

THE DENVER JEWISH POPULATION STUDY

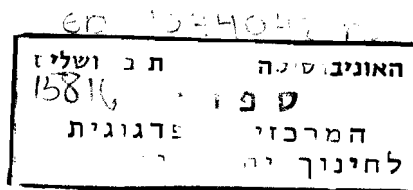
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The energy and effort of many people went into completing this project. In addition to those already acknowledged we would like to thank two special groups of people: first, the more than 800 people in the metropolitan Denver area who, when called at random, took the time to answer our lengthy questionnaire. Without your cooperation and the thoughtful responses there would be no report. The second group is much smaller, but nearly as indispensable. Our thanks to:

Jeanne Lowe, who typed the questionnaire
Anna Tsesarskaya who printed the questionnaire
Mary Jane Brooks who typed the report and all the tables.

Credit for this Denver Jewish Population Study must be shared by many. However, the responsibility for errors in this report is ours.

Bruce A. Phillips
Principal Investigator

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Study Director

February, 1982

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FORWARD

This is a proud moment for us personally and in behalf of the Denver Jewish community and the Allied Jewish Federation of Denver. Our Demographic Study results follow this acknowledgment. Some of the results are surprising, all of them are important to the future growth and development of our Jewish community, its organizations and the thousands of people whom we serve.

It is most appropriate that we, as President and Executive Director respectively, thank all who have made our study a reality. A special thank you to Gary Antonoff who served as President during the genesis of this concept. His concern and continued commitment to the project served as an inspiration to all of us.

Our sincerest appreciation to Demographic Study Committee Chairman, Emmett Heitler, Co-Chairmen, Garry Fox and Mel Myers, the Demographic Study Committee, our family of agencies, their staff and the staff of the Allied Jewish Federation of Denver. We look to the future with a profound knowledge of who and what we are. We look to being able to provide an ever increasing quality of service to the Jews of our great community.

Ralph Auerbach
President

Harold Cohen
Executive Director

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

This summary is intended to lay out in broad strokes the most significant results reported in the Demographic Overview of the Denver Jewish Population Study. It should be used as an adjunct to the full report, and is organized in roughly the same way.

NUMBERS

- Denver has 19,000 Jewish households and 42,600 individual Jewish persons.
- Over 20,000 Denver households were called at random to locate and interview a sample of 802 Denver Jewish households.

GENERATION, AGE & FAMILY STRUCTURE

- The Denver age structure tends to resemble the age structure of America's Jews as a whole, but has a higher proportion of young adults (ages 18-34).
- One out of every three Denver Jewish households is headed by a single individual (never married, widowed, divorced).
- Less than 30 per cent of Denver Jewish households include children at home under the age of 18.
- Single individuals are far less likely to live with roommates than by themselves.
- Single-parent families while constituting only 4 per cent of all Denver Jewish households, make up 14 per cent of all families with children.
- Different kinds of household configurations tend to be associated with different areas of Denver.
- Denver Jews as a whole tend to be found in the second and third generations. Jews under the age of 40, however, are almost all third and fourth generation.
- Jews are waiting until their late 20's and early 30's before getting married.
- Remarriage had a significant impact on the family: 4 out of 5 current marriages involve a remarriage for one or both partners.
- Intermarriage is increasing to the point where under the age of 40, there are more marriages involving a Jew and a person not born Jewish than 2 born Jews.

MOBILITY

- Denver Jewry has grown tremendously: half of all Denver Jewish households were not in Denver 10 years ago.
- University Hills and South Denver, Englewood, and Aurora are the fastest growing areas in Denver.
- The Hilltop area has the largest concentration of Jews, but will lose some of its numerical dominance in the next 10 years.
- There is considerable movement within Denver: almost 2/3 of all Denver Jewish households have changed their place of residence within the last 5 years.

EDUCATION, OCCUPATION, INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT

- Younger women are increasingly found in the labor force and are less likely to be homemakers.
- Women who work fulltime are much less likely to have children than those who stay at home.
- Denver Jews, like American Jews as a whole are moving toward salaried employment (particularly in the professions).
- Younger Jewish men and women are completing college and moving into post-graduate education.
- Non-Jewish partners who were included in the survey tend to have lower occupational and educational attainments than born-Jews of the same age.
- A majority of the Jewish households in Denver have incomes within the \$10,000-\$40,000 range, and almost a quarter of the Jewish households have incomes over \$40,000.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING

- The singles population is numerically important and should be seen as a special target group.
- Single-parent families will continue to have special needs, but many of them will become "blended families" and need counseling services.
- Growth of suburban areas such as Aurora and Englewood might involve a need for new service delivery locations.
- The large percentage of new Denver Jewish households suggested that social and cultural outreach services could play an important role in making these newcomers part of the community.
- The younger Jews who are third and fourth generation, professional, and highly educated might not be attracted to the same kinds of Jewish programming as their parents were.
- The relative lack of Jewish children both in Denver and the United States gives a special importance to seeing that those we have are not lost to the community.
- The increase in intermarriage means that there are some 4,000 persons not born Jewish who are part of the Jewish community. Outreach to the intermarried families should be made part of the communal agenda.

INTRODUCTION

Background and Purpose of the Study

Denver, Colorado is part of a population shift from the Northeast to the so-called "sunbelt" areas of the West and Southwest. The leadership of the Denver Jewish community could see that there were new Jewish households being formed in this rapidly growing and geographically expanding metropolitan area. But beyond this recognition of change there were no data available about the scope of that change. Mr. Gary Antonoff, President of the Allied Jewish Federation, and other communal leaders began to raise questions such as how many households are there in Denver, where did they move from, where did they settle in Denver, and how has the Denver community changed as a result? In addition, the Allied Jewish Federation had begun to implement a formal planning structure for the community and the need for "hard data" about the community as a whole and several target populations in particular became more acute.

In the spring of 1980, a special Demographic Study Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Mr. Emmett Heitler. Mr. Heitler in turn designated two special task oriented sub-committees: A sub-committee on management and a sub-committee on content. The management sub-committee, chaired by Mr. Garry Fox, evaluated alternative methodological approaches and made policy recommendations to the study committee regarding the design and budget of the study. The sub-committee on questionnaire content, chaired by Mr. Mel Meyers and later by Mrs. Eleanore Judd was responsible for selecting the major content areas to be covered by the study. To ensure that every communal agenda be heard for inclusion, the content sub-committee conducted several rounds of meetings with the lay leadership and executive staffs of constituent agencies.

The Study Committee, after considering the recommendations of the two sub-committees, made its final determinations using the following criteria: For management decisions: What study designs and management structures will produce the most scientifically valid study in the most cost-efficient manner? For content decisions: What content areas are most likely to be used in decision-making, and how important are the data in relation to the decisions for which they have been requested?

The Study Committee made a formal grant request to the Federation Endowment Fund in December of 1980. Interviewer recruitment and training began in January, 1981 for the pre-test phase of the study, in which a close-to-final draft of the questionnaire was experimentally tested. The actual interviewing began in March, 1981 and continued through June. The next four months were devoted to coding and "cleaning" the data. The computer analysis for this report was begun in November. Under the direction of Dr. Bruce Phillips, Principal Investigator, Mrs. Eleanore Judd, Study Director, and Mrs. Barbara Hickey, Planning Associate for the Allied, a full scale survey research organization was set up at 300 S. Dahlia for a one-year period, using training, administration, quality control and coding procedures adapted from the major university-based survey research centers (including the Universities of Chicago, Michigan, and California, Los Angeles).

Methodology

In accordance with the mandate of the Study Committee to undertake a scientifically valid study, a true random sample of the Denver Jewish population was drawn using a recently developed survey technique known as Random Digit Dialing (or "RDD" for short). The RDD sample was based on some 41,000 phone numbers generated at random by computer so as to include both listed and non-listed phone numbers (in fact over half of all the respondents had unlisted phone numbers). Of these original 41,000 phone numbers, over 22,000 turned out to be residential phone numbers. Of these residential phone numbers, 932 turned out to be Jewish households. Calls to these 932 households resulted in 802 interviews.

On each call the interviewers first had to ascertain whether they had reached a business or a residence. If a residence, they read a statement describing the purpose of the study and the nature of the questionnaire and then asked if there were any Jewish persons living in the household. The respondent's self-identification as a Jew was accepted with the following exceptions: Jews for Jesus, individuals who have no Jewish parents, or grandparents, but who identify with the Jewish community, children (and even grandchildren) of intermarriage who do not currently identify as Jewish (these actually disqualified themselves). We did include the children and grandchildren of intermarriages (even where they were brought up as non-Jews) when the respondent identified as a Jew. Also included as Jewish households were non-Jews previously married to Jews who have retained custody of and are continuing to raise their children as Jews. "Jewish Buddhists" in Boulder who were born as Jews and continue to identify as Jews were also included. While all of these cases taken together still represent only a minority of Denver Jewish households, they are discussed here to exemplify the efforts made in the study to include the broadest possible cross-section of Jewish respondent who so wishes to identify.

Just over 14 per cent of the Jewish households reached refused to be interviewed, meaning that 86 per cent of the eligible Jewish households were interviewed. This "response rate" is higher than the acceptable rate of 80 per cent, and significantly higher than what might be expected given the sensitive nature of the study. We attribute this excellent response rate to the seriousness and dedication of the interviewing staff who spared no effort in seeking to convince potential respondents of the importance of the study and their inclusion in it.

Low as it is, the 14 per cent potential respondents who declined to participate in the study represent a possible bias in the sample. A number of those who declined to be interviewed were called back to get at least some data about the people not included in the study. It appears from a preliminary analysis of the refusal data that older persons tend to be underrepresented in the sample, and particularly the frail elderly. Other than that slight bias (one which will be discussed further in relation to the report on the elderly) every Jewish household in Denver had the same probability of inclusion in the study, making it a true cross-section of Denver Jewry.

Estimating the Number of Jewish Households in Denver

The sampling strategy of the study called for two separate surveys. Over 22,000 Denver residences were screened to locate Jewish households. Taking the weighted percent Jewish (the sample weighted internally to counteract the effects of making more calls to residential areas than to business areas) for all Denver households and multiplying it by the total number of Denver households in the sample area, we come up with 19,000 Denver Jewish households (60,932 Denver households x 3.11% Jewish = 18,745.52). The sample of 22,000 Denver residences used to make this estimate is accurate to within less than 1,000 households of the "true" number of Denver Jewish households. Most of the tables in this and the following reports are presented in terms of "households" (or "families"). Some tables have been re-computed (from the household data) to show individuals. The level of analysis (households, families, marriages, or individuals) is always reported as part of the table heading.

Organization of the Report

This first report is intended to serve as an overview of the Denver Jewish community, with special emphasis on the content areas defined by the study committee as those most needed for community planning purposes: an age and family structure profile of the community, an analysis of geographic movement, and a description of occupation and education. A series of reports which address these and other topics in greater depth will appear throughout the course of the coming year. This first report, then, is intended as an introduction both to the major trends in the community, and to the kinds of reports which will follow throughout the coming year.

This report contains four sections:

- a demographic profile of the community in terms of age and family structure;
- patterns of geographic mobility to and within Denver;
- marriage, remarriage, and intermarriage patterns;
- occupation, education, and income.

DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEWAge of the Denver Population

Table 1 presents the data used to estimate the size of the Denver Jewish population (i.e., number of individuals) and a word of explanation is in order to clarify the procedure used in arriving at this estimate. As explained in the methodology section, the estimated number of Jewish households in Denver was derived from the 41,000 screening calls made to randomly locate Jewish households. Then, the size of each of the 802 households in the survey was computed by counting only the Jews in the household. (The non-Jewish roommates of Jews were not included in these calculations.) However, non-Jewish spouses and partners in couples living together were included in the computation (couples living together were treated the same as married couples in the questionnaire: that is to say that the age, occupation, education, previous marriages, and religion of birth of the partner in a couple living together were included in the same way as the spouse in a married couple).

The population estimate was calculated by multiplying the number of Jews in the household by the number of households with that particular number of Jews. For example, there are 7,049 households that include two Jews, which translates into $7,049 \times 2$ or 14,098 individual Jews.

Table 2 presents a breakdown by age of all the born Jews in the households plus all the non-Jewish partners and spouses who, by virtue of marriage (or cohabitation), are members of Jewish households. Jewish roommates are part of tables 1 and 2, but non-Jewish roommates have been excluded from the calculation. Table 2 is broken down into 5 year age categories with two exceptions: The 15-17 and 18-24 categories are of 3 year and 7 year spans, respectively because an 18-year-old is considered an adult. A comparable breakdown of the same age categories for Los Angeles Jews (from a similar study conducted by the author in Los Angeles in 1979) is included to put the Denver findings in a comparative perspective.

The two largest age categories are 25-29 and 30-34 accounting for 13.6 and 13.1 per cent of all Jews respectively. Together these two categories constitute over a quarter (26.7%) of all Denver Jews. In fact, 43 per cent of all Denver Jews are between the ages of 18 and 34, as compared with 29 per cent of all Los Angeles Jews in this same age range. Looking to the elderly (65 and older) and to children (17 and younger) Los Angeles and Denver have almost identical profiles. It is in the 18-34 range that Denver has a greater proportion of the Jewish population as opposed to the 35-64 range where Los Angeles has the larger proportion of Jews (40% of all Los Angeles Jews are between 35-64 as compared with 33% of all Denver Jews). The higher proportion of "young adults" (18-34) in the Denver Jewish population is probably the result of the recent in-migration of Jews to Denver (documented in Part II of this report). Otherwise, it is remarkable to note the degree to which these two communities of different sizes (Los Angeles has over ten times the Jewish population as Denver) and different histories (Denver is nearly half a century older as a Jewish community) have such similar age profiles.

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND POPULATION

Household Size (Individuals)	Per Cent of All Jewish	Estimated Number of Households	Estimated Number of Individuals ¹
1	30.2	5738	5738
2	37.1	7049	14098
3	15.8	3002	9006
4	13.0	2470	9880
5	3.1	589	2945
6	0.7	133	798
7	0.1	19	133
TOTAL	100.0	19000	42600

¹Includes spouses and partners of born Jews in couples living together.

TABLE 2. POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY AGE FOR
DENVER & LOS ANGELES¹

Age	Denver		Los Angeles
	Estimated	Per Cent	Per Cent of All Jews
0-4	2726	6.4	4.3
5-9	2386	5.6	5.5
10-14	2471	5.8	6.3
15-17	1321	3.1	4.3
18-24	3578	8.4	9.0
25-29	5794	13.6	10.4
30-34	5581	13.1	9.2
35-39	3365	7.9	8.1
40-44	2939	6.9	5.3
45-49	1534	3.6	6.8
50-54	2513	5.9	6.8
55-59	1832	4.3	7.5
60-64	1661	3.9	5.3
65-69	1874	4.4	4.2
70-74	1406	3.3	3.1
75-79	809	1.9	1.9
80-84	383	0.9	9.8
85-89	383	0.9	9.9
90-94	43	0.1	0.2
TOTAL	42600	100.0	100.0

1) Includes non-Jewish spouses and partners
(in couples living together).

Geographical Overview

Table 3 presents a breakdown of the number of households in each section of Denver. These geographical divisions were made on the basis of three separate criteria:

- 1) the areas which go together geographically;
- 2) the areas which are historically associated with each other from the point of view of the Jewish community;
- 3) the Jewish density of the area, i.e., contiguous, low-density areas became one large sector.

For example, the section comprised of the "Boulder Corridor, North and West Denver" was so constituted because the zip codes included have the lowest Jewish "density," are the most suburban, and are areas only recently associated with Jewish settlement. Taken together they account for just enough interviews to make a reasonable "sub-sample" of the 802 completed interviews. The area here called "Hilltop and Adjacent" which is where the Federation and most of the large synagogues are located is also the area with the greatest number of Jewish households: over one-third (35%) of all Jewish households are found here.

Table 4 shows the groupings of zip codes used to constitute the "sections" or "planning areas" of Denver. The first column (to the left) of Table 4 gives the section name; the second column gives the zip codes included in that section and the third column shows the distribution of Jewish households by zip code within each section. For example, zip code "80206" accounts for 55 per cent of all the Jewish households in Central Denver. Similarly, zip codes 80012 and 80014 together contain just over two-thirds (67.4%) of all the Jewish households in Aurora, just as zip code 80302 is where almost three-quarters (74.1%) of all the Jewish households in Boulder can be found. In other words, while many of the following tables include a breakdown by section of Denver, the Jewish households are not always uniformly distributed geographically within each of those sections.

The division of Denver into sections or "planning areas" is more than just a geographical convenience. Each individual section has a demographic and social profile which makes it different from the others. From a planning perspective this means that in many instances various "target populations" (such as Single Parent families, couples with children, and the elderly) are more likely to be found in some communities than in others.

Table 5 presents a breakdown of each planning area or sector in Denver by the age of the household head. Boulder is the youngest area, with 28 per cent of all Jewish household heads under the age of 24, and close to half of all the household heads (56%) under 30. In fact, 75 per cent of all the Jewish households in Boulder are under the age of 34. University Hills/South Denver is the next youngest area of Denver, with 40 per cent of all the Jewish households headed by a person under the age of 30, and 50 per cent under the age of 34. Thus University Hills/South Denver is a young area, but not as young as Boulder. This is because of a group of elderly in University Hills/South Denver.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS BY AREA

Section	Per Cent of All Jewish Households	Estimated Number of Households
University Hills & South Denver	13.1	2489
Hilltop & Adjacent	35.3	6707
Southeast Denver	10.4	1976
Englewood & Littleton	12.2	2318
Central Denver	8.3	1577
Aurora	9.0	1710
Boulder Corridor North & West Metro Denver	7.3	1387
Boulder	4.4	836
TOTAL	100.0	19000

STUDY AREA DIVIDED BY SECTOR

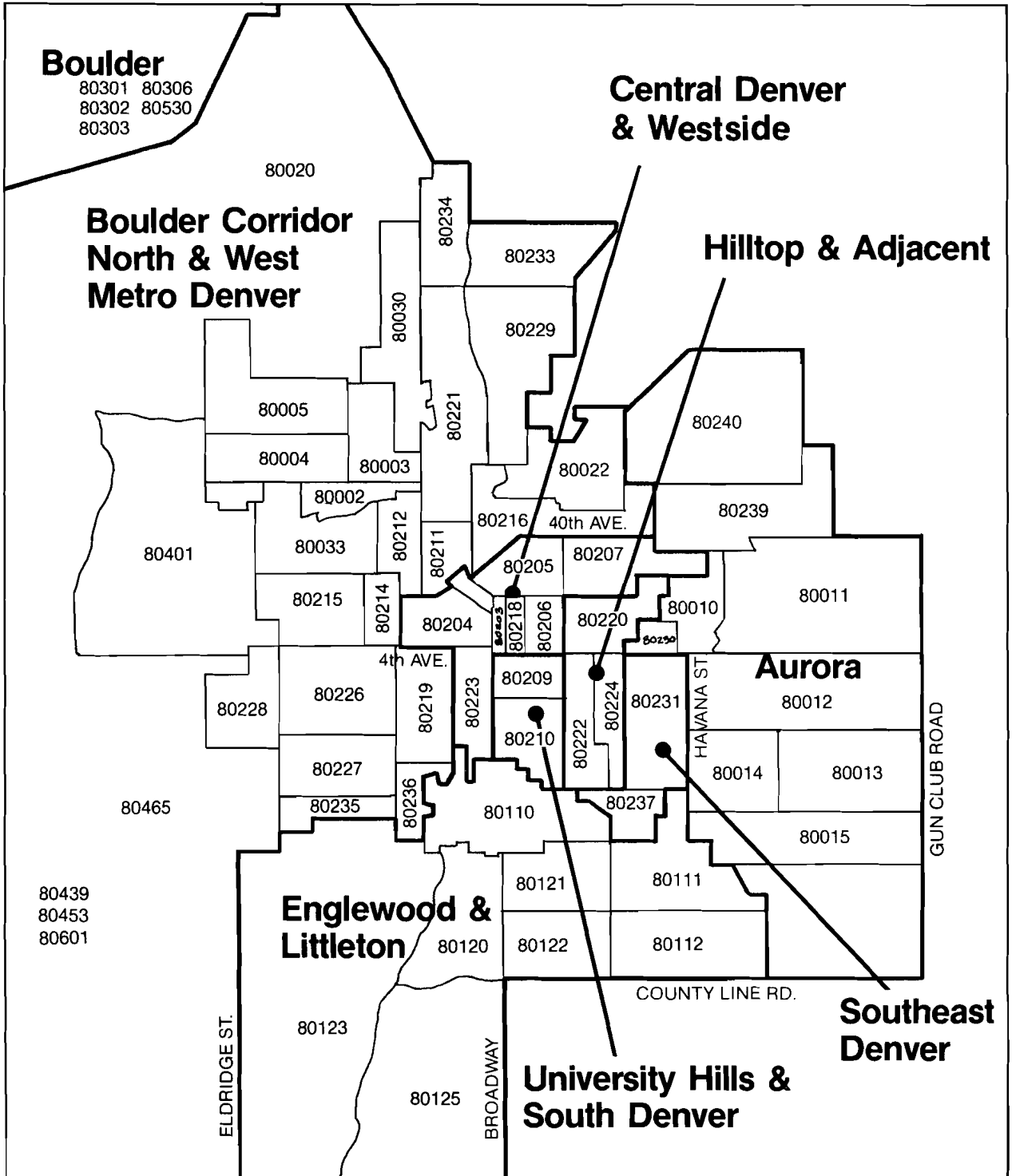


TABLE 4. BREAKDOWN OF ZIP CODES WITHIN SECTIONS OF DENVER

Section	Zip Code	Per Cent of All Jewish Households in that Sector
University Hills & South Denver	80209	40.5
	80210	59.6
Hilltop & Adjacent	80220	33.5
	80222	39.1
	80224	27.3
Southeast Denver	80231	54.1
	80237	45.9
Englewood & Littleton	80110	22.3
	80111	26.3
	80112	10.1
	80120	2.6
	80121	13.1
	80122	12.3
	80123	8.6
	80125	1.4
80127	3.5	
Central Denver & West Side	80203	3.1
	80204	13.0
	80205	3.8
	80206	54.7
	80207	12.1
	80218	11.9
Aurora	80010	12.5
	80011	1.1
	80012	24.2
	80013	14.3
	80014	43.2
	80015	3.2
	80230	1.2
80239	0.3	

TABLE 4. BREAKDOWN OF ZIP CODES WITHIN SECTIONS OF DENVER
(CONTINUED)

Section	Zip Code	Per Cent of All Jewish Households in that Sector
Boulder Corridor	80003	2.2
North & West	80004	1.2
Denver	80005	1.5
	80020	11.7
	80030	2.6
	80033	1.5
	80211	3.3
	80212	3.1
	80214	2.6
	80215	9.9
	80219	0.9
	80221	7.1
	80226	20.9
	80227	0.4
	80228	0.3
	80229	1.0
	80233	4.8
	80234	2.8
	80235	0.3
	80236	0.4
	80401	9.7
	80439	5.4
	80453	1.3
	80465	4.4
	80601	0.7
Boulder	80301	7.6
	80302	74.1
	80303	15.2
	80306	1.5
	80530	0.6

TABLE 5. AGE DISTRIBUTION FOR SECTIONS OF DENVER (IN PER CENTS)

Age	Univ. Hills & South Denver	Hilltop & Adja- cent	Southeast Denver	Engle- wood & Little- ton	Central Denver/ Westside	Aurora	Boulder Corridor N & W Metro Denver	Boulder	All
18-24	19.2	4.7	2.2	2.8	9.9	7.8	7.9	27.6	8.1
25-29	22.1	15.5	11.5	19.8	25.5	26.5	29.0	17.6	19.4
30-34	18.2	11.7	24.0	22.0	12.0	24.8	28.8	30.0	18.4
35-39	2.5	6.2	21.4	24.8	11.7	10.5	13.0	9.5	11.1
40-44	6.2	7.7	6.2	9.6	3.8	6.6	1.7	2.9	6.5
45-49	1.1	7.5	2.5	8.8	3.1	5.9	5.0	3.9	5.5
50-54	5.3	7.7	10.4	6.6	1.5	7.6	2.9	1.9	6.4
55-59	1.3	9.5	3.2	3.5	3.6	2.2	4.7	x	5.1
60-64	4.7	9.6	2.1	x	1.9	1.4	2.4	1.4	4.7
65-69	6.3	8.0	8.3	0.3	5.8	0.7	1.2	2.5	5.3
70-74	6.8	3.9	1.9	1.1	10.0	6.0	3.3	2.6	4.3
75-79	x	5.1	6.3	0.7	4.7	x	x	x	2.9
80-84	4.5	2.3	x	x	x	x	x	x	1.4
85+	1.9	0.6	x	x	6.3	x	x	x	1.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Central Denver, Aurora, and the Boulder Corridor are intermediate areas for youth--roughly 35 per cent of all the household heads in each area are under the age of 30. Englewood and Hilltop have the lowest proportion of young household heads (23% and 14% respectively). As would be expected from the low proportion of young household heads there, Hilltop has the highest proportion of older household heads (60 and over) at 30 per cent. Englewood on the other hand, which had the second lowest proportion of young household heads, has by far the lowest proportion of older household heads: only 2 per cent are over the age of 60. This is because (as we will see shortly) Englewood is an area characterized by families with children under 18. Aurora, Boulder, and the Boulder Corridor also have relatively few elderly households (between 6% and 8%) and are also areas with relatively large young households. University Hills and Central Denver have significant proportions of both elderly and young households, with the balance tilting toward the younger households. Another way to look at Table 5 is in terms of over- and under-representation. An area is said to under-represent a particular age group if it has a lower percentage of that age group than Denver as a whole. An area is said to be over-represented with an age group if it has a higher percentage of that age group than does the Denver Jewish community as a whole. Boulder, for example, vastly over-represents the 18-24 group because 28 per cent of the Boulder household heads are between 18 and 24 as compared with only 8 per cent of all Denver Jewish households taken together.

Table 5-A summarizes Table 5 in terms of over-representation. Table 5-A has collapsed the categories so as to reduce the inter-age group variation. University Hills and Central Denver show a similar pattern: they over-represent the oldest and youngest age categories and under-represent the two middle categories. This double skewed age pattern tends to suggest that these two older urban areas are undergoing a "re-gentrification"--a trend whereby older urban areas experience a new growth of younger residents moving in.

Like University Hills and Central Denver, Boulder and the Boulder Corridor over-represent the youngest age group, but unlike the previous two areas, they under-represent all the age categories over 34. Aurora is close to the pattern for the Boulder Corridor, only it has the same proportion of household heads between the ages of 35 and 49 as does Denver as a whole. Hilltop, by contrast, over-represents the 50-64 and 65+ age categories and under-represents the two youngest age categories. Southeast Denver and Englewood show a mixed pattern for age of household head. Southeast Denver over-represents the 35-49 year old group, as well as the 65+ group, while Englewood over-represents only the 35-49 year old group. The reason for this will become more clear in the next section where age and family configuration are examined together within each area. At this point the age profile of the various areas of Denver could be summarized as follows: University Hills and Central Denver have the young and the old; Aurora, Boulder, the Boulder Corridor have the young; Hilltop has the late middle aged and old; South Denver has the early middle aged.

Household Configuration

A convenient way of looking at the Denver Jewish population is in terms of "household configuration" which combined three separate elements:

- the marital status of the "household head" interviewed (either spouse in a married couple or either partner in a couple living together is considered a household head as well as any of the Jews among two or more roomates),

TABLE 5-A. OVER & UNDER REPRESENTATION OF AGE GROUPS BY SECTOR OF DENVER

Age of House- hold Head	Sector							
	Univer- sity Hills & S. Denver	Hilltop & Adja- cent	S.E. Denver	Englewood & Little- ton	Central Denver & West Side	Aurora	Boulder Corridor, N. & W. Metro Denver	Boulder
18-34	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
35-49	-	-	+	+	-	=	-	-
50-64	-	+	=	-	-	-	-	-
65+	+	+	+	=	+	-	-	-

CODES: + means that the age group is over-represented in the area.

- means that the age group is under-represented in the area

= means that the proportion of that age group in the particular sector is the same as for Denver as a whole.

- the inclusion of other individuals in the household and
- the presence (or absence) of children under the age of 18 in the household.

An extensive examination of the household patterns suggested the eight different household configurations presented in Table 7. Several of these configurations in turn have between two and four different combinations included. The "related individuals" configuration is made up of two or more related individuals who are not currently married. Most of the households in this category (55%) are headed by a divorced person, followed by another 30 per cent headed by a person who is single, never married. The "unrelated individuals" configuration is predominantly made up of single never married persons (87% of these households consist of single persons). It does not matter here whether the other roommate(s) are Jewish or not .

The "individuals living alone" configuration is used to describe any one-person Jewish household. Most of the households in this configuration (57%) are persons who are single, never married. "Single parent families" are households with one adult and one or more children under 18. As would be expected, the vast majority (81%) of single parent families are divorced, with the remaining 19 per cent being widowed. The "mixed households" configuration represents what may become a fascinating new trend: a couple (either married or living together) living either with another couple (as in the case of four out of five "mixed households") or with one or more unrelated roommates (as is the case with the remaining "mixed households"). A few of the mixed households include children under 18. These are counted as mixed households rather than as a married couple with children or single parent family because of the non-traditional character of these households (which might also be called "quasi-communes"). The two married couple configurations (with and without children under 18) are self-explanatory. The "temporary" households, although a tiny fraction of all Denver Jewish households, are treated as a separate category because they fit nowhere else. These are instances in which a husband resides in Denver for a year or more, but plans to return to his "real" home in some other city.

Although one out of every three Jewish households in Denver is made up of one or more unmarried individuals (i.e., the first three configurations taken together) single-parent families account for only 4 per cent of all Denver Jewish households. This percentage may seem low in comparison to the amount of attention shown by the Jewish community to the problems of single parents. However, it is consistent with the high re-marriage rate reported elsewhere. On the other hand, one out of every seven families with children under 18 is a single-parent family, and thus their relatively low proportion of the population as a whole is the result of high re-marriage and low fertility.

Overall there are more married couples without children under 18 than married couples with them. Some of these married couples are "empty-nesters" whose children are now adults. Others still have adult children (over 18) living at home, and still others have not yet had a child. Findings about this trend may appear later this year in a special report on fertility.

Table 8 presents a cross-tabulation of age of household head in order to give a clearer picture of whom the various configurations include. Table 8 will be

TABLE 7. HOUSEHOLD CONFIGURATION AND SUB-CATEGORIES¹

	Per Cent of All Jewish Households	Estimated Number of Households
<u>RELATED INDIVIDUALS</u>		
Single (30%), Divorced (55%) Widow (15%)	2.0	380
<u>UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS</u>		
Single (87%), Divorced (7%) Widow (6%)	6.7	1273
<u>INDIVIDUAL LIVING ALONE</u>		
Single (57%), Divorced (21%) Widow (22%)	24.2	4598
<u>SINGLE PARENT FAMILY</u>		
Divorced (81%), Widow (19%)	3.9	741
<u>MIXED HOUSEHOLDS²</u>		
Two Couples (81%) Couple & Single Individual (19%)	5.3	1007
<u>MARRIED COUPLE WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18</u>		
	24.5	4655
<u>MARRIED COUPLE WITH NO CHILDREN UNDER 18</u>		
	33.1	6289
<u>TEMPORARY</u>		
	0.2	38
<hr/>		
TOTAL	100.0	
<hr/>		

1) Per cents of configurations accounted for by sub-categories are in parenthesis (Subcategories use marital status of respondent-household head)

2) Includes some households with children under 18

referred to throughout the discussion of Tables 9 and 10, and is not treated separately here.

Tables 9 and 10 present two different ways of looking at the distribution of the various household configurations over the eight sections of Denver. The two tables differ in terms of the questions they are intended to answer. Table 9 considers the question "where is each household configuration most likely to be found." For example, it shows where single parent families are most likely to be found or where married couples with children tend to live. Because over a third of all Denver Jewish households live in the section called "Hilltop and Adjacent" (referred to from now on simple as "Hilltop"), the highest proportion of any household group is generally found in Hilltop. It is for this reason that we introduce the concepts of over- and under-representation. A given household configuration is said to be "overrepresented" in a particular section of Denver if that household configuration is more likely to be found in that section of the Jewish population as a whole. A household configuration is said to be "underrepresented" in a particular section of Denver if it is less likely to be found in that section than in the Jewish population as a whole. A discussion of Table 9 will make these concepts more clear.

Households made up of "Related Individuals" are heavily overrepresented only in Hilltop: 59.9 per cent of this configuration can be found in Hilltop as compared with 35.3 per cent of all Jewish households taken together. As observed in Table 8, most of the related individuals living together are fifty years old and older, and thus we know that the largest group of elderly living with other elderly relatives are to be found in Hilltop, and that they are more likely than other family types to live in this area, and less likely to live in other areas of Denver. "Unrelated individual" households are almost all (77%) under 30. Not surprisingly they are overrepresented (i.e., more likely to live) in the two university areas: near Denver University and in Boulder. Looking at Boulder, for example, we see that 26 per cent of all households composed of unrelated individuals live in Boulder, as compared with only 4 per cent of all Denver Jewish households. In other words, this household configuration is six times as likely as Denver Jewry as a whole to live in Boulder. It should also be noted that while unrelated individual households are somewhat less likely to live in Hilltop than Denver Jewry as a whole (30% as compared to 36% of all Denver) this is still the area in which the single largest number of this kind of household will be found. Households composed of "individuals-living-alone" are overrepresented in Central Denver where they are twice as likely to be found as all the Denver Jewish households taken together (15% of individuals alone as compared with 8% of all Denver Jewish households). They are slightly more likely to live in University Hills and Southeast Denver than the Jewish population as a whole, but very much less likely to live in South Denver than are Jewish households taken as a whole. In fact only 3 per cent of individuals-living-alone live here, as compared with 12 per cent of all Denver.

Single-parent families are concentrated in Hilltop and southeast Denver--half of all single-parent families live in these two areas. However, when the geographic distribution of single-parent families is compared with Denver Jewish households as a whole, we see that they are somewhat underrepresented in Hilltop (29% as compared with 35%), but are greatly overrepresented in Southeast Denver. Single-parent families are more likely to live there than any other household configuration, and are more than twice as likely to live there as Denver Jews as

TABLE 8. HOUSEHOLD CONFIGURATION BY AGE OF RESPONDENT-HOUSEHOLD HEAD (IN PERCENTS)

Age of Household Head	Related Individuals	Unrelated Individuals	Individual Alone	Single Parent Family	LVT, Marrieds & Room-mates	Married Couple with Children Under 18	Married Couple without Children Under 18	Temporary	Total
18-29	9.0	77.4	35.1	5.4	41.4	18.7	19.9	x	27.4
30-39	1.3	15.2	26.2	49.0	54.3	52.6	13.2	x	29.4
40-49	14.5	3.9	4.6	41.3	2.0	23.5	8.5	x	12.0
50+	75.1	3.6	34.1	4.3	2.3	5.2	58.4	100.0	31.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

a whole. Single-parent families are slightly overrepresented in Central Denver and Aurora, but nowhere near the extent to which they are overrepresented in Southeast Denver.

The mixed or multiple households (two couples or one or more couples with roommates, virtually all of whom are under the age of 49), are overrepresented in University Hills and Aurora. In both cases multiple households are twice as likely as Denver Jewry as a whole to live in these areas. This is particularly interesting since Aurora is a suburban area whereas D.U. is urban. Looking at a map, it appears that these mixed households have located themselves on either side of Hilltop, where they are significantly underrepresented.

Married couples with children under 18 at home are also significantly underrepresented in Hilltop. The area of Denver which has traditionally been associated with Jewish family life: 24 per cent of all married couples with children live in Hilltop as compared with 35 per cent of all Denver Jewish households. On the other hand, they are more than twice as likely as Denver Jewry on a whole to live in Englewood, and far more likely to live there than any other single household type. They are also more likely than any other group to live in the Boulder Corridor. Married couples without children, like related individuals, are overrepresented in Hilltop. In fact, they are the only two household types to be overrepresented in Hilltop. Close to half of all married couples without children can be found in Hilltop.

Table 9, which shows where each household configuration is most likely to be found, also shows that the different household configurations prefer to live in different parts of Denver.

Here preferences are summarized in Table 9-A below:

<u>Household Configuration</u>	<u>Preferred Areas</u>
Related Individuals	Hilltop
Unrelated Individuals	University Hills and D.U., Boulder and C.U.
Individuals Living Alone	University Hills, Southeast Denver and Central Denver
Single-Parent Families	Southeast Denver, Central Denver and Aurora
Multiple Couples	University Hills, Central Denver and Aurora
Married Couples with Children Under 18	Southeast Denver, Englewood and Boulder Corridor

Given these differing geographical preferences, one might expect that this would result in a different family profile for each section of Denver. Table 10 tests this supposition by presenting a profile of each Denver area in terms of the number and relative proportion of each household type living there.

In Table 10 the "All" column to the far right of the table shows the relative proportion of each household type in Denver as a whole. Table 10 demonstrates the geographical preference of the various household configuration reflected in the demographic profile of each area. For example, we see that the three household types which prefer to live in University Hills and South Denver, account for over 50 per cent of the households there. At the same time, the two kinds of married couples (with and without children) account for almost 40 per cent of the Jewish households there, even though they are less likely to live there. This is because married couples are generally more numerous than related individuals, individuals living alone, and multiple households.

Table 10-A summarizes the profile of each area by noting the household configuration that is most numerous in that particular area:

<u>TABLE 10-A</u> <u>HOUSEHOLD CONFIGURATION MOST NUMEROUS IN EACH AREA OF DENVER</u>	
<u>Area of Denver</u>	<u>Household Configuration Most Likely to Occur</u>
University Hills & South Denver	Single individuals
Hilltop	Married couples without children
Southeast Denver	Married couples with children
Englewood	Married couples with children
Central Denver/ Westside	"mixed" or "multiple" households
Aurora	Both kinds of married couples
Boulder Corridor	Married couples with children
Boulder	Unrelated individuals

TABLE 10. PROFILE OF EMPLOYMENT BY HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION (PER CENT IN PARENTHESES)

Household Configuration	Univ. Hills & South Denver	Hilltop & Adjacent	Southeast Denver	Englewood & Littleton	Central Denver & Westside	Aurora	Boulder Corridor N & W Metro Denver	Boulder	All
Related Individuals	40 (1.6)	234 (3.5)	16 (0.8)	16 (0.7)	16 (1.0)	31 (1.8)	33 (2.4)	5 (6.6)	380 (2.0)
Unrelated Individuals	269 (10.8)	382 (5.7)	16 (0.8)	0 x	62 (3.9)	137 (8.0)	86 (6.2)	327 (39.1)	1273 (6.7)
Individual Alone	839 (33.7)	1556 (23.2)	573 (29.0)	144 (6.2)	700 (44.4)	385 (22.5)	262 (18.9)	139 (16.6)	4598 (24.2)
Single Parent Family	110 (4.4)	215 (3.2)	160 (8.1)	83 (3.6)	85 (5.4)	94 (5.5)	0 x	0 x	741 (3.9)
LVT, Marrieds & Roommates	261 (10.5)	228 (3.4)	49 (2.5)	x	136 (8.6)	181 (10.6)	60 (4.3)	90 (10.8)	1007 (5.3)
Married Couple with Children Under 18	261 (10.5)	1107 (16.5)	656 (33.2)	1284 (55.4)	175 (11.1)	467 (27.3)	528 (38.1)	174 (20.8)	4655 (24.5)
Married Couple Without Children Under 18	709 (28.5)	2951 (44.0)	506 (25.6)	781 (33.7)	405 (25.4)	417 (30.1)	417 (12.9)	108 (33.1)	6289 (33.1)
Temporary	0 x	34 (0.5)	0 x	7 (6.3)	0 x	0 x	0 x	0 x	38 (0.2)
TOTAL	2489	6707	1976	2318	1577	1710	1387	836	19000

Table 11 complements Table 10 by breaking down each household configuration by age within each area. The "individuals living alone" (who are the most numerous type of household in University Hills/South Denver) are divided between the youngest age category and the oldest: 45 per cent of the individuals living alone are under thirty, and 34 per cent are over fifty. The "unrelated individual" households which are also overrepresented in this area are overwhelmingly young: more than three-fourths of these households are under thirty. The mixed couples who also show a preference for this area are evenly divided between people in their twenties and thirties. It would appear that the older group living alone in their fifties is outnumbered by younger Jews (under 40) living alone or with roommates. The "married couples without children" (make up 44 per cent of the Hilltop households) are overwhelmingly over fifty years of age. Even the "married couples with children" in Hilltop tend to be older than similar couples elsewhere in Denver. Fifty-three per cent are over 40 as compared with the married couples with children in Southeast Denver who are almost all (90%) under 40. The same group in Englewood are mostly (70%) under forty, as is the same group in Aurora.

Aurora has almost the same number of married couples without children as couples with children. These couples are predominantly (72%) over forty, with close to half (47%) being fifty years of age or older. By contrast, the married couples without children in Englewood are very young: 45 per cent are under 30, with another 18 per cent under 40 for a total of 63 per cent. Childless couples in the Boulder Corridor are even more likely to be young: 77 per cent are under forty. The Boulder Corridor, Englewood and Aurora are areas to watch for future Jewish children.

Single-parent families, which are overrepresented in Southeast Denver, Central Denver/Westside, and Aurora have had a particularly strong, though very different, impact on Southeast and Central Denver/Westside. While Southeast Denver has the largest proportion of single-parent families overall (8%, or twice the proportion as Denver overall), Central Denver/Westside has the highest proportion of single-parent families out of all families. Close to half (39%) of all the families with children in Central Denver are single-parent families. In Aurora this proportion is also quite high: 34 per cent of all Aurora families with children are single-parent families. The single-parent families are youngest in Central Denver/Westside (all are under 40), oldest in Aurora (65% are over 40), and relatively young in Southeast Denver (62% are under 40).

Boulder, the "other half" of the Denver-Boulder standard metropolitan statistical area, is made up mostly of unrelated roommates living together (39%). The vast majority of these households are under 30, and all are under the age of 40. Boulder has twice the proportion of mixed households as Denver as a whole, and these, like the roommate households are all under the age of 40, but with a much higher percentage of household heads in their thirties (66%). The married couples with children while slightly underrepresented in Boulder, are predominantly in their thirties (59%). Most of the rest are in their forties, making them an older parent group than the married couples in the Boulder Corridor, a neighboring area that is heavily overrepresented with their type of household.

TABLE 11. AGE OF RESPONDENT BY HOUSEHOLD CONFIGURATION WITHIN SECTION (PER CENT) CONTINUED

Sector	Age of Respondent	Related Individuals	Unrelated Individuals	Individual-Alone	Single Parent Family	LVT, Married & Room-mates	Married Couple		All
							with Children Under 18	without Children Under 18	
Boulder Corridor, North & West Metro Denver	18-29	31.8	100.0	54.5	x	38.0	22.9	30.9	36.9
	30-39	x	x	24.6	x	24.0	66.3	36.0	41.8
	40-49	x	x	x	x	x	8.2	11.8	6.7
	50+	68.2	x	20.9	x	38.0	2.6	21.3	14.6
Hilltop	18-29	8.4	70.0	24.9	18.5	57.8	17.3	10.8	20.2
	30-39	x	10.6	27.1	27.5	33.4	29.7	9.4	18.0
	40-49	4.5	13.0	4.1	39.2	8.8	50.0	8.0	15.2
	50+	98.0	6.5	43.9	14.8	x	2.9	71.8	46.6
Englewood & Littleton	18-24	x	x	10.4	x	x	12.5	44.7	22.6
	25-39	x	x	78.9	100.0	x	58.0	18.0	46.8
	40-49	x	x	x	x	x	25.8	10.3	18.4
	50+	100.0	x	10.7	x	x	3.7	27.0	12.2
Boulder	18-29	x	76.4	40.7	x	34.5	7.2	22.3	45.3
	30-39	x	23.6	40.2	x	65.5	59.0	37.1	39.6
	40-49	x	x	x	x	x	33.8	x	6.8
	50+	x	x	19.1	x	x	x	40.7	8.4
TOTAL		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Age and Generation

Generation is an important variable for the demographic profile of American Jewry. The number of generations an individual's family has lived in the United States is considered a measure of Americanization. A "first generation" person is an immigrant, while the "second generation" person is the American born child of immigrant parents. The "third generation" individual is the first instance in which both parents and child have been born in the same culture. A fourth generation individual has both American born parents and grandparents. Table 12 presents a generational breakdown of each age group. Data about the born Jew, converts, and non-Jews are presented separately so as to keep "Jewish trends" separate. The converts and non-Jews in Table 12 are the spouses and partners of born Jews.

Looking at the born-Jews first, it should be noted that there are people of every generation represented in every age group. Still, it is possible to characterize the age groups in terms of the "modal" (largest) generation categories. Both the 18-29 year olds and the 30-39 year olds are predominantly third and fourth generation (80 per cent and 76 per cent respectively). The 40-49 year old group are mostly second and third generations (28 per cent split almost evenly). There are twice as many first generation 40 year olds as fourth generation 40 year olds. The 50 year olds have the largest concentration in any single generation category: 62% are second generation. The 50 year olds also have the highest percentage of first generation Jews: 23 per cent.

Looking to the "all" category which totals the generational distribution of all the born Jews in the sample taken together, a dramatic contrast with the non-Jews married to, or living with, Jews emerges. Over three-fourths of the non-Jews (78%) are fourth generation Americans as compared with only 17 per cent of the Jews. Even when only the youngest category (18-29) is considered, the non-Jews have a larger proportion of fourth generation Americans than do the born-Jews. However, the large proportion of third generation Americans among the youngest born-Jews tends to offset this generational imbalance: 80 per cent of the born-Jews between 18 and 24 are either third or fourth generation as compared with 94 per cent of the non-Jews in their age group. In other words, the youngest Jews who are the most likely to marry non-Jews (demonstrated in the next section) are also almost as likely as the non-Jews they marry, to have American-born parents.

Tables 13 and 14 both examine place of birth by age. Table 13 looks at all household heads, both Jews and non-Jews taken together. The two largest categories in the "all" column (all Denver Jewish households taken together) are virtually equal, which means that there are as many households where the respondent came from Denver as from New York. Where the respondent is under 40, however, the proportion of native-born New Yorkers is higher than native-born Denverites.

Table 14 presents the place of birth for individual respondents and spouses (or partner) controlling for age and religion.

Looking at the born-Jews first we see that the proportion of native-born Denverites declines even more sharply from the 50 year olds to the 20 year olds than all Denver households discussed in Table 13: 30 per cent of the born-Jews fifty and older are native Denverites as compared with 23 per cent of the 20 year olds.

TABLE 12. AGE BY GENERATION CONTROLLING FOR RELIGION OF BIRTH¹

	Generation	All	18-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Born Jews	1st	13.4	4.8	5.8	14.7	22.9
	2nd	37.2	15.3	18.3	38.4	61.6
	3rd	32.3	43.1	48.5	40.1	12.8
	4th	17.1	36.8	27.4	6.8	2.6
Converts	1st	1.1	x	x	x	13.5
	2nd	11.7	x	18.4	8.9	11.5
	3rd	21.8	35.9	6.4	24.1	71.2
	4th	65.4	64.1	75.1	67.1	3.8
Non-Jews	1st	6.1	1.2	11.5	15.0	x
	2nd	6.7	4.4	4.7	11.0	16.8
	3rd	9.8	6.0	10.9	35.0	7.5
	4th	77.5	88.3	72.8	39.0	75.7
TOTAL		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹Includes spouses and partners of born Jews in couples living together.

TABLE 13. PLACE OF BIRTH FOR RESPONDENT-HOUSEHOLD HEADS
BY AGE (PER CENT)

Place of Birth	18-29	30-39	40-49	50+	All
New York	25.9	25.0	21.0	15.9	21.9
Other North- eastern States	12.7	15.0	6.9	8.3	11.3
Mid-West	20.8	28.7	10.6	15.0	20.1
South & Southeast	1.9	1.6	7.0	3.8	3.0
Denver	18.0	14.8	26.4	31.2	22.2
Other Colorado	2.5	0.7	4.1	1.3	1.8
West- Southwest	6.9	4.7	4.6	1.7	4.4
West Coast	7.2	4.7	4.3	1.6	4.4
Canada	0.6	0.2	x	x	0.2
Europe	0.9	3.6	13.8	19.7	9.2
Other foreign- born & foreign- born not specified	2.8	1.0	1.3	1.5	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Similarly, from the 50+ category to the 18-24 category, the proportion of native-born New Yorkers increased from 16 to 26 per cent. The proportion of born-Jews in other parts of the Northeast increased even more dramatically from 7 per cent of the 50+ cohort to 13 per cent of the 18-24 cohort. Similar increases can be observed for every place of birth save two: the proportion of European-born Jews declines sharply, by a factor of close to 10, from 11 per cent of the 50+ cohort to 1 per cent of the 18-24 cohort; and the proportion of Southern born Jews in Denver remains constant at 2 per cent. As will be seen in the next section, these trends are explained by a recent upswing in the number of non-Jewish households migrating to Denver over the last ten years.

Looking at the "all" column for born-Jews and non-Jews reveals a dramatic difference in nativity. Born-Jews living in Denver are more than three times as likely as non-Jews to be born in New York, twice as likely to be born in Denver, and almost five times as likely to be European born. Non-Jews, by contrast, are almost four times as likely to be born in the South; more than three times as likely to be born in other parts of Colorado; five times as likely to be born in the West and Southwest, and two and one-half times as likely to be born on the West Coast. Later this year the report on intermarriage will compare the places of birth of Jews and non-Jews who are married to each other. At this point we can still observe that the non-Jewish spouses of Jews have brought an even greater regional diversity to the Denver Jewish community than the newly arrived Jews. The scope of immigration will be discussed in the following section, and the effects of this migration on communal change and stability will be analyzed in a report later this year.

MOBILITY

There are two types of geographical mobility that affect the Denver Jewish community: movement to Denver, and movement within Denver.

Movement to Denver

Intimations of a recent migration to Denver have already appeared in tables presented earlier. For example, the large proportion of individuals between the ages of 18 and 34 (relative to Los Angeles) suggested a recent movement as did the increased variety in place of birth among the younger cohorts. Table 15 verifies this trend. Just about half (49%) of all Denver Jewish households moved to the area during the last ten years (since 1971). Moreover, the period 1976-1981 shows twice as many new households as the period 1971-1975, meaning that most accelerated period of growth has been within the last five years.

Table 16 which looks at the year the household moved to the current residence reveals a great deal of mobility, much of it within Denver. Twelve per cent of all Denver Jewish households moved to their current residence during 1981, and this actually underestimates the scope of very recent movements since the interviewing ended in June of 1981, only halfway into the year. Another 51 per cent moved to their current place of residence during 1976-1980 for a total of 63 per cent who have moved within the last 5 years. Table 17 examines the length of time at the current residence for each of the eight sectors of Denver. Hilltop and Southeast Denver are the most stable areas in the sense that they have the highest proportion of households residing at the same residence for longer than five years. University Hills, Boulder, Aurora, and the Boulder Corridor are the least stable: on the average 80 per cent of the households in these areas have lived at their current place of residence for five years or less. This does not imply that the households have moved from out of town, or even from some other part of Denver, only that they have moved. A report examining only geographical mobility available later this year will look at some of the effects of this instability on the quality of Jewish life in Denver.

Table 18 complements Table 17 by looking at the year of move to Denver. Boulder has the greatest proportion of recent in-migrants to Denver: 51 per cent of all the Boulder Jewish households arrived in Metro Denver within the last five years, and 82 per cent arrived in the last ten years. The other university area, University Hills, has the second highest proportion of new Jewish households: 54 per cent of the Jewish households in this area moved to Denver in the last five years, and 65 per cent in the last ten years. The Boulder Corridor is the third in this category, with 45 per cent of the households arriving since 1976 and 63 per cent since 1971. Englewood and neighboring Aurora also have a higher percentage of new Denver households than does Denver as a whole. Central Denver Hilltop, and Southeast Denver have a lower proportion of post 1971 movers than Denver as a whole. Central Denver, however, has a larger proportion of households arriving since 1976 than do the other two, which reinforces a suggestion made earlier that Central Denver may be undergoing a kind of re-gentrification. In both Hilltop and Southeast Denver only about a third of the households have arrived since 1971 (36% and 31% respectively). With Hilltop, as with Central Denver, there appears to be a new growth occurring as reflected in the 24 per

TABLE 15. YEAR OF MOVE TO DENVER

Respondent's Year of Move to Denver	Per Cent of All Households	Estimated Number of Households
1976-1981 (5 Years)	33.5	6365
1971-1975 (6-10 yrs.)	15.6	2964
1966-1970 (11-15 yrs.)	9.8	1862
Before 1965 (16+ yrs.)	41.1	7809
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

TABLE 16. MOVEMENT TO CURRENT RESIDENCE

<u>Year Respondent Moved to Current Residence</u>	<u>Per Cent of All Households</u>	<u>Estimated Number of Households</u>
1981	11.9	2261
1976-1980	50.6	9614
1971-1975	13.1	2489
Before 1970	24.4	4636
TOTAL	100.0	19000

TABLE 17. PROPORTION OF RECENT MOVERS BY SECTION OF DENVER

Sector	Per Cent Moving to Current Residence During 1976-1981	Estimated Number of Households
University Hills & South Denver	82.1	2044
Hilltop & Adjacent	50.2	3367
Southeast Denver	35.4	700
Englewood & Littleton	68.6	1590
Central Denver/Westside	63.2	997
Aurora	78.2	1337
Boulder Corridor, North & West Metro Denver	79.4	1101
Boulder	85.3	713
All Denver	62.5	11875

TABLE 18. LENGTH OF TIME IN DENVER BY SECTOR (PER CENT)

When Respondent Moved to Denver	All	Univ. Hills & S. Denver	Hilltop	South-east Denver	Englewood & Littleton	Central Denver / Westside	Aurora	Boulder Corridor N & W Denver	Boulder
1976-1981	33.5	53.6	24.0	10.8	40.2	34.0	36.1	45.0	51.1
1971-1975	15.6	11.5	11.7	19.9	19.3	12.6	18.2	18.4	31.3
1966-1970	9.8	5.2	8.7	19.3	13.4	5.3	10.7	6.9	10.8
Before 1966	41.0	29.2	55.7	50.0	27.1	48.0	34.9	29.7	6.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

cent of Hilltop households arriving since 1976 (the comparable figure is only 11 per cent for Southeast Denver). Only three areas currently seem to have much connection with the Denver Jewish community that experienced the Six Day War in Israel: Hilltop, Southeast and Central Denver. In these areas almost half the households (between 48 and 56%) had arrived in Denver prior to 1967.

Patterns of Movement Within Denver

One of the most useful pieces of information available for Jewish communal planning are periodic estimates of the number of Jewish households in each area of Denver. Because 1981 is the first time such estimates are available (as a result of the study) it is not possible to estimate the absolute Jewish growth in each area. Fortunately, it is possible to approximate the growth trends using a series of questions regarding patterns of movement within Denver.

Table 19 looks at these patterns for recent movers (defined as households that moved to their current place of residence during the past five years previous to the study--1976-1981). The percentage of recent movers who have moved out of each area is found in the first column to the left. For example, 8.8 per cent of all recent movers (1,045 households) moved out of a residence in University Hills/South Denver. The column titled "Per cent moved to" indicates the percentage of all recent movers that moved to a residence in each area. Thus, 17.5 per cent of all recent movers (2,078 households) moved to a residence in University Hills/South Denver. The last column to the right (titled "To/From Ratio") computes the ratio of in-movers to out-movers for each area. Twice as many households moved into University Hills/South Denver as moved out of that area. University hills/South Denver and Aurora are the two fastest growing areas in Denver. For every household that moved out of one of these areas, two more moved in. Hilltop, Englewood and Boulder were also areas to which more households moved in than from which they moved out. The Boulder Corridor remained stable while Central Denver, and the Southeast experienced greater out-movement than in-movement.

Not reflected in this table is the movement from each part of Denver to other cities during the period under investigation. For this reason Table 19 can only approximate the absolute rate of growth. Also not reflected in Table 19 is the extent of movement within each area during 1976-1981. A household which moved from one address in a given area to another residence in that same area, would be reflected in both the "from" and "to" columns. Table 20 rectifies this problem by looking at the specific patterns of movement from community to community. Before turning to Table 20, attention is called to the second column from the right in Table 19. The "per cent of all households living there now" column is another way of estimating new growth trends. By comparing the per cent of recent movers moving to the area with the percent of all households currently living there, it is possible to see whether or not the growth in the area is in line with, ahead of, or behind the current trends. Hilltop and Aurora exemplify the use of this column. Currently, 9 per cent of all Denver Jewish households reside in Aurora, as compared with 17.5 per cent of all the recent movers. Thus, recent movers are more likely to live in Aurora than Denver Jewry as a whole. In Hilltop we have the opposite situation: 28 per cent of all the recent movers have located themselves here, as compared with 35 per cent of all Denver Jewish households. Hilltop, then, which is still growing in Jewish households, is experiencing a slower growth than it has in the past. Five years from now we can still expect Hilltop to be the major Jewish area, but it will have less than its current "share"

TABLE 19. PATTERNS OF MOVEMENT IN & OUT OF EACH AREA (1976-1981)

Previous Residence	Per Cent Moving From	Estimated Number of Households	Per Cent Moving To	Estimated Number of Households	Percent of All Households Living There Now	To/From Ratio
Univ. Hills & S. Denver	8.8	1045	17.5	2078	13.1	2.0
Hilltop & Adjacent	19.1	2268	28.0	3325	35.3	1.5
S. E. Denver	7.2	855	5.9	701	10.4	0.8
Englewood/Littleton	7.5	891	13.7	1627	12.2	1.8
Central Denver	11.6	1378	8.3	986	8.3	0.7
Aurora	5.6	665	11.5	1366	9.0	2.1
Boulder Corridor N. & W. Metro Denver	8.7	1033	9.3	1104	7.3	1.1
Boulder	4.2	499	5.8	689	4.4	1.4
East Coast	6.2	736				
NY City & State	4.3	511				
Mid-West	5.9	701				
South & S. E.	0.8	95				
West & S. W.	5.1	606				
West Coast	3.3	392				
Foreign Country	1.7	202				
TOTAL	100.0	11875	100.0	11875	100.0	

PLACE OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE BY YEAR OF MOVE

Previous Residence	Univ. Hills & S. Denver		Hilltop		SE Denver		Englewood/Littleton		Central Denver		Aurora		Boulder Corridor		Boulder	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Univ. Hills & S. Denver	30.1	32.3	8.0	0.3	3.3	10.3	1.9	11.5	2.0	3.7	4.9	2.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hilltop & Adj.	14.3	20.7	41.5	60.4	8.3	15.3	7.1	31.2	11.0	12.4	17.4	16.2	3.9	4.9	1.8	0.0
SE Denver	6.1	0.0	0.6	1.0	37.3	35.7	18.5	0.0	5.1	0.0	1.7	0.0	4.6	0.0	3.6	0.0
Englewood/Littleton	10.9	0.0	5.2	1.5	3.0	1.2	22.4	11.1	1.4	0.0	4.2	0.0	3.0	9.1	0.0	0.0
Central Denver	14.0	13.8	14.2	17.7	15.6	0.0	0.0	11.0	38.7	65.5	4.7	0.0	5.0	22.2	0.0	0.0
Aurora	0.0	4.5	1.6	3.7	4.5	4.8	10.7	2.1	0.0	0.0	29.0	37.1	1.0	1.4	0.0	0.0
Boulder Corridor N & W Metro Denver	5.1	7.2	3.3	2.8	0.0	5.5	9.7	7.9	2.7	0.0	3.7	8.1	50.3	17.4	3.6	7.5 ³⁶
Boulder	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	3.7	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.0	65.2	38.7
East Coast	5.1	7.1	5.5	6.0	5.0	13.1	2.6	9.4	15.1	11.0	0.7	18.7	15.9	27.7	5.5	17.7
NY City-State	3.1	0.0	2.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.4	6.2	0.0	19.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	21.7
Mid-West	4.6	7.2	7.3	2.6	9.4	10.3	6.2	4.1	9.6	0.0	1.4	16.2	6.0	0.0	3.1	10.3
S & Southeast	0.0	0.0	0.3	3.1	1.3	3.2	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	1.6	3.9	2.0	0.0
West & SW	3.2	0.0	2.1	0.3	8.7	0.6	19.4	0.0	4.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	2.8	13.4	3.3	4.2
West Coast	0.0	7.2	4.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.0	2.1	2.0	0.0	10.19	1.2	2.8	0.0	6.6	0.0
Foreign Country-	3.5	0.0	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

A--"MOVED TO CURRENT RESIDENCE DURING 1976-1981"

B--"MOVED TO CURRENT RESIDENCE BEFORE 1976"

of 35 per cent of Denver Jewish households. If Hilltop is gaining in absolute numbers but losing relative to other areas, Southeast Denver is losing both in absolute numbers and relative to other areas. New movers are less likely to live in Southeast Denver than Jews as a whole, and more households have moved out than have moved in. Even though previously discussed tables have indicated a regrowth in Central Denver/Westside, Table 19 suggests that the net result of this new movement has been only to retard the Jewish population decline here. New movers are more likely to have located in the Boulder Corridor than Denver Jewish households overall, but as many Jewish households have left this area in the past five years as have moved in. As a result, the Boulder Corridor will remain stable, rather than experience the growth that will continue to occur in Aurora and University Hills. A more extensive report on geographical mobility to appear later this year will analyze just who has been moving in and out of each area.

Table 20 presents a detailed breakdown of inter-communal movement within Denver. The place of previous residence is listed down the rows while the place of current residence is listed at the top of each column heading. The per cents in each cell of the table give the percentage of all current households that moved from each of the other areas of Denver. Unlike Table 19 which includes only the recent movers (1976-1981), Table 20 includes both the recent movers along with all the current households that moved to the current community previous to 1976. The recent movers are in column "A" for each area and the pre-1976 movers are in Column "B" for each area. While this breakdown does complicate the table a bit, it also makes it possible to compare the patterns of recent movement with those of previous movement. As a result, trends of new growth or decline can be separated from continuing trends. The specific trends are considered area by area.

The major source of recent movement in University Hills (Column "A") is from somewhere else in University Hills followed by Central Denver/Westside, Hilltop, and Englewood: 70 per cent of the recent movers within University Hills have come from one of these areas. Comparing Column A and B for University Hills, we see that the intra-communal movement for University Hills/South Denver has remained consistent: 30 per cent of the recent movers and 32 per cent of the pre-1976 movers moved from somewhere else--in the area. The movement to University Hills/South Denver from Central Denver/Westside has remained consistent over the years at 14 per cent of both the recent and pre-1976 movers. By contrast the movement from Englewood has all occurred within the past five years (none of the current residents in University Hills/South Denver moved there from Englewood before 1976.) The movement from Southeast Denver to University Hills/South Denver is also entirely recent, as is the movement from New York. On the other hand, movement from Aurora to University Hills/South Denver apparently stopped after 1976.

An impressive 42 per cent of all recent movers in Hilltop moved from somewhere else in Hilltop, though the trend toward intra-Hilltop movement has declined in recent years, for 60 per cent of the current Hilltop residents who moved before 1976 moved from somewhere else in Hilltop. There has been a sharp increase in the percentage of movers to Hilltop from University Hills during 1976-1981: Twenty-six times as many current households in Hilltop came during 1976-1981 as came before 1976. Southeast Denver is a smaller source of Hilltop households than those above, but is also a new source of movement, as are the Midwest, Southwest, and West Coast. By contrast, the proportion of Hilltop residents arriving from the Midwest has declined in recent years.

As in all the areas, the single source of recent movement in Southeast Denver is from somewhere else in that area, and that trend has remained consistent both before and after 1976. The second largest source of recent movers to Southeast Denver is from Central Denver/Westside: 16 per cent of the recent movers came from Central Denver/Westside as compared with none of the Central Denver/Westside households moving to their current place of residence prior to 1976. Similarly, the movement from the West and Southeast (9% of the recent movers) is also a new phenomenon. On the other hand there has been a sharp drop in movement from Hilltop and University Hills to Southeast Denver as well as from the East coast.

Englewood has the lowest proportion of recent movers coming from somewhere else in the area, although the proportion of intra-area movers has still doubled since 1976. Almost as many households have moved from Southeast Denver to Englewood in the last five years as moved within Englewood (19 per cent as compared with 22 per cent). Moreover this trend began entirely after 1976. Similarly, the movement from Aurora to Englewood (11 per cent of the recent movers in Englewood) is also a largely post-1976 phenomenon. Particularly dramatic is the presence of new Englewood households coming directly from the West and Southwest. The 19 per cent of all recent movers in Englewood that came directly from the West and Southwest is much higher than for any other area. The main source of movement to Englewood prior to 1976 was from Hilltop (31 per cent of the pre-1976 movers came to Englewood from Hilltop), but the proportion of Hilltopers in Englewood has sharply declined in recent years, as has the proportion of movers from University Hills/South Denver.

The proportion of recent movers in Central Denver/Westside who have moved from somewhere else in Central Denver/Westside while still large (39 per cent) is close to half of what it was prior to 1976 (when the proportion of intra-area movers was 66 per cent). Because Central Denver/Westside is losing Jewish population there are very few instances of areas from which there has been an increase in recent movers over pre-1976 movers. In fact, it is only from Southeast Denver that there has been an increase (albeit a small increase) in movement in recent years: Five per cent of recent movers arrived from Southeast Denver as compared with none during the pre-1976 period. On the other hand, there has been an increase of in-migrants from the East Coast, New York, the Midwest, and West Coast. Thus, the trend toward the regentrification of Central Denver/Westside observed earlier has not been from households in other parts of Denver, but from new movement to Denver itself: Thirty-eight per cent of Central Denver/Westside households moving to their current place of residence in the last five years moved there from out of town.

Following Englewood, Aurora has the second lowest proportion of recent movers who relocated from some other residence in the same area. Also like Englewood, the lower proportion of intra-communal movers is due to the higher proportion of movers to Aurora from outside Aurora. Given their geographical proximity and tendency to be family areas, it is noteworthy that the specific patterns of movement from other places are different from those observed in Englewood. In Englewood, the proportion of in-migrants from New York decreased from 9 per cent before 1976 to none after 1976. In Aurora the opposite is the case: 20 per cent of all recent movers in Aurora came from New York as compared with none before 1976. New Yorkers moving to Aurora make up the same proportion of recent movers as do Westerners and Southwesterners in Englewood. It is puzzling that two similar and adjacent areas would attract two entirely different groups of new households from out of state.

Southeast, South, and Central Denver/Westside are all areas where movement to Aurora is entirely new within the last five years.

The Boulder Corridor is apparently stable in population because most of the recent movers there were moving from another residence in the Boulder Corridor. Moreover, this intra-communal movement following 1976 is almost three times the scope of that movement prior to 1976. Most of the other sources of Boulder Corridor households have declined sharply since 1976 which suggests that the Boulder Corridor experienced its growth prior to the 1976-1981 period when most Denver growth occurred. Boulder which has the largest proportion of recent movers to Denver (half of the Boulder Jewish households arrived after 1976) also has the highest proportion of households moving within Boulder during the last five years. For this to occur, there has to be a great deal of moving around and, indeed, 85 per cent of all Boulder Jewish households moved to their current residence since 1976.

The variety of patterns of in-migration to the different areas suggests that there may be some very specific trends of inter-communal movement. Using Table 20-A this possibility is investigated through a tabulation of all recent movers making a move from a particular community. Most of the moves made during the past five years (12%) were within Hilltop, itself, followed by moves within University Hills/South Denver and the Boulder Corridor (5 per cent of all recent movers moved from one residence to another within each of these areas). Overall, 37 per cent of all recent movers moved from one place to another within the area where they currently reside. Another 27 per cent of all recent movers came from outside of Denver, leaving 35 per cent of all recent movers moving from one community to another within Denver. The inter-communal moves are presented in the first part of Table 20-A, where the major trends are found to the left and the opposing trends to the right.

There appears to be an even exchange between Hilltop and University Hills with 4.7 per cent of all recent movers relocating from one to the other. The 8 per cent of all movers going either from Southeast to Central Denver/Westside or from Central Denver/Westside to Hilltop on the other hand, do outnumber the movers making the opposite moves: 4 per cent of all recent movers went from Southeast Denver to Hilltop as compared with 1 per cent making the opposite move, and the same proportions hold for the Central Denver/Westside to Hilltop movers.

Tying all the inter-communal moves together the following summary is possible:

- 1) There is an equal exchange between University Hills/South Denver and Hilltop;
- 2) The movers going from Central Denver/Westside are offset by movers from Southeast Denver to Central Denver/Westside.
- 3) Roughly equal numbers travel in a triangle from Hilltop to Aurora, from Aurora to Englewood, and back from Englewood to Hilltop.
- 4) A proportion of Boulder Corridor households are moving closer to Hilltop, University Hills, and Englewood.

TABLE 20-A. MAJOR TRENDS OF GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY AS A PER CENT OF ALL RECENT MOVERS (1976-1981)

Move From To	Per Cent of Recent Movers Making Move	Per Cent of Recent Movers Making The Opposite Move
Hilltop to University Hills & South Denver	2.5	2.2
Southeast Denver to Central Denver	4.3	0.9
Central Denver to Hilltop	4.0	1.0
Central Denver to University Hills & South Denver	2.5	0.2
Southeast Denver to Englewood/Littleton	2.5	0.2
Hilltop to Aurora	2.0	0.5
Englewood/Littleton to University Hills & South Denver	1.9	0.3
Englewood/Littleton to Hilltop	1.5	1.0
Aurora to Englewood/Littleton	1.5	0.5
Boulder Corridor to Englewood/Littleton	1.3	0.3
Southeast Denver to University Hills & South Denver	1.1	0.2
Boulder Corridor to University Hills & South Denver	1.0	0.1
Boulder Corridor to Hilltop	1.0	0.4

Moves From Outside of Denver	Per Cent of Recent Movers	Moves Within Areas	Per Cent of Recent Movers
New York to Aurora	2.3	Hilltop	11.6
West & Southwest to Englewood	2.7	University Hills & S. Denver	5.3
East Coast to Hilltop	1.6	Boulder Corridor	4.7
East Coast to Boulder Corridor	1.5	Boulder	3.8
West Coast to Aurora	1.3	Aurora	3.3
Mid-West to Hilltop	2.0	Central Denver	3.2
West Coast to Hilltop	1.0	Englewood/Littleton	3.1
Foreign Country to Hilltop	1.0	Other	14.4
East Coast to Central Denver	1.3		
East Coast to University Hills & South Denver	1.0		

In the lower portion of Table 20-A are the proportions of all movers who move from outside of Denver to some particular area in Denver. The connection between New York and Aurora is further verified, as 2 per cent of all recent movers moved from New York to Aurora in a trend which is as large or larger than many of the inter-communal moves within Denver. The same is true for the 3 per cent of all recent movers relocating in Englewood from the Western and Southwestern states. Also strongly represented are the following associations: East Coast, Midwest, and West Coast to Hilltop; West Coast and Boulder Corridor; East Coast with Central Denver/Westside and University Hills/South Denver.

Table 21 compares the different types of households moving to Denver from the various parts of the United States. Table 21 was in part inspired by the previous observation that households from different parts of the country tend to seek out different parts of Denver. Perhaps this is related to the kinds of households moving from those areas. The movers from the East Coast are basically representative of recent movers in general (as seen in the "all categories" column to the far right of Table 21). Recent movers from New York, by contrast, greatly overrepresent three household types: individuals living alone, single-parent families, and mixed couple households. Vastly underrepresented among recent in-migrants from New York are both married couples with children, and married couples without children with the former underrepresented by a factor of 10!

Overrepresented among recent in-migrants from the Midwest are unrelated individual households headed by a respondent from the Midwest (although we do not know where the other household members are from) and married couples with children. Vastly underrepresented among the Midwesterners are the mixed households.

The recent in-migrants from the South and Southeast are far more likely to be married couples than movers from any other region of the United States and movers as a whole. Among recent in-movers from the West and Southwest it is the married couples without children that are overrepresented (and heavily so) as are single-parent families (although to a lesser degree).

Movers from the West Coast overrepresent household heads of unrelated individual households along with related individual households.

TABLE 22. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION BY AGE OF
HOUSEHOLD HEAD (PER CENT)

	Age of Household Head				All
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50+	
Related Indivi- duals	0.7	0.1	2.5	4.9	2.0
Unrelated Indivi- duals	19.0	3.5	2.2	0.8	6.7
Indivi- duals	30.9	21.5	9.3	26.5	24.2
Single Parent Family	0.8	6.5	13.6	0.5	3.9
LVT, Married & Roommates	8.0	9.8	0.9	0.4	5.3
Married Couple with Children Under 18	16.6	43.7	48.2	4.1	24.5
Married Couple without Children Under 18	24.0	14.9	23.4	62.1	33.1
Temporary	x	x	x	.4	0.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

MARRIAGE, RE-MARRIAGE AND INTERMARRIAGEAge at Marriage

Since we have to this point presented several tables which use household configuration, we approach age at marriage first through household configuration. Looking at Table 22, we notice that "unrelated individuals living together" is a pattern common only to those household heads between the ages of 18 and 29. Individuals living alone are found in the heaviest proportion among the 18-29 age group (31%). "Unrelated individuals" as a proportion of all households is low (9%) only in the 40-49 age group. "Single parent families" are found almost exclusively among the 30-39 and 40-49 year old cohorts, with the proportion of "single parent families" found among the 40-49 year olds twice that found among the 30-39 year olds. Married couples with children make up 44 per cent of the 30-39 year olds and 48 per cent of the 40-49 year olds. "Married couples without children under 18" predominate among the households that are headed by a respondent who is 50 and over.

Table 23 shows the marital status of all Jewish individuals in Denver which includes the Jewish roommates, but neither the non-Jewish roommates, the non-Jewish spouses, nor the convert spouses are included. This is because in Table 23 we are interested only in Jewish trends, and the inclusion of individuals not born as Jews would obscure these trends.

The proportion of individual Jews who are single continues to drop steadily until the early forties. Similarly, the percentage of individual Jews who are currently married does not level off until the late thirties. By combining widowed, divorced, and separated individuals with married individuals we can compute the proportion "ever-married." The proportion of born Jewish individuals ever married increased steadily through the early forties as follows: 14 per cent of 18-24 cohort; 57 per cent of the 25-29 cohort; 74 per cent of the 30-34 cohort; 88 per cent of the 35-39 cohort; and 96 per cent of the 40-49 and 50+ cohorts. Thus, while the greatest proportion of marriages occur between the ages of 25 and 29, the per cent of each cohort ever to be married does not level off until the age of 40. The per cent currently married, however, levels off by age 35 (5 years earlier) because the per cent currently divorced rises steadily to age 44. In fact one out of every five born Jews between the ages of 40 and 44 is divorced.

Intermarriage

Prior to analyzing the patterns of re-marriage, we must first analyze the high rate of intermarriage alluded to consistently throughout the report so far.

The use of the very term intermarriage, is inconsistent regarding the inclusion of converts. Thus the terms out-marriage, in-marriage, mixed marriage, and mitzvah marriage. An "in marriage" is a marriage between two individuals who are born Jews. The out-marriage is defined as a marriage between a born Jew and a person not born Jewish. There are two kinds of out-marriage, one where the spouse converts ("mitzvah marriage") and one where the spouse does not ("mixed marriage"). Under the age of 40, out-marriages outnumber in-marriages and under the age of 30, out-marriages outnumber in-marriages by a factor greater than 3 to 1.

Converts are, of course, Jews even though they result from out-marriages originally. The "conversion rate" is the proportion of converts out of all out-marriages.

TABLE 23. MARITAL STATUS BY AGE FOR ALL INDIVIDUAL BORN JEWS¹

Marrital Status	Age of Individual					
	18-24 %	25-29 %	30-34 %	35-39 %	40-49 %	50+ %
Single- Never Married	76.5	39.8	20.1	10.9	2.8	3.5
Living Together	9.0	3.3	5.6	1.0	0.8	0.6
Divorced or Separated	x	6.0	8.6	12.6	21.3	5.6
Widowed	x	x	x	2.6	2.7	12.2
Married	13.5	50.9	65.7	72.9	72.4	78.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1) Not included are: Non-Jewish Room-mates; converts & non-Jews who are spouses of or living with born Jews.

The conversion rate among the 18-29 year olds is 9 per cent; among the 30-39 year olds, 25 per cent; and among the 40-49 year olds and 50+ cohorts it is 19 per cent. As will be seen in Table 25, Jewish women are less likely to marry converts, and thus the conversion rate is artificially suppressed here. The "bottom line" of Table 24 is that an increasing number of Denver Jewish households include non-Jewish spouses. While the intermarriage rate is generally expressed in terms of marriage, it is also helpful to look at the individuals involved. Table 25 presents the proportion of all individual born Jews currently married to other born Jews, converts, and non-Jews, controlling for age and sex. The proportion of Jews who will marry another born Jew steadily declines the younger the cohort, with the sharpest drops occurring under the age of 40: 91 per cent of born-Jews in their forties are married to another born Jew as compared with 64 per cent of the individual born Jews in their thirties, and only 43 per cent of the individuals in their twenties.

In every age group the females are only slightly more likely to marry another born-Jew than are the males. However, the males are consistently more likely to be married to a convert than are the females, although the difference between males and females in the proportion, married to converts, decreases in the younger cohorts. More simply put, the males are more likely than females to marry converts, but young males are less likely to be married to a convert than older males.

The sex difference is probably explained by the fact that the children of Jewish women are automatically considered to be Jews, and thus conversion for their male spouses is more a matter of personal conviction than the status of the child. The fact that younger males are less likely to marry converts may be an "age-effect": their wives may in fact convert later on, during the childbearing years. This, however, is conjecture.

A born Jew living together with another born Jew is a rare occurrence: only 8 per cent of all male Jews, and 5 per cent of all female Jews who live with someone else live with another born Jew. This does not mean that they will all marry the non-Jew with whom they live, although the majority in fact will marry either that partner or another non-Jew.

Patterns of Re-Marriage

The questionnaire included a series of questions for respondents who were or had ever been married regarding previous marriages. Table 26 summarizes these findings, controlling for age and the presence of children. Tabulations are on the basis of all current marriages, and there are four possible re-marriage patterns:

- 1) Current marriage is a first marriage for both partners;
- 2) Current marriage is a first marriage for the male, and a second or third marriage for the female;
- 3) Current marriage is a first marriage for the female, and a second or third marriage for the male;
- 4) The current marriage is a second or third marriage for both spouses.

TABLE 24. RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION BY AGE OF RESPONDENT
FOR MARRIED COUPLES & COUPLES LIVING TOGETHER

Composition of Couple	<u>MARRIED COUPLES</u>				All
	Age				
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50+	
	%	%	%	%	%
Born Jew & Born Jew	27.6	46.6	83.6	84.5	62.4
Born Jew & Non-Jew	66.0	40.0	13.3	12.7	30.1
Born Jew & Convert	6.3	13.4	3.1	2.8	6.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Composition of Couple	<u>COUPLES LIVING TOGETHER</u>			
	Age			
	18-29	30-39	40+	All
	%	%	%	Ages
				%
Born Jew & Born Jew	3.3	12.4	x	7.2
Born Jew & Non-Jew	97.3	86.0	55.0	89.5
Born Jew & Convert	x	1.6	45.0	3.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 25. PATTERNS OF INTER- AND INTRA-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGE AND LIVING TOGETHER OF INDIVIDUALS BY AGE & SEX

MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Born Jew Married To:	18-29		30-39		40-49		50+					
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female				
Born Jew	39.9	47.3	43.3	57.6	71.1	63.6	86.6	95.9	91.0	85.2	99.0	91.6
Convert	8.2	1.1	5.0	15.4	1.2	9.2	3.3	x	1.7	2.8	x	1.5
Non-Jew	51.9	51.6	51.7	27.0	27.7	27.3	10.1	4.1	7.3	12.0	1.0	6.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

INDIVIDUALS LIVING TOGETHER

Born Jew Living With:	18-29		30-39	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Born Jew	7.5	5.4	6.2	13.4
Convert	3.8	x	1.6	x
Non-Jew	88.8	94.6	92.2	86.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 26. NUMBER OF MARRIAGES BY CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN THE HOUSEHOLD (PER CENT)

Total Marriages	18-29		30-39		40-49				
	KIDS	N/KIDS ALL	KIDS	N/KIDS ALL	KIDS	N/KIDS ALL			
First for Both	22.8	6.6	13.2	17.3	21.3	18.4	15.0	40.8	29.0
First for Male	52.0	36.3	42.7	46.7	28.3	41.6	36.5	47.3	37.0
First for Female	19.9	50.0	37.7	16.6	35.2	21.8	35.7	8.8	24.9
2nd or 3rd for Both	5.4	7.2	6.4	19.4	15.2	18.3	12.8	3.1	9.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Total Marriages	50+		All Ages			
	KIDS	N/KIDS ALL	KIDS	N/KIDS ALL		
First for Both	32.6	17.9	18.9	18.6	18.1	18.3
First for Male	10.9	42.3	40.3	43.4	39.5	41.1
First for Female	27.3	23.9	24.1	22.3	29.4	26.4
2nd or 3rd for Both	29.2	15.9	16.7	15.8	13.0	14.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Kids - Children under 18 in the household
 No/Kids - No children under 18 in the household

Overall, only 18 per cent of all current Denver Jewish marriages are a first marriage for both partners and almost as many marriages (14%) involve a second or third marriage for both partners. In the great majority of current marriages (68%) it is the second marriage for one partner only; however, that partner is almost twice as likely to be female as male, and this is a trend that is consistent throughout all the age cohorts.

Whether or not the couple has children is not related to remarriage trends. Thus, in over 80 per cent of all marriages with children under the age of 18, it is a second or third marriage for one or both partners. This finding explains the low proportion of single-parent families observed earlier: The single-parent families become blended families. This situation remains consistent throughout every age group.

Table 27 compares intermarriage trends with re-marriage trends, and is divided into three parts: marriages involving two born Jews, marriages between a Jew and a non-Jew, and marriages between a Jew and a convert. This last section of the table (for converts) has been collapsed because there are too few convert marriages to allow for a fully expanded table. Looking at the top row of the table, which presents the re-marriage patterns for in-married Jews, we see that in-married males are more likely to have been married only once than the in-married female, regardless of age.

In the second part of Table 27 the two middle sections compare the Jews and non-Jews by age and sex for the "mixed marriages" (i.e., no conversion). Overall, born Jews who are mixed married are more than three times as likely to be in a second or third marriage than the non-Jews to whom they are currently married. Moreover, this statement remains true whether the born-Jew is male or female, and regardless of age. Further, the mixed marriages are more likely to be second marriages than the in-marriages, and this remains true controlling for both age and sex. For example, of the males who are currently in-married, 69 per cent are married for the first time as compared with 30 per cent of the Jewish males who are mixed marrieds and 48 per cent of the "mitzvah-married" men. Of the female born Jews who are currently in-married, 41 per cent are married for the first time as compared with 25 per cent of the Jewish women married to non-Jews and 44 per cent married to converts. In general mixed married Jewish men and women are more likely to be in a second or third marriage than are in-married males or females.

The findings on re-marriage and inter-marriage raise a question that will be answered later this year in the Intermarriage report: are the Jews who re-marry with non-Jews entering their first or second mixed marriage? Similarly, of the Jews who re-marry with a Jew, what percentage were previously married to non-Jews; and what percentage of the currently divorced are divorced from non-Jews.

Table 28 presents the patterns of multiple marriage for individuals who are currently married, divorced, widowed and living together. For married individuals born Jewish it shows that the twenties are seeing a higher proportion of second marriages than the thirties and forties.

Table 29 looks at the "re-marriage rate" by including divorced persons in the tabulations, by using the population of all individuals who have been divorced (controlling for age and religious status). The non-Jews are included in the table because they are part of the Jewish population; however, they are not

TABLE 27. NUMBER OF MARRIAGES BY AGE, RELIGION & SEX (PER CENT)

PART A: BORN JEW MARRIED TO BORN JEW

Total # of Marriages	AGE											
	18-34		35-49		50-64		65+		All Ages		All Ages	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	65.9	41.0	71.1	46.74	77.4	36.0	58.2	37.8	69.0	40.7		
2 or more	34.1	59.0	28.9	53.6	22.6	64.0	41.8	62.2	31.0	59.3		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

PART B: JEWS MARRIED TO NON-JEWS: MALE

Total # of Marriages	18-34		35-49		50-64		65+		All Ages	
	BJ	NJ	BJ	NJ	BJ	NJ	BJ	NJ	BJ	NJ
	1	31.1	69.6	30.1	86.9	38.2	6.7	13.5	36.4	30.0
2 or more	68.9	30.4	69.9	13.1	61.8	93.3	86.5	63.6	70.0	29.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

PART C: JEWS MARRIED TO NON-JEWS: FEMALE

Total # of Marriages	18-34		35-49		50-64		65+		All Ages	
	BJ	NJ	BJ	NJ	BJ	NJ	BJ	NJ	BJ	NJ
	1	26.1	78.9	13.3	51.8	No Cases	75.8	24.8	71.4	
2 or more	73.9	21.1	86.7	48.2	No Cases	24.2	75.2	28.6		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	To Few Cases	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

PART D: BORN JEWS MARRIED TO CONVERTS

Total # of Marriages	Convert		Convert		Convert	
	BJ	Convert	BJ	Convert	BJ	Convert
1	48.3	56.2	43.8	39.5		
2 or more	51.7	43.8	56.2	60.5		

BJ = BORN JEW
CON = CONVERT
NJ = NON-JEW

TABLE 28. NUMBER OF MARRIAGES BY RELIGION & AGE OF INDIVIDUALS (PER CENT)

MARRIED INDIVIDUALS - AGE OF INDIVIDUAL

Total # of Marri- ages	18-29			30-39			40-49			50+						
	BJ	CON	NJ	ALL	BJ	CON	NJ	ALL	BJ	CON	NJ	ALL				
1	36.4	63.6	79.8	53.4	50.1	24.8	58.1	49.8	54.3	x	67.1	65.0	51.6	82.7	61.6	52.6
2	63.6	36.4	20.2	46.6	49.5	75.2	36.6	48.8	44.1	100.0	30.6	44.3	47.5	17.3	32.8	46.2
3	x	x	x	x	0.4	x	5.3	1.5	1.6	x	2.4	1.7	0.9	x	5.6	1.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SUMMARY OF ALL AGE CATEGORIES OF MARRIED INDIVIDUALS

Total # of Marri- ages				BJ = BORN JEW		
	BJ	CON	NJ	CON	=	CONVERT
						NON-JEW
1	49.5	41.1	78.6	52.1		
2	49.8	58.9	18.9	46.8		
3	0.7	x	2.5	1.1		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		

TABLE 28. CONTINUED

Number of Marri- ages	AGE OF INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE DIVORCED								
	18-39			40-49			50+		
	BJ	CON	ALL	BJ	CON	ALL	BJ	CON	ALL
1	85.6	100.0	88.4	77.0	20.8	72.3	92.1	100.0	93.3
2	14.4	x	x	6.9	79.2	14.6	0.9	x	0.8
3	x	x	x	16.1	x	13.7	6.9	x	5.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

INDIVIDUALS WIDOWED

Number of Marriages	BJ	CON	ALL
1	92.1	100.0	92.4
2	7.0	x	6.7
3	0.9	x	0.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

INDIVIDUALS LIVING TOGETHER

Number of Relation- ships & Marriages	18-29			30-39		
	BJ	CON	ALL	BJ	CON	ALL
First Couple	85.2	100.0	87.5	73.2	100.0	68.4
Married Once	14.7	x	12.5	26.8	x	31.6
Married Twice	x	x	x	x	x	x
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SUMMARY OF ALL DIVORCED INDIVIDUALS

Number of Marriages	INDIVIDUALS DIVORCED		
	BJ	CON	ALL
1	85.3	72.9	85.9
2	8.7	27.1	9.3
3	5.9	x	4.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 29. CURRENT MARITAL STATUS OF ALL INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE EVER BEEN DIVORCED BY RELIGION
CONTROLLING FOR AGE OF INDIVIDUAL (PER CENT)

Divorce Ending in:	18-29		30-39		40-49		50+					
	BJ	NJ	BJ	NJ	BJ	NJ	BJ	NJ				
Individual Still Divorced	10.6	x	16.0	18.2	17.6	2.7	24.0	34.1	11.1	x	26.8	
Individual Married	86.5	100.0	84.0	78.2	77.5	97.3	76.0	50.0	65.9	88.9	100.0	65.2
Individual Living Together	2.9	x	x	3.6	5.0	x	x	x	x	x	x	8.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

BJ = BORN JEW

CON = CONVERT

NJ = NON-JEW

necessarily typical of non-Jews as a whole (only a few non-Jews after all, will marry Jews). Table 29 indicates that re-marriage is highest among the 18-29 year old cohort, and decreases slightly with the older cohorts, up to the 50+ group where re-marriage is once again high. The fact that about 80 per cent of the born-Jews who have been divorced later do re-marry is consistent with the previously noted finding that the vast majority of current marriages involve at least one re-marriage.

OCCUPATIONJoint Employment Status of Couples

The employment status of couples (both married and living together) is presented in Table 30. Younger married couples are more likely to both be working than older married couples. When full-time and part-time work are combined, the age difference almost disappears as in more than 60 per cent of all married couples both partners are in the labor force at least parttime, up to the age of 50, at which point the data are complicated by retirement trends.

Female employment is related to childrearing as Table 31 demonstrates. Table 31 repeats the joint employment categories of Table 30, and shows the proportion of each category within each group who have children at home under the age of 18. We see that couples in which the woman is at home are by far the most likely to have children at home: more than 90 per cent of such couples have children at home regardless of age. Turning to the married couples where both spouses are full-time employed, we see that half of these couples in their thirties, and 70 per cent of these couples in their forties have children under 18. The fulltime employment may reflect the age of the children insofar as mothers of young children are less likely to be away from their offspring. The very low percentage (4%) of couples aged 18-29 who are both fulltime employed and who have children at home may reflect their financial preparation to have children later on. This will be made more clear in a later report on fertility. At this point we can conclude that female employment does reduce the likelihood of children in the household. However, in the 30-49 year old cohorts, half of the couples who are both fulltime employed do in fact have children.

The findings in Table 30 regarding the combined employment of husbands and wives suggested that fulltime employment among women is not as common as fulltime employment among men, and Table 32 bears this out.

Controlling for age and religion, Table 32 presents the proportional employment status of men and women and suggests three types of comparisons:

- 1) men and women within each religious category (e.g., born Jewish men with born Jewish women);
- 2) sex across religion (e.g., born Jewish males with converted and non-Jewish males); and
- 3) trend comparisons within religion and sex (e.g., younger Jewish females with older Jewish females).

Starting with the first comparison, it is noted that under the age of 50, Jewish women are far more likely to be both students and homemakers than Jewish men within the same age cohorts. However, the proportion of Jewish women who are homemakers decreases from 44 per cent of the 65+ cohort to 21 per cent of the 18-34 cohort, with the percentage of women who are fulltime employed increasing to 52 per cent of the 18-34 cohort. Among the Jewish women aged 35-49, parttime employment is more common than for either the younger or older cohorts. It is possible that parttime employment is related to childbearing. This will be further investigated as part of the report on fertility. In all age categories women are

TABLE 31. PER CENT OF MARRIED COUPLES WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18 BY
AGE AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS COMBINATION (PER CENT)

Joint Employment Status of Couple	Age of Respondent				All Ages
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50+	
Both full time	4.1	49.5	67.5	10.4	28.8
Full Time & Part-time	68.2	90.0	41.9	14.2	52.9
Full Time & Retired	x	x	x	x	x
Full Time & Out of Work	35.6	52.9	100.0	x	31.2
Full Time & Student	x	29.8	x	8.5	10.7
Full Time & Homemaker	93.4	94.0	89.7	x	35.2
Full Time & Other	x	x	100.0	x	33.2
Both Part-time	x	x	x	x	x
Part Time & Retired	x	x	x	x	x
Part-time & Out of Work	x	x	x	x	x
Part-time & Student	x	x	x	x	x
Part-time & Homemaker	100.0	x	x	x	16.9
Both Retired	x	x	x	x	x
Retired & Homemaker	x	x	x	x	x
Retired & Other	x	x	x	x	x
Out of Work & Student	x	x	x	x	x
Both Students	x	x	x	x	x
Other & Homemaker	x	x	100.0	x	37.5
All Categories	40.9	71.9	67.3	6.2	28.6

x = no such couples

TABLE 32. CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY AGE, SEX & RELIGION¹
(PER CENT)

MALES

Current Employment Status	Born Jews					Converts & Non-Jews	
	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	All	18-34	All
Full Time Employed	88.6	94.2	90.7	29.6	80.0	95.6	94.5
Part-time Employed	1.9	x	1.7	12.6	3.3	1.5	1.7
Retired	0.5	x	4.3	57.6	11.2	x	1.6
Out of Work	3.9	3.2	2.3	x	2.7	2.2	1.7
Student	5.2	x	x	x	1.9	0.8	0.6
Homemaker	x	1.4	x	x	0.3	x	x
Other	x	1.3	1.0	0.2	0.6	x	x
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

FEMALES

Current Employment Status	Born Jews					Converts & Non-Jews	
	18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	All	18-34	All
Full Time Employed	51.7	43.2	37.3	3.2	38.1	60.3	53.8
Part-time Employed	14.2	25.7	18.6	7.3	16.5	15.5	15.4
Retired	x	x	3.2	46.0	9.0	x	0.6
Out of Work	1.3	0.9	3.0	x	1.3	1.0	0.7
Student	12.0	3.9	x	x	5.6	4.7	3.6
Homemaker	20.6	25.7	37.1	43.5	29.2	18.5	25.6
Other	0.1	0.7	0.8	x	0.4	x	0.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1) Includes Respondents & Spouses or partners
Jewish roommates are not included

TABLE 33. OCCUPATIONS OF FULLTIME EMPLOYED MALES BY RELIGION & AGE¹
(PER CENT)

Occupation						Converts & Non-Jews	
	18-34	35-49	50-65	65+	All	18-34	All
General Managers	7.6	14.2	28.3	24.0	15.6	7.5	9.1
Manager-Administrator	6.0	5.8	10.6	9.7	7.3	5.7	9.1
Management Related	4.7	7.1	3.2	x	4.7	5.7	5.2
Engineers-Scientists-Planners	11.4	7.9	7.5	0.6	8.8	20.8	19.5
Social Workers, Teachers, Professors	2.8	3.3	1.8	8.0	3.0	1.9	2.6
Lawyers-Judges	12.9	6.5	1.3	20.5	8.8	3.8	5.2
Physicians-Dentists	13.4	13.6	10.7	10/2	12/6	1.9	1.3
Nurses & Other Health Professionals	0.1	2.4	2.4	x	1.3	x	2.6
Pharmacists	6.2	0.8	x	x	2.8	x	x
Writers & Artists	2.4	0.5	3.7	1.8	2.2	x	x
Sales Persons	10.6	12.0	12.0	13.1	12.4	17.0	11.7
Insurance Agents & Real Estate Agents	10.0	1.7	4.6	6.6	8.5	3.8	3.9
Clerical Workers	3.4	8.3	6.1	3.0	5.2	7.5	6.5
Service Workers	2.7	1.1	0.9	0.8	1.6	11.3	9.1
Technicians & Skilled Workers	5.7	4.9	5.6	1.8	5.2	13.2	14.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1) Respondents & spouses or partners only
Roommates not included

less likely to be employed than men, but even here the presence of Jewish women in the labor force should not be discounted, for at least half of all Jewish women are working either full or parttime.

Jewish men under the age of 64 tend to be fulltime employed, with the percent out of work averaging slightly over 3 per cent for Jewish men under the age of 65. The 3 per cent unemployment rate suggests that there are over 500 employable Jewish men currently out of work. It is also interesting to note that some 42 per cent of Jewish men who have reached "retirement age" are still active in the labor force (most of them working fulltime).

The main difference between Jewish men between 18 and 34 years of age and non-Jewish men (married to Jewish women) of the same age is that the Jews are more than five times as likely to be a student. Among women aged 18-34 the Jews are twice as likely to be students. Conversely, the non-Jews are more likely to be fulltime employed. These differences are consistent with the comparative educational and occupational trends of Jews and non-Jews to be discussed shortly.

Tables 33 and 34 represent the occupations of fulltime employed males and females, controlling religion. Starting with the Jewish males it is clear that while some occupational trends are changing, others are fluctuating. The first category "General Manager," is a case in point. The percentage of born Jewish males who are general managers declines sharply below age 65. In this regard it should be noted that because retired, out of work and parttime employed males are not included in this table, over half of the over 65 males who have ever been employed are not included. Thus, the table does not really reflect changing occupational trends over the age of 65. It does do so under the age of 65, however, where the males are more likely to be employed full time.

As with Table 32, it is possible to make three kinds of comparisons. Starting with Jewish males, there is a trend away from the "general manager" category. Here general managers tend to be employed small business owners, and this trend is consistent with data presented in later tables as well. There is a similar trend away from salaried management occupations under the age of 60 (6 per cent of the under 50 cohort as compared with 11 per cent of the 50+ cohort). "Management related" occupations such as accountants appear to fluctuate, with the proportion of fulltime employed Jewish males between 18 and 34 found in this category (5%) less than the proportion of those aged 35-49 (7%) but greater than those aged 50-64 (3%). The most consistent increases are in the areas of service, law and engineers. Eleven per cent of the 18-34 cohort are engineers, planners, or scientists as compared with 8 per cent of the 35-49 and 50-64 cohorts. More dramatic is the increased popularity of law among the fulltime employed Jewish males under the age of 35: 13 per cent of this cohort are currently employed in law as compared with 7 per cent of the 35-49 cohort and less than 2 per cent of the 50-64 cohort. The 21 per cent of Jewish males over sixty-five who are lawyers reflects the continued ability of lawyers to be self-employed. Also noteworthy, although showing downward rather than upward mobility, is the higher proportion of service workers (such as police officers and barbers) found in the 18-34 cohort. Overall, the vast majority (67%) of all fulltime employed Jewish males are engaged in managerial or professional work (adding all categories from general managers through writers and artists), as compared with 55 per cent of the non-Jewish males who are married to or living with Jewish females. The Jewish males are also more likely to be in sales, real estate or insurance than the non-Jewish males (21 per cent of the former and 16 per cent of the latter). In sharp contrast, the non-

Jewish males are two and one-half times as likely as Jewish males to be either skilled, clerical, or service workers (30 per cent of the former as compared with 12 per cent of the latter).

Since almost all of the non-Jewish males in the sample are under the age of 34, comparing them with Jews of the same age gives a better indication of Jewish/non-Jewish differences, as summarized in Table 33-A below.

Occupation Group	Born Jewish Males	Converted & Non-Jewish Males
Managerial & Professional Occupations	67.5	43.3
Sales	20.6	20.8
Clerical Services & Skilled	11.8	32.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

The proportion of both Jewish and non-Jewish males who are employed fulltime in sales occupations is exactly the same (21%). Jews are more likely to be employed in professional and managerial occupations. Within that strata Jewish males are more than three times as likely as non-Jewish males to be lawyers and seven times as likely to be physicians. The non-Jewish males, on the other hand are almost twice as likely to be engineers. The non-Jewish males are almost three times as likely as the Jewish males to be fulltime employed in clerical, service, and skilled work. Thus, the Jewish males work at an occupational level higher than the non-Jewish males who have married into the Jewish community. This finding strongly suggests that downward mobility may be linked with intermarriage--an hypothesis which will be investigated further in the reports on intermarriage.

Table 34 presents the same breakdown for females. Taking the Jewish females first, we note there is no consistent age trend among the three age cohorts. Combining the three management categories (general managers, salaried managers, and management related) we see that the proportion of fulltime employed Jewish women in management occupations drops by half from 22 per cent of the 50-65 cohort to 11 per cent of the 18-34 cohort and 10 per cent of the 35-49 cohort. The proportion of Jewish women employed as engineers, planners or scientists increases steadily to 11% of the 18-34 cohort. The proportion of Jewish women employed as writers and artists and in real estate also increases among the younger cohorts.

The proportion of Jewish women employed in clerical work decreases steadily the younger the cohort, but the proportion in service occupations (such as cosmetician)

TABLE 34. OCCUPATIONS OF FULLTIME EMPLOYED FEMALES BY RELIGION & AGE¹
(PER CENT)

Occupation	Born Jews				Converts & Non-Jews	
	18-34	35-49	50-65	All	18-34	All
General Managers	x	8.9	3.5	3.5	1.6	5.4
Manager-Administrator	7.5	1.3	16.6	7.5	2.4	2.5
Management Related	3.0	x	1.7	1.9	4.5	2.9
Engineers-Architects- Scientists-Planners	10.9	5.5	1.5	7.6	5.0	7.6
Social Workers, Teachers, Professors	16.4	25.0	14.8	18.1	20.7	19.1
Lawyers-Judges	1.9	5.8	x	2.5	x	x
Physicians-Dentists	2.0	2.0	1.1	1.8	x	1.3
Nurses & Other Health Professionals	4.3	x	2.3	2.7	x	4.8
Pharmacists	0.7	x	x	0.3	x	0.12
Writers & Artists	4.9	x	x	2.6	1.3	0.8
Sales Persons	8.2	11.5	10.8	9.4	18.5	15.6
Insurance Agents & Real Estate Agents	8.8	5.5	3.9	6.8	3.3	3.0
Clerical Workers	18.9	21.9	38.2	23.1	32.3	25.7
Service Workers	5.1	10.8	5.7	6.6	1.3	1.9
Technicians & Skilled Workers	7.4	1.7	x	5.4	9.0	9.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1) Respondents & spouses or partners only -
Roommates not included

increases steadily. Other traditionally female occupations such as nursing, teaching, and social work show no consistent age trends. Thus, while there is an increase in some traditionally male dominated fields, and a decrease in some traditionally female dominated fields, this pattern is not totally consistent.

Assuming that Jewish women under 35 are the most likely to have benefitted from changing occupational expectations for women, this group makes for the best comparison with Jewish males. Under the age of thirty-four, Jewish males are more likely than Jewish females to be employed in managerial work, law, medicine and pharmacology. Jewish females are more likely than Jewish males under the age of 34 to be employed in social work and teaching, nursing, writing and the arts, clerical work, service and skilled work. The proportion of Jewish women employed in engineering, planning and science, and real estate is identical to or close to the proportion of Jewish men so employed. Thus, while "catching up" to the occupational attainments of Jewish men in some areas, Jewish women still lag behind in others.

Occupation Group	Born Jewish Females	Converted & Non-Jewish Females
Managerial & Professional Occupations	51.8	35.5
Sales	17.0	21.8
Clerical Services & Skilled Occupations	31.4	42.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Although both Jewish and non-Jewish women under thirty-four are less likely to be employed as professionals or managers than their male counterparts, the Jewish women are still 1.5 times as likely as the non-Jewish women to be so employed (the ratio among the males was 1.4). The non-Jewish women are more likely to be employed in sales and in clerical, service, and skilled work. Overall, then, while Jewish women show a higher occupational attainment than non-Jewish women, the gap is not as great as found among the men. At this point we do not have a comparative occupational breakdown of in-married and outmarried couples. That will be presented as part of the Intermarriage Report later this year.

In addition to questions about occupation, the questionnaire included inquiries about place of work. These findings are presented in Tables 35 and 36, once again controlling for age, sex, and religion. Looking first at the Jewish males, the following age trends emerge:

- A "return" to retail among the 18-34 cohort.
- A decrease in employment in service business, and manufacturing.
- An increase in corporate, health, and legal employment (reflecting the previously observed increase in lawyers and physicians.
- No consistent change of employment in building, energy, and public service work.

Among the Jewish women, the following age-related trends are noted:

- A decrease in manufacturing, and public service.
- An increase in building, energy, and health related employment.
- No consistent change in service, retail, and corporate employment.

The employment differences between Jewish and non-Jewish men and women are consistent with the occupational differences previously noted.

Table 36 relates occupation to place of employment for born-Jewish men and women, without controlling for age. The purpose of this breakdown is to better understand the employment placement of the different occupations. The general managers among the men are found in retail businesses and in wholesale, manufacturing, and distribution businesses (62% combined). The third highest concentration of general managers for males is in the building and construction industry. For females, on the other hand, virtually all (93%) of the general managers are to be found in retail and other small businesses.

The salaried managers among the males, like the general managers, are most likely to be found in retail. They are more likely than the male general managers to be employed by corporations and financial institutions and in public service. The females who are salaried managers are more likely than the male salaried managers to be employed in corporations and health settings, and in public service (most notably schools). Unlike male salaried managers, they are far less likely to work in small businesses, construction and building firms, or energy related firms.

Looking to management-related occupations (such as accountants) we see that the males are most likely to be employed in health settings (more so than females) while the females are most likely to be employed in public service.

The male sales force (not including store clerks) are most likely to represent or work for large firms, while the females are most likely to sell for retail and small businesses. The male clerical workers are predominantly employed by large firms and construction companies. The female clerical workers, following an apparently general pattern, are most likely to be employed in public service. The male service workers are far more likely than the females to be employed in retail businesses, and the females more likely to be employed in large firms. This could be a statistical artifact, however, since there are so few service-employed Jews.

TABLE 35. PLACE OF WORK BY AGE, SEX & RELIGION (PER CENT)

	Place of Work	Born Jews					Converts & Non-Jews	
		18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	All	18-34	All
MALES	Stores & Other Retail Business	17.8	9.2	26.6	18.7	17.7	22.4	17.1
	Service Businesses	1.2	3.8	6.3	1.7	3.2	6.8	5.2
	Wholesale Manufacturing & Distributing	8.2	14.5	15.7	31.1	13.2	9.2	7.7
	Bldg. Related Industries	12.9	16.5	7.7	x	11.7	12.8	13.7
	Energy Related & Hi-tech Businesses & Firms	6.9	8.8	9.8	2.2	8.7	28.0	23.1
	Corporations-Firms-Law & Financial Institutions	22.0	23.6	12.3	20.5	19.9	10.2	10.8
	Health Related Settings	20.9	17.1	14.0	10.0	17.5	3.2	7.2
	Schools, Government & Other Not-for-Profit	8.1	6.5	7.6	15.8	8.0	7.4	15.2
	TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<hr/>								
	Place of Work	Born Jews					Converts & Non-Jews	
		18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	All	18-34	All
FEMALES	Stores & Other Retail Business	13.3	23.8	15.1		17.8	18.0	16.6
	Service Businesses	1.7	x	1.2		1.1	10.1	6.5
	Wholesale Manufacturing & Distributing	3.8	4.0	15.7		6.1	8.5	9.2
	Bldg. Related Industries	8.6	2.3	1.5		5.4	3.7	4.3
	Energy Related & Hi-tech businesses & firms	10.5	6.9	x		7.3	14.5	12.6
	Corporations-Firms-Law & Financial Institutions	17.9	21.4	17.1		18.4	33.3	21.6
	Health Related Settings	17.8	9.4	6.2		13.1	0.8	7.9
	Schools, Government & Other Not-for-Profit	26.4	32.3	43.2		30.8	11.2	21.2
	TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 36. PLACE OF WORK BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL AND SEX FOR BORN JEWS (CONTINUED)
(PER CENT)

	FEMALES						
	General Managers	Salaried Managers	Professionals	Sales Occupations	Clerical Occupations	Service Occupations	Skilled Workers & Technicians
Stores & Other Retail Bus.	93.3	2.4	7.8	33.4	8.3	40.4	27.5
Service Businesses	x	2.8	x	x	x	8.6	5.3
Wholesale Mfg. & Distributing	6.7	3.6	x	18.3	8.4	x	11.9
Bldg. Related Industries	x	x	0.8	22.5	4.6	x	8.8
Energy Related & Hi-tech businesses	x	2.5	14.1	5.5	5.9	x	x
Corporations-Firms-Law & Financial Institutions	x	34.4	12.4	20.3	24.7	23.2	5.5
Health Related Settings	x	31.7	15.7	x	7.7	6.8	41.0
Schools, Government & Other Not-for-Profit	x	22.7	49.2	x	40.4	20.9	x
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 37. PER CENT SELF-EMPLOYED BY AGE, SEX, OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL
& RELIGION

PER CENT SELF-EMPLOYED (MALES)						
BORN JEWS					CONVERTS & NON-JEWS	
18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	All	18-34	All
24.3	45.3	50.2	67.9	39.5	20.5	19.4

PER CENT SELF-EMPLOYED (FEMALES)						
BORN JEWS					CONVERTS & NON-JEWS	
18-34	35-49	50-64	65+	All	18-34	All
6.6	19.6	27.2	(31.8)	14.4	14.2	14.8

BORN JEWS (MALES)						
General Managers	Other Managers	Professionals	Sales Occupations	Clerical Occupations	Service Occupations	Skilled Workers & Technicians
83.6	30.2	36.0	30.6	5.4	43.0	17.4

BORN JEWS (FEMALES)						
General Managers	Other Managers	Professionals	Sales Occupations	Clerical Occupations	Service Occupations	Skilled Workers & Technicians
86.0	74.6	7.9	23.6	18.1	19.0	8.0

Self-employment is an important variable for the Jewish community, given the traditional Jewish preference in this direction, and the financial base of the community which has depended on it. Table 37 looks at self-employment by age and occupation separately. The first part of the table shows the percent self-employed for born-Jewish males and non-Jewish males and converts by age. Overall, the Jewish males are more likely than the non-Jewish males to be self-employed. However, the youngest cohort of Jewish males (18-34) is only slightly more likely to be self-employed than the same non-Jewish cohort, and much less likely than the older Jewish cohorts.

There is a similar decline in self-employment among the younger born-Jewish women, although they are less likely to be self-employed than born-Jewish men of the same age. The decline in self-employment is partly explained by the types of jobs to which Jews are attracted. The general managers are almost entirely self-employed (especially those in retail businesses). In Tables 33 and 34 a move away from owning retail businesses was noted. Both males and females self-employment in managerial and management-related, professional occupations is less prevalent than general management, and for females self-employment is less common than for males in these three occupational groupings.

While it is possible a later comparison (as census materials are made available) will show self-employment among Jews to be more prevalent than for the population as a whole, the trend toward salaried employment has immediate implications for two Jewish concerns: geographical mobility (salaried managers and professionals are more likely to move or be moved than retail store owners) and fundraising (salaried persons, even at high salaries, are less likely to produce charitable funds than self-employed persons). These implications will be explored further in the mobility and fundraising reports respectively.

EDUCATION

The findings on education (Table 38) are presented in the same way as the occupational data: born-Jews separate from converts and non-Jews controlling for age and sex. In order to retain comparability with the occupation tables, Table 38 is tabulated for all fulltime employed individuals. For the born Jewish males, 49 is the important age cut-off for delineating educational trends. More than 80 per cent of the male born Jews (currently employed fulltime) under 50 have graduated college and half of those graduates have received at least some post-graduate education. Adding in those individuals who have received some college education, the proportion employed born-Jewish males who have gone beyond high school is well over 90 per cent.

The lower occupational achievement of the not-born-Jewish males (both converted and non-converted) is reflected in their lower educational achievement. Looking only at the 18-34 year old group, the non-Jewish males are ten times as likely as the Jewish males to have gone no further than high school. Beyond high school, 86 per cent of the non-Jews, and 97 per cent of the born-Jews have received at least some college education. The born Jews, however, are more likely to have graduated. Similarly, 42 per cent of the born Jews and 37 per cent of the non-Jews, have attended some sort of post-graduate institution, but here again the born Jews are more likely to have completed a post-graduate degree. Recalling the data on occupation, it would appear that the greater number of post-graduate degree holders among the born-Jews is mirrored by the greater proportion of physicians and attorneys among them. The fulltime employed born-Jewish females under 50, like the fulltime employed born-Jewish males of the same age, have almost all (well over 90%) attended college. However, the proportion of college graduates among born-Jewish females aged 35-49 is much lower than among born-Jewish males of the same age. In the 18-34 cohort, the proportion of college graduates among females is very close to the proportion among males, but the proportion of college graduates among the males who have attended a graduate or professional school (52%) is greater than the proportion among females (35%)

An unexpected finding in Table 38 is the high proportion (33%) of born-Jewish women aged 35-49 who have completed a graduate or professional degree.

The occupational differences between the born-Jewish and not born-Jewish women aged 18-34 were earlier observed to be less than the differences among the men. Similarly, the proportion of college graduates among both groups of women is very close, with the born-Jewish women somewhat more likely to have attended and completed graduate and professional schools. Tables 39 and 40 present educational attainment data for all Jews in the study area.

In both the reports on intermarriage and fertility the educational attainments of the non-fulltime employed will be discussed. The decision to restrict the discussion here to the fulltime employed was made to complement the occupation data and to avoid the confusion of including persons who are still in school.

TABLE 39. EDUCATION BY SEX FOR BORN JEWS
(IN PER CENTS)

Education	SEX	
	Male	Female
Less than high school	3.5	2.5
Some high school	2.8	2.1
High school grad	9.9	19.6
Some college	18.4	31.4
College grad	30.8	23.9
Some post grad	5.2	6.8
Post grad degree	29.4	13.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

TABLE 40. EDUCATION BY SEX AND AGE FOR BORN JEWS
(IN PER CENTS)

Education	MALES			
	18-34	Ages 35-49	50-64	65+
Less than high school	.4	x	1.4	19.0
Some high school	1.1	x	3.3	9.1
High school grad	4.1	4.5	15.7	27.1
Some college	21.6	15.1	22.7	13.3
College grad	33.2	34.9	32.3	8.8
Some post-college	8.8	8.6	1.0	1.4
Post grad degree	30.9	36.8	23.5	21.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Education	FEMALES			
	18-34	Ages 35-49	50-64	65+
Less than high school	0.2	0.6	3.9	7.4
Some high school	0.2	1.3	1.7	6.6
High school grad	6.8	17.2	34.9	41.5
Some college	32.5	29.5	28.2	30.7
College grad	39.6	16.7	19.2	8.7
Some post college	8.0	5.7	6.4	1.6
Post grad degree	12.8	29.0	5.6	3.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

INCOME

Income is always a problematic question in survey research because of the high refusal rate for this sensitive item. The refusal rate for income is 15.1 per cent overall, but it varies by age group so that the older the respondent, the less likely he/she is to report household income. The result is that 30 per cent of all respondents aged 50 and older refused to answer the income question, and 40 per cent of all respondents aged 65 and over refused to give income. One way to handle the problem is to ignore the 120 cases where income is missing when computing percentages. This is the approach generally used in survey research for handling "missing data." We adopted a second approach, one used by the U.S. Census, in which the missing income is estimated from the reported income of households with identical or similar ages, occupations, place of work and labor force status (i.e., retired, fulltime employed, parttime employed, etc.). As Table 41 shows, the inclusion of incomes estimated in this way (last column) has not changed the income distribution from that where cases with missing income were simply excluded from the analysis (middle column). Thus without changing the income distribution we now have incomes estimated for respondents who refused to report it. This makes it possible to include income as part of the analysis of sub-populations such as the elderly where the missing income data, if not corrected, could seriously jeopardize the validity of the analysis.

The "modal" or largest single category is between \$10,000 and \$20,000, with 21 per cent of all Denver Jewish households falling in this category. The three largest categories span the income range of \$10,000 to \$40,000, with 56 per cent of all Denver Jewish households falling in this range.

A significant proportion of the Jewish households have incomes under \$10,000 which is almost as high as the proportion with incomes over \$50,000 (20%), and higher than the proportion with incomes over \$60,000. Thus, there are as many or more "poor" Jewish households as "rich" Jewish households in Denver (depending on how one defines these terms).

Table 42 breaks down the income distribution by age, to present a clearer picture of the high, low and middle income Jewish households. The poorer age groups are those in their 20's and those over 50. The 20 year old households will presumably do better financially as they get older. The same statement cannot be made for the households which are 50 years old and over.

Table 43 presents an income breakdown by household configuration. From the point of view of community planning it is important to note that close to 60 per cent of the single-parent families have incomes below \$20,000, as do 67 per cent of the single-person households.

Given the cost of belonging to religious and communal organizations these figures suggest that these two groups may be less able to participate in the life of the Jewish community. This hypothesis will be tested in a report on affiliation to be published later this year.

TABLE 41. INCOME INCLUDING AND EXCLUDING MISSING
DATA (PER CENT)

Income	Missing Data Included	Missing Data Excluded	Missing Data Estimated
Under \$5,000	5.7	6.8	6.4
\$5,000-9,999	7.7	9.1	9.8
\$10,000-19,999	17.6	21.0	20.7
\$20,000-29,999	15.7	18.7	16.4
\$30,000-39,999	13.7	16.3	18.6
\$40,000-49,999	7.0	8.3	8.2
\$50,000-59,999	5.4	6.5	6.3
\$60,000-69,999	2.6	3.0	3.7
\$70,000-79,999	1.8	2.2	2.6
\$80,000-89,999	1.9	2.2	2.0
\$90,000-99,999	1.7	2.0	1.7
\$100,000+	3.2	3.9	3.7
Missing Data	15.9	None	None
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 42. COMBINED HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY AGE
(PER CENT)

Income	Age of Respondent			
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Under \$5,000	13.9	1.0	5.8	5.2
\$5,000-9,999	14.5	1.6	6.6	14.6
\$10,000-19,999	27.6	16.3	14.9	20.9
\$20,000-29,999	18.1	17.0	15.1	14.6
\$30,000-39,999	17.6	25.7	12.2	15.2
\$40,000-49,999	4.6	12.4	13.2	5.6
\$50,000-59,000	2.0	7.1	5.5	9.6
\$60,000-69,999	0.4	3.3	5.7	6.3
\$70,000-79,999	x	5.2	5.2	1.3
\$80,000-89,999	0.2	1.2	8.0	1.9
\$90,000-99,999	x	3.7	1.8	1.2
\$100,000+	1.0	5.5	6.1	3.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 43. COMBINED HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY HOUSEHOLD CONFIGURATION (PER CENT)

Income	Related Indivi- duals	Unrelated Indivi- duals	Indivi- dual Alone	Single Parent Family	LVT, Married & Room-	Married Couple with children under 18	Married Couple without children under 18	Temporary
Under \$5,000	2.7	34.9	12.7	6.2	5.4	x	0.8	80.0
\$5,000-9,999	23.8	8.1	20.6	18.2	13.1	1.0	6.6	x
\$10,000-19,999	28.0	32.8	33.8	34.4	30.6	9.6	13.4	x
\$20,000-29,999	40.2	18.4	13.2	7.3	17.6	19.6	15.4	x
\$30,000-39,999	2.5	2.7	9.7	12.6	11.8	28.7	23.7	x
\$40,000-49,999	2.8	x	5.5	11.7	0.3	17.5	6.2	20.0
\$50,000-59,999	x	x	1.0	8.1	5.9	6.5	11.4	x
\$60,000-69,999	x	0.9	x	x	x	0.9	10.3	x
\$70,000-79,999	x	0.7	1.9	x	x	6.2	1.6	x
\$80,000-89,999	x	x	0.5	x	3.2	1.2	4.2	x
\$90,000-99,999	x	x	x	x	3.0	4.5	1.2	x
\$100,000+	x	1.6	1.0	1.5	9.1	4.4	5.3	x
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

CONCLUSION

This has been a general demographic overview of Jews living in the Denver-Boulder metropolitan area. Our report is based on data collected in the spring of 1981 under the auspices of the Allied Jewish Federation of Denver. While the report has answered many questions about Jewish households in the area it has also raised many questions about certain groups. There will be additional reports dealing with specific issues that surfaced as a result of this Denver Jewish Population Study.

The next report presents data about elderly Jews in the community. Subsequent reports will address:

- INTERMARRIAGE
- FERTILITY
- PATTERNS OF AFFILIATION
- PATTERNS OF JEWISH GIVING
- GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY AND HOUSING PATTERNS
- INFORMAL TIES
- CHILDREN IN THE HOUSEHOLD
- POTENTIAL USE OF JEWISH SERVICES
- ALTERNATIVE HOUSEHOLDS: A CLOSER LOOK