

MILWAUKEE JEWISH POPULATION STUDY

1964-1965



*A RESEARCH PROJECT OF THE
MILWAUKEE JEWISH WELFARE FUND*

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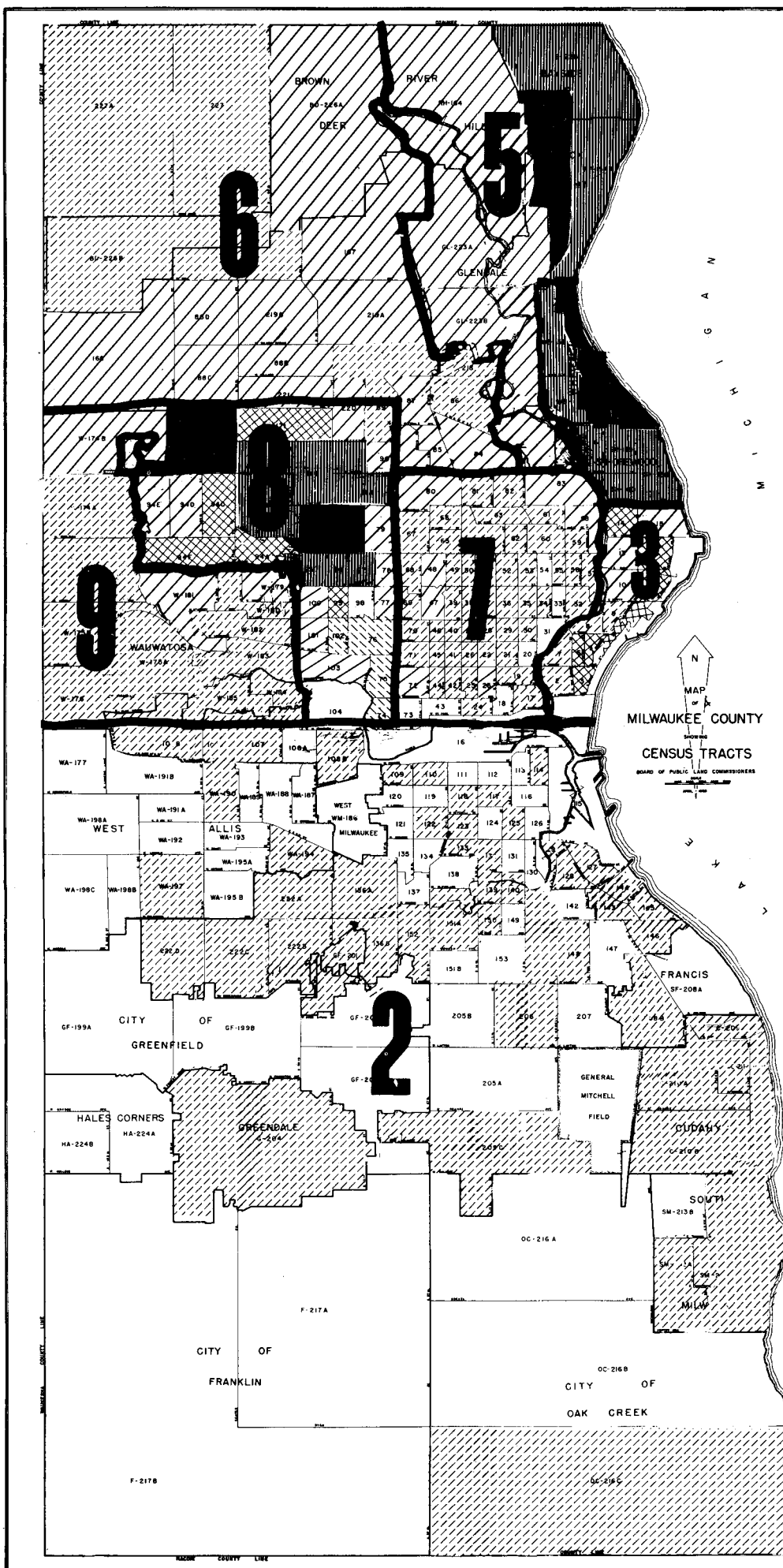
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FORWARD

The responsibility of a central planning body charged by the Jewish community to allocate the funds it raises in an intelligent way, requires that as much data as possible be gathered to allow for appropriate decisions to be made. Because of this requirement, it was deemed essential by the Milwaukee Jewish Welfare Fund to know more about the community it serves and the people that make up that community.

The Women's Division of the Welfare Fund was asked to carry out the task of gathering and training a corp of volunteers to conduct a study of the Jewish community. More than 400 women were enlisted under the chairmanship of Mrs. Nathan Rakita and direction of Miss Ruth Shapiro. To all these women, our profound thanks.

We consider ourselves fortunate to have the demographic expertise possessed by Dr. Albert J. Mayer available to us. Dr. Mayer is Professor of Sociology at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan. His skills and insights accompanied by his keen wit, enriched the community with meaningful data, so that what we have now is a study on which other studies can be based. The material in these reports will enable the Jewish community to discern trends and from these trends, implement and develop appropriate services, programs, and institutions to meet the needs of the Jewish people of Milwaukee.

Marvin E. Klitsner, President

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Executive Vice-President

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Director, Women's Division

INTRODUCTION

The findings of this population study constitutes a detailed analysis of the social and economic characteristics of the Jewish population of Milwaukee.

The principal purpose in making this study of the Milwaukee Jewish population is to ascertain the important social and economic characteristics of the population and to use the information thus gained to aid planning communal facilities and decisions concerning communal action. This study can also be used as a basis to gain understanding of the major trends affecting the population in order to anticipate the future composition of the community.

However, there is a bit more than that contained in the hundreds of items of factual information which comprise the report. Beneath the surface is the story of the remarkable levels of attainment achieved by the younger group in the community. With few exceptions the present community is descended from humble and penniless immigrants; people with no money, no education, just a burning desire that drove them away from their familiar villages and towns in Europe to a strange America. They were push-cart peddlers, and garment workers, and bakers, and proprietors of candy stores and a thousand other occupations, none of which paid much, and all of which meant hard work. They must have dreamed of a time when their children and grandchildren would have a better life and an opportunity to live in freedom and prosperity. In persuing the report, the reader can see that these dreams were not in vain.

This report is presented as two volumes in one. The first volume "Preliminary Report" was originally mimeographed and received limited distribution. In order to affirm the accuracy of this first phase of the study, several checks were made which are described in the appendix. Volume II is the result of a sampling of the Jewish Community to obtain its characteristics. As noted in that section of this report, the results of the census were proved to be correct.

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Albert J. Mayer

June, 1967

MILWAUKEE JEWISH POPULATION: 1964
(Preliminary Report)

Introduction

This report is based on the results of a census of the Milwaukee Jewish population. The basis of the census was the campaign list of the Milwaukee Jewish Welfare Fund supplemented by other Jewish organizational lists and further supplemented by inquiries concerning additional Jewish households made by the census takers at the time of enumeration.

Hopefully, an exhaustive procedure as described above, will uncover almost all Jewish households. In fact it does not. Jewish families in Milwaukee are just too great in number, too thinly dispersed among the non-Jewish families, and in some cases so unattached to the Jewish community that they simply are unknown to other Jews and to the community. A description of Jewish community, if it is to have any real meaning or use in social planning, must include these persons and families. In Milwaukee, the size of this group is unknown at this time. It may be just a few hundred persons, or it may be several thousand persons. Detailed and painstaking efforts are now under way to identify and measure this group and should be completed within a few months. In the meantime, because of its inherent usefulness as well as the immediate need for planning data this preliminary report is being written and circulated to a limited readership.

How much will the findings, as reported here, differ from the results obtained after the additional families are uncovered and included? For example, it is obvious that the total population size will change. On the other hand, the average family size and percentage age distributions as shown here are probably very close to those that will be obtained after the missing people are added. The reason for this is that when we do find the additional families we do not expect them to differ very much in their objective characteristics from the families now included in the census. Even if they were different, they represent such a small proportion of the whole they will change the percentage distributions very little. If this is so, you might ask, "Why bother trying to find the additional people?" The point here is that the additional persons, while representing a small proportion of the total population are probably greatly different in their backgrounds, their relation to the Jewish community, and their general attitudes, from the known Jewish population. This remains to be seen, but it is still possible to analyze certain characteristics at this point with at least some reassurance that the corrected and adjusted final result will be little different.

Before concluding this introduction a few words on the utility of the census itself are in order. Taking this census of the Jewish population of Milwaukee was a major undertaking on the part of a large number of devoted persons.

Of what value was the time and effort spent? The census is of great value for it yields certain vital population information which is not obtainable from any sampling procedure. It provides a wealth of detail. For example, we know the Milwaukee Jewish population by single years of age; we know the exact amount of time every family has lived at its present address. These items of information give us a more precise base of prediction and hence planning basis than if we had to depend on sampling information only. Thus the census will more than repay the effort which it cost.

Numbers of Persons

According to the Milwaukee Jewish census the Jewish population was 22,922 persons. This number resulted from a count of all families in the files of the Milwaukee Jewish Welfare Fund as well as a concerted endeavor to contact any persons or families suggested by the persons who were interviewed initially. The important question is whether this number does include everyone who considers themselves Jewish or whether the census count has overlooked an appreciable number of families and individuals.

Application of an independent method provides some evidence that the census procedure has underestimated the total Milwaukee Jewish population. Previous experimentation has shown there are 35 so-called "Jewish names" that tend not only to be uniquely Jewish but taken together comprise a reasonably constant proportion of the total of all Jewish names. The number of persons bearing these 35 names are counted and the total divided by 11 percent (this is the presumed constant proportion). The result is a rough estimate of the total number of Jewish families in the area. In Milwaukee 1,047 "Jewish names" were found. Dividing by 11 percent yields a total of almost exactly 30,000 persons. While this method leaves much to be desired insofar as accuracy is concerned, it does suggest that the Jewish population is greater than the census indicates.

Further efforts to "uncover" additional Jewish families are indicated. Such efforts are now under way and hopefully will be completed within the next few months. In the interim the figure of about 23,000 persons is to be regarded as a minimum number for the Milwaukee Jewish community.

Persons per Family

Data on households as obtained in the census is of a different kind than the total number of persons. The census revealed that the average size of Milwaukee Jewish household was 3.01 persons. There will be little change

in this figure even if a number of additional persons are found by further field work. Should the newly found families be of somewhat different size, they will not be sufficiently great in number to seriously affect the figure shown here.

The best way to illustrate the size of Milwaukee Jewish families is to compare it with other Jewish communities. This is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Average Family Size, Selected Jewish Communities

<u>Community</u>	<u>Average Household Size</u>	<u>Year of Survey</u>
Milwaukee, Wisconsin	3.01	1964
Detroit, Michigan	3.22	1963
Providence, Rhode Island	3.25	1964
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	3.41	1963
Washington, D. C.	2.97	1956
Rochester, New York	3.08	1961
San Francisco, California	2.82	1959

It can be seen that the average family size in Milwaukee is near the lower middle end of the range. A relatively small average household has a number of possible meanings. First, it can mean that the population is older than usual. Second, it can mean that families in Milwaukee have fewer children. Third, it can mean that the economic level of the Milwaukee population is quite high, resulting in an almost complete absence of "doubled up" families, or of parents and other relatives living with the "primary family". Analysis of other aspects of the census should yield some clues as to the reasons for the small family size.

Age

The census provided an opportunity to do something which is rarely done in community studies. We are able to present the ages of the population by single year (Table 2). This allows agency planners, particularly those agencies serving youth, to anticipate just what their "market" will be in years to come. Of course, Table 2 will have to be corrected after the additional families are found but for the moment Table 2 can be considered to give minimum figures for each age group. Another problem which should be noted is the "heaping up" or piling up of persons around ages ending in "5" or "0". This is observed in all census operations and represents a tendency for persons to give their age in round figures. It can be corrected by various methods, and this will be done in further reports. One way to do this is to group the data in five year intervals and this is done in Table 3.

TABLE 2

Population by Single Years of Age: 1964

Years of Age	No. of Persons	Years of Age	No. of Persons	Years of Age	No. of Persons
Under 1	28*	33	239	66	156
1	244*	34	240	67	154
2	389	35	284	68	177
3	311	36	305	69	132
4	337	37	308	70	266
5	335	38	292	71	86
6	352	39	276	72	140
7	384	40	351	73	112
8	382	41	294	74	82
9	413	42	326	75	151
10	425	43	434	76	51
11	458	44	282	77	58
12	481	45	390	78	60
13	459	46	351	79	45
14	435	47	252	80	52
15	416	48	324	81	29
16	454	49	339	82	28
17	485	50	470	83	26
18	442	51	332	84	16
19	324	52	341	85	13
20	302	53	343	86	18
21	345	54	278	87	11
22	243	55	376	88	11
23	203	56	276	89	5
24	179	57	305	90	10
25	190	58	434	91	2
26	199	59	253	92	6
27	190	60	446	93	6
28	192	61	180	94	1
29	201	62	218	95	-
30	230	63	222		
31	201	64	209		
32	229	65	293		

*Incomplete count due to passing of time interval before a birth date is encountered.

TABLE 3

Age by Five Year Groupings

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number of Persons</u>	<u>Percent Tot. Pop.</u>	<u>Milw. Metro. Area</u>
Under 5	1,309	5.8	11.9
5 - 9	1,866	8.2	10.3
10 - 14	2,258	10.0	8.5
15 - 19	2,121	9.4	6.5
20 - 24	1,272	5.6	6.1
25 - 29	972	4.3	6.5
30 - 34	1,139	5.0	7.0
35 - 39	1,465	6.5	6.9
40 - 44	1,687	6.5	6.4
45 - 49	1,656	7.3	6.1
50 - 54	1,764	7.8	5.6
55 - 59	1,644	7.3	5.0
60 - 64	1,275	5.6	4.3
65 - 69	912	4.0	3.5
70 - 74	686	3.0	2.6
75 - 79	365	1.6	1.6
80 - 84	151	.7	.8
85 and over	83	.4	.4
Total	22,625	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4
Percent Distribution by age, Selected Jewish Communities

	Milw. 1964	L.A. 1959	Detroit 1963	Prov. 1964	Wash.DC 1956	Rochester, NY 1961	Pitts. 1963
Under 15	24	29	31	25	30	25	28
15 - 24	15	10	11	14	9	12	14
25 - 44	23	30	25	24	38	24	25
45 - 64	28	23	25	27	18	26	26
65	10	8	8	10	5	13	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

A comparison between Milwaukee and some other Jewish communities discloses that the people in Milwaukee are a bit older than in the other communities. Milwaukee, Providence, Rhode Island, and Rochester, New York are very much alike in this respect. Milwaukee is characterized by the relatively greater proportion of persons 45-64 years of age compared with persons 25-44 years of age. While the proportion of persons over 65 years of age is not particularly large as yet, it is clear that within a few years it will begin to rise rapidly.

It was pointed out previously that the Milwaukee Jewish population had a rather small family size. One of the reasons for this is the age of the population. In turn this accounts for the relatively low proportion of children under 15, and the correspondingly high proportion of teen agers and young adults. Because they are older, Milwaukee families have a large proportion of older children, than the other Jewish communities.

In summary, it is seen that the difference between Milwaukee and other Jewish communities are not very great. With the possible exception of Washington, D.C. which contains an unusually high proportion of young adults, the Jewish community examined here seems pretty much the product of the same social and economic trends.

Marital Status

The Milwaukee Jewish Census did not record the marital status of everyone, just the marital status of family heads, and their spouses, if present. Nevertheless, the data are useful when subdivided by age because they show trends over a long period of time. It should be pointed out that all of the married are included in the analysis for they are family heads by definition. However, a number of unmarried persons who may be single, widowed or divorced and who are not family heads are not shown in Table 5 because we do not know their marital status. Some idea of the numbers of persons involved can be obtained from the following table.

TABLE 5
Marital Status Known and Unknown by Age

<u>Age</u>	<u>Marital Status Known</u>	<u>Marital Status Unknown</u>	
		<u>Child of Head</u>	<u>Other Relative</u>
25-29	915	140	1
30-34	1,333	104	1
35-39	1,467	58	3
40-44	1,549	69	4
45-49	1,720	57	10
50-54	1,606	35	4
55-59	1,384	23	9
60-64	1,023	15	9
65	<u>1,725</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>14</u>
Total	12,722	501	55

It can be seen that very few "other relatives" reside in Milwaukee Jewish households. That is, few aunts, cousins, or even mothers-in-law, or fathers-in-law live with the primary family. This situation is what sociologists and anthropologists usually have in mind when they talk of disappearance of the "extended family", and an almost total transformation into the "nuclear" family (i.e. mother, father, and growing children). This situation has many important implications for community planning. It is evident from the extremely small numbers of "other relatives" that Jewish persons in Milwaukee tend to live in small family units, and that the community rather than the individual family is likely to play the principal role in their living situation as they age.

While some children in their late twenties and thirties remain with their parents, it is only small numbers of persons who are unmarried (this means widowed and divorced as well as single) in the Milwaukee Jewish population. Thus we see that although the data on marital status are not complete, the numbers of persons for which we do not have information comprise a small proportion of all adults.

Table 6 contains the information on the persons whose marital status was recorded. It can be seen that most everyone is married. Divorce seems to run about an average of 3 percent for all age groups, and singleness about 4 percent. In this respect, Milwaukee is very similar to the other Jewish communities for which information is available.

TABLE 6

Marital Status of Family Heads by Age

<u>Age</u>	<u>Married*</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Widowed</u>	<u>Divorced</u>	<u>Total</u>
15-19	---	2	---	---	2
20-24	300	10	2	5	317
25-29	441	18	1	14	474
30-34	641	25	6	20	692
35-39	706	22	11	22	761
40-44	723	37	28	38	826
45-49	796	41	55	32	924
50-54	723	54	90	16	883
55-59	585	47	148	19	799
60-64	396	45	174	12	627
65-69	288	32	184	5	509
70-74	136	18	212	4	370
75-79	44	8	144	--	196
80-84	16	1	75	1	93
85 & over	6	6	54	1	67

(Percent)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Widowed</u>	<u>Divorced</u>	<u>Total</u>
15-19	---	100.0	---	---	100
20-24	94.6	3.2	.6	1.6	100
25-29	93.0	3.8	---	3.2	100
30-34	92.6	3.6	.9	2.9	100
35-39	92.8	2.9	1.4	2.9	100
40-44	87.5	4.5	3.4	4.6	100
45-49	86.1	4.4	6.0	3.5	100
50-54	81.9	6.1	10.2	1.8	100
55-59	73.2	5.9	18.5	2.4	100
60-64	63.1	7.2	27.8	1.9	100
65-69	56.6	6.3	36.1	1.0	100
70-74	36.8	4.9	57.3	1.0	100
75-79	22.4	4.1	73.5	---	100
80-84	17.2	1.1	80.6	1.1	100
85 & over	9.0	9.0	80.6	.4	100

*The figure in this column refers to married couples. That is, the figure 300 for the married 20-24 years of age refers to 300 men and their wives. It is the couple, however, that is the unit of analysis here.

Areas of Residence

- A. General Description - The Milwaukee Jewish community has been subdivided into eight residential areas as shown on the accompanying map. Two of the areas - 2 and 9 - contain very few Jewish families and can be considered together as "Milwaukee-Other", a catch-all title. Areas 8, 7 and 6 can be considered the "West Side", and called hereinafter Area 7 - "Old West Side", Area 8 - "West Side", and Area 6 - "Northwest Side". Areas 3, 4 and 5 can be named as: Area 3 "East Side", Area 4 - "East Side Suburbs", and Area 5 - "East Side, New Suburbs". Naming the areas in this manner makes the analysis somewhat more meaningful, since the names have a considerable social meaning to Milwaukee Jewry.
- B. Geographic Distribution of Families - The following table gives the geographic distribution of Milwaukee Jewish families:

TABLE 7

Detailed Geographic Distribution of Households

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
<u>East Side</u>		
East Side	735	9.7
East Side Suburbs	1,536	20.4
East Side - New Suburbs	<u>1,099</u>	<u>14.6</u>
Total East Side	3,370	44.7
<u>West Side</u>		
Old West Side	606	8.0
West Side	3,066	40.7
Northwest Side	<u>276</u>	<u>3.7</u>
Total West Side	3,948	52.4
Other Milwaukee	<u>222</u>	<u>2.9</u>
Total	7,540	100.0
(1)		
Family Heads in Institutions	189	

- (1) This is also the number of institutionalized individuals since the institution in this case also is the person's permanent address

Although the central focus and most populous Jewish area is the West Side, the geographic extent of the total Milwaukee Jewish community is very large and apparently growing larger. It extends from Wisconsin Avenue to a bit beyond the Northern boundary of Milwaukee county, and from Lake Michigan to the West boundary of Milwaukee. Providing community services to such a relatively small number of families distributed thinly over an area of many square miles is a formidable task if geographic propinquity is a consideration, as it surely is. In addition to the geographic dispersion subsequent analysis will show that the six sub-communities distinguished here have dissimilar characteristics and might be viewed as separate entities for social planning.

- C. Jewish Concentration - An important consideration is the degree of Jewish concentration of proportion of Jewish families to all families in a given area. This is shown in Table 8 which gives the degree of concentration for the six Jewish sub-communities.

TABLE 8
Percent Jewish Families of all Families for the
Six Jewish Sub-Communities

<u>Sub-Community</u>	<u>All Families</u>	<u>Jewish Families</u>	<u>Percent Jewish</u>
East Side	20,690	735	3.6
East Side Suburbs	11,171	1,536	13.7
East Side New Suburbs	6,218	1,099	17.7
Old West Side	69,327	606	.9
West Side	42,207	3,066	.7
Northwest Side	29,448	276	.9

The most concentrated sub-community is the East Side New Suburbs where more than one out of six families is Jewish. In general, the East Side Sub-Communities are more concentrated than the West Side.

It is evident that the "Jewish sub-communities" are not very Jewish in the sense that Jews are predominant in the overall area. Of course the areas themselves are quite large, and it is highly possible that in specific locations within the areas the concentration of Jewish families rises to relatively high peaks. Consequently, the census tracts (small geographic areas) were analyzed (Table 9 and Map 1).

The results are most interesting. It appears that Jewish families do not even come near comprising a majority anywhere in metropolitan Milwaukee. Jewish families comprise only a bare one-third of the population in only two census tracts, and about one-quarter of the population in only three more tracts. Thirteen more tracts that are between ten and twenty percent comprise the remaining areas of any Jewish concentration at all.

TABLE 9

High Density Jewish Areas

	Total Families	Total Jew. Families	Jew. Density
East Side			
Tract 4	2,379	323	13.6
East Side Suburbs			
SH 158	1,548	161	10.4
159	1,713	192	11.2
160	1,220	124	10.2
161	1,314	234	17.8
WB 155	1,794	377	21.0
157	1,970	251	12.7
East Side-New Sub.			
GL223A	1,120	165	14.7
FP 154A	830	190	22.9
154B	1,260	425	33.7
B 225	861	280	32.5
Old West Side			
None			
West Side			
91B	1,727	290	16.8
92	1,958	380	19.4
93	2,194	347	15.8
96	1,025	215	21.0
97	879	145	16.5
172	1,235	160	13.0
173	2,929	340	11.6
Northwest Side			
None			

One thing can be said with certainty; the Milwaukee Jewish community is not living in a ghetto, at least in any geographic sense. On the contrary, the Jewish population is by and large thinly distributed over a relatively large geographic area, and most Jewish families are living in mostly non-Jewish neighborhoods.

Of additional interest is the fact that the areas highest in Jewish concentration are relatively new, high income suburbs. This is some indication that the desire for Jews to live in Jewish areas is not necessarily diminishing as the older generation dies out. The density of Jewish living concentrations is not necessarily an evolutionary process. That is, there is no particular evidence that Jewish concentrations are declining from previous highs to new lows as Jews disperse themselves in the general population. Rather, it appears that new concentrations are forming as old concentrations are diluted due to movement to new and presumably "better" neighborhoods. If stronger Jewish identification is dependent in any way on living in "Jewish neighborhoods", there is no reason to suspect that the number of people who comprise the Milwaukee Jewish community is declining at this time. On the contrary, Jews seem most anxious to sustain Jewish neighborhoods as they enter new geographic areas.

- D. Age of Head of Household - Knowledge concerning the age of the head of household is very useful in characterizing areas of residence. That is, whether an area is "young" or "old" in terms of its residents can be ascertained by analyzing the age of the household heads. This is done in Table 10, which gives the median age of household heads.

Table 10 is very illuminating because the age difference between areas is not only varied but the differences are extremely sharp. Whereas, the median age for the total Milwaukee Jewish community is 52.6 years, the range between the different areas is from 37.3 years to 62.9 years. Interestingly enough there seems to be three major breaks in groupings. In two areas, Old West Side, and East Side, the median age of family heads is over 60 years, in two areas, East Side Suburbs, and West Side, the median age of family heads is over 50 years, and in two areas, East Side New Suburbs, and Northwest Side, the median age of family heads is much lower, in the forties and thirties respectively.

This measure, median age of family heads, very clearly expresses three stages in the development of the Milwaukee Jewish community - youth, middle age, and old. The three stages are sharply different from one another, and as such provide a definite basis for community planning.

Persons per Household by Sub-Community

Table 11 contains the data on persons per household by the six sub-communities. Although the measure is household size instead of age, the information gleaned from this table is essentially the same as from age information. This is not

surprising, since it is most obvious that older families have the fewest children at home, but it is interesting to observe how closely the age data are correlated with the data on family size. The same pattern prevails in both cases. East side New Suburbs and Northwest Side have the largest household average sizes, 3.87 and 3.46 persons respectively. East Side Suburbs and West Side are in the middle and Old West Side have very small household sizes, in fact they are so small that children are literally rare in these two sub-communities.

It is evident from Table 11 that Milwaukee Jewish households are quite small generally. Only 70 families had more than six members. (1) Since our data has previously shown that not many people other than the head, wife and children live in a household, practically all families must consist of husband, wife and between one and four children. While this is a rough indicator, there is little doubt that the fertility of Milwaukee Jewry is rather low, probably somewhat lower than the average for the U.S. Jewish population. The truth of this contention undoubtedly merits further investigation.

Length of Residence by Sub-Community

We have explored the age of the six sub-communities in terms of the age of the people who comprise them. What about the age of the sub-communities in terms of the length of time that Jewish families have lived there? Looking at the total Jewish community (Table 12) it can be seen that better than 60 percent of the families have lived at their present residence less than ten years and almost 40 percent have lived at their present address less than five years. On the other end of the scale fewer than one in ten families have lived at their present address more than twenty years. The median length of residence is about seven years, a figure which agrees almost exactly with the proportion changing residence during the past year. That is, 13.4 percent moved during the past year, and if we multiply this by 7.01 years it comes out close to one hundred percent. This means that about one family in seven moves during the course of a year. Of course some of these moves involved merely changing residences within a sub-community, rather than inter-area moves. Nevertheless, it does add up to an impressive degree of residential mobility.

Looking at differences between sub-communities, it can be seen that there are considerable variations with respect to the length of residence of Jewish families. Old West Side is the "oldest", with a median length of residence of 9.3 years. However, median length of residence in the East Side Suburbs is almost as large, being 9.0 years. The Northwest Side has the shortest length of residence - 4.1 years. Although the East Side sub-community is located in

- (1) It is fairly easy to become confused over definitions here. It is possible that some mothers may have had five or six or seven or eight children, but we are only counting here the ones now living at home.

TABLE 10

Age of All Heads by Sub-Community

Age	East Side	East Side Suburbs	East Side New Suburbs	Northwest Side	Old West Side	West Side	Total*
15-19	1	1	--	--	--	--	2
20-24	13	12	3	10	7	41	90
25-29	25	46	50	58	23	99	320
30-34	23	88	119	51	13	162	483
35-39	42	146	204	42	9	218	698
40-44	47	164	194	32	16	311	801
45-49	37	202	151	21	24	366	835
50-54	62	231	129	12	70	444	1,000
55-59	82	212	108	12	86	412	958
60-64	119	145	90	9	98	343	865
65-69	105	128	37	14	89	265	668
70-74	95	99	12	10	85	218	545
75-79	51	40	1	3	61	141	342
80-84	21	13	1	2	17	30	133
85 & Over	12	9	--	--	8	16	81
Total	735	1,536	1,099	276	606	3,066	7,821
Median	61.5	51.9	44.5	37.3	62.9	53.8	52.6

*Includes "Other Milwaukee"

TABLE 11

Persons Per Household by Sub-Community of Residence

Area	Household Size									Total	Av. Family Size
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)		
East Side	324	255	63	28	28	8	2	--	--	744	1.99
East Side Suburbs	194	423	268	373	224	51	13	2	1	1,549	3.15
East Side New Sub.	15	216	163	329	298	78	17	2	--	1,103	3.87
Northwest Side	13	72	56	77	38	17	4	--	--	278	3.46
Old West Side	125	170	52	27	12	8	1	--	--	395	2.14
West Side	292	950	618	636	375	103	17	5	--	2,996	3.08
Six Sub-Communities	961	2,068	1,213	1,505	960	265	54	9	2	7,055	3.07
Total *											
All Households	1,210	4,372	3,858	6,216	5,040	1,722	406	80	18	22,922	3.01

*Includes "Other Milwaukee"

TABLE 12

Length of Residence

Age	East Side	East Side Suburbs	East Side New Sub.	Northwest Side	Old West Side	West Side	Total *
1 yr. or less	119	179	157	66	54	343	963
2 - 4	171	281	307	87	69	706	1,714
5 - 9	142	364	440	84	73	812	1,995
10 - 19	158	527	143	17	91	865	1,881
20 - 29	64	119	10	--	40	167	434
30 Yrs. or more	26	31	2	2	45	52	180
Total	680	1,501	1,059	256	372	2,945	7,167
Median	6.8	9.0	5.8	4.1	9.3	7.6	7.01

Age	Percent					
1 yr. or less	17.4	11.9	14.8	25.8	14.4	13.4
2 - 4	25.2	18.7	29.0	34.0	18.4	23.9
5 - 9	20.9	24.3	41.5	32.8	19.5	27.8
10 - 19	23.3	35.1	13.5	6.6	24.8	26.2
20 - 29	9.4	7.9	.9	----	10.8	6.1
30 Yrs. or more	3.8	2.1	.2	.8	12.1	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Includes "Other Milwaukee"

TABLE 13

Sub-Community of Present Address by Sub-Community of Former Address

Sub-Community of Former Address	East Side	East Side Subs.	East Side New Subs.	North- west Side	Old West Side	West Side	All Other Milw.	Total
	Numbers							
East Side	301	262	77	9	26	97	22	794
East Side Subs.	100	638	465	19	32	45	11	1,310
E.Side New Subs.	33	38	96	8	1	6	2	184
Northwest Side	2	17	34	38	9	106	4	210
Old West Side	68	113	33	39	160	705	70	1,188
West Side	62	229	306	111	63	1,613	119	2,503
All Other Milw.	16	27	21	10	6	121	70	271
Total	582	1,324	1,032	234	297	2,693	298	6,460
	Percent							
East Side	52	20	7	4	9	4	7	12
East Side Subs.	17	48	46	8	11	2	4	20
E.Side New Subs	6	3	9	3	--	--	--	3
Northwest Side	--	1	3	16	3	4	1	3
Old West Side	12	9	3	17	54	26	24	18
West Side	11	17	30	48	21	60	40	40
All Other Milw.	2	2	2	4	2	4	24	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

the city it is the third "youngest" sub-community represents a "back to the city" movement on the part of older couples and the widowed, for the average age of persons in this sub-community is quite high.

If we look at very recent movement (less than one year's residence) we see that Northwest Side is the highest, for over one quarter of its present residents moved there during the past year. East Side with one out of six of its residents living there less than one year was second. These are the most active areas of movement. This movement is more deeply explored in the next section.

Present Sub-Community of Residence and Sub-Community of Former Residence

The direction of trends in population movement can be ascertained by relating the former sub-community of residence of families living in each sub-community. This is shown in Table 13. Table 13 gives the sub-community of origin of the present residents of each sub-community. Looking at Table 13 it is seen that of the families living in the East Side sub-community today, almost half (48 percent) originated within the same sub-community, that is, they are intra-area moves. This is true also for East Side Suburbs, West Side, Northwest Side, and Other Milwaukee. It is not true for the East Side New Suburbs, where almost half of the families came from the East Side Suburbs, and Northwest Side where almost half of the families came from the West Side. Over one-quarter of the persons moving to the East Side New Suburbs came from West Side, but this was not as true of the West Side Suburbs. Only twelve percent came from the East Side Suburbs and East Side combined; that is, West Siders move to the East Side, but East Siders are much less likely to move to the West Side.

The precise effect of each sub-community on every other sub-community can be measured in still another way. Let us first assume that each sub-community is equally attractive to every other sub-community. That is, each sub-community gains as many persons proportionately from each other sub-community as it sends them. This is shown by the numbers in parenthesis in Table 14.

The numbers without parenthesis represent the actual number of families that came from each area. The figures enclosed by parentheses are the number of families expected by chance, or to put it another way, the number expected if each sub-community exerted an equal pull on each other sub-community. A high positive figure means that the sub-community attracted many more families than expected by chance. A high negative figure means that the sub-community attracted many fewer families than expected by chance.

It can be seen that each sub-community was most attractive to itself, except for East Side New Suburbs; that is, most moves are within a given sub-community. It is suspected that this is largely a function of the number of rental units in an area. If there are many rental units, families tend to move from apartment to apartment within an area. The most powerful pull between sub-communities was East Side

New Suburbs on East Side Suburbs. This was really the only powerful magnet, although Northwest Side also pulled families from the West Side, and West Side in turn pulled families from Old West Side. On the other side of the ledger, far fewer families came to the East Side from the West Side than expected. Also fewer families came to both the East Side Suburbs and East Side New Suburbs from the West Side than one would expect from chance.

A number of conclusions have been drawn from these data. Perhaps a sub-community by sub-community analysis is the best way to summarize:

East Side - Most moves are within the area. The East Side receives far fewer than expected from the West Side.

East Side Suburbs - Most moves are within the area. Like East Side it receives far fewer than expected from the West Side.

East Side New Suburbs - The only sub-community where internal moves do not predominate. Strongly pulls families from East Side Suburbs. Not quite as many as expected from West Side, although a large number of families is represented.

TABLE 14

Actual and Expected Number of Families for Each Sub-Community by Present Address and Former Address

Sub-Community of Former Address	<u>Sub-Community of Present Address</u>						
	<u>East Side</u>	<u>East Side Subs.</u>	<u>East Side New Subs.</u>	<u>North- west Side</u>	<u>Old West Side</u>	<u>West Side</u>	<u>All Other Milw.</u>
<u>Actual and Expected Numbers of Families</u>							
East Side	301(72)	262(163)	77(127)	9(29)	26(37)	97(331)	22(37)
East Side Subs.	100(118)	638(268)	465(210)	19(47)	32(60)	45(546)	11(60)
E.Side New Subs.	33(17)	38(38)	96(29)	8(7)	1(8)	6(77)	2(8)
Northwest Side	2(19)	17(43)	34(34)	38(8)	9(10)	106(88)	4(10)
Old West Side	68(107)	113(243)	33(190)	39(43)	160(55)	705(495)	70(55)
West Side	62(226)	229(513)	306(399)	111(91)	63(115)	1613(1043)	119(115)
All Other Milw.	16(24)	27(56)	21(44)	10(10)	6(12)	121(113)	71(13)
<u>Net Gains and Losses</u>							
East Side	229	99	50	20	11	234	15
East Side Subs.	18	370	255	28	28	501	49
E.Side New Subs.	16	--	67	1	7	71	6
Northwest Side	17	26	--	30	1	18	6
Old West Side	39	130	157	4	105	210	15
West Side	164	284	93	20	52	570	4
All Other Milw.	8	29	23	--	6	8	57

**The Characteristics of
Jewish Community of Milwaukee
1965**



PART 1

The Number of Jewish Persons in the Milwaukee Jewish Community

The exact size of the community is always of interest, and in the case of a Jewish community, surprisingly difficult to ascertain. There is no central agency or file or census or any other source that pre-exists, and any study of a Jewish community is directed first to finding out the number of people.

Due to a number of circumstances which have been described in the first reports, the Milwaukee Study had an unusual opportunity to do an especially thorough job of determining an accurate count of the resident population, and the final count of 23,000 persons is believed to be very exact.

This is a somewhat smaller population size than was commonly believed prior to the study, and as such seemed disappointing to a number of people. Part of this disappointment is because there is the tendency to feel that the population was larger in the past and that the Milwaukee Jewish Community is becoming smaller. This could very well be, but it isn't necessarily true because we have no accurate benchmark to measure the past. This study is now the benchmark, and we will know the answer to this question only after we have re-measured the population in a few years.

The question of numbers of persons is also a bit more complicated than it first appears. Not everyone who is attached to a community resides there. In a Jewish community such persons may constitute a substantial and important component of the population. To be specific, in a Jewish population young persons between the ages of 18 and 29 go away to school in large numbers. While these persons are not actually present as residents they can be considered "attached" in the sense they have no other permanent home. True, some may not return to Milwaukee after their education is completed, but on the other hand others may return and bring a wife from out of town as well. Thus a count of the resident population at a given time does not necessarily reveal the whole picture of the community's future.

This study asked a question about where the children over eighteen were residing at the time of the study and it was found that about one thousand persons were at an out of city school, in the armed forces or were away for some other reason.

If we add these one thousand persons, the "Milwaukee attached" population rises to around 24,000. It really takes knowledge of the existence of both resident and non-resident population to thoroughly interpret the total Milwaukee Jewish population. Of course, the analysis of the characteristics of the

of the population must necessarily be confined to the resident population since there is no practical way to obtain information from those who are temporarily residing elsewhere. Thus the remainder of this study will describe only the 23,000 residents of Milwaukee.

Before turning to another topic, it might be interesting to note that the Milwaukee Jewish community is the 16th largest Jewish community in the United States. It is practically identical in size with Providence, Rhode Island (19,600), a community which was studied in 1964, thus making frequent comparisons possible. Throughout this study we will occasionally lean on comparative data, both with other Jewish communities and with the Milwaukee non-Jewish community because to state that the Milwaukee Jewish community has X numbers of professional persons, or contains Y proportion of Orthodox Jews has no meaning unless it can be viewed in the perspective of other communities and where they stand.

PART II

AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

The two elements of population structure, age and marital status, can be considered as a unit, for together they comprise the biological base upon which the community rests. Age is the most important, particularly in community planning, for the various communal services are focused and directed towards particular age groups.

This study has the rare opportunity to be able to present the ages of the population by single years. This is because the door to door census did find everyone, as later proven by the sample study. The data are shown in Table 1. This table differs from the one shown in the Preliminary Report in that a mathematical formula has been employed to "smooth" the heaping up of individuals at the pivotal ages of 40, 45, 50, et cetera. People tend to repeat their ages in terms of even numbers, and this has been corrected. While Table 1 is interesting and useful in terms of community planning, it is too detailed to permit meaningful analysis. Therefore, the single years of age are combined into five year intervals, and shown in Table 2 in comparison with similar age groupings in the Milwaukee Metropolitan area total population.

It can be seen that the Milwaukee Jewish population is older than the Milwaukee total population. Whereas the median age in the Jewish population is 36.2, in the total population of Milwaukee it is 30.1. The Milwaukee total population contains larger proportions of children under 15 years of age and young adults between 25 and 44 years of age.

It is also meaningful to compare the Milwaukee Jewish population with some other Jewish communities where recent studies have been made. A comparison between Milwaukee and some other Jewish communities discloses that the people in Milwaukee are a bit older than in the other communities. Milwaukee, Providence, Rhode Island, and Rochester, New York are very much alike in this respect. Milwaukee is characterized by the relatively greater proportion of persons 45-64 years of age compared with persons 25-44 years of age. While the proportion of persons over 65 years of age is not particularly large as yet, it is clear that within a few years it will begin to rise rapidly.

It was pointed out previously that the Milwaukee Jewish population had a rather small family size. One of the reasons for this is the age of the population. In turn this accounts for the relatively low proportion of children under 15, and the correspondingly high proportion of teen agers and young adults. Because they are older, Milwaukee families have a larger proportion of older children, than the other Jewish communities.

TABLE 1

POPULATION BY SINGLE YEARS OF AGE: 1964

Years of Age	Number of Persons	Years of Age	Number of Persons	Years of Age	Number of Persons
Under 1	28*	32	232	64	205
1	244*	33	247	65	204
2	320	34	258	66	192
3	331	35	271	67	198
4	330	36	278	68	181
5	356	37	294	69	159
6	359	38	301	70	152
7	375	39	307	71	142
8	393	40	326	72	138
9	414	41	322	73	127
10	429	42	336	74	97
11	436	43	347	75	93
12	441	44	333	76	80
13	461	45	337	77	71
14	470	46	339	78	64
15	467	47	344	79	46
16	445	48	351	80	43
17	423	49	344	81	37
18	395	50	343	82	30
19	371	51	347	83	26
20	334	52	354	84	20
21	291	53	345	85	18
22	255	54	322	86	14
23	237	55	336	87	12
24	221	56	324	88	10
25	199	57	338	89	9
26	193	58	324	90	7
27	197	59	302	91	6
28	200	60	294	92	4
29	206	61	280	93	3
30	212	62	260	94	2
31	219	63	246	95	1

*Incomplete count due to passing of a time interval before a birth date is counted.

TABLE 2
AGE BY FIVE YEAR GROUPINGS

Age	Number of Persons	Percent Total Jewish Population	Percent Milwaukee Metropolitan Area
Under 5	1,253	5.5	23.8
5-9	1,897	8.4	11.9
10-14	2,237	9.9	30.7
15-19	2,101	9.3	10.3
20-24	1,338	5.8	8.5
25-29	995	4.4	6.5
30-34	1,168	5.2	12.6
35-39	1,451	6.4	6.5
40-44	1,664	7.3	7.0
45-49	1,715	7.6	6.9
50-54	1,711	7.6	6.4
55-59	1,624	7.2	6.1
60-64	1,285	5.7	5.6
65-69	934	4.1	5.0
70-74	656	2.9	4.3
75-79	354	1.6	3.5
80-84	156	.7	2.6
85 & over	86	.4	1.6
Total	22,625	100.0	8.9
Median Age		36.2	30.1

TABLE 3
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY AGE, SELECTED JEWISH COMMUNITIES

	Milwaukee Wisc.	Los Angeles Calif.	Detroit Mich.	Providence R.I.	Washington D.C.	Rochester N.Y.	Pittsburgh Penna.	Camden N.J.
AGE	1964	1959	1963	1964	1956	1961	1963	1965
Under 15	24	29	31	25	30	25	28	30
15-24	15	10	11	14	9	12	14	13
25-44	23	30	25	24	38	24	25	23
45-64	28	23	25	27	18	26	26	28
65 and over	10	8	8	10	5	13	7	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 4
MARITAL STATUS BY AGE AND SEX
FOR PERSONS 20 YEARS OF AGE, AND OVER

	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Total
<u>Male</u>					
20-34	49	51	--	--	100
35-44	98	2	--	--	100
45-64	98	1	--	1	100
65 and over	78	4	15	3	100
Total	86	10	3	1	100
<u>Female</u>					
20-34	56	42	--	2	100
35-44	88	2	2	8	100
45-64	83	4	12	1	100
65 and over	62	4	30	4	100
Total	81	9	7	3	100

•

Age Group	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Total
20-34	49	51	--	--	100
35-44	98	2	--	--	100
45-64	98	1	--	1	100
65 and over	78	4	15	3	100
Total	86	10	3	1	100
<u>Female</u>					
20-34	56	42	--	2	100
35-44	88	2	2	8	100
45-64	83	4	12	1	100
65 and over	62	4	30	4	100
Total	81	9	7	3	100

In summary, it is seen that the difference between Milwaukee and other Jewish communities are not very great. With the possible exception of Washington, D.C., which contains an unusually high proportion of young adults, the Jewish community examined here seems pretty much the product of the same social and economic trends.

Marital Status

Among the commandments for Jewish males is the mitzvah that every Jewish male shall marry. The Jewish women of Milwaukee have seen to it that the men heed that commandment. Of the males between 35 and 64 years of age, 98 percent are married. How efficient can you get? (See Table 4.)

The fact is that there are substantial numbers of single, divorced, and widowed women between 35 and 64 years of age without spouses. Over 65 years of age, 30 percent of the women are widows, whereas only 15 percent of the men are widowers. Unusually interesting is the figure of 8 percent for divorced women between 35-44 years of age. Their ex-husbands either married someone else or left town because our data show almost no men of this age around.

We see a total picture where most everyone is married, or has been married. Single persons comprise only a small proportion of the adult population. However, divorced and widowed women are far more numerous than men. Thus a certain core of women without spouses does exist, and this should be considered in planning.

Table 5 compares the marital status of Milwaukee with Detroit and Providence. It is rather clear that Milwaukee is strikingly like the other two Jewish communities, particularly in the male population. Among the women the proportion of widows is higher in both Detroit and Providence than it is in Milwaukee. Apparently the same factors are operative in all three communities.

TABLE 5

MARITAL STATUS FOR PERSONS OVER 20 YEARS OF AGE BY SEX FOR
SELECTED CITIES

	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced	Total
<u>Male</u>					
Milwaukee	86	10	3	1	100
Providence	86	11	2	1	100
Detroit	86	11	2	1	100
<u>Female</u>					
Milwaukee	81	9	7	3	100
Providence	79	8	11	2	100
Detroit	76	8	13	3	100

PART III

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

The economic life of the Jewish community is among the most important factors leading to an understanding of the community. This study has devoted an unusual amount of attention to this question in an attempt to fully explore the economic base of the Jewish community. Individual questions were asked concerning family income, exactly who in the family was working, their occupation, the type of industry in which they worked, whether they worked for relatives or not, and whether their work involved other Jewish persons. The latter two questions were unique to this study (as far as we know) and were aimed at the interesting questions of nepotism and whether Jewish people did most of their business with other Jews. These questions will be examined one by one, and finally together to form a total profile of the economic aspects of life in the Milwaukee Jewish Community.

Income

Before the study began there was some trepidation about asking a question on income under the assumption that it is a sensitive question. It is sensitive, but we still asked it, and the result was cheering. While a few persons did not care to answer, most persons responded readily.

Family income is shown in Table 6 and by age of male family head in Table 6A.

The median income for all family heads is \$9,485. However, there are sharp differences when age of the head is considered. The peak income was found in the 35-44 year old age group where it averaged \$12,500 per year. It may seem somewhat surprising that the peak income is reached so early but it can be pointed out that the older half of the 45-64 year age group is still largely foreign-born. Also this age group contains many widows with relatively low incomes. The really low incomes occur in the over 65 years age group where the median is only \$5,139. Since all incomes below the '\$5,000 category were lumped together, we don't know how low it goes. It is evident that a yearly income of even \$5,000 is not exactly a lavish one at today's housing, medical and food prices. Almost half of the persons over 65 years of age live at this level or below.

Thanks to Dr. Henry Sharpe of the University of Wisconsin who ran a special tabulation of his data for our benefit, we are able to compare the Jewish population with the non-Jewish population. The median income of all Milwaukeeans in 1964 was \$7,900. Thus the income of Jewish families was 20 percent higher.

TABLE 6
FAMILY INCOME LEVEL

	PERCENT
UNDER \$5,000	22
5,000 - 7,499	16
7,500 - 9,999	16
10,000 - 14,999	19
15,000 - 19,999	11
20,000 - 24,999	5
25,000 - 29,999	3
30,000	8
TOTAL	100
MEDIAN INCOME	\$9,485
MILWAUKEE SMSA (1964)	\$7,900

Granted that the Milwaukee Jewish family had a higher average income than the Milwaukee non-Jewish family, our data certainly dispel any notion that "all Jews are rich." It is apparent that not only are they not all rich, but a substantial number are close to or below the poverty level. This is without question a function of the number of persons who were foreign born and also the people who are today over 65 that spent most of their productive working years in the great depression. Modern pension and benefit arrangements did not touch most of these people.

There is an additional factor in understanding the income distribution. Many households are headed by women, mostly widows. Table 7 gives the income of these households or families. It is obvious that although it is higher than the income of persons over 65, the income of female family heads is not very high.

Thus we have two groups in the Milwaukee Jewish population whose income is probably below standards necessary to sustain the "good life." That these two groups (older persons and families headed by a woman ¹) have substandard incomes is not unique to the Jewish population, but we have tried to document here the broad scope of the problem in this population.

Occupation

We now pass on to the second aspect of the economic base of the Milwaukee Jewish Community--the occupational distribution. Occupation is in many ways more important than income in its ability to stand as an index of the total life style of the family. That is, knowing the occupation of the head of the household, tells us more about the household than any other single fact.

In the light of the preceding remarks it is interesting to note that the proportion of professional occupations increases with decreasing age, reaching a high of 36 percent among those under 35 years of age. This compares with 10 percent for men over 65 years of age. Clearly there are vast differences between generations. The proportion of these owning their own business or managing a business is roughly the same for all age groups except those under 35 years of age. However, if the traditional ways prevail, some of these younger people will go into business for themselves. On the other hand, this may not be so easy to do in the Milwaukee of today, and thus it remains an interesting question.

¹Most of the families headed by women are widows living alone and in their 60's and 70's. Thus the two groups (women and older persons) are not really two groups at all, but really older widows.

TABLE 7
INCOME OF FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS
(PERCENT DISTRIBUTION)

<u>Income</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Under \$5,000	46
\$5,000 - \$7,499	22
\$7,500 - \$9,999	17
\$10,000 - \$14,999	6
Over \$15,000	9
Total	100
Median	\$5,446

TABLE 8
OCCUPATION BY AGE

(PERCENT DISTRIBUTION ALL HOUSEHOLD HEADS)

	Age				Total
	20-34	35-44	34-64	65	
Professional	36	26	21	10	22
Managers and Owners	30	43	36	44	36
Clerical	4	4	3	3	4
Sales	15	19	23	24	23
Craftsmen	15	6	11	16	10
Operatives	-	1	2	-	2
Service Workers	-	1	3	-	3
Laborers	-	-	2	3	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Blue collar occupations, never very prevalent in the Milwaukee Jewish Community, have stayed at about the same level, except in the 35-44 year old age group. Among the persons under 35 years of age, the 15 percent that were blue collar are all craftsmen. It is highly possible that these young men may later establish businesses and become proprietors and owners.

Occupation and Income

When occupation is related to income we again find marked differences between groups that appear (Table 9). Several occupational groups have been combined because the individual categories are too small. Also it should be remembered that the retired are excluded from this table because by definition they have no occupation. This explains the higher median family incomes encountered in this table.

TABLE 9
OCCUPATION BY INCOME
(EMPLOYED MALE FAMILY HEADS)

	Under \$5,000	\$ 5,000- \$14,999	\$15,000- \$29,999	\$30,000 +	Median
Professional	-	38	39	23	\$19,477
Managers and Proprietors	7	54	29	10	12,925
White Collar	17	64	17	2	10,218
Blue Collar	20	72	8	-	9,243

Many things fall into a pattern when we analyze the findings in this table. First, the median income, which may have seemed to be rather low when viewed in total, does not seem so low when sub-divided by these broad occupational groups. The relationship between the median incomes of the various occupational groups seems extremely reasonable. The professional group has a high median income and seems to account for the apparent high level of prosperity in the Milwaukee Jewish Community. Yet, as we descend the occupational scale we find that the median income of the other occupational groups is far more moderate. Still below this are the incomes of the older retired persons and the older women family heads.

It all adds up to a picture of the community as one which on one hand contains a young, professional, prosperous group, and on the other hand an older group which is not nearly as well off financially. While the latter group is numerically larger, the younger and more active persons doubtless set the tone for the community.

Milwaukee Compared

How does the occupational structure in Milwaukee compare with other Jewish communities and with the non-Jewish population of Milwaukee? Table 10 gives the answer.

While there is considerable variation between the Jewish communities they are still much more like one another than they are like the non-Jewish community. The principal difference lies in the heavy concentration of the Jewish communities in the well paid high status professional and managerial occupations and the relative absence of blue collar occupations. Rather clearly the Jewish population occupies a unique position in the occupational structure.

Looking at the different Jewish communities, we see that the percentage of those employed in professional occupations ranges from a high of 28 percent in San Francisco to a low of 14 percent in Canton, Ohio and Des Moines, Iowa. Milwaukee is squarely in the middle with 22 percent. In the proprietor and managerial category the range is from 27 percent in San Francisco to 57 percent in South Bend, Indiana. Again Milwaukee is near the middle with 35 percent. This is also true for the blue collar category.

TABLE 10

COMPARATIVE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MALES IN
MILWAUKEE AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES

	Professionals	Owners and Managers	White Collar	Blue Collar
<u>Jewish</u>				
Milwaukee (1964)	22	35	26	15
Detroit (1963)	23	54	13	10
Providence (1963)	21	41	25	12
Trenton (1961)	27	54	13	5
South Bend (1961)	18	57	15	11
Des Moines (1956)	14	53	24	7
Canton (1955)	14	55	14	12
Rochester (1961)	27	30	24	20
Los Angeles (1959)	25	31	24	20
San Francisco (1958)	28	27	34	11
New Orleans (1958)	25	49	18	8
Camden, N.J. (1965)	34	31	22	13
<u>Non-Jewish</u>				
Milwaukee SMSA	12	8	26	54
U.S. White Urban Male	14	14	18	64

Thus Milwaukee might be characterized, at least in terms of occupational structure, as the moderate or middle type community. Another way to say this is that it is a near average Jewish community, to the extent that such an average has any meaning at all.

TABLE 11

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY FOR MILWAUKEE AND SELECTED COMMUNITIES
(PERCENT DISTRIBUTION--EMPLOYED MALE HEADS)

Industry	Milwaukee Jewish Community	Milwaukee Non-Jewish	Detroit Jewish
Construction	9	48	17
Manufacturing	14		
Transportation, Public Utilities	1	7	-
Wholesale Trade	9	19	43
Retail Trade	34		
Finance, Insurance et cetera	8	5	8
Service Industries	6	7	15
Professions	17	11	15
Public Administration	2	4	2
Total	100	100	100

TABLE 12

INDUSTRY BY AGE
(PERCENT DISTRIBUTION EMPLOYED MALE HEADS)

	20-34	35-44	45-64	65 and over
Construction	-	12	10	7
Manufacturing	16	15	16	2
Transportation, Public Utilities	-	2	1	-
Wholesale Trade	3	2	9	24
Retail Trade	34	30	36	33
Finance, Insurance Real Estate	9	6	7	12
Services	6	8	5	10
Professional Services	32	23	14	10
Public Administration	-	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100

Employment by Industry

Industry differs from occupation in that it describes the kind of business in which a person performs a certain kind of work, which we call his occupation. The distribution by industry for Milwaukee is shown along with comparative data for the Detroit Jewish Community and the total Milwaukee SMSA (Table 11).

One is immediately struck with the obvious similarities between the two Jewish communities, and the considerable dissimilarity between the Milwaukee Jewish Community and the Milwaukee SMSA (non-Jewish). The greatest difference is seen in the area of construction and manufacturing where 48 percent of the total Milwaukee population is working in these categories versus only 23 percent in the Milwaukee Jewish population. Instead, the Jewish workers are more heavily represented in wholesale and retail trade, and the professions. This, of course, is the traditional pattern for United States Jewry and it is interesting to note that it still holds true.

Will it change? Some indication of what will happen can be foretold if we examine industry by age to see if the young people are clinging to the old pattern. It can be seen in Table 12 that the major shift between the new and the old generation lies in decrease in wholesale trade and the increase in professional services. Retail trade does not seem to have declined. Also construction seems to have lost ground among the younger heads. The big picture is quite clear, though. Increasingly the Jewish employed person is someone who provides professional services to the community. This role fits in with the total life pattern of income, status and education.

Self Employment

Due to many factors in his past, another traditional economic trait in a Jewish population is "to be in business for one's self." How does Milwaukee stand in relation to this? Table 13 contains the data.

TABLE 13

TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT FOR MILWAUKEE BY AGE
FOR DETROIT AND MILWAUKEE SMSA
(PERCENT DISTRIBUTION MALE FAMILY HEADS)

Type of Employment	20-34	35-44	45-64	65 & Over	Total	Detroit Total	Milwaukee SMSA
Self	48	61	59	73	59	61	7
Others	52	39	41	27	41	39	93
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

It can be seen that the key difference is between the Jewish community and the general community. In both of the Jewish communities shown here (Milwaukee and Detroit) six out of ten persons are self employed, while in the total community (Milwaukee SMSA) self employment constitutes only 7 percent of all employment. The importance of this vast difference cannot be emphasized enough.

If we consider a total population, then everyone or even six out of ten cannot be self employed. There are only so many professions and business enterprises possible in a community, and most people must work for someone else. Only a minority can be self employed. While not every member of this minority group (the self-employed) is Jewish, and while not all members of the Jewish minority group are members of the self-employed group, the Jewish group is characterized by self employment. Does self-employment help maintain the Jewish identity? Does maintaining a Jewish identity promulgate self-employment? Probably both things are mutually reinforcing. If self-employment declines, will Jewish identity decline? We do not know, and it remains in the future to find an answer to this question. One thing we can do is to keep watching.

One possible clue is contained in Table 13 in age differentials. The males under 35 years of age tend to work for others more than the older family heads. Is this a permanent reduction or will they go into business for themselves in the future? Naturally we don't know the answer yet, but it should be pursued further.

Up to this point all discussion of the economic base of the Milwaukee Jewish Community has been in terms of either the total household or the male head of the household. Nothing has been said of other earners in the household or of the households where the female head is the only earner. There has been the implicit assumption that each household is headed by one male earner and that this person is the sole source of income. This is far from the truth. In reality there is extensive secondary employment in the Milwaukee Jewish family. The female head, if there is no male head who also works. Perhaps it is part-time work, but more often it is full-time employment.

Accordingly, the following analysis divides the employed into three categories: First, employed males; second, employed female family heads; and third working wives. The wife can be considered to be a "second earner" because if there were no male present she would be categorized as a "female family head." Thus, in the following tables the male family heads and the female family heads can be considered to be the "first earner" while the wives can be considered as "second earners," although there are a few cases where a male family head is present

but not working so that the wife is really the first earner. However, for the sake of simplicity it will be assumed that the working wife is the "second earner."

Category of Earner

Type of Employment--When we look at all of the employed in the Jewish community we get a far different picture than that previously shown in Table 14.

The characteristic self-employment among Jews is prevalent only among male family heads, and to a certain extent among female family heads, while the working wives are about always employed by others. Of course it stands to reason that this would be the case given the economic structure of the total community. This picture of self-employment among all workers in the Milwaukee Jewish Community serves to narrow the gap between the Jewish community and the total community, because when we consider all Jewish employed, less than half are self-employed.

TABLE 14
TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT BY CATEGORY OF EARNER
(PERCENT DISTRIBUTION)

	<u>First Earner</u>		<u>Second Earner</u>	
	Male Family Heads	Female Family Heads	Working Wives	All Earners
Employed by Self	59	31	4	46
Employed by Others	41	69	96	54
Total	100	100	100	100

Occupation by Category of Earner--In addition to the self-employment factor, the occupations of the various categories of employed are of major importance. Information is given in Table 15.

Looking at the industry of employment for each category of earner, it is seen that the bulk of the employment in the women as well as the men is in either retail trade or professional services. However, the women, both female heads and working wives, were more highly concentrated in these two groups than were the men. In fact, among the female family heads almost 80 percent were concentrated in these two groups, and among the working wives almost 70 percent also were in these two categories. There appears to be little diversification, especially among the female heads.

Sales and clerical positions occupied most of the remaining women workers, although among female heads about one out of six was the owner of a business.

Employment by Industry and Category of Earner--Looking at the industry of employment for each category of earner it is seen that the bulk of the employment in the women as well as the men is in either retail trade or professional services. However, the women, both female heads and working wives, were more highly concentrated in these two groups than were the men. In fact, among the female family heads almost 80 percent were concentrated in these two groups, and among the working wives almost 70 percent also were in these two categories. There appears to be little diversification, especially among the female heads.

TABLE 15
OCCUPATION BY CATEGORY OF EARNER
(PERCENT DISTRIBUTION)

	<u>First Earner</u>		<u>Second Earner</u>
	Male Family Heads	Female Family Heads	Working Wives
Professional	21	31	30
Manager, Owners	36	17	5
Clerical	3	14	23
Sales	24	24	24
Craftsmen	10	-	6
Operatives	2	-	-
Service Workers	2	14	12
Laborers	2	-	-
Total	100	100	100

The results are extremely interesting. It appears that not only is the professional category the most common among the female heads and working wives, but the proportion exceeds that of males. This means several things. The women are obviously engaging in work that involves education, training and commitment. Also professional work pays fairly well, at the least, therefore their economic contribution must be fairly high. Mainly, though, these women are doing work which they probably want to do, rather than which they must do out of economic necessity.

TABLE 16
INDUSTRY OF EMPLOYMENT BY CATEGORY OF EARNER
(PERCENT DISTRIBUTION)

	<u>First Earner</u>		<u>Second Earner</u>
	Male Family Heads	Female Family Heads	Working Wives
Construction	9	-	4
Manufacturing	14	-	6
Transportation and Utilities	1	4	1
Wholesale Trade	9	-	10
Retail Trade	34	46	42
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	8	-	3
Services	6	4	5
Professional Services	17	32	27
Public Admini- stration	2	14	2
Total	100	100	100

Employment by Relatives

A related factor is contained in the question: "to what extent are Jewish persons employed by their relatives?" Although there is considerable folklore concerning this subject, it has generally been believed that the Jewish group has exhibited a high degree of family solidarity and family help. In a hostile anti-Semitic society one should expect that Jews would be largely self-employed or working for other Jews. There is no doubt there is some element of this in the Jewish history in the United States. It has been said that large corporations have hesitated to hire Jews--at least in the past. Unfortunately there is no benchmark by which we can examine the past. In this study we asked those who were employed by others, whether they were related to their employer. Table 17 gives the results.

We see that almost half of the male family heads are employed in non-Jewish owned businesses. Even larger proportions of female family heads and working wives are employed by non-Jewish employers.

TABLE 17

WHETHER RELATED TO EMPLOYER OR NOT BY CATEGORY OF EARNER

(PERCENT)

Employed by	<u>First Earner</u>		<u>Second Earner</u>
	Male Family Heads	Female Family Heads	Working Wives
Not related, non- Jewish employer	46	67	49
Not related, Jewish Employer	41	29	17
Related, Jewish employer	13	4	34
Total	100	100	100

Looking at employment by relatives, it is seen that only 13 percent of the male family heads and 4 percent of the female family heads are employed by relatives. However, the working wives show a distinctly different pattern since over one-third are employed by relatives. Table 17 does not show this detail but examination of the tabulation indicated that most of these wives are employed by their husbands.

The data pretty well destroys the idea that nepotism is rampant in the Milwaukee Jewish Community, with the exception of husband-wife working relationships. However, one thing is clear. About half of the male family heads are working for Jewish employers. Since the Jewish population is less than 3 percent of the total Milwaukee population, it is evident that Jews couldn't be the owners of half of Milwaukee's business enterprises, over-represented though they might be. So it is obvious that Jewish persons tend to be employed far more often by Jewish employers. Thus there is considerable truth in the statement that Jews employ one another, but apparently little validity to the idea that employer and employee are often related.

The Clients and Customers of Jewish Business and Professions

There was once popular a joke about how the residents of Tel Aviv made a living selling each other orange juice. Milwaukee isn't Tel Aviv and the Jewish population isn't exactly in a majority, so we can expect that most Jewish economic enterprise will be largely dependent on a non-Jewish clientele. However, we were interested in the extent or how much Jewish business and professional endeavor was confined to other Jews. This question is also unique to this study so we have no comparative data.

We asked the self-employed, "Are your clients (patients, customers, et cetera) (a) all Jewish, (b) mostly Jewish, (c) half and half, (d) mostly non-Jewish, (e) all non-Jewish?" Results are shown in Table 18.

It is quite difficult to evaluate these responses, because we have nothing to compare, and because it was hard to assess what it "should" be. By this is meant, how much of the economic base of the Jewish community could be logically expected to be derived from Jews. However a few observations can be made since Jews comprise less than 3 percent of the Milwaukee SMSA. If the various clients, patients and customers that comprise the "market" for Jewish businesses and professions were spread according to chance, then only three out of a hundred customers, patients, and clients would be Jewish. Thus everyone interviewed would have marked down "mostly non-Jewish" or "all non-Jewish." Actually only about three out of four chose those categories. Over one-fourth said either "half and half," "mostly Jewish," and a few said "all Jewish." This indicates, in a crude way, that there is a certain dependency in the economic life of the Jewish Community.

TABLE 18
PERCENTAGE OF JEWISH CONTACT IN BUSINESS

	First Earner ¹ (Male Family Head) Percent
All Jewish	1
Mostly Jewish	2
Half Jewish	25
Mostly Non-Jewish	54
All Non-Jewish	18
Total	100

¹There were an insufficient number of second earners who were self employed to present tabulation.

PART IV

EDUCATION

Education has a traditionally important role in the Jewish community. While education for its own sake is honored among many Jews, the practical consequences of education, that is, as a means to a profession, has been crucial in the continuing development of the American Jewish community. As a group American-born Jews are among the most highly educated persons in this country with higher rates of college attendance and graduation, as well as participation in graduate education and professional degrees. We have seen that the Milwaukee Jewish community has a large number of professional persons, so we know already that the educational level is bound to be high. How does it compare with other places?

It is seen in Table 19 that Milwaukee is just about in the middle in comparison with other Jewish communities. Exactly 50 percent attended college, a very high figure considering that the foreign born are included. It is interesting to note how the non-Jewish population of Milwaukee (Milwaukee SMSA) has such a vastly different educational pattern. Thus it is seen that education, even more than income, differentiates the Milwaukee Jewish population from the Milwaukee general population.

TABLE 19
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MILWAUKEE JEWISH COMMUNITY
AND SELECTED AREAS

	Milwaukee Jewish Community	Detroit	Rochester (1961)	Camden, N.J.	Trenton, (1961)	Los Angeles (1959)	San Francisco (1958)	New Orleans (1958)	Milwaukee SMSA
	Percent								
Elementary School or Less	11	9	21	11	14			12	35
Attended High School	11	37	12	43	7	25	25		20
High School Graduate	28		30		32	52	34	22	25
Attended College	23	54	30	46	19		11	24	10
College Graduate & Post Graduate	27		23		28	23	30	33	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Education of Males Compared with Females

The next question that might be asked is, how does the education of Milwaukee males compare with females? (Table 20)

TABLE 20

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY SEX (PERCENT)

	Males	Females
Elementary School Only	13	9
High School	35	44
College	34	38
Graduate School	18	9
Total	100	100

It can be seen that the males represent the extremes. They have a higher percentage of persons who went to elementary school only, and a lower proportion who went to high school and to college, but this is because so many more went beyond the B.A. level. Eighteen percent went to graduate school as compared with 9 percent of females. This is probably in accord with the concept of the economic utility of education. The male, who must provide more often goes on in school to get the training that will make him a living.

Education by Age

The analysis of education has been clouded by the fact that adults of all ages have been represented, and that education varies greatly with the generations. After all, the majority of the immigrants did not have the benefit of formal schooling. Despite this the educational level has been seen to be very high. What is it like when the age groupings are examined individually?

TABLE 21

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MALES BY AGE

	20-34	35-44	45-64	65
Elementary School Only	-	9	10	37
High School	17	24	41	35
College	43	41	34	23
Graduate School	40	26	15	5
Total	100	100	100	100

This table probably more than the previous ones illustrates the extremely high educational level of the Milwaukee Jewish population. Among the men under 35 years of age only 17 percent had not had some college work. Obviously failure to go to college puts you in a minority category in the Jewish population today. Also the fact that 40 percent went on to do graduate work (most obtained graduate degrees) is particularly impressive. Among the males 35-44 years of age, two out of three had been to college, and among the still older males 45-64 years of age, over half had been to college. Even among the men over 65 years of age, over one quarter have been to college. It's not too far fetched to assume that the upward trend will continue and that in another ten or fifteen years the younger generation will have attained an educational level where from 70 to 80 percent have graduate degrees.

One cannot help reflect on the value system that underlies this remarkable demonstration of educational achievement. It's not just the Milwaukee Jewish community (Table 19 shows that). The drive to educational attainment must be close to the most significant and powerful force in American Jewish life today. At a time when the demands for the educated professional are becoming greater, and the rewards are correspondingly greater, the younger generation of American Jewry is splendidly equipped to fill these positions.

Level of Degree

Since so many have college degrees it is interesting to explore just what level of degrees are involved. Table 22 provides this information. It should be kept in mind that these are adults of all ages; therefore the proportions with degrees are smaller.

TABLE 22
LEVEL OF COLLEGE DEGREE

	Males	Females
No Degree	69	81
College Degree	31	19
Bachelors Degree	14	14
Masters Degree	2	5
Doctors Degree	8	-
Law Degree	7	

Men and women have the same percentage at the bachelors level (14 percent). Women have a higher proportion of Masters degrees, but above this level the men take over with 8 percent having doctor's degrees of some type, and 7 percent having legal degrees. Our sample is too small to permit subdivision by age, but its not too hard to realize that the younger the people the greater the proportion of higher degrees.

Education by Income

Is the educational level associated with the income level? Table 23 provides an extremely revealing answer.

TABLE 23

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY INCOME (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION, MALE HEADS)

	Income				Median Income
	Under \$5,000	\$5,000- 14,999	\$15,000- 19,999	\$30,000+	
Elementary School	26	14	5	8	\$ 9,348
High School	45	23	10	13	9,343
College	16	41	63	25	12,727
Graduate School	13	22	22	54	12,973
Total	100	100	100	100	

Looking first at the median incomes for the various educational levels a striking fact emerges. The population is split into two really marked groups. If you went to college your income was substantially higher than if you did not. One level of income was associated with the college population, and the other with the non-college population. There were almost no differences based on the two non-college subgroups (elementary and high school), and little difference between the two college groups (college and graduate school).

This would leave one to suspect that the prevalence of college attendance in the Jewish population has solid economic implications. Whether people know this, suspect this, or just assume it as a fact of life, cannot be said. However, it is clearly and obviously based on fact.

Also the distribution of percentages between the educational levels at various income levels is most provocative. Graduate school is the prevalent educational level for male family heads with incomes over \$30,000 per year, while college attendance is characteristic of those with incomes in the \$15,000 to \$30,000 a year income group. Similarly those who attended college are the largest group in the \$5,000 to \$14,999 income group, while high school is the large group among those in the lowest income category.

PART V

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

An analysis of identification with the three branches of Judaism, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform as well as those who do not identify with any branch is of major importance in understanding the nature of the Jewish community. Perhaps, more than we care to admit, the branch of Judaism with which one is identified determines a person's attitudes and opinions, friends and associates, as well as organizational affiliations both formal and informal. Therefore an analysis of the variable of religious identification has real meaning in plotting the community's future.

Religious Identification by Age

Analysis of religious identification by age of the male head of the family enables us to gain some idea of where the individual branches of Judaism are "going" in the sense of whether they are attracting younger people. By this means we can "project" the future religious composition of the community. Table 24 provides the data.

TABLE 24

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION BY AGE (PERCENT, MALE FAMILY HEADS)

	20-34	35-44	45-64	65	Total
Orthodox	4	2	19	51	22
Conservative	33	68	49	36	49
Reform	52	19	26	11	24
Other	11	11	6	2	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The outstanding fact contained in Table 24 is the very small proportion of persons under 45 years of age who subscribe to Orthodox Judaism. Although today the Orthodox comprise over one out of five Jewish male household heads, almost half of them are over 65 years of age, and almost all of the others are over 45 years of age. Unless massive change occurs, the Orthodox Jew in Milwaukee twenty years hence will be reduced to a very small group.

Looking at the relative positions of the Conservative and Orthodox groups it can be seen that among the youngest family heads (20-34 year olds), over half are

Reform, whereas among older family heads (35-44 years of age) the Conservative group is the largest (68 percent), and the Reform are only 19 percent. On the other hand, in the next oldest age group (45-64 years of age) the percentage of Reform has risen to 26 percent.

This all adds up to a rather mixed situation which is particularly interesting because of its implications. If we look at just the youngest age group it appears that the Reform branch is "getting" the young people. Yet the Reform group is not as great a proportion of the next oldest age group. This could be due to the fact that this is a very recent trend that is just beginning to affect the very youngest family heads, or it could be the result of the past patterns of immigration which have operated to produce this distribution, or it could be the result of the founding of new Reform Temples. Future development of trends in the area of religious identification should be watched.

Religious Identification by Income

The relationship between income and religious identification can be guessed rather quickly from our previous knowledge of the relative age of the four groups. Table 25 confirms this.

TABLE 25

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION BY INCOME (PERCENT, MALE FAMILY HEADS)

	Under \$5,000	\$5,000- 14,999	\$15,000- 29,999	\$30,000+	Total	Median
Orthodox	38	41	16	5	100	\$8,000
Conservative	10	59	26	5	100	13,476
Reform	--	46	33	21	100	16,785
Other	--	76	14	10	100	8,437

The pattern of income is just about what would be anticipated. The Reform have the highest incomes followed by the Conservative, and then there is a sharp drop downward to the "Other" and the Orthodox. Data on occupations and educations can be considered part of the same pattern. Consequently they are shown in Tables 26 and 27.

TABLE 26
RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION BY OCCUPATION
(PERCENT, MALE FAMILY HEADS)

	Professional	Owners Managers	Clerical	Sales	Craftsmen	Operators	Service Workers	Laborers	Total
Orthodox	4	22	16	37	18	3	--	--	100
Conservative	17	38	4	25	10	3	--	3	100
Reform	42	35	--	18	2	--	3	--	100
Other	21	33	--	21	13	--	12	--	100

TABLE 27
RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
(PERCENT, MALE FAMILY HEADS)

	Elementary School	High School	College	Graduate School	Total
Orthodox	32	45	14	9	100
Conservative	10	39	36	15	100
Reform	3	15	47	35	100
Other	36	32	14	18	100

Tables 24, 25, 26 and 27 when taken together show a clear portrait. The Orthodox group is relatively elderly, has the lowest median income of \$8,000, less than one-fourth have been to college, and are rarely in professional occupations. The Conservative have a median income of over \$13,000, are intermediate in age, over half have been to college, and one out of six are professionally employed. The Reform are the youngest, the best educated with over 80 percent having been to college, and over 40 percent professionally employed. The "Other" group fits between the Orthodox and Conservative with respect to these categories.

Summarizing all this material, it is apparent that insofar as material "achievement" is concerned the Reform are out in front, followed at not too great a distance by the Conservative, with a sharp drop to the position of the Other and Orthodox groups. It is likely that when people achieve material success, in the form of high income, lengthy education and "professional" occupations, they turn to the Reform identification with the feeling that it best meets their needs. While we might speculate on this point for a very long time we have the data to do something more concrete.

PART VI

PLACE OF BIRTH

One of the most salient characteristics of the Jew has been his status as a wanderer, a migrant (often forced) over the face of the earth. In all of history probably only a small proportion of Jews have been born and lived and died in the same place. For that matter, much of mankind is on the move, but for the Jew geographic movement has a special meaning. Although the Jew has been in America from the earliest times, the bulk of the Jewish population has been relatively recent migrant origin. Yet sufficient time has lapsed since the days of the great migrations from Europe for a substantial native group to grow to adulthood. At the same time the foreign born are aging rapidly. In another twenty years the Jewish population of the United States will be almost wholly native. We can certainly expect marked changes in the American Jewish community as the foreign born elders with their roots in Europe are replaced by the American born Jew whose life experiences have been so different. This chapter explores the external aspects of this changing situation.

The following table shows the place of birth of adult males and females.

TABLE 28

PLACE OF BIRTH OF ADULT MALES AND FEMALES

	Males	Females
Milwaukee	40	40
Other Wisconsin	5	8
Northeastern States	7	4
Northcentral States	12	14
Other U.S. and Canada	1	1
Russia-Poland	28	27
Other Europe	7	6
Total	100	100

It can readily be seen that there are few differences between the place of birth of males and females. Perhaps a more direct approach could be revealing of meaningful differences. Therefore the birthplace of each husband and each wife was tabulated.

TABLE 29
PLACE OF BIRTH BY HUSBAND BY PLACE OF BIRTH BY WIFE

Place of Birth of Wife	Milwaukee	Other U.S.	Foreign
Milwaukee	67 (54)	45 (37)	27 (48)
Other U.S.	41 (33)	29 (22)	14 (29)
Foreign	12 (33)	9 (24)	66 (30)

Table 29 needs some explanation. The numbers outside the parentheses are the actual numbers of married couples. The numbers enclosed within the parentheses are the number that should be married if pure chance operated to bring them together. Of course, pure chance hasn't brought people together for it is obvious that if a couple were born and lived abroad, say in Poland, their chances of meeting a non-Polish mate are not great. Therefore, it can be expected that in 66 cases both marriage partners were foreign born, although pure chance would have brought only 30 together. The case of the foreign born is so obvious that it needs no further elaboration. The interesting part of the table concerns whether Milwaukee people marry non-Milwaukee people and vice versa. The foreign born can be eliminated and the table condensed to:

<u>Wife</u>	Husband	
	Born in Milwaukee	Born in U.S. Outside Milwaukee
Born in Milwaukee	67 (67)	45 (45)
Born in U.S. Outside Milwaukee	41 (41)	29 (29)

This result is very interesting. The distribution of married couples does not differ from pure chance. Translated from "statisticese" (the author's native tongue) it says, in English, that a Milwaukee born person has just as good a chance of getting a mate not born in Milwaukee as they have of marrying a Milwaukee-born person. It is an index of the free flow of geographic mobility of the United States Jewish population. This will be discussed in its other aspects shortly.

Income

While there is little difference in the median income (Table 30) between native Milwaukeeans and persons born elsewhere than the United States and now residing in Milwaukee, the income of the foreign-born is considerably less. However, if we compare the median income of foreign born group (\$8,654) to the non-Jewish population median income (\$7,900), we find the median income of the Jewish foreign born is higher. At the same time, almost one-third of the families headed by a foreign born male have incomes below \$5,000 per year. It is apparent that low income (if low income can be defined as under \$5,000) is primarily associated with foreign birth because only very small proportions of persons native to the United States (7 percent of those born in Milwaukee and 6 percent of those born elsewhere in the United States) have incomes below \$5,000. This is a rather important fact. It means that almost all Jewish families headed by a United States born male are out of the "poverty" range. Very low income is just not a problem in the native Jewish community. At the same time it is evident that very high incomes, over \$30,000 per year, are not that common, either. The picture that emerges of the native population, and hence the future population, is one of almost total economic adequacy. Aren't there any "failures"? One can only speculate that possibly those who do fail in the economic really may tend to shrink away from this monolithic economic adequacy (everybody's a "success") and to lose their Jewish identification; in short to blend in with the general community where to be a \$95 a week production worker is the norm and not a mark of failure. Another hypothesis is that the "failures" have moved out of Milwaukee to Chicago or Los Angeles, where perhaps economic opportunities may be greater, or even if opportunities are not greater there is at least the welcome anonymity of the larger community where the newcomer will not be so conspicuous.

Age

The age variable is dramatic for it shows that the foreign born are almost entirely over 45 years of age, and that over half are already over 65 years of age. This means the next twenty-five years will witness the almost complete decimation of the foreign born group, and that by 1990 the community will be composed almost entirely of persons native to the United States. The persons who have linked the Jewish culture of Europe to American Jewish culture will no longer be present, and the American Jewish community will be on its own. During these next twenty-five years cultural patterns will be established that will become the guide-lines of the future.

Education

Education can be treated briefly because by this time the results will be obvious. Nevertheless the results are impressive. Almost two out of three native Milwaukeeans as well as others native to the United States have been to college. One quarter of those native to Milwaukee have been to graduate school. Even among the foreign born one-third have been to college.

Religious Identification

About one-third of the foreign-born are Orthodox and almost one-half are conservative. This would be as expected. More interesting is the fact that of the persons born in the United States other than in Milwaukee only 8 percent are Orthodox, and over one-third Reform. This would seem reasonable, for we can expect that United States born Orthodox are less likely to move geographically for such reasons as occupational patterns and institutional needs. This is further confirmed when it is seen that of those people native to Milwaukee itself, 17 percent are Orthodox. This begins to bring about an interesting situation where locally born Orthodox Jews become "the" Orthodox group. The previous data has shown this to be a small group, particularly among the young, but nevertheless it shows the existence of a new but undoubtedly unique subgroup in American Jewish life. The word American is stressed here because in many other countries of the world the native Orthodox represent the dominant group. Really, it is only in the United States that there is a tendency to equate Reform and Conservative with native birth and Orthodoxy with foreign birth.

Self-Employment and Occupation

Just as with education the patterns of self-employment and occupation are rather obvious and do not need too much elaboration. It could be expected that the native of Milwaukee would be most often self-employed, and they are. The foreign born are also more often self-employed. The occupational information makes this clear. The largest proportion of foreign born are owners of

businesses which accounts for the self-employment. Persons native to the United States but not to Milwaukee are far less often professionals than the native Milwaukeeans. Since most of the professionals are in the traditional doctor and lawyer categories, it is not surprising. Such professionals often after schooling return home to practice where they are known. The occupational distribution of the native Milwaukeeans is almost identical with the occupational distribution of those born elsewhere in the United States with the exception of the aforementioned professional group, and the white collar group. The non-Milwaukeeans predominate in this latter group. Inspection of detailed data not shown here indicate that most of these persons are salesmen.

TABLE 30

PLACE OF BIRTH BY SELECTED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

(Percent Distribution Male Family Head)

	Milwaukee	Other United States	Foreign Born
<u>Income</u>			
Under \$5,000	7	6	31
\$5,000-\$14,999	53	61	52
\$15,000-\$29,999	27	23	13
\$30,000 and over	13	10	4
Total	100	100	100
Median Income	\$13,113	\$12,377	\$8,654
<u>Age</u>			
20-34	15	16	1
35-44	24	22	2
45-64	54	60	50
65 and over	7	2	47
Total	100	100	100
<u>Education</u>			
Elementary	2	6	30
High School	35	31	37
College	38	44	24
Graduate School	25	19	9
Total	100	100	100
<u>Religious Identification</u>			
Orthodox	17	8	36
Conservative	46	53	46
Reform	27	36	13
Other	10	3	5
Total	100	100	100

TABLE 30--continued

	Milwaukee	Other United States	Foreign Born
<u>Self Employment</u>			
Self Employed	69	45	62
Employed by Others	31	55	38
Total	100	100	100
<u>Occupation</u>			
Professional	33	20	8
Managers, Owners	36	37	38
White Collar	16	30	33
Blue Collar	15	13	21
Total	100	100	100

PART VII

MIGRATION

Place of birth of the family heads has been discussed but our information has not shed light directly on the specific problem of gains and losses of population in the Milwaukee Jewish community. The purpose of this section is to explore migration from the viewpoint of direct population loss or gain.

From the earliest times to the mid-1920's the United States attracted immigrants from Europe, and individual cities gained population from this source. However, in the past forty years migratory increase has been largely confined to the movement of rural peoples to the city. This doesn't work in terms of a Jewish community because, except for small numbers, Jewish persons are already living in cities. Thus if a Jewish community in a given city grows through migration it must necessarily be at the expense of a Jewish community in other cities. Los Angeles and its recent great growth of Jewish population is a case in point. The Jewish migrants to Los Angeles came from other American cities--including Milwaukee. With this in mind we can examine the migration picture in Milwaukee.

Migration into Milwaukee

To begin, it should be pointed out that the data on which the subsequent material is based pertains to all adults over 20 years of age, and not just household heads and spouses as in the previous tables. Thus we have a completed accounting of individuals. It should also be stated that this represents a complete record of surviving in-migrants (surviving, because someone could have moved to Milwaukee and subsequently died). Table 31 shows the record of in-migration as well as those born in Milwaukee. Since we are concerned with gains and losses in terms of numbers of persons the data are in the form of numbers rather than percentages.

This table indicates that the percent native to Milwaukee varies from 67.8 among the youngest to 14.0 among the oldest. Conversely, about one out of three persons among the youngest was a migrant to the community, and the proportion of migrants grows greater with increasing age. This is as expected. The important thing is that obviously Milwaukee has been able to attract people from outside the community (migrants).

Next, attention must be turned to the question of who has left the community? At first glance it would seem this is an impossible task. How do you search the country to find ex-Milwaukians? There is another way, and to this end, everyone was asked where all of their children were. This enables us to

TABLE 31

PLACE OF BIRTH OF PERSONS OVER TWENTY YEARS OF AGE

Age	Milwaukee	Other Wisconsin	East	Midwest	Other United States	Foreign Born	Total	Percent Native to Milwaukee
20-34	2293	426	98	398	122	46	3383	67.8
35-44	1812	231	293	586	--	230	3152	57.5
45-54	1611	410	233	482	3	681	3420	47.1
55-64	607	271	111	400	62	1468	2919	20.8
65 and over	308	15	15	116	15	1728	2197	14.0
Total	6631	1353	750	1982	202	4153	15071*	44.0

*Sample data have been adjusted to conform with complete census data.

reconstruct a minimal figure for out-migration from the community. Missing from this estimate of out-migration are cases where the entire family (including parents of people in their thirties, forties and fifties) moved out of Milwaukee. Also missing are cases where the parents of migrants are dead. However, it is equally true that the parents of "children" who are still living in Milwaukee are also dead. Thus it would seem that no particular bias is injected from this source. Accordingly, the present whereabouts of all "children" over twenty years of age, as reported by their parents, was made (Table 32).

TABLE 32

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PERSONS LIVING IN MILWAUKEE AND
ELSEWHERE (OUT MIGRANTS) AS REPORTED BY THEIR PARENTS

Age	Living In Milwaukee		Living Out Of Milwaukee		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
20-34	1639	53.1	1446	46.9	100.0
35-44	1812	70.7	752	29.3	100.0
45-54	829	56.6	636	43.4	100.0
65 and over*	--	--	--	--	--

*There were insufficient numbers of percents of persons 65 years of age and over still left alive to calculate a figure.

It can be seen that only slightly more than half of the children now 20-34 years of age born to parents living in Milwaukee have stayed in Milwaukee. Among persons in the next age group, over 70 percent have stayed, while among those 45-54 years of age only 57 percent have stayed. It should be pointed out that this was the group most exposed to the migratory forces of World War II, and the relatively high rate of migration evidenced here seems to make sense. However, the essence of the problem lies in the behavior of the 20-34 year old age group.

According to Table 32 over half do not stay in Milwaukee. Is this consequential to the ultimate size of the Jewish community? Of course it has been seen in Table 31 that Milwaukee attracts substantial numbers of in-migrants as well. The important question, then, is: does the flow of migration out of Milwaukee exceed the flow in, or does the reverse prevail? To find this out the number of persons shown in Table 32 is related to the number of in-migrants shown in Table 29.

It's really only the two youngest age groups for which the slightest validity can be assumed. They show a complete renewal of the migratory picture wherein there seems to be a small net outflow from the community.

TABLE 33
NUMBER OF IN AND OUT MIGRANTS BY AGE

Age	In Migrants	Out Migrants	Net Gain or Loss
20-34	1090	1446	-356
35-44	1340	752	+ 588
45-54	1809	636	+ 1173
55-64	1885	58	+ 1827

However, the picture is not incomplete. Throughout this report reference has been made to a so-called "attached" population--those young persons away at college or in the army. These people cannot be said to be residents of Milwaukee because they do not live in the community; yet they are not migrants because for all we know they may intend to return to Milwaukee.

The total number of such young persons from 20-34 years of age was 1080, most of whom were male, between 20-24 years of age and away at college. It should be realized that this represents over 25 percent of the entire 20-34 year old age group. Also this phenomenon is the consequence of the enormously high rate of college attendance on the part of young Jewish people. Of course this will continue.

Now if the "attached" population is looked at in relation to the resident 20-34 year old age group the picture is changed. Should all 1080 persons return to "home" in Milwaukee the total size of the 20-34 year old age group would increase from 3383 to 4463.

Among the 20-34 year olds resident in Milwaukee, 53.1 percent were native to Milwaukee and still living there, and 46.9 percent were migrants. If we assume that in accord with this past experience 53.1 return to Milwaukee and 46.9 percent migrate 507 persons will return to make a total count of 3890 persons in the 20-34 year old age group.

In summary it is seen that although a significant number of persons left Milwaukee as presumably permanent migrants, a number of persons came into the community to take up residence. The net loss was 356 persons but this was spread over fifteen years (in a sense). It resulted in a net loss of about 25 persons (presumably future family heads) per year, not a very great net loss. Of much more import is the eventual residence of the almost 1100 young people now away at college. Future population gains and losses in Milwaukee will depend on where this group and their successors in subsequent years will finally decide to settle.

PART VIII

FERTILITY

Understanding of the fertility picture is important to a Jewish community because births are almost the sole source of supply of future community members. Since the Jewish religion is in no sense a proselytizing one, we must rely on the fertility of our families to produce the next generation. This is always a source of concern because for many years and in many places the Jews as a group have usually been far less fertile than the rest of the population. Thus the Jews in addition to being a minority group, have been shrinking relative to the remainder of the population. While their numbers could and have been enhanced by migration, the previous section has shown that growth from this source is unlikely. Clearly, then, the people of the Milwaukee Jewish community are faced with a "do it yourself" project if they wish to adhere to the biblical admonition to "be fruitful." If the Milwaukee community is to enhance or even maintain its numbers the present generation must produce an adequate supply of births. How are they doing? Unfortunately a completely adequate answer cannot come out of a study where the sample is as small as the one used here. It is hoped that such a study eventually will be undertaken. However, some evidence is available now.

TABLE 34

NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORNE FOR ALL WOMEN

Number of Children	Under 40 Years of Age	Over 40 Years of Age	Percent, All Women
None	5	10	10
One	21	12	13
Two	35	37	36
Three	19	26	24
Four	14	9	11
Five	4	4	4
Six	2	1	1
Seven or More	--	1	1
Total	100	100	100
Average	2.34	2.34	2.34

The average of 2.34 is not too bad. It indicates that the population is apparently reproducing itself. The figure of 2.34 must be split approximately in half (half these births were male) and it can be seen that each individual woman produced 1.17 of her kind to form the next generation. Granting that a few deaths will occur (of every 100 Jewish females born today about 97 will be alive at age 45) it can be seen that there is close to 14 or 15 percent potential increase per generation. While this is modest it is at least far from negative.

However, the distribution as shown includes women of all ages and it is possible that the younger women have not contributed their share. Consequently number of children ever borne was shown for women above and below 40 years of age.

The size of the sample does not permit any further age subdivisions. The women over 40 years of age represent completed fertility, and thus the average of 2.34 children is all they will have. The women below 40 have exactly the same average number of children but they haven't completed childbearing so it can be assumed that they will have even more children. Thus this present average of 2.34 children represents a minimum, yet it means they have already more than replaced themselves. The Milwaukee community has nothing to fear from reduction in number due to low fertility. On the other hand increases in population, at least sizeable increases, are not very likely.

Differential Fertility Income

The traditional income differential with regard to fertility is that the lower the income the higher the fertility. In recent years this differential has been somewhat reversed with the higher income families having as many children as those less economically well off. Table 35 indicates that the larger families (4 or more children) are more characteristic of lower income families. On the other hand larger families occurred more frequently in the older foreign born women, and these now are the widows with low incomes. Thus the income variable is not very conclusive.

Occupation

If fertility is subdivided by occupation we get the fertility of women whose husbands are present and working, so the index is probably more valid than the income index. The results are curious, yet they are consistent with American Jewish values. The larger families (4 or more children) are found at both ends of the occupational scale, with professionals and blue collar workers both having slightly larger families than persons in the middle occupational ranges. Thus the picture in the Milwaukee Jewish community represents both the high and low status groups having the highest fertility. In other words it's mixed up.

TABLE 35

NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN BY SELECTED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

	None	One	Two	Three	Four or More	Total
<u>Income</u>						
Under \$5,000	10	10	33	10	37	100
\$5,000-\$14,999	13	16	34	27	10	100
\$15,000-\$29,999	4	15	36	29	16	100
\$30,000 and over	4	11	42	36	7	100
<u>Occupation Husband</u>						
Professional	5	5	52	20	18	100
Manager Owner	8	21	23	34	14	100
White Collar	5	13	39	29	14	100
Blue Collar	10	15	40	17	18	100
<u>Synagogue Membership</u>						
Member	8	16	35	25	16	100
Non-Member	10	14	36	24	16	100
<u>Education Wife</u>						
Elementary School	12	9	40	24	15	100
High School	20	10	35	25	10	100
College	13	18	32	27	10	100
Graduate School	18	9	45	9	18	100
<u>Religious Identification Wife</u>						
Orthodox	11	13	29	19	28	100
Conservative	7	10	40	30	13	100
Reform	8	18	36	26	12	100
<u>Birthplace Wife</u>						
Milwaukee	5	12	36	31	16	100
Other United States	13	16	46	17	8	100
Foreign Born	9	14	29	23	25	100

Education

Education of the wife shows the same pattern as occupation of husband, namely the hi-lo effect wherein the women of the highest and lowest educational levels exhibit the highest fertility. Why is this so? An answer can be hypothesized: Women at the lowest (elementary school) educational level tend to have larger families because they are the older foreign born women whose traditional role in the home was predominant with them. Women at the highest educational level had more children for entirely different reasons. Since they had a much better than average education they sought consciously to have large families in the interest of good eugenics and "good family living" according to the latest psychological and psychiatric advice. Meanwhile these women of lower educational attainment and where the husband was neither professional nor blue collar felt more restrained about larger families.

Religious Identification and Synagogue Membership

A clear picture emerges here. The orthodox would be expected to have large families. They did. The Conservative had slightly larger families than did the Reform. This could also be expected.

Synagogue membership seemed to have no relation to fertility.

Birth Place of Wife

Major differences occur here, but again they are expected. The foreign-born have the largest families by far. It's also true that the Milwaukee-born women had larger families than the women born elsewhere in the United States. It is probable that people with larger families tend to migrate less often.

PART IX

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBCOMMUNITIES

It would be more illuminating if it were possible to analyze the data by very small geographic areas. However, the size of the sample in this study was not large enough to permit this. About the smallest geographic breakdown that could be used was to divide the community into East Side consisting of Subcommunities 3, 4 and 5, West Side, Subcommunities 6, 7 and 8, and Milwaukee-Other which consists of the remainder of Milwaukee County. The exact boundaries of these subdivisions are to be found in the Preliminary Report. Broad as it is the East/West analysis should yield some interesting insights into the nature of the total community, simply because the differences between the two major parts of the Jewish community are so very great (Table 36).

Income

The income differences between East Side and West Side are very great. The East Side contains most of the high income families, the West Side most of the low income families. On the East Side 56 percent of the families have incomes over \$15,000 a year, on the West Side only 17 percent have incomes this high. Income in Other Milwaukee is much like the income on the West Side. In general the median income on the East Side is almost twice that of the West Side. The picture is so clear that little comment is required.

Education

The educational differences coincide with the income differences. On the East Side more than three quarters of the male heads had been to college and over one third had been to graduate school. On the West Side only four out of ten male heads had been college and only one out of ten had been to graduate school. Again Milwaukee was similar to the West Side.

Occupation

The occupational profile of the two major areas of residence is even more revealing. The East Side has only a sprinkling of blue collar, and two thirds of the male heads are either professional or Manager-owners. Four out of ten are professional. On the West Side over one out of five is blue collar, a proportion which greatly exceeds the 13 percent in the professional group. Other Milwaukee, is a mixture wherein it has more professionals than the West Side and more blue collar than the East Side.

TABLE 36

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SUB-COMMUNITIES
(Percent Distribution)

	East Side	West Side	Other Milwaukee
<u>Income</u>			
Under \$5,000	4	27	30
\$5,000-\$14,999	40	56	50
\$15,000-\$29,999	33	14	20
\$30,000 and Over	23	3	--
Median Income	\$17,115	\$9,107	\$9,000
<u>Education of Male Head</u>			
Elementary	10	16	--
High School	14	42	50
College	41	30	38
Graduate School	35	12	12
Total	100	100	100
<u>Occupation of Male Head</u>			
Professional	39	13	22
Manager-Owners	34	34	45
White Collar	23	31	11
Blue Collar	4	22	22
Total	100	100	100
<u>Type of Employment of Male Head</u>			
Self	71	53	56
Others	29	47	44
Total	100	100	100
<u>Religious Identification</u>			
Orthodox	8	26	33
Conservative	33	58	22
Reform	49	12	33
Other	10	4	12
Total	100	100	100

Type of Employment of Male Head

On the East Side a remarkable 71 percent are self employed. On the West Side and in Other Milwaukee the percentage of Self Employment is lower than the East Side, but it is still very high.

Religious Identification

On the East Side almost half are Reform and only 8 percent are Orthodox. One third are Conservative. On the West Side the Orthodox account for about one family out of four, while the Reform comprise only about one family in eight. On the West Side about six out of ten families are Conservative. Other Milwaukee has the highest proportion of Orthodox, and one out of three families are Reform. The Conservative branch is the least represented in Other Milwaukee.

These same figures can be reviewed from a slightly different viewpoint--the proportion of each branch living in each area. It is seen that almost eight out of ten of the Orthodox and the Conservative and one-third of the Reform live on the West Side. However, the main Reform "stronghold" is the East Side, with 55 percent of their total living in that area.

Summarizing this entire section, it is obvious that the East Side and the West Side represent two greatly differing subcommunities. The West Side has people in all walks of life making up the composition of the area. The Jewish population of the East Side is wealthier, professionally employed and more highly educated. Yet it is very probable that the Jewish families who live on the East Side are surrounded by non-Jewish neighbors who are just as well off as they are, if not better. In other words, the Jewish families are not different than their neighbors. While the Jewish people who live on the West Side of Milwaukee are a slice of "ordinary Milwaukee" the Jews on the East Side are a slice of "extraordinarily well-off Milwaukee."

PART X

MOVING PLANS

American cities are constantly in a state of flux. The shifting pattern of residential mobility, characterized by continual suburbanization has made things difficult for planners of all communal facilities who often must decide on placing hopefully permanent physical facilities, only to find that the potential market for the facility has moved on before many years. For the Jewish population and the Jewish community the problem has been particularly severe. The remarkable upward social mobility of a large proportion of the Jewish population has been accompanied by a correspondingly high rate of residential mobility. Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland are pock-marked with ex-synagogues and temples, ex-Jewish community centers and ex-other Jewish communal structures. Milwaukee, due to some other circumstances has had a less mobile record. The movement has been less dramatic and hence the more effective usage of facilities has been possible. Yet Milwaukee doesn't stand still.

The Preliminary Report contained some data on trends in movement, and this section fills in a little more of the picture. Those interviewed were asked about their moving intentions: whether they definitely planned to move or were planning to move within one year, five years, or had no plans at all. While there is no claim here that exact moving plans can be predicted, the question does separate those who have no thoughts whatsoever of moving from those who feel permanently settled, whether this be true or not. Correspondingly, Table 37 contains just one column--the proportion of families who planned to move at some time in the future.

There is a decided difference in moving intentions between the six subcommunities comprising the Milwaukee Jewish Community. The entire East Side showed much less tendency to declare any plans to move. Of all the subcommunities, Area 5 had the smallest proportions planning to move (11 percent). It is highly possible that persons in Area 5 consider themselves "there" already, so why plan to move? It should be pointed out that Area 5 is the newest and among the most expensive of the Jewish subcommunities. However, thoughts of moving were less often expressed in the other two East Side sub-communities. West Siders in all three subcommunities (Areas 6, 7 and 8) had thoughts of moving, for one-third of all families interviewed expressed moving intentions. This was particularly true in Area 7 where more than half mentioned moving. Also it is interesting to note that over half of the families living in Other Milwaukee had moving plans.

TABLE 37

MOVING PLANS BY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Present Area of Resident	Percent Planning to Move
Area 3	18
4	16
5	11
Total East Side	14
Area 6	41
7	54
8	23
Total West Side	33
Other Milwaukee	45
<u>Income</u>	
Under \$5,000	25
\$5,000-\$14,999	28
\$15,000-\$29,999	30
\$30,000 and over	21
<u>Occupation</u>	
Professional	38
Manager Owner	40
White Collar	18
Blue Collar	31
<u>Age of Head</u>	
20-29	11
30-39	38
40-49	39
50-59	30
60-69	18
70 and Over	13

TABLE 37--Continued

Percent Planning to Move

Religious Identification of Male Head

Orthodox	13
Conservative	33
Reform	35
Other	47

Home Ownership

Owner	30
Renter	27

Income did not seem to play a large part in moving plans. There wasn't a very wide range of difference between the income groups with respect to moving intentions. Those with incomes of \$30,000 and over seemed a bit more stable, but those with incomes just under this level expressed most often intentions of moving.

Of the occupational groups, the white collar group seemed the most stable with regard to moving intentions, while the managers and owners seemed the least stable. However, differences were not great.

Age differentials in moving intent were just about what one would theoretically expect, with one exception. That is, with the exception of the 20-29 year age group, moving intentions declined with increasing age. Perhaps the explanation for the anomaly of the 20-29 year old age group seeming the less likely to move is that these young persons have newly established their households and are not thinking yet about a second move. This is somewhat reinforced by the fact that the absolute peak of intended movement occurred among the 40-49 year olds. This group is probably thinking of the one ultimate move that will establish them at whatever level they will attain for the rest of their life.

Religious identification is highly associated with moving intentions. That is, the Orthodox showed the least desire to move, the Conservative next, the Reform next and the "Other" the most. In terms of practical significance this means that Orthodox oriented institutions including synagogues have the least prospect of having to cope with problems of population mobility. Conversely Reform Temples and the institutions will have the greatest problems.

Examination of the final variable, home ownership, showed that whether a family owned or rented their home had no relationship to their intent to move.

Destination of Planned Move

Persons who mentioned moving intention were further asked, "where are you likely to move?" Results are shown in Table 38.

Of persons now living on the East Side most intended to stay on the East Side. Only one out of five expected to move to the West Side. However, the situation with regard to persons living on the West Side was largely the same except that a slightly larger proportion had not made up their minds. That is, like the East Siders, the West Siders were largely attracted to their present side of the city. Those who lived in "Other Milwaukee" expected mostly to move to the East Side, although one-third expected to move to the West Side. Only a tiny minority expected to move out of either the East Side or West Side into "Other Milwaukee."

In general the data shows a strong preference to stay within the "sides" of the community, plus a tendency of those who live outside the boundaries of the major Jewish areas to pull into their general orbit. Of course the boundaries of the East Side and West Side are so far flung that there is much territory covered within their confines.

TABLE 38

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF SUB COMMUNITY OF PRESENT RESIDENCE BY SUB COMMUNITY OF EXPECTED MOVE

Now Live	Move To				Total
	East Side	West Side	Other Milwaukee	Don't Know	
East Side	50	21	-	29	100
West Side	26	36	2	36	100
Other Milwaukee	67	33	-	-	100

Religious Practices

This study asked some questions concerning religious practices and religious behavior in an attempt to measure religious identification. The questions admittedly are superficial, but it was hoped that at least a rough measure could be obtained, and further work could then be based on this rough measure.

Synagogue and Temples Membership and Attendance

The most basic question concerned synagogue or temple membership. Table 39 gives the results.

TABLE 39

SYNAGOGUE OR TEMPLE MEMBERSHIP, BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

	Member	Non-Member	Total
Orthodox	75	25	100
Conservative	61	39	100
Reform	67	33	100
Other	32	68	100
Total	64	36	100

This seems like a rather high proportion of membership, but when it is compared with other communities, it appears that it is not remarkable. For example, Providence, Rhode Island in 1964 had 78 percent, and Camden, New Jersey in 1965, 71 percent. Detroit had 45 percent when surveyed in 1956 and 49 percent in 1963. Los Angeles was only 34 percent in 1959. Thus wide variations are seen.

Before leaving the subject of affiliation, it should be noted that it provided an ideal opportunity to check the accuracy of the sampling procedure, simply because the number of synagogues and temple membership are a matter of recorded fact, which is easily obtained. The Methodological Note to this study reviewed this checking process

The following section should be read and interpreted with caution. A number of people are unaware of the rules on attendance at formal synagogue services. Furthermore, the individual's notion of attendance differs. For some persons attending a Bar Mitzvah constitutes attendance at religious services. Others might regard their own presence at such an event social. Therefore the information presented here is completely descriptive in nature and it would be unwise

to draw conclusions as to "how religious" any person or group is or is not on the basis of these data.

The data have at least one virtue: they are interesting, in that a very definite pattern appears. The really "high attenders" are almost all Orthodox. As you go down the attendance scale, the Conservative appear next and then the Reform. Finally when the attendance level drops to "Every few months," the "Other" enter the picture. Rough as the scale might be it apparently describes the behavior rather well. The Orthodox, it appears, are equally distributed over every degree of attendance, except that only a few attend never or rarely. The Conservative are not often represented at very high levels of attendance, nor at very low levels of attendance. Only 20 percent of the Reform attend more than every few months, but it is equally true that only one out of ten never attend. The "Other" group is not much for attendance, but this would be expected.

TABLE 40

ATTENDANCE AT SYNAGOGUES AND TEMPLES BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Other	Total
More than Once a Week	18	1	--	--	6
Once a Week	15	13	10	--	11
Few times Per month	17	18	10	--	12
Every few Months	20	32	43	11	31
Only on High Holy Days	20	20	24	26	27
Less often--1-3 times a year	5	6	3	37	7
Never	5	1	10	26	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

It adds up to the fact there are real differences in attendance patterns between the branches of Jewry. Whether these are the result of practices and standards as expounded by the respective synagogues, temples, and rabbis, or whether they are self-imposed cannot be said.

Religious Observances

Four home-based religious observances are examined in this section. In addition to synagogue membership and attendance, home-based rituals are important in the Jewish faith. The home-based observances selected are: (1) Lighting of Friday Night Candles, (2) Passover Seder, (3) Lighting of Chanukah Candles, and (4) Observance of Kosher Dietary Laws. Perhaps others could have been included. However, the four selected have been considered in other community studies, and thus there are some benchmarks by which this particular behavior can be measured. This is perhaps more important than trying to figure out the "inner meaning" of these behaviors, a task far beyond the scope of this study. Data are shown in Table 41.

As with synagogue attendance, the pattern is extremely regular. For example in the "Lighting of Friday Night Candles," lighting the candles is regularly observed in directly decreasing proportion to the traditional position of branch or affiliation. Seventy-eight percent of the Orthodox do this, but none of the "Other" group. Conservative and Reform are in between. The pattern is equally that with regard to Passover Seder, and to Lighting of Chanukah Candles. The kosher Observances are equally patterned, although 20 percent of the Reform keep some kosher behavior despite an absence of positive demand (in theory at least) on the part of the official Reform position. On the other hand 24 percent of the Orthodox do not keep kosher despite a positive demand on the part of the official Orthodox position. Thus there is a wide range of behavior apart from "official" doctrine. These practices are not regimented and this makes them doubly interesting. According to our data there clearly are Orthodox Jews (by their own conceptions) who belong to Reform Temples and who do not keep kosher, but this is counterbalanced by Reform Jews (by their own conception) who belong to synagogues and are strictly kosher. No one can accuse the Jews of being religiously regimented. It does make difficulty for the poor social scientist who loves to put people in pigeon holes. While the mass behavior is highly patterned, there is at the same time a rich variety of exceptions and inconsistencies.

TABLE 41

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Other	All Households
<u>Lighting Friday Night Candles</u>					
Never	18	26	47	78	34
Sometimes	4	26	20	22	19
Regularly	78	48	33	--	47
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Passover Seder</u>					
Never	1	5	15	37	10
Sometimes	14	8	7	26	11
Regularly	86	87	78	37	79
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Lighting Chanukah Candles</u>					
Never	12	12	18	42	19
Sometimes	1	7	16	5	8
Regularly	87	81	66	53	73
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Observing Kosher Dietary Laws</u>					
None	24	44	80	89	53
Some	13	36	17	11	16
Strictly Kosher	63	20	3	0	31
Total	100	100	100	100	100

It was pointed out earlier that these observances had been examined in other Jewish Community Studies. The following table compares Milwaukee with two other Jewish communities of reasonably similar size. The analysis here is confined to the proportion saying "never practice" in each community. The reason for this is that the degree or amount of the behavior had varied definitions in the three studies. However, the concept of "never" was clear cut and well defined.

TABLE 42

PERCENT OF PERSONS NOT PRACTICING SELECTED HOUSE RELIGIOUS
OBSERVANCES IN THREE JEWISH COMMUNITIES

	Milwaukee	Providence	Camden
Lighting Friday Night Candles	34	25	41
Passover Seder	10	7	7
Lighting Chanakuh Candles	19	15	13
Observing Kosher Dietary Laws	53	62	76

The three communities show slightly different patterns, which may be the result of "local culture" or the result of various mixes and proportions of Orthodox, Conservative and Reform in the three communities. Definitive results cannot be obtained without controlling many different factors, a matter beyond the present scope of this study. The results show a general configuration, however. Seder is the most practiced in each of the three communities, Lighting Chanakuh Candles next, Friday Night Candles next, and keeping Kosher the least. Variations between the practices in each community were generally greater than variations between the communities. This suggests a general level of practices which is common to Jews throughout the country.

Religious Education

There are many kinds and types of Jewish education which are offered. This study distinguished seven types, which were: (1) Sunday School; (2) Hebrew Afternoon; (3) Hebrew All Day; (4) Cheder; (5) Yeshiva; (6) Private Tutor, (7) Adult Classes. The number of years of Jewish education of every person in the family, including the children, was recorded. This alone makes a voluminous pile of information too detailed to be included in this report. The

analysis here is based on the total years of Jewish education received by male household heads without regard to type of education. This is a very crude and primitive approach for it does not attempt to distinguish any qualitative difference between types of education. However, it represents a first approximation to measuring Jewish education.

Religious Education by Selected Social and Economic Characteristics

There was no really strong relationship between income and Jewish education of the male head. The only noteworthy point to be made was that the very high income heads (\$30,000 and over) contained neither persons who had no Jewish education whatsoever or persons who had a great deal of Jewish education. There was some tendency for people with higher incomes to also have a greater number of years of religious education but it was not very pronounced.

Occupation had much the same pattern, although the blue collar workers did seem to have less Jewish education, this probably can be explained by the fact that the foreign born received less formal Jewish education. This is born out if we look at Jewish education by place of birth and it is seen that the foreign born did have somewhat less Jewish education than the United States born.

Secular education does seem to have some relationship in that the college educated had more Jewish education than those with less secular education. However, the relationship between secular education and religious education was not particularly regular, because those who had the greatest amount of secular education (Graduate School) certainly did not exhibit the greatest amount of religious education.

Looking at the association between religious identification and Jewish education it could be expected that the Orthodox would have the greatest amount. However, this did not prove to be entirely true. While the Orthodox did have the highest proportion (11 percent) of those with over 9 years of Jewish education, they also had the highest (37 percent) proportion of those with no Jewish education of any of the three branches. Undoubtedly this was due to the foreign birth of many of the Orthodox. Actually the Reform had the lowest percentage with no Jewish education.

Age is perhaps the most significant variable, and it clearly shows that the younger people had more religious education than the older people. It is also true that East Siders had more Jewish education than West Siders.

In summary a number of facts concerning Jewish Education can be discerned. First, about 30 percent of the population has none. However, the younger people have more, both in the sense that fewer of them have none at all, and more of them have over nine years, the highest category shown here.

Jewish education had no really strong relationship to income, occupation, education and other structural variables. This means, or more properly appears to mean, that Jewish education is more an individual matter than one based on a particular position in the society. In view of the roughness of the measure of Jewish education this statement can be viewed as provisional rather than definitive. It needs more investigation.

Religious Education and Religious Practices

An important finding contained in the previous section of this study was that the amount of Jewish education was not very related to major social and economic characteristics such as income, occupation and education. A similar question can be asked concerning the relationship between Jewish education and various types of religious practices--are the two related? Table 43 provides data.

In a general way a greater proportion of synagogue membership seems to coincide with more religious education. However, the relationship isn't consistent, for those with 1-4 years of Jewish education are less often members than those with no Jewish education. The same thing is true of synagogue attendance. Persons with 1-4 years of Jewish education have a record of less synagogue attendance than any other group. This is probably a function of the fact that many of those with no Jewish education may be foreign born and therefore were never in a position to obtain a Jewish education.

TABLE 43

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF MALE HEAD BY SELECTED
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

	Number of Years of Jewish Education				
	None	1-4	5-8	9 and over	Total
<u>Income</u>					
Under \$5,000	39	31	25	5	100
\$5,000-\$14,999	30	27	33	10	100
\$15,000-\$29,999	34	23	35	8	100
\$30,000 and over	--	46	54	--	100
<u>Occupation</u>					
Professional	20	34	38	8	100
Managers, Owners	30	30	33	7	100
White Collar	22	30	34	14	100
Blue Collar	41	28	31	--	100
<u>Education</u>					
Elementary	39	17	39	5	100
High School	37	29	28	6	100
College	17	33	39	11	100
Graduate School	27	27	40	6	100
<u>Religious Identification</u>					
Orthodox	37	11	41	11	100
Conservative	25	35	30	10	100
Reform	20	40	33	7	100
Other	42	16	42	--	100
<u>Age</u>					
Under 40	26	22	35	17	100
Over 40	32	30	32	5	100
<u>Place of Birth</u>					
Milwaukee	23	35	36	6	100
Other U.S.	35	29	24	12	100
Foreign	37	23	36	4	100
<u>Area of Residence</u>					
East Side	20	29	41	10	100
West Side	36	26	30	8	100

TABLE 44

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF MALE HEAD BY SELECTED
HOME RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES

	Number of Years of Jewish Education			
	None	1-4	5-8	9 and over
<u>Synagogue Milwaukee</u>				
Member	65	60	73	75
Non-Member	35	40	27	25
Total	100	100	100	100
<u>Synagogue Attendance</u>				
Less than 5 times a year	38	49	33	33
5-19 times a year	45	44	50	25
Over 19 times a year	17	7	17	42
Total	100	100	100	100
<u>Celebrate Seder</u>				
Never	10	12	7	4
Sometimes	20	11	3	4
Regularly	70	77	90	92
Total	100	100	100	100
<u>Maintain Kosher</u>				
Never	56	55	52	46
Sometimes	18	31	21	29
Regularly	26	14	27	25
Total	100	100	100	100
<u>Light Friday Nite Candles</u>				
Never	29	39	29	38
Sometimes	47	17	17	29
Regularly	44	44	54	33
Total	100	100	100	100
<u>Light Chanukah Candles</u>				
Never	16	26	8	19
Sometimes	9	9	5	9
Regularly	75	65	87	72
Total	100	100	100	100

APPENDIX

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

General Introduction

As a first step in this study a presumably complete census of the Milwaukee-Jewish population was made. Every effort was made by a large corps of volunteers to seek out and identify all Jewish households in the Milwaukee area. Usually such efforts fall short of the goal because many households elude the census taker for one reason or another. We shall see shortly that the Milwaukee effort was an exception to this rule.

The census located 7,540 households containing 22,625 individuals. However, only minimal information on age, sex, and household relationship was ascertained in the course of this census. The more meaningful population information was not asked. Further, at the conclusion of the census step it still had not been determined whether every family had been located or whether additional families could be uncovered by more effort.

Hence the second phase of the study was planned and carried out. The second phase consisted of an area probability sample superimposed on the list of households as determined by the census.

First, many questions concerning social and economic characteristics of the Milwaukee Jewish Population were asked. Second, the sample carried a built-in checking procedure to determine whether the census had located every household, and if not to determine how many had been "missed" in the census.

One of the important reasons for undertaking the study in the first place was to find out how many Jewish persons lived in the Milwaukee area. No prior study existed and the commonly used figure of 30,000 persons had been used for such a long time that no one could remember exactly how it was derived or who suggested it.

As reported before the census showed a population of 22,625 persons. This was regarded as a minimum figure for it was assumed that the area probability sample would turn up additional households. This did not happen. No new households were found in the area probability sample. It should be pointed out that the area probability sample was based on a randomly drawn list of households, without prior knowledge of either their Jewishness or whether they were in the census listing.

In addition to the 22,625 persons living at home two groups must be counted to obtain the total population. First the 189 persons in institutions must be added, and then the 1,080 persons away at school or in the army must be added. This gives a total of 23,894 persons who can be considered to be everyone who is in any way attached to the Jewish Community of Milwaukee.

Sampling Procedure

The universe was divided into two basic sub-universes. Sub-communities 4, 5 and parts of sub-communities 3 and 8 were sampled by drawing blocks and dwelling units within blocks at a rate of one dwelling unit in ten. Two hundred and fifty interviews were completed. Actually 2,700 calls were made, but only 250 households proved to be Jewish.

Subcommunities 2 and parts of 3 and 8 were sampled from the census list at a rate of one in thirty. Forty seven interviews were completed and these were multiplied by a factor of 3 to bring up the sampling rate to parity. Thus these interviews comprised a weight of 151 to make a total of 391 which is the N of this sample. It represents a final sampling rate of $391/7540$ or one household in 19.28.

Test of Completeness

To test the Milwaukee Jewish Census for completeness the reverse telephone director was used as a sampling list, random numbers were drawn on a block basis, and telephone calls were made to ascertain whether the household called was Jewish or not. Six hundred and forty seven phone calls were made, largely to addresses (telephone numbers) outside the areas where most Jewish families lived. Not only were no new Jewish families found, but the really impressive evidence was, that of 647 households thus contacted 18 were Jewish, but already were on the census listing. In summary, in over one thousand contacts not one new family could be found. In the light of all of this overwhelming evidence it is apparent that the census was either complete or virtually complete, and that the current basic Jewish population of Milwaukee stands at about 23,000 persons.

This figure of 23,000 is substantially less than the commonly held belief that the Milwaukee Jewish population was about 30,000 persons. However, it should be remembered that the 30,000 figure was an informed estimate, and it is highly probable that the Milwaukee Jewish population never really attained that figure.

Test of Sample Precision

The important thing about a properly drawn population sample is not that it gives an exact answer, for it does not, but that the limits of error are known. However,

it is always comforting to know that the sample drawn corresponds with reality. No matter how strong one's faith in the law of probability an objective check of the sample results is desirable. There are many ways in which a Jewish population sample can be checked but one of the earliest and best is to measure it against synagogue membership. The latter is easily secured by a few phone calls. How did the Milwaukee sample meet this test?

All temples and synagogues were asked to report their membership. The number of members totaled 4,673. (Table A) In the sample 385 of the families interviewed reported on synagogue and temple membership, and of these 248 said they were members. This is 64.41 percent. If 64.41 percent of the universe N of 7,540 is calculated it is found to be 4,857. This is an error of 3.9 percent which can be described as quite low, well within the theoretical error limits.

Calculating Numerical Equivalents

In the interest of soothing the non-technical reader, no sample N or inflated figure has been put into any table except for a few where it was directly relevant. This has probably caused the few technically interested to gnash their collective teeth. To sooth the technical readers a few N's are given here. From these any set of percentages can be converted to actual simple figures or to inflated figures should the reader desire.

Number of male heads in the sample 322

Number of female heads in the sample 69

Total all households in the sample 391

It should be pointed out that the non-response rate to the individual questions was extremely low (rarely more than 5 non-answers). One exception was the answer to the question on family income. Which had the highest non-response rate. Twenty six persons or 6.6 percent failed to answer. Considering the question this could be classed as a very satisfactory rate of response, giving little occasion for worry as to its effect on the quality of the study.

TABLE A

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS OF CONGREGATIONS
OCTOBER 4, 1966

KEY:

O - Orthodox
C - Conservative
R - Reform

	CODE	CONGREGATION	1966	1950*
1.	O	Agudas Achim	125	125
2.	O	Anshai Lebowitz	250	150
3.	C	Anshe Emeth	95	a.
4.	O	Anshe Sfard	218	160
5.	C	Beth El Ner Tamid	1,038	650
6.	C	Menorah ^{b.}	260	130
7.	C	Beth Israel	343	658
8.	O	Beth Jehudah	175	175
9.	R	Emanu-El B'Ne Jeshurun	1,383	1,076
10.	R	Shalom	514	a.
11.	R	Sinai	272	a.
12.	O	B'ne Jacob	c.	100
13.	O	United Synagogue B'ne Sholom	c.	65
			4,673	3,289

*Swichkow and Gartner,
"The History of the Jews of Milwaukee", p.493

- a. Did not exist in 1950
b. Formerly Beth Megrash Hagodol Anshe Sfard
c. No longer in existence

TOTAL NUMBER & PERCENT OF AFFILIATION BY BRANCH

BRANCH	1966		1950	
	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
Orthodox	768	16.43	775	23.56
Conservative	1,736	37.15	1,438	43.72
Reform	2,169	46.42	1,076	32.72
	4,673	100%	3,289	100%