
	Ortho- dox	Conser- vative	Reform	None of these - undecided	None of these - other religion, no religion		
Always	66.8%	29.7%	3.1%	18.5%	2.6%		27.0%
Sometimes	17.1	27.6	23.2	24.6	9.9		23.4
Never	15.4	42.7	73.6	56.6	87.1		48.0
Not reported	0.7	*	0.1	0.3	0.4		1.6
<hr/>							
Total (omitting "mixed families) - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		100.0%
- #	(3600)	(11,400)	(5900)	(1400)	(1000)		(23,900) <sup>a/</sup>

\* Less than .05%

<sup>a/</sup> Includes 600 cases, religious identification not reported, not shown in table.

### Use of Two Sets of Dishes

Table 7-6 reveals the other side of the coin - the proportions who use separate dishes for meat and for dairy foods. Almost three fourths of the families surveyed report that they never make use of separate dishes. A small proportion say they do "sometimes," and it is interesting to speculate on the occasions that bring out the two sets of dishes.

TABLE 7-6

#### USE OF SEPARATE MEAT AND DAIRY DISHES BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY (Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Religious Identification of Family						
Use Separate dishes for meat and dairy foods?	Ortho- dox	Conser- vative	Reform	None of these - undecided	None of these - other religion, no religion	Total
Always	66.1%	22.6%	2.1%	2.9%	2.6%	22.3%
Sometimes	1.3	5.7	0.6	8.3	....	3.6
Never	31.8	71.7	97.3	88.8	97.4	72.5
Not reported	0.8	....	*	....	....	1.6
Total (omitting "mixed" families) - %						
- #	100.0% (3600)	100.0% (11,400)	100.0% (5900)	100.0% (1400)	100.0% (1000)	100.0% (23,900) <sup>a/</sup>

\* Less than .05%

<sup>a</sup> Includes 600 cases, religious identification not reported, not shown in table.

If Tables 7-5 and 7-6 are compared, it will be seen that the same proportion (66%) of those identifying themselves as Orthodox claim to observe both of these rules. There is a marked difference among the Conservatives. While 42.7% of this group say that they never buy kosher meat, more than two-thirds (71.7%) report never using separate dishes. Among the Reform group, too, the 23.2% who "sometimes" buy kosher meat shrinks to a 0.6% who "sometimes" use separate dishes. The general relation between these two rules of kashruth may be seen in the next table.

Relation Between Using Separate Dishes and Buying Kosher Meats

In Table 7-7, the answers to the two questions on kashruth have been combined for all families (including the "mixed"). We see here that virtually all of those who always use two sets of dishes also always buy kosher meats (18.0% out of 18.8%). Of those, however, who do not always use two sets of dishes, most never buy kosher meat and many buy kosher meats only sometimes (51.7% and 22.3%, respectively, out of 79.7%).

TABLE 7-7

## USE OF SEPARATE MEAT AND DAIRY DISHES BY PURCHASE OF KOSHER MEATS

Use of Separate Dishes and Purchase of Kosher Meats	Percent of Families
Always use separate dishes and	
Buy kosher meats always	18.0%
" sometimes	0.8
Sub-total, always use separate dishes	(18.8)
Do not always use separate dishes and	
Buy kosher meats always	5.7
" sometimes	22.3
" never	51.7
Sub-total, do not always use separate dishes	(79.7)
Not reported	1.5
Total families - %	100.0%
- #	(27,200)

Observance of Kashruth and Eating in Gentile Homes

Eating in the home of a non-Jewish family may create difficulties for the scrupulous observer of the rules of kashruth. Table 7-8 compares observance of these two rules with frequency of eating in the homes of non-Jews. About a fourth of all those interviewed (26.3%) said that, of those meals they have eaten out, half or more have been in the homes of non-Jewish people. This proportion is higher (38.4%) among those who never observe either rule; but even of those who say that they always observe both, 9.3% also say that they have eaten in **Gentile** homes with some degree of frequency.

TABLE 7-8

OBSERVANCE OF TWO RULES OF KASHRUTH BY RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF EATING IN  
HOMES OF NON-JEWISH PEOPLE

Answers to the question:

"Of the times you have eaten a meal in someone else's home in the past year, about what proportion were in the homes of non-Jewish people? - all of them, most, half, few or none?

Observance of Two Rules of Kashruth: Use of Separate Dishes and Purchase of Kosher Meats

	Both always	Irregular observance a/	Both never	Total
Half or more	9.3%	17.6%	38.4%	26.3%
Few	22.8	44.6	31.3	33.3
None	54.2	32.6	25.6	32.6
Don't eat out	7.7	5.1	2.0	4.0
Not reported	6.0	0.1	2.7	3.8
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(4900)	(8200)	(13,700)	(27,200) b/

a/ Includes one "always" and one "sometimes" or "never"; or both "sometimes"; or one "sometimes" and one "never".

b/ Includes 400 cases observance not reported, not shown in table.

## Section C

## Score on Observance of Selected Traditional Practices

It would be useful if we could compare the extent of observance of the practices we have singled out in different segments of the population. Does observance increase with age? Are the better-educated less observant? How do synagogue members compare with non-members? To answer such questions as these we would have to present six tables for each, showing observance of each of the six practices; and these would not be easy to summarize.

A simpler way would be to find some way to assign a summary score to each family, which could take into account the extent of its observance of each practice. Such a score we constructed by methods outlined below. Because this part of the study is frankly tentative in character, we have used the scores here chiefly by way of demonstration. The tables presented in this section compare the scores of families identifying themselves as Orthodox, Conservative or Reform; of those belonging to each type of synagogue, or to none at all; and of those identifying themselves in each way who are, or who are not, synagogue members.

Before turning to the tables, however, a little more comment on the scoring system is required. The details of this scoring are described at the end of the chapter. 5/ In general, the procedure was this: the significance of each practice relative to the others was considered, and a "weight" or numerical value assigned for complete observance of each. Then a smaller weight was similarly assigned for partial observance, when appropriate. I should emphasize that the assignment of weights was made only after a half-day conference with Rabbi Simon Burnstein (Orthodox), Rabbi Tzvi H. Porath (Conservative), and Mr. Isaac Franck, Executive Director of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington, and further discussion with Rabbi Balfour Brickner (Reform). The thought and the advice offered by these leaders of the Jewish community provided the basis for the weighting system adopted.

In the final analysis, the weights adopted are arbitrary. They are shown in note 5/ to this chapter so that the reader may form his own conclusion as to their correctness. The total scores derived from these weights are intended to assess just one thing - how each family or group of families compares with others on observance of the six practices discussed. The scores are not intended to serve as a measure of piety or religiosity in general, but merely to summarize behavior with respect to six standards. It should be noted that the weights adopted for Reform Jews are slightly different from those used for the Orthodox and Conservative. Scores for each group ranged from 0 (no observance at all) to 5 (complete observance).

Observance Score According to Identification

Table 7-9 compares the distribution of scores among those identifying as Orthodox, Conservative or Reform. While almost a third of the Orthodox (32.2%) report complete observance, very small percentages of the other groups do so. At the "no observance" end are found a fifth of those who consider themselves Reform, and few of the others. All in all, there is a slight tendency toward greater observance among the Reform than among the Conservative - taking into account (as the score does) what each group is expected to observe. The Orthodox are more observant still.

TABLE 7-9

SCORE ON SELECTED TRADITIONAL PRACTICES BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY

a/

Score on Selected Traditional Practices	Religious Identification of Family		
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform
0 (No observance)	3.3%	3.5%	19.9%
1	10.6	25.4	0.9
2	17.9	46.4	28.9
3	18.9	15.6	32.6
4	14.4	5.2	10.8
5 (Complete observance)	32.2	2.0	1.8
Not reported	2.7	1.9	5.1
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(3600)	(11,800)	(6900)

a/ For construction and meaning of the score, see the accompanying text. Scoring system for Reform different from Orthodox and Conservative.

#### Observance Score According to Membership

Table 7-10 compares the scores of those actually members of an Orthodox, Conservative or Reform congregation, or none at all. Its data are quite parallel to those of Table 7-9.

TABLE 7-10

SCORE ON SELECTED TRADITIONAL PRACTICES, BY SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY

a/

Score on Selected Traditional Practices	Synagogue Membership of Family			
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	None
0 (No observance)	0.7%	1.0%	7.3%	15.4%
1	8.3	14.8	0.5	20.3
2	25.4	49.6	29.8	33.6
3	21.6	19.8	46.8	19.5
4	11.7	8.5	10.2	4.6
5 (Complete observance)	28.3	3.5	4.8	3.3
Not reported	4.0	2.8	0.6	3.3
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(3100)	(6500)	(1600)	(10,500)

a/ Table does not include 600 cases, belonging to "other" synagogues. For construction and meaning of the score, see accompanying text. Scoring system for Reform different from Orthodox and Conservative.

### Observance Score According to Identification and Membership

In the somewhat more complex Table 7-11 we compare the scores of those who are members of any synagogue with those who are members of none, but separately for families identified as Orthodox, Conservative or Reform. Looking first at the two columns headed Orthodox, we can compare the observance of those who are members of any synagogue, whether Orthodox or other, with those who are not. A higher proportion among the members report complete observance; a higher proportion of the non-members claim no observance at all. Similarly for the Conservative and the Reform - synagogue members in each case report a greater degree of observance.

TABLE 7-11

SCORE ON SELECTED TRADITIONAL PRACTICES BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION AND  
a/  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY

Score on Selected Traditional Practices	Religious Identification						
	Orthodox		Conservative		Reform		
	Members of any synagogue	Not b/members of any synagogue	Members of any synagogue <sup>b</sup>	Not members of any synagogue <sup>b</sup>	Members of any synagogue	Not members of any synagogue <sup>b</sup>	Members of any synagogue
0 (No observance)	...	10.0%	1.1%	6.7%	8.1%	26.7%	
1	8.3%	15.3	15.9	38.4	0.7	1.0	
2	19.7	14.2	54.3	35.5	16.1	36.4	
3	14.3	28.8	16.1	14.9	50.1	22.3	
4	17.8	7.6	6.9	3.0	19.5	5.7	
5 (Complete observance)	36.7	23.2	2.7	1.1	4.0	0.6	
Not reported	3.2	0.9	3.0	0.4	1.5	7.3	
<hr/>							
Total families	- %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	- #	(2400)	(1200)	(6800)	(5000)	(2500)	(4400)

a/ For construction and meaning of the score, see accompanying text. Scoring system for Reform different from Orthodox and Conservative.

b/ "Members of a synagogue" refers to membership in any synagogue, whether Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or other.

Of course, as in other relations of this kind - it is not clear whether synagogue membership leads to observance, or whether observant Jews join synagogues; but the most likely interpretation is that attendance and observance are mutually reinforcing.

## Notes

1/ In the Northeast Pilot Study we asked the question: "Have you had your son(s) circumcised by a mohel?" Although in no sense thought of as representative of the Washington area, the 62 families interviewed gave rather uniform answers as follows:

'Yes - all sons	46
One son yes, one son, no	1
Not at all	3 (of which one was a mixed marriage in which the son was not being reared as a Jew)
No sons in family	10
Not reported	2
Total	<u>62</u>

2/ If both "In own home" and "Elsewhere" were selected, the answer was classified as "In own home." In the Northeast Pilot Study the question was worded: "Have you done any of these things? ...Conducted a Seder in your own home last Passover?" A "No" answer to this question was classified as "Not reported," since it might have meant "No - but elsewhere" or "Not - not at all."

3/ No similar question asked in Northeast Pilot Study; all cases from that Study included in "Not Reported."

4/ Other possible explanations for the mezuzahs come to mind. They may have been placed at the doors at an earlier period, when the family was identified with Judaism, from which it has since drifted away. Or they may even have been fastened at the doors by previous owners or tenants.

5/ The values of the weights used was as follows:

Item	Answer	Orthodox Conservative Weight	Reform Weight
Passover Seder	Yes	4	4
	No	0	0
Hanukah candles	Yes	2	4
	No	0	0
Friday night candles	Always	2	4
	Sometimes	1	2
	Never	0	0
Separate dishes	Always	4	-*
	Sometimes	2	-*
	Never	0	-*
Kosher meat	Always	6	-*
	Sometimes	2	-*
	Never	0	-*
Mezuzahs at door	All	5	2
	Some	4	2
	None	0	0

\* No weight assigned because observance is not required of Reform Jews.

Scores for the Orthodox-Conservative weights could range from 0 to 23; for the Reform weights, from 0 to 14. The two sets of scores were equated in the following fashion:

<u>Score on Orthodox- Conservative weights</u>	<u>Score on Reform weights</u>	<u>Final Score</u>
0	0	0
1-7	1-2	1
8-15	3-6	2
16-21	7-10	3
22	11-12	4
23	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	5

Scores were assigned only to families identifying themselves as Orthodox, Conservative or Reform, and on the basis of their identification. As indicated, there are six possible scores ranging from 0--complete absence of observance-- to 5--complete observance.

## CHAPTER 8

INTERMARRIAGE: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION,  
INTERMARRIAGE IN VARIOUS SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION,  
RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR OF THE INTERMARRIED, CHILDREN OF INTERMARRIAGE

This chapter is an unanticipated by-product of the survey as originally planned. We had no intention of studying marriage between Jew and Gentile. We deliberately refrained from obtaining information about Gentile members of households, except their relation to the household head. When examination of our data showed that 12.2% of the households were reported as having related Jewish and Gentile members, it seemed desirable to assemble some information about them. That information is reported in the four sections of this chapter.

Section A is concerned with household "composition" - that is, whether all related persons in the household are Jewish; or, if not, which are Jewish and which are not. This household "composition" is shown separately for each of the survey sub-areas, to permit comparisons. Households which are "all-Jewish" are compared with those in which only the husband or wife is Jewish, with respect to:

the kind of wedding ceremony with which the family's life began  
the family's religious identification  
the extent of Jewish-Gentile marriage among related family members

Section B shows the relative frequency of intermarriage reported for each sex at various age levels, and for the Jewish population classified according to education, occupation, income, nativity and type of Jewish education.

In Section C the intermarried group are considered with respect to their religious identification, and the extent to which they belong to synagogues, attend synagogue services, and reported participating in a Seder during the previous Passover.

A few notes on the children of the intermarried are included in Section D.

## Section A

## Household Composition: "All-Jewish" or "Mixed"

How Many Jewish-Gentile "Mixed" Marriages in the Washington Area?

The question just posed is one which the study's data do not answer directly, nor completely. We may, however, be able to suggest the relative size of the answer fairly well. Let us begin with the figures in Table 8-1. Household composition is broken into two major categories -- "mixed" and "all-Jewish" -- a distinction referred to in discussion of Table 1-5. By mixed households we mean those in which, of the persons related to one another by blood or marriage, at least one is Jewish and at least one is not. All-Jewish households are those in which all related members are Jewish.

TABLE 8-1  
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD: "ALL-JEWISH" OR "MIXED", BY AREA

Composition of Household	Area							
	District of Columbia			Va.	Prince Georges (M.A.)	Maryland	Mont- gomery (M.A.)	Total
	North- east	North- west	North- west West of Rock Creek		Metro- poli- tan Area			
<b>"Mixed" households (some related members Jewish, some not):</b>								
Husband and wife Jewish ...	...	...	...	...	0.3%	...	0.2%	0.1
Husband Jewish, wife not	0.7%	7.9%	2.5%	2.3%	16.3	17.0%	9.7	7.8
Wife Jewish, husband not	0.4	2.4	1.5	7.9	17.4	3.8	1.6	3.5
Neither husband nor wife Jewish	...	7.9	...	...	0.2	...	0.1	0.8
Sub-total "mixed" households	(1.1)	(18.2)	(4.0)	(10.2)	(34.2)	(20.8)	(11.6)	(12.2)
<b>"All-Jewish" households (all related members Jewish)</b>								
Total Households - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(2300)	(2500)	(7900)	(1400)	(2300)	(3200)	(7600)	(27,20)

The mixed households comprise 12.2% of the total<sup>1/</sup>, or approximately 3300, and fall into four groups:

1. About 2100 cases (7.8% of all households) in which there are a Jewish husband and a Gentile wife.
2. About 1000 cases (3.5%) in which there are a Gentile husband and a Jewish wife.
3. About 200 cases (0.8%) in which neither husband nor wife is Jewish. That is, there are a Gentile man and wife, or a Gentile household head (perhaps widowed or divorced), with whom a Jewish relation is living. The latter may be, for example, the parent (or brother or sister) of a wife converted from Judaism. An interviewer's note in one case reports: "Father-in-law only Jew in household. Daughter (i.e., wife of the head) converted to Protestantism." The Jewish relation of the Gentile head or wife is in some cases the child of a former mixed marriage.
4. A handful of cases (0.1%) in which both husband and wife are Jewish, or in which there is a Jewish household head who is not now married, sharing a dwelling unit with one or more Gentile relations. The latter, again, may be a parent (or other relation) of a husband or wife converted to Judaism; the child of a previous marriage; or (in at least one instance) an adult child who changed religion and joined a Christian church.

Some clarification of what these data mean is offered in the following paragraphs.

#### How Was a Mixed Family Identified?

Let us review, for a moment, how we defined "a Jew". We said that any person was (for the purposes of this study) to be considered a Jew who said he was Jewish, regardless of his origins; and no other person, even if born of Jewish parents, was to be counted Jewish.

We therefore based our count of mixed families on what our interviewees reported. If one of the latter told the interviewer that one related member of the household is Jewish, and another is not, we called that household mixed, and likewise the family in the household. If a person of Jewish origin refused an interview on the quite proper grounds that he had taken his wife's faith upon marriage, and no longer considered himself a Jew, he was (by our definition) not a Jew and excluded from the survey. One such case was reported by an interviewer. It is reasonable to assume that other such instances did not come to our attention because the potential interviewee simply stated that there were no Jews in the household.

In short, these families are not included in our estimate of mixed families because they were not even within the survey.

Similarly, in half a dozen cases which we have classified as "all-Jewish", there is a note on the questionnaire indicating that "the wife was not originally Jewish", or the equivalent. Once again, by our definition, when the Gentile partner accepted Judaism, we had no alternative but to classify the couple as "all-Jewish". Since we did not ask about people's religious antecedents, we have no way of identifying all of these

cases. But, as in the cases of conversions from Judaism, we know that our estimate of mixed families is inadequate because it omits some number of cases in which one partner was originally a Gentile.

#### Household Composition by Area

Turning back to Table 8-1, the highest proportions of mixed households are seen reported for the Virginia suburbs, Prince Georges County, and Northwest Washington, west of Rock Creek - respectively 34.2%, 20.8%, and 18.2% of the total Jewish households. The proportions of the mixed households falling into each of the four groups described above and shown in the table vary from area to area in a fashion which cannot be accounted for at this point. Northeast D.C. shows practically no mixed households.

#### Interrmarriage, Mixed Marriage and Mixed Family

We have tried here to distinguish among three terms, generally using each with a separate idea in mind. Interrmarriage we have used to refer to the general phenomenon discussed here - marriage contracted across religious lines. A mixed marriage is a particular case or instance of intermarriage. When a Jew and a Gentile intermarry, the result is a mixed marriage. If each partner to the marriage retains his earlier religious identification, the family is a mixed family. 1/

Our survey findings refer directly only to mixed families, although they tell something about marriage as well. However, there are two important questions on which the data we have reported shed no light:

1. Do these mixed families represent marriages contracted in the Washington area; or did the families come to this area, after the mixed marriage took place? (The information to provide the answer to this question is contained in the unanalyzed portion of the survey data, and it is hoped to make further use of these data.)
2. How much intermarriage takes place in the area - for example, what is the annual rate per 1000 Jews marrying? This kind of question cannot be answered by our findings, which only show the number of mixed families reported as existing at present.

We started by asking how many mixed marriages there probably are in the area. The discussion above suggests that their number is higher than that of the mixed families we have found - probably closer to 4000 - with some of them completely lost to the survey, and others shown in the survey as currently "all-Jewish" families.

#### Type of Wedding Ceremony and Household Composition

With what kind of wedding ceremony did the "all-Jewish" and mixed families begin? According to Table 8-2, over 90% of the "all-Jewish" couples had a religious ceremony - that is, one performed by a rabbi. Among these,

77.3% had only a religious ceremony, compared with 5.3% who had only a civil ceremony - one, that is, performed by a local government official - and 13.3% had both.

TABLE 8-2

TYPE OF WEDDING CEREMONY, BY COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD  
 a/  
 (HOUSEHOLDS IN WHICH HEAD IS NOW MARRIED)

Type of Wedding Ceremony	Composition of Household			
	All Jewish	Husband Jewish wife not	Wife Jewish husband not	
Civil only	5.3%	53.4%	79.5%	
Religious only	77.3	29.0	6.5	
Both	13.3	14.6	13.0	
Not reported	4.1	3.0	1.0	
Total households with married heads	- % - $\frac{n}{N}$	100.0% (20,500)	100.0% (2,100)	100.0% (1,000)

a/ Not included in table are 200 cases, neither husband nor wife Jewish, and 3,400 cases, head of household Jewish but not married.

By contrast, the mixed marriages were very much more likely to have begun with a civil ceremony. Less than 44% of the cases with a Jewish man and Gentile woman, and less than 20% of those involving a Jewish bride and Gentile groom, had a religious ceremony. Indeed the majority had only a civil ceremony. Incidentally, the religious ceremony in these cases was presumably not Jewish (several interviewees specifically pointed this out by mentioning that they were married by a minister, or that they had a Methodist, Unitarian or Presbyterian ceremony). 2/

Religious Identification and Household Composition

As may be seen from Table 8-3, household composition shows considerable variation according to family religious identification. Among those who think of themselves as Orthodox, all but a tiny fraction (nine-tenths of one percent) are "all-Jewish". Only a slightly higher proportion of those identifying themselves as Conservative (3.7%) are intermarried. The proportions increase among those who say they are Reform Jews (14.6%) and those who are undecided (21.5%). About two fifths of those with no religion are intermarried. (See also Table 8-11, for further detail on identification of the intermarried.)

TABLE 8-3

a/

## RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY, BY COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD

Composition of Household	Religious Identification of Family					No Religion
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	None of These	Undecided	
All Jewish	99.1%	96.3%	85.4%	78.5%	60.6%	
Husband Jewish, wife not	0.9	2.8	7.9	21.5		22.6
Wife Jewish, husband not	...	0.9	6.7	...		16.8
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total families - #	(3600)	(11,800)	(6900)	(1900)		(1500)

a/ Table does not include 600 cases, religious identification not reported; 700 cases, identification with some other religion; and 200 cases in which neither the husband nor the wife, but only some other family member, was Jewish.

Intermarriage of Other Family Members

One of the survey questions asked: "Is any member of your immediate family married to a non-Jewish person? (IF YES) Which?" This was intended in part to provide information generally on the extent of intermarriage. In addition, we hoped specifically to see whether mixed marriages occur at random in the population, or are more frequent in families in which there have been other mixed marriages.

As Table 8-4 indicates, the latter is indeed the case. While 71.0% of the "all-Jewish" families report that no close relative is intermarried, only 45.5% of the intermarried themselves say this. It also appears that more of the Jewish men in the mixed marriages (52.5%) have no intermarried relatives than of the Jewish women (30.1%). 3/

TABLE 8-4

a/

## INTERMARRIAGE OF OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS BY COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLD

Answer to Questions: "Is any member of your immediate family married to a non-Jewish person? Which?"	Composition of Household				Total - Mixed
	Husband Jewish	Wife Jewish	Total - Husband	Mixed	
	All Jewish	wife not	not		
None	71.0%	52.5%	30.1%		45.5%
Child	2.5	14.2	0.4		9.9
Parent	0.8	19.3	20.9		19.8
Brother or sister	16.4	34.9	16.7		29.2
Other	7.4	5.8	31.4		13.8
Not reported	3.0	1.9	0.5		1.5
Total households - #	(23,900) <sup>b/</sup>	(2,100) <sup>b/</sup>	(1,000) <sup>b/</sup>	(3,100) <sup>b/</sup>	

a/ Table does not include 200 cases, neither husband nor wife Jewish (for explanation, see discussion of Table 8-1).

b/ Columns do not total 100% because some interviewees mentioned more than one family member married to a non-Jew.

We allowed the interviewee to determine what "immediate family" should include. As the table shows, we kept a separate count of children; of parents; of brothers and sisters; and of "others" (which includes uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces and cousins). 4/ One might, of course, question whether the last group should be called "immediate" family. Percentages show the proportions who mentioned each family member. Since an interviewee could mention several, percentages need not total 100.0%.

Brothers and sisters are most often mentioned as partners in mixed marriages, not only by the intermarried but by those married to Jews, as well. On the other hand, about a fifth of the intermarried are themselves the offspring of mixed marriages, but almost none of the husbands or wives in "all-Jewish" households. The children in families in which only the husband is Jewish seem somewhat more likely to choose a Gentile in marriage than those who have a Jewish mother but a Gentile father. 5/

## Section B

## Proportion Intermarried in Various Segments of the Jewish Population

Has intermarriage been more frequent among the younger generation, or among their elders? Have the less-educated or the more-educated been more likely to marry a Gentile? Questions such as these are answered in this section. 6/ Each table shows the proportion of persons having a given characteristic who are married to a Gentile. Thus, Table 8-5 shows the percentage married to a Gentile among males, and among females, at each age. The base figures from which the percentages were calculated are not shown in the tables of this section. They may be found in the corresponding tables in Chapter 2 (except for Jewish education, shown in Chapter 5).

TABLE 8-5

## PROPORTION INTERMARRIED BY AGE AND SEX

(Population 15 Years of Age and Over)

Age	Proportion Intermarried	
	Male	Female
15 - 24 years	0.1%	...
25 - 34 years	11.1	6.0%
35 - 44 years	5.9	2.2
45 - 54 years	14.1	7.7
55 - 64 years	2.2	0.8
65 years and over	2.5	0.2
Proportion intermarried, total population 15 years of age and over	7.4%	3.4%

Proportion Intermarried by Age and Sex

Of those 15 years of age and over - the age group for which the Census Bureau reports marriages - 7.4% of the males have married a Gentile, but only 3.4% of the females (see Table 8-5). Since relatively few of those in the 15 to 24 year age range are married at all, we might confine our attention to persons 25 years old or over. Or we may prefer to examine the proportion intermarried among married persons only. This is the way the proportions compare:

	Percent Intermarried	
	Male	Female
All persons 15 years of age and over	7.4%	3.4%
All persons 25 years of age and over	8.4	3.9
All married persons	9.2	4.5

7/

Of course, no one pair of these figures is more accurate than the other two pairs; each has a slightly different meaning, but all three show about twice as high a proportion of men as of women married to a Gentile.

No relation is discernible between intermarriage and age. The highest proportions for each sex are among those 25 - 34 and 45 - 54 years old. This suggests no trend, but rather specific historical factors affecting these particular groups. Comparable figures for married persons only are in Appendix Table 8-I.

#### Proportion Intermarried by Education and Sex

Table 8-6 shows the proportions of each sex at each educational level who are married to Gentiles. We have selected only those aged 25 and over - that is, who have largely completed their formal education. Among the men, the proportion is very low for those with a high school education or less, and high for those with any college at all. These figures in part reflect the fact that the less educated include relatively large numbers of foreign-born, older and Orthodox persons, among each of whom intermarriage is infrequent. There is no trend evident among women, intermarriage being more frequent among high school graduates, and among those who have done post-graduate college work, than among others.

TABLE 8-6

#### PROPORTION INTERMARRIED BY EDUCATION AND SEX

(Population 25 Years of Age and Over)

Education: Years of School Completed	Proportion Intermarried	
	Male	Female
8 years or less	1.4%	0.7%
9 - 11 years	1.2	...
12 years (High School)	1.1	7.7
13 - 15 years	17.4	1.9
16 years (College)	12.9	0.1
17 years or more	10.1	6.0
Not reported	...	0.5
Proportion Intermarried, Total Population, 25 Years of Age and Over	8.4%	3.9%

#### Proportion Intermarried by Occupation and Sex

The highest proportions married to Gentiles are found among professional men, and among both men and women in sales and clerical jobs, the lowest among manual

workers (see Table 8-7). The proportion among working women as a whole (5.8%) is somewhat higher than for all women (3.4%).

TABLE 8-7  
PROPORTION INTERMARRIED BY OCCUPATION AND SEX  
(Population 15 Years of Age and Over,  
Working for Pay or Profit)

Occupation	Proportion Intermarried	
	Male	Female
Professional and technical workers	11.9%	2.0%
Managers, officials, proprietors	4.5	...
Clerical and sales workers	12.1	9.2
Manual workers	1.6	0.3
Not reported	0.3	...
Proportion intermarried, total population, 15 years of age and over, working for pay or profit	8.3%	5.8%

Proportion Intermarried by Family Income Level

Table 8-8 shows that mixed families are more frequent among those who have high incomes than among the less well-to-do. There is not, however, a steady increase of mixed families as income rises.

TABLE 8-8  
PROPORTION INTERMARRIED BY FAMILY INCOME

Family Income	Proportion Intermarried
Under \$5,000	3.2%
\$5,000 - \$6,999	9.0
\$7,000 - \$9,999	14.3
\$10,000 and over	10.6
Not reported	16.5
Proportion intermarried, total families	11.3%

### Proportion Intermarried by Nativity

Intermarriage, as shown in Table 8-9, is very infrequent among the foreign-born (0.8%). Among the native-born, those with American-born parents show a slightly greater tendency toward marrying a Gentile than those of foreign-born parentage (the proportions are respectively 7.4% and 6.6%). Once more this reflects the relation between nativity, age, education and Orthodox identification.

TABLE 8-9

#### PROPORTION INTERMARRIED BY NATIVITY (Population 15 Years of Age and Over)

Nativity	Proportion Intermarried
Native - Born of native-born parents	7.4%
Native - Born of foreign-born parents	6.6
Foreign-born	0.8
Proportion intermarried, population 15 years of age and over	5.3%

### Proportion Intermarried by Type of Jewish Education and Sex

As shown in Table 8-10, there is little difference in the relative frequency of mixed marriages reported among those who had any Jewish education, or none at all. In both groups, the proportion among men is 10 - 11%, among women about 4 - 5%.

TABLE 8-10

#### PROPORTION INTERMARRIED BY TYPE OF JEWISH EDUCATION AND SEX (Married Population Only)

Type of Jewish Education	Proportion Intermarried	
	Male	Female
Sunday school	17.5%	3.2%
Hebrew afternoon school	11.2	9.7
Hebrew all-day school	...	...
Private tutor	2.3	1.0
Other	5.4	0.3
Any at all	10.0	4.8
None	11.1	3.8
Not reported	1.2	1.5
Proportion intermarried, total married population	9.2%	4.5%

Proportions are higher among those who have gone to Sunday School or Hebrew afternoon school, lower for those who have studied at Hebrew all-day school or with a private tutor. It cannot, obviously, be concluded that Sunday School attendance is more likely to lead to a mixed marriage than going to a Hebrew all-day school. The total family background, including its place of residence, associations, and attitudes leading to the child's enrollment in one type of school or another, must clearly be taken into account, as they cannot be here. 8/

## Section C

## Religious Identification and Jewish Religious Behavior Among the Intermarried

Does intermarriage mean a complete cutting of ties with the Jewish community? Obviously not, since so many intermarried people included themselves in the survey by identifying themselves as being Jewish. Then does intermarriage mean ending all contact with and participation in Jewish religious life? The material presented in this section is intended to supply a partial answer to this question. We shall consider here the religious identification of the intermarried, the proportions who belong to and attend synagogues, the relation between identification and synagogue attendance, and the proportion of the intermarried who participated in a Seder on the preceding Passover.

Religious Identification by Sex of Jewish Partner

When we discussed religious identification earlier (Chapter 6, Section C), we spoke of the identification of the family. In the case of the mixed marriages, it is the identification of the Jewish member that we refer to. Table 8-11 shows that the majority of these persons (61.0%) think of themselves as Jewish in religion - though of these about 1 in 5 cannot decide whether Orthodox, Conservative or Reform best describes him. Of those who do not identify with Judaism, about equal proportions claim some other religious affiliation (19.9%) or none at all (17.6%). The men more often profess some other religion, the women none.

TABLE 8-11

## INTERMARRIAGE: RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY BY SEX OF JEWISH PARTNER

Religious Identification of Family	Sex of Jewish Partner		
	Male	Female	Total
<b>Jewish:</b>			
Orthodox, Conservative, Reform	42.9%	59.7%	48.1%
Not decided	18.7	...	12.9
<b>Not Jewish:</b>			
Other religion	21.8	15.7	19.9
No religion	14.7	24.1	17.6
Not reported	1.9	0.5	1.5
Total intermarried	100.0% (2,100)	100.0% (1,000)	100.0% (3,100)

Synagogue Membership by Sex of Jewish Partner

Well over 80% of each sex claim no membership in a synagogue. Table 8-12 contains further details.

TABLE 8-12

## INTERMARRIAGE: SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY BY SEX OF JEWISH PARTNER

Synagogue Membership of Family	Sex of Jewish Partner		
	Male	Female	Total
Members of some synagogue	16.2%	12.5%	15.1%
Members of no synagogue	81.9	87.0	83.6
Not reported	1.9	0.5	1.3
Total intermarried - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(2,100)	(1,000)	(3,100)

Synagogue Attendance of Jewish Partner by Sex

Close to half of each sex say they never go to synagogue services (48.4% of the men, 42.5% of the women). Just about all of the remaining men go no more than 3 - 11 times a year - in effect, only on the High Holy Days. The same is probably true of the women, although 43.5% of them failed to give this information. Table 8-13 summarizes answers on frequency of synagogue attendance.

TABLE 8-13

## INTERMARRIAGE: FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT JEWISH RELIGIOUS SERVICES OF JEWISH PARTNER BY SEX

Frequency of Attendance at Religious Services	Sex of Jewish Partner		
	Male	Female	Total
Not at all	48.4%	42.5%	46.5%
1 - 2 times a year	31.7	12.0	25.4%
3 - 11 times a year	17.0	2.0	12.3
Once a month	...	...	...
2 - 3 times a month	0.4	...	0.3
4 or more times a month	0.3	...	0.2
Not reported	2.2	43.5	15.3
Total intermarried - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(2,100)	(1,000)	(3,100)

### Relation of Religious Identification and Synagogue Attendance

Table 8-14 shows that one can divide the intermarried into two major groups in terms of their ties with the Jewish community. 9/ At one pole there are those who get to a synagogue at least once or twice a year, and think of themselves as Jews (97.3% of them). At the other, there are those who have made a break with Judaism, never attend synagogue services, and have identified themselves with some other religion (44.0%) or with no religion at all (28.7%). In between these large groups, there is a tiny number of those who, although they no longer consider Judaism their religion, wander into a synagogue at least once or twice a year (2.7% of those who attend). There is also a somewhat larger "middle" group who never attend synagogue, but think of themselves as Jews in a religious sense (27.3% of those who never attend). With these groups we are close to the margin of the Jewish community. 10/

TABLE 8-14

#### INTERMARRIAGE: RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY BY ATTENDANCE AT JEWISH RELIGIOUS SERVICES OF JEWISH HEADS OF FAMILIES a/

Religious Identification of Family	Attendance at Jewish Religious Services	
	At Least Once or Twice A Year	Not At All
<b>Jewish:</b>		
Orthodox, Conservative, Reform	72.8%	13.7%
Not decided	24.5	13.6
<b>Not Jewish:</b>		
Other religion	0.9	44.0
No religion	1.8	28.7
Not reported	*	*
Total Jewish heads - %	100.0%	100.0%
of mixed households - #	(1,100)	(1,000)

\* Less than .05%

a/ This table includes only the mixed households in which a Jewish person is reported as the head. See Note 9.

### Participation in Passover Seder, by Sex

Of the traditional practices we considered in Chapter 7, the one most widely observed was participation in a Passover Seder. Even among the intermarried

about 15-16%, regardless of the sex of the Jewish partner, reported having had their own Seder the preceding year (see Table 8-15). In addition, 4.0% of the intermarried Jewish men and 10.9% of the women said they had participated in a Passover Seder elsewhere. All but a handful of the remaining men (80.9%) said they had participated in no Seder. Among the women almost a third (31.8%) failed to answer this question, while 41.3% had not been to a Seder.

TABLE 8-15

## INTERMARRIAGE: PARTICIPATION IN PASSOVER SEDER BY SEX OF JEWISH PARTNER

Participation in Passover Seder Preceding Year	Sex of Jewish Partner		
	Male	Female	Total
In own home	14.7%	16.0%	15.1%
Elsewhere	4.0	10.9	6.2
Not at all	80.9	41.3	68.5
Not reported	0.4	31.8	10.2
Total intermarried - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- $\frac{n}{N}$	(2,100)	(1,000)	(3,100)

## Section D

## Children of Intermarriage

Among the 3,300 families in which the husband, the wife, or both are Gentile (see Table 8-1), 2,400 have children living at home. We have collected here several small bits of information concerning the rearing of these children.

Are They Jewish or Not?

At the very beginning of the interview, we obtained a list of all those in the household, and then asked: "Which of these people are Jewish, and which are not?" On the basis of the answers to this question, we can say:

In 65.9% of the 2,400 families, the children are not being reared as Jews, in 25.4%, they are being reared as Jews, and in 8.7% of the families, at least one child is being reared as a Jew while another is being reared as a Gentile.

"Being reared as a Jew" presumably means that the child is being taught that he is a Jew; but what meaning the phrase has beyond that, it is hard to say.

Are They Receiving Jewish Education?

The number of cases upon which to base any further statements is so small that nothing very reliable can be reported. It would seem that extremely few of these children are enrolled in any program of Jewish education, and, similarly, that none has had a bar-mitzvah, bas-mitzvah or confirmation ceremony. In some cases, of course, the children are still quite young. One Jewish wife in a mixed marriage, in reply to our question on religious identification, confided to the interviewer: "We are not at present observing Jewish customs. However, when the children are older we will have to make a decision as to whether or not we will." The likelihood that these children will be reared as observant Jews is small. 11/

## Notes

- 1/ Studies of the Jewish communities in other cities have not shown so high a proportion of mixed families as does the present survey. One can find a number of speculative explanations for an assumed high proportion of mixed marriages in the Washington area. One reason, however, for the relatively large number of mixed families found here is a result of the sampling methods used. In all other studies, reliance has been placed almost exclusively on a "master list" of known Jews. In this study, our sample of families to be surveyed was derived in part from such a list, in part from a sample of all blocks in the area (see Introduction, Section B). As might be anticipated, the samples from the Jewish list showed a much lower proportion of mixed families than the sample of blocks. Of the 15,500 Jewish families identified in samples from the list of Jews, 5.2% were mixed, compared to 19.9% of the 11,700 Jewish families identified in the block sample. Or, in other words, 75.6% of the 3,300 mixed families were found in the block sample, 24.4% of them in samples derived from the list.
- 2/ The question asked on this topic in the Northeast Pilot Study concerned only having had a religious ceremony. If the answer was "No", the family obviously had had only a civil ceremony; if "Yes", since we couldn't tell whether this would mean "Religious only" or "Both civil and religious", the answer was classified as "Not reported".
- 3/ The interviewer was instructed that in a household in which all members were not Jewish, a Jewish person was to be interviewed. In general these instructions were followed. Where the Jewish person was not interviewed, answers on the questionnaire were edited to reflect this fact. In editing answers to this question, when the Jewish person said: "Yes - my brother-in-law" - that is, when the Gentile partner's brother was mentioned - the answer was changed to "No".
- 4/ A step-child we classified as a child; but a step-parent as "other".
- 5/ There is further discussion of children of mixed marriages in Section D of this chapter.
- 6/ Necessarily we can only report on the mixed marriages of the past - the mixed families of the present. We do not know what proportion of Jews are intermarrying currently, nor do we have enough cases to compare the recent and the more remote past.
- 7/ The three pairs of percentages are drawn, respectively, from the totals shown in Tables 8-5, 8-6, and Appendix Table 8-I.
- 8/ In addition, our measure of Jewish education here is extremely crude, since anyone who had any Sunday School at all - from 1 year to 16 - is treated in the same way, and similarly for other types of schooling. Likewise, a person who has attended two types of school contributes to the percentages shown for each.

9/ Synagogue attendance is shown only for those intermarried persons who were reported as head of household - that is, the 2,100 men.

10/ These groups may be shown somewhat differently, as follows:

11/ One might ask, as a final question, whether these children are likely to marry Jews or Gentiles. We have, of course, no direct answer; but two sets of figures suggest the probabilities. The one is the data of Table 8-4, which show that less than one percent (0.8%) of the "all-Jewish" families report having a Gentile parent, but over 20 times as high a proportion (19.8%) of the intermarried Jews are themselves the children of mixed marriages. Similarly 2.5% of the "all-Jewish" families report children who have married Gentiles, but four times as high a proportion (9.9%) of the mixed families. The other relevant fact is that two-thirds of the mixed families are rearing their children as Gentiles.

Appendix AAdditional Tables

Number	Title
1-I	Age by Area and Sex
1-II	Relation to Head of Household, by Sex
1-III	Relation to Head of Household, by Sex and Marital Status
3-I	Last Previous Residence Before Coming to Washington Metropolitan Area: Type of Community by Area of Present Residence
3-II	Year of Arrival in Washington Metropolitan Area by Area of Present Residence
3-III	Present Type of Home Occupancy: Total Families and Families Expecting to Move Within Six Months
3-IV	Year Moved to Present Address: Total Families Expecting to Move Within Six Months
6-I	Synagogue Membership of Family by Family Income
6-II	Synagogue Membership of Family by Nativity of Head of Household (Omitting "mixed" marriages)
6-III	Synagogue Membership of Family by Education of Head of Household (Omitting "mixed" marriages)
6-IV	Synagogue Membership of Family by Religious Identification of Family (Omitting "mixed" families)
8-I	Proportion Intermarried by Age and Sex, Married Persons Only

TABLE 1-I  
AGE BY AREA AND SEX

Age	Area and Sex														Total		
	Northeast		Northwest		Northwest		Southeast		Virginia		Prince		Montgomery				
			West of		East of		and		(Metro-		Georges		County				
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M		
Under 5 years	600	350	200	200	500	600	150	150	800	250	450	650	1750	1650	4450	3850	8300
5-9 years	700	400	150	200	600	550	150	100	250	300	650	550	1750	1950	4250	4050	8300
10-14 years	400	450	350	350	850	650	100	150	250	250	350	200	1500	1350	3800	3400	7200
15-19 years	150	100	300	200	1150	500	250	*	50	100	50	*	500	450	2450	1350	3800
20-24 years	150	300	150	300	300	650	300	50	50	100	50	450	50	600	1050	2450	3500
25-34 years	650	750	300	250	1500	1400	100	450	600	700	1650	1150	2200	2500	7000	7200	14200
35-44 years	800	700	450	400	1600	1800	550	500	900	550	850	600	3200	2700	8350	7250	15600
45-54 years	350	350	600	800	1750	2250	100	150	300	500	300	200	1750	400	5150	4650	9800
55-64 years	400	400	350	300	1300	1400	100	100	100	50	100	150	100	150	2450	2550	5000
65-74 years	50	*	300	150	800	1050	100	50	150	50	100	150	100	450	1600	1900	3500
75 years and over	*	*	...	100	100	200	*	*	*	*	50	*	*	50	150	350	500
"Under 20" years	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	*	...	*	*	*	*	*	*
"Over 21" years	50	*	...	...	100	550	...	*	*	50	...	*	50	300	200	900	1100
Not reported	...	...	...	...	50	...	...	...	50	*	...	...	...	100	*	100	
Total Population	4300	3800	3150	3250	10600	11600	1900	1700	3500	2900	4600	4100	12950	12550	41000	39900	80900

\* Less than 25 cases.

TABLE 1-II  
RELATION TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, BY SEX

Relation to Head	Sex					
	Male		Female		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Head	23,600	57.6%	2,400	5.9%	26,000	32.1%
Spouse	100	0.2	21,200	53.3	21,300	26.3
Child	16,100	39.4	14,200	35.5	30,300	37.5
Other	1,200	2.8	2,100	5.3	3,300	4.1
Total population	41,000	100.0%	39,900	100.0%	80,900	100.0%

TABLE 1-III  
RELATION TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS

Sex and Marital Status	Relation to Head					Total
	Head	Spouse	Child	Other		
<b>Male</b>						
Married	95.0%	100.0%	0.4%	12.3%	55.4%	
Widowed	0.4	...	...	18.9	0.8	
Divorced or separated	0.4	...	0.2	4.0	0.4	
Never married	4.2	...	98.1	51.2	42.5	
Not reported	...	...	1.3	13.6	0.9	
Total male - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Total male - #	(23,600)	(100)	(16,100)	(1200)	(41,000)	
<b>Female</b>						
Married	2.4%	100.0%	2.0%	15.4%	55.0%	
Widowed	62.6	...	0.6	54.4	6.8	
Divorced or separated	13.0	...	1.1	6.2	1.5	
Never married	22.0	...	92.7	23.6	35.4	
Not reported	...	...	3.6	0.4	1.3	
Total female - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Total female - #	(2400)	(21,200)	(14,200)	(2100)	(39,900)	

TABLE 3-I

LAST PREVIOUS RESIDENCE BEFORE COMING TO WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA:

## TYPE OF COMMUNITY BY AREA OF PRESENT RESIDENCE

Previous Residence: Type of Community	Area of Present Residence							
	North- east	North- west	North- west, West	South- west, East	South- east and South- west	Virginia (Metro- politan Area)	Prince Georges County (M.A.)	Montgomery County (M.A.)
Rock Creek								
Big city:								
New York	56.7%	48.6%	40.2%	75.4%	61.1%	60.4%	56.0%	
Baltimore	19.3	18.2	20.5	4.4	4.8	16.6	10.7	
Philadelphia	9.9	5.5	9.4	4.8	3.6	5.3	8.5	
Chicago	1.2	5.5	2.4	2.8	4.3	1.3	2.9	
Boston	0.9	1.6	0.4	2.2	4.6	3.0	2.0	
Other big city	4.6	17.4	26.2	9.6	19.1	12.9	18.2	
City not reported	7.4	3.2	0.9	0.8	2.5	0.5	1.7	
Total, big city	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Big city	39.5%	39.7%	48.0%	50.7%	37.7%	48.9%	47.6%	
Medium city	8.5	9.1	7.9	25.4	11.5	6.4	6.5	
Small town	8.0	5.0	7.4	4.9	23.8	9.0	5.1	
Farm	0.1	0.6	0.3	...	...	0.2	*	
Other	...	...	0.2	...	1.0	...	0.1	
Not reported	1.6	5.3	5.1	1.1	1.8	1.3	1.4	
Washington Metropolitan area	42.3	40.3	31.1	17.9	24.2	34.2	39.3	
Total population - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
- #	(8100)	(6400)	(22,200)	(3600)	(6400)	(8700)	(25,500)	

\* Less than .05%.

TABLE 3-II  
YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON METROPOLITAN AREA,  
BY AREA OF PRESENT RESIDENCE

Year of Arrival in Washington Metropolitan Area	Area of Present Residence						
	North- east	North- west, West of Rock Creek	North- west, East of Rock Creek	South- east and South- west	Virginia (Metro- politan Area)	Prince Georges County (M.A.)	Montgomery County (M. A.)
1953 - 1956	6.1%	2.2%	7.5%	24.7%	24.9%	14.3%	7.8%
1949 - 1952	3.0	3.4	7.7	13.1	14.7	13.4	12.8
1945 - 1948	5.3	6.7	4.0	7.0	8.8	16.5	17.1
1941 - 1944	17.3	3.2	5.9	21.5	7.4	7.2	7.8
1937 - 1940	7.5	3.7	9.0	5.3	5.2	5.7	7.6
1933 - 1936	5.5	15.4	7.2	6.9	2.5	2.0	2.0
Before 1933	8.3	20.1	24.3	3.5	5.9	3.8	4.3
Always lived in Washington Metropolitan area	42.1	40.3	30.4	17.8	24.3	35.4	39.2
Not reported	4.9	5.0	4.0	0.2	6.3	1.7	1.4
Total population-%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
-#	(8100)	(6400)	(22,000)	(3600)	(6400)	(8700)	(25,500)

TABLE 3-III  
PRESENT TYPE OF HOME OCCUPANCY: TOTAL FAMILIES AND  
FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS

Present Type of Home Occupancy	Total families	Families intending to move
Own house	52.7%	26.1%
Rent house	4.7	10.1
Rent apartment	40.8	63.4
Other	1.8	0.4
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(27,200)	(3600)

TABLE 3-IV  
YEAR MOVED TO PRESENT ADDRESS: TOTAL FAMILIES AND  
FAMILIES EXPECTING TO MOVE WITHIN SIX MONTHS

Year Moved to Present Address	Total families	Families intending to move
1953 - 1956	46.7%	41.8%
1949 - 1952	28.7	36.2
1945 - 1948	11.0	15.6
1941 - 1944	5.7	2.0
1940 or before	4.8	2.8
Not reported	3.1	1.6
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(27,200)	(3600)

TABLE 6-I  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY BY FAMILY INCOME

Family Income	Synagogue Membership of Family			
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	None
Less than \$4,000	9.5%	4.0%	4.6%	6.2%
\$4,000 - 4,999	11.4	3.2	2.6	11.0
\$5,000 - 6,999	18.4	16.6	2.5	16.1
\$7,000 - 9,999	30.4	24.0	17.1	33.1
\$10,000 - 14,999	10.4	23.4	31.7	14.2
\$15,000 and over	5.9	10.8	31.7	6.0
Not reported	14.0	18.0	9.8	13.4
Total families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(3200)	(6800)	(1700)	(14,500)

TABLE 6-II  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY BY NATIVITY OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD  
(Omitting "Mixed" Marriages)<sup>a/</sup>

Synagogue Membership Of Family	Nativity of Head of Household		
	Native-born of native parents	Native-born of foreign parents	Foreign-born
Orthodox	1.7%	10.1%	25.3%
Conservative	33.0	29.6	20.5
Reform	10.8	7.9	2.3
Other	0.4	4.6	1.3
None	54.1	47.7	48.6
Not reported	...	0.1	2.0
Total (omitting "mixed") families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(3500)	(13,600)	(6500)

<sup>a/</sup> Table does not include 300 cases, native born, nativity of parent not reported.

TABLE 6-III  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY BY EDUCATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD  
(Omitting "Mixed" Marriages)<sup>a/</sup>

Synagogue Membership Of Family	Education of Head of Household: Highest School Grade Completed					
	8 years or less	High School 9-11 years	High School 12 years	College 13-15 years	College 16 years	17 years or more
Orthodox	29.4%	17.3%	16.6%	7.4%	16.2%	4.4%
Conservative	11.5	18.6	32.7	43.9	19.3	28.8
Reform	3.1	3.1	4.2	5.0	9.5	10.5
Other	0.2	0.7	1.4	1.6	5.1	5.6
None	55.8	60.3	42.6	42.1	49.6	50.3
Not reported	...	...	2.5	...	0.3	0.4
Total (omitting "mixed")						
families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(2600)	(2200)	(4600)	(3200)	(2900)	(7900)

<sup>a/</sup> Table does not include 500 cases, education not reported.

TABLE 6-IV  
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERSHIP OF FAMILY BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF FAMILY  
(Omitting "Mixed" Families)

Religious Identification Of Family	Synagogue Membership of Family			
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	None
Orthodox	52.9%	11.0%	0.8%	9.7%
Conservative	39.7	77.7	11.3	39.6
Reform	2.3	9.6	83.0	29.6
None of these - family undecided	1.6	1.7	2.4	10.5
None of these - other religion or no religion ...	...	...	...	8.9
Not reported	3.5	...	2.5	1.7
Total (omitting "mixed")				
families - %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
- #	(3100)	(6600)	(1600)	(11,700)

TABLE 8-I  
PROPORTION INTERMARRIED BY AGE AND SEX,  
MARRIED PERSONS ONLY

Age	Proportion Intermarried	
	Male	Female
15 - 24 years	1.8%	...
25 - 34 years	12.7	6.4%
35 - 44 years	6.3	2.3
45 - 54 years	15.2	9.6
55 - 64 years	2.5	1.6
65 years and over	2.9	0.5
Proportion intermarried, all married persons	9.2%	4.5%

Appendix B

List of Supplementary Tables

These are tabulations, as they came from the tabulating machine, unrounded and unpercentaged.

Supplementary Tables - Chapter 2

Class of employer:

of head and spouse (both working)  
by occupation and sex (population 14 and over - working)  
by type of former community (population 14 and over - working)

Employment status and class of employer:

by nativity and sex  
by area and sex  
by area (heads)

Income by industry in which head is employed (heads working - but not  
for government)

Occupation - working heads

## Supplementary Tables - Chapter 3

## Families expecting to move:

home occupancy by area  
size of household by present area, by intended area  
year of marriage  
year moved to present address, by area

## Home occupancy, by:

class of employer of working heads  
income  
occupation of working heads  
size of household  
year of arrival of head in Washington metropolitan area

## Year moved to present address, by:

area, by home occupancy, by previous home occupancy  
present area by previous area

## Previous residence:

former state or country, by year of arrival in  
Washington metropolitan area - heads only  
former state or country by type of former community -  
heads only  
former type of community by name of big city by area -  
heads only

## Year of arrival in Washington metropolitan area, by:

age - heads only  
age and sex

Supplementary Tables - Chapter 4

Number of Jewish organizations belonged to, by:  
area and sex  
occupation and sex  
education and sex  
nativity and year of arrival in United States (foreign)  
(shows also numbers native to Washington metropolitan area)

Number of non-sectarian organizations belonged to, by:  
area and sex  
occupation and sex  
nativity and year of arrival in United States (foreign)  
(shows also numbers native to Washington metropolitan area)

## Supplementary Tables - Chapter 5

Bar-mitzvah ceremony, etc. of children age 13 - 19, by sex and:  
education of head  
income of family  
occupation of head  
synagogue membership of family  
type of wedding ceremony of parents

Omits children (frequency of attendance of head at religious  
of mixed ( services  
marriages (religious identification of family

Supplementary Tables - Chapter 6

Religious identification by income  
(all families)

Religious identification (omitting "mixed" marriages), by:  
age and marital status of head  
frequency of attendance of head at religious services  
nativity of head  
occupation of working heads

Frequency of attendance of head and spouse at religious services,  
by income and sex (omitting "mixed" marriages)

## Supplementary Tables - Chapter 7

Eating in homes of non-Jews, by:

age of head  
education of head  
frequency of attendance of head at religious services  
income  
nativity of head  
occupation of heads who are working  
religious identification (omitting "mixed" families)  
synagogue membership

Non-Jewish guests at meals, frequency of, by:

age of head  
education of head  
frequency of attendance of head at religious services  
income  
kashruth - purchase of kosher meats and use of separate  
dishes  
nativity of head  
occupation of heads who are working  
religious identification (omitting "mixed" families)  
synagogue membership

Score on specified traditional practices, by religious identification (families who are Orthodox, Conservative or Reform only), by:

age of head  
education of head and spouse  
frequency of attendance of head at religious services  
frequency of attendance of spouse at religious services  
income  
nativity of head and spouse  
occupation of heads who are working

Religious identification by lighting of Hanukah candles, by lighting of Friday night candles (omitting "mixed" families)

Synagogue membership (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform only) by frequency of attendance of head at religious services, by purchase of kosher meats and use of separate dishes.

Supplementary Tables - Chapter 8

Type of wedding ceremony by education and year of marriage of heads who are now married and their wives (or husbands)

Type of wedding ceremony by type of former community and year of marriage of heads who are now married and their wives (or husbands)

Appendix C

How the Data in This Report Were Gathered and Prepared

How the Data Were Gathered: Sampling, Questionnaire, Interviewing

This report is planned primarily for the Jewish community and its leaders, rather than for the statistician or social scientist. We have therefore kept technical discussion to a minimum. The reader concerned with details of sampling design, interviewing techniques and similar matters will find further information in a technical "Supplement on Methods" to this report which will be available upon request to the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington.

In general, methods were selected with a view to yielding the information required by the Jewish Community Council, at minimum expense and with maximum reliance on volunteers.

Selecting a sample of the population

The survey was intended to cover the Jewish community of Greater Washington. This community, as we defined it, includes the permanent Jewish residents of the "urbanized," or built-up, part of the Metropolitan Area, except persons living in institutions or on military reservations. The boundaries of the section covered by the study are described in more detail in Chapter 1, Section A.

A complete census, or enumeration, of this Jewish population would have been extremely expensive. It was not necessary, however. As in a large proportion of the studies conducted by the U. S. Census Bureau and similar agencies, it was possible to accomplish our purpose by selecting a sample carefully designed to reproduce in miniature the whole population we wished to study. This sample had to be so designed as to permit two things:

1. It had to be representative of all people - Jewish and Gentile - in the area. From this sample we would then be able to determine the percentage of Jews in the total population; and, multiplying this percentage by the total, we could then find out how many Jews composed the community.
2. At the same time, the sample chosen had to contain a large enough number of Jews (we wanted about 2000 families) so that we could make a fairly intensive analysis of their characteristics. Previous information indicated that Jews were about 5% of the total, however, which meant that we could not expect a reasonable-sized sample of the whole population to contain very many Jews.

What we did was to select two sets of samples, one to satisfy each of the above conditions; check them against one another to prevent duplication; and use appropriate statistical techniques to combine the two. For a representative sample of the whole population, we utilized a sample of all blocks in the area, and selected specified numbers of "dwelling units" (apartments and private houses) on each block. The sample of blocks was available from a previous study conducted by the writer and Reuben Cohen at the Bureau of Social Science Research. In each of 154 blocks, from 16 to 40 dwelling units were selected so as to constitute 1 of each 100 dwelling units in the area. This was supplemented by a sample of dwelling units constructed between January 1, 1954 (as of when the block sample had been constructed) and June 30, 1955.

To obtain a large number of Jewish families, we made use of a "master list" of known Jewish persons made available through the kindness of the United Jewish Appeal. This list of 29,600 names and addresses we arranged in order geographically.

while simultaneously removing duplications, business firms and business addresses, incomplete addresses, addresses outside the survey area and on military reservations, etc. The remaining 15,500 addresses, arranged in nine geographical areas, were sampled at high rates where there were few Jews (for example, every other address in Fairfax County, Virginia) and at low rates where Jews were numerous (e. g., every 20th address in Northwest D. C.).

Special procedures were set up for handling apartment houses, for including small new construction projects and alterations, and for cross-checking each part of the sample against the others (in the end there were six sub-samples to be cross-checked and combined). The sample selected came to 7622 addresses; an additional 1088 addresses were added during the study, following the procedures set up. In all, then, calls had to be made at 8710 addresses.

The technically-inclined reader may wish to consult the following sources for further information on the sampling design. For the general logic: Morris H. Hansen, William N. Hurwitz and W. G. Madow. Sample Survey Methods and Theory. Vol. I, Ch. 7, Sec. 10. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1954. For a description in great detail of a very similar design: Theodore W. Woolsey. Sampling Methods for a Small Household Survey. Public Health Monographs, No. 40. Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1956. For a description of the area sample: Reuben Cohen. An Investigation of Modified Probability Sampling Procedures in Interview Surveys. Unpublished Master's Thesis, American University, 1955.

#### Designing the Questionnaire

A detailed four page outline of types of information which might be gathered was prepared by the writer in December, 1954, after discussions with Isaac Franck, Executive Director of the Jewish Community Council. Between that time and February, 1956, when the major part of the interviewing was conducted, a questionnaire was prepared and went through five successive drafts. The first was based on discussions with Jewish leaders in Washington and New York, and examination of several similar studies. A conference was held on July 7, 1955, of Rabbis, educators, social agency executives and other Jewish community leaders; at this meeting, the questionnaire was discussed in detail and suggestions offered for additions, deletions and revisions. A second draft was prepared for comment and criticism by the Technical Advisory Committee in August. The resulting third draft was utilized in September to conduct about two dozen test interviews. As a result, various rewirings, additions, deletions, shifts in the order of questions, etc., were made.

The principal test of the questionnaire was made with a fourth draft during October-November, when a pilot study was conducted in Northeast Washington. Sixty-five interviews were completed. Subsequently, discussions were held with some of the interviewers, with a committee of the Jewish Community Council's Executive Board and with the Technical Advisory Committee. A final draft was prepared involving a complete change in format, for use in February.

At each point one of our problems was to whittle down the list of questions. Jewish community leaders, each with his own special concerns, desired to obtain further information on some points. There were matters into which similar studies had inquired, and on which we should have liked to obtain comparable data. The writer wished to satisfy his curiosity as a social scientist by looking into additional areas. The outcome was a compromise among these various interests. If the reader, looking at the study, says to himself, "They should have asked about such-and-such a matter," we may suggest in advance that the topic was probably considered, and omitted deliberately with regret.

Northeast pilot study

When plans for sampling and the questionnaire seemed fairly far along, the Technical Advisory Committee decided to conduct a small-scale study in one area to test the feasibility of our plans. This was done in Northeast Washington in October and November of 1955. As a result of this pilot study all aspects of the study plans were revised. The sampling plan was simplified; the questionnaire was thoroughly rewritten; written instructions were boiled down to a fifth of their original length; and interviewer training plans were changed. Withal, the 65 interviews obtained were fair to excellent in quality and were included in the findings reported here.

Preparations for interviewing

The 7600-odd addresses selected were of course scattered all over the metropolitan area. The task of combining these addresses into interviewer assignments, on the basis of geographical location, was considerable. When this had been accomplished, each assignment was placed in a large envelope together with instructions, blank questionnaires and other forms and a letter of identification. Each interviewer was to receive one envelope.

Initially, the Jewish Community Council planned to utilize volunteer interviewers. These were to be trained simultaneously at nine centers scattered about the survey area on the morning of Sunday, February 2, 1956. In Section B of the Introduction, we have listed the various persons, experienced for the most part in supervision of interviewers, who acted as instructors in this large operation.

The instructors themselves spent two and a half hours, one evening late in January, learning about the study and their part in it. They received, in addition, detailed written instructions. They in turn spent two hours on February 2 training the volunteers, who were given condensed written instructions as well.

On January 26 a letter signed by Aaron Goldman, then President of the Jewish Community Council, was sent to the occupants of all addresses selected from the United Jewish Appeal list. They were told to expect an interviewer on February 2, "except in case of a blizzard." This letter was useful in alerting many potential interviewees, who remained home to await an interviewer. In addition, some 50 letters were returned by the Post Office because they were addressed to vacant or non-existent dwellings, which helped us to avoid some unnecessary calls.

Conducting the interviews

The interviewers were given in very abbreviated form the sort of instructions usually given in surveys of this kind. They were asked to complete their assignments, as nearly as possible, on Sunday, February 2, and to attempt to complete the remaining assigned calls during the following week. No interviews were to be made on Friday after 4 P. M., or on Saturday. Where no one was at home, up to three additional calls were to be made. The interviewer was to speak to someone at each assigned address to determine whether any Jewish person lived there. If the answer was "Yes," an interview was to be conducted with the head of the household, or the head's wife or husband.

In general, this volunteer effort was much less successful than had been hoped. A relatively small proportion of the total calls were made on February 2, and few of the volunteers were inclined to continue interviewing beyond that day. They felt in many cases that more work was being asked of them than they had been

led to anticipate. Although the Jewish Community Council recruited further volunteers for evening training sessions between February 2 and 15, it was almost immediately evident that recourse to paid professional interviewers would be necessary. When all of the volunteers had returned their assignments, it was found that less than half of the assigned addresses had been called at.

We therefore hired experienced interviewers to complete the job. These were given training for this study by the writer for two half-days at the beginning of March, and worked until May 10. The results of their calls and those of the volunteers were tallied and assessed, and it was decided to spend the first two weeks of August to complete calls at addresses where no person had previously been reached. On August 3 interviewers received three hours of refresher training. In the succeeding two weeks, they covered approximately 1000 cases - mostly in apartment houses.

#### Comparison of the volunteers and the professional interviewers

The volunteer interviewers were, of course, Jewish. There was an uneasy feeling that this might influence the answers interviewees would give to questions about synagogue attendance, observance of traditional practices, etc. The professional interviewers included some with "Jewish-sounding" names or who would probably have been judged to be Jewish from their appearance; but others, from their names and appearance, would have impressed interviewees as not Jewish. In fact some of the interviewers were Jewish and some Gentile. This was probably fortunate. If interviewees tended to suit their answers to the interviewer's assumed expectations, having both Jewish-appearing and Gentile-appearing interviewers should have tended to balance out distortions.

Since the paid interviewers were experienced, and received more training than the volunteers, one might expect the former to have produced more and better interviews. We can make two short comparisons. Approximately 1600 interviews were completed with Jewish families; of these, one-third were made by volunteers, two-thirds by professionals. One of our questions asked for the size of the family's income; 17% of the volunteers' interviews reported no information on this item (either a refusal, or a "don't know," or just no answer), but only 8% of those conducted by professionals.

In addition, in three instances, a family was inadvertently interviewed twice - first by a volunteer, then by a paid interviewer - about a month apart. Different interviewers were involved in each case. A comparison of each pair of interviews shows little discrepancy in the information obtained, but considerably less information reported by the volunteer. The latter was more likely to report an answer refused; or, where we asked how much Jewish education a person had had, merely to check the type instead of reporting the number of years; and so on. In general, the answers recorded by the volunteers seemed mostly as accurate as those obtained by the paid interviewers, but were far less complete.

#### How the Data Were Prepared for This Report

A total of 1590 interviews were completed. In addition, data on key items in the questionnaire were obtained by telephone for another 50 families. For the remaining 338 cases, data were reproduced from completed cases on a systematic basis. Each case recorded as not available, refused to be interviewed, not found after at least four calls, or otherwise not reached, was compared with the "nearest most similar case" - selected as part of the same sub-sample, from the same geographical area, and in the same assignment - which had been identified

as Jewish or not Jewish. The characteristics of the completed case were then attributed to the uncompleted one; and if, on this basis, the latter was classified as Jewish, all data for the former case were reproduced and attributed to the latter.

#### Editing and Coding

Each questionnaire was "edited" - that is, checked to see that all questions had been answered, and that (so far as could be determined) the personal data supplied were consistent. For example, if a person was reported as 10 years of age and married, answers to other questions were examined to determine which of these two answers was wrong; and, when possible, a correction was made.

At the same time answers were "coded" - that is, classified and then assigned a code number written on the questionnaire, in preparation for transfer of the data to IBM punch-cards for machine tabulation. Most questions had been "pre-coded" - classified in advance and code numbers printed opposite each answer in a list. Some, however, had not been pre-coded; or, if they had, required slight changes in the code.

#### Machine processing

For each case, one IBM card was punched with household data, and one card with personal data for each member of the household. A total of 1978 household cards and 6551 personal cards were prepared.

As explained above, households had been selected at various rates in each sub-sample or geographical area. To combine these in proper fashion, a numerical "weight" was assigned to each household, inversely proportional to its original rate of selection. Like the questionnaire data, these "weights" were punched into each household and personal card.

While coding and the punching of cards were proceeding, plans were made for machine tabulations, which are the source of the tables presented in this report. From among a larger number suggested by various persons concerned with the study, we selected those tabulations which gave promise of being most useful.

The final tasks in preparing the survey data involved setting up the tables in the report - that is, combining the figures from the machine tabulations in the most appropriate fashion, and computing percentages.

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