

# The Changing Spatial Distribution of American Jews

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The movement of Americans in the past twenty five years, from the “Snowbelt” to the “Sunbelt,” has been well documented (Sawers and Tabb 1983; Bernard and Rice 1983; Ballard and James 1983; Gober 1993). The reasons for this migration include a desire for a warmer climate and other physical amenities, a lower cost of living, a desire to live in small and medium-sized cities, and the availability of employment opportunities (because of the movement of industry to Sunbelt states) (Phillips and Conzen 1982). The movement of industry can be attributed, at least in part, to lower energy and labor costs. Myrdal’s (1964) theory of “cumulative and circular change,” in which “growth begets growth,” has also played a role. That is, as more industries and persons move to Sunbelt cities, the existence of “growth poles” (Darwent 1975) attracts further development.

While American migration to the Sunbelt overall has been well documented, less is known about the ethnic breakdown of such movement. Some growth in the Sunbelt is due to the attractiveness of these locations to immigrants to the United States. California, Texas, and Florida, in particular, have been major recipients of recent immigrants. Thus, California cities have received many Asians (Jordan and Rowntree 1982:272); California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas have become home to numerous Mexicans (Jaffe, Cullen and Boswell 1980); and Florida has seen many Cuban immigrants (Boswell and Curtis 1984).

Much of the Sunbelt’s increase in population, however, is due to migration from the Snowbelt. Roseman (1982, 297) cites evidence that Sunbelt migration has affected both whites and blacks. From 1960 to 1970 the northeastern states (Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and the six New England states) received an average net immigration of 61,000 blacks per year. This reversed to a net loss of 13,000 per year between 1970 and 1975, and 52,000 per year net loss between 1975 and 1977. This turnaround is the result of the near disappearance of rural-to-urban black migration, which had characterized much of the South-to-North migration in the past, plus the

relatively greater growth of job opportunities in the South, which for the first time in 1975–77 was not a net loser of black population.

The reasons for the movement of blacks back to the Sunbelt have been documented by Rose (1985). These include the availability of job opportunities and the feeling among blacks that they are “going home.”

The first purpose of this paper is to examine the extent to which the Jewish population has participated in the general movement of Americans to the Sunbelt. The second purpose is to examine briefly the implications of the changing geographic patterns upon several issues important to the American Jewish community: creating a sense of community in emerging Sunbelt Jewish communities, intermarriage, geographical dispersion of parents and grandparents, demographic imbalance, infrastructural needs, and electoral voting patterns.

### *Data Sources*

Data from the United States Census, the *American Jewish Yearbook*, the National Jewish Population Survey, and local Jewish community studies are presented to document the movement from the Snowbelt to the Sunbelt of Americans overall and of Jews in particular. Data are presented at the Census Division level, at the state level, and at the urban area level. While data from the U.S. census can be considered highly reliable, the data from the *American Jewish Yearbook* are but approximations.

The 1990 National Jewish Population Survey showed that only 5% of American Jews consider being Jewish solely in terms of being a member of a religious group (Kosmin, *et al.* 1991, 28). Thus, the vast majority of American Jews viewed themselves as members of an ethnic group and/or a cultural group, and/or a nationality. In spite of this, the United States Census Bureau traditionally has viewed Jews as a religious group. Due in part to the doctrine of the separation of church and state, data on religious preference have not been collected by the Census Bureau (except for studies conducted in 1937 and 1957).

Thus, the American Jewish community has had to rely on a series of different methodologies to derive estimates of the Jewish population of the United States as a whole and of particular cities. These include procedures involving absences from public school on major Jewish holidays,<sup>1</sup> a death-rate method,<sup>2</sup> methods using Distinctive Jewish Names (DJNs) (Jacobs 1912),<sup>3</sup> questionnaires,<sup>4</sup> random digit dialing survey techniques<sup>5</sup> (Varady and Mantel 1982), surrogate census variables,<sup>6</sup> and various other methodologies (Kosmin, Riterrband, and Scheckner 1988). Major demographic studies with national supervision were completed in 1971 (Massarik and Chenkin 1973) and in 1990 (Kosmin, *et al.* 1991), which provided estimates of the Jewish population of the country as a whole. In addition, beginning particularly in the late

1970's, more than 75 Jewish communities have completed demographic studies of their own populations (Kosmin 1987; Tobin and Chenkin 1985). Most of these studies have used either a distinctive Jewish name (DJN) or a random digit dialing (RDD) methodology.

In any case, although Jews are a significant proportion of the population of many American cities, accurate historical estimates of the size of the Jewish population of the United States and its major cities are not available (Marcus 1990). Thus, the *American Jewish Yearbook* has had to rely upon the reporting of data by individual Jewish communities. The methodologies for developing these estimates differ from community to community and sometimes represent but educated guesses and do not reflect the results of any scientific effort. As an example of the problem, Pinellas County (St. Petersburg/Clearwater/Largo Florida) had been reporting 9,500 Jews to the *American Jewish Yearbook* each year for the decade ending in 1993. For 1994, based upon the first scientific demographic study in the community (Sheskin 1995a), the estimate was changed to 24,200.

A community may conduct some type of study and continue to report the value derived to the *American Jewish Yearbook* for many years simply because no procedure exists to update the estimate. Thus, as the *American Jewish Yearbook* itself indicates (Kosmin, Ritterband, and Scheckner 1988), these data must be treated with some level of caution. Despite this, they remain the best available data and are, thus, used in this study. Certainly, for the extensive periods for which they are used in this study, they are satisfactory.

### *Methodological Issues*

Beginning in the 1930's, the *American Jewish Yearbook* has published estimates of the Jewish population by state and metropolitan area every year. Because these data are approximations, year-to-year variations, and even five-year changes in the numbers, may not reflect actual changes in the population. Thus, this study concentrates on examining the spatial distribution of the Jewish population in 1940, 1960, 1972, 1984, and 1994. 1940 was selected because the *American Jewish Yearbook* had access to estimates produced by the Jewish Statistical Bureau and the U.S. Census of Religious Bodies. 1960 corresponds to a U.S. Census year and represents a period before the beginning of movement to the Sunbelt. 1972 was selected because it is close to a census year and was the first year in which the *American Jewish Yearbook* had the findings of the 1971 National Jewish Population Study available. 1984 was selected so that changes over the past decade could be evaluated. 1994 was the last year for which data are available at this writing.

A second methodological issue concerns the definition of the Sunbelt and the Snowbelt. The adopted definition was to define the West and the South Census Divisions as the Sunbelt and the Northeast and Midwest as the Snowbelt. While this is somewhat arbitrary, for the purposes of this study these regions are more than satisfactory. While Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming (all in the West Census Division) are difficult to define as Sunbelt, they contain very few Jews (.9% of the U.S. Jewish population in 1994), and, thus, this is not a problem. Categorizing Maryland as a Sunbelt state is a minor problem, particularly because the vast majority of Jews in the state live in the Baltimore–Washington corridor. Despite these minor problems, the U.S. Census Divisions form satisfactory units of analysis.

### *The Changing Spatial Distribution of the Jewish Population*

1940

Table 1 and Figure 1 show the distribution of the 4.7 million American Jews in 1940, who formed 3.6% of the U.S. population. Jews were clearly a Snowbelt population, with 69% living in the Northeast and another 19% in the Midwest. Only 7% lived in the South and less than 5% in the West. In fact, 46% of all U.S. Jews lived in New York state, 9% in Pennsylvania, 8% in Illinois, 6% in Massachusetts, and 6% in New Jersey, reflecting the role of New York City, Philadelphia, and Chicago as ports of entry for European Jewish migrants (Messinger and Lamme 1984). 75% of the Jewish population lived in only 5 states and 88% lived in the top 10 states. The only Sunbelt state in the top 10 was California. Of the top 20 cities in Jewish population, only one (Los Angeles) is a Sunbelt city (Table 6).

The index of dissimilarity, often used as a measure of the segregation of an ethnic group,<sup>7</sup> indicates that 45% of Jews would have had to change their state of residence for the spatial distribution of Jews among the states to be equivalent to that of the total population.

1960

Table 2 and Figure 2 show the distribution of the 5.5 million American Jews in 1960, who formed 3.1% of the U.S. population. Jews remained a Snowbelt population with 67% living in the Northeast and another 14% in the Midwest. Only 9% lived in the South and less than 11% in the West. 46% of all U.S. Jews lived in New York state (no change from 1940), almost 10% in California (accounting for much of the increase in the West), 8% in Pennsylvania, 6% in New Jersey, 5% in Illinois, and 4% in Massachusetts. Note that 75% of the Jewish population still lived in only 5 states and, as in 1940, 88% lived in the top 10 states. Florida and Maryland have joined California as Sunbelt states in the top 10. Of the top twenty cities, three are now Sunbelt cities:

Los Angeles (which is now the second most populous city with 400,000 Jews), Miami (140,000), and the San Francisco Bay Area (81,000) (Table 6).

The largest absolute increase from 1940 to 1960 occurred in the West, increasing by 378,578 Jews, most of which occurred in California. The Northeast gained 368,620 Jews. The Midwest decreased by 149,435, mostly due to a decline in Illinois of 90,000. The Jewish population of the South increased by 156,000, 90,000 of which was in Florida. Little change is seen in the index of dissimilarity at the state level.

1972

Table 3 and Figure 3 show the distribution of the 6.1 million American Jews in 1972, who formed 2.9% of the U.S. population. Jews remained a Snowbelt population, with 63% living in the Northeast. However, unlike 1960, the West now contained about an equal percentage of Jews (13%) as the Midwest (12%) and the South (12%). About 42% of all U.S. Jews lived in New York state (down 4 percentage points from 1960), almost 12% in California, 7% in Pennsylvania, 7% in New Jersey, 5% in Illinois, and 4% in Massachusetts and Florida. Note that 72% of the Jewish population lived in only 5 states, and 89% in the top ten states. Of the top twenty cities, four were Sunbelt cities: Los Angeles (now the second most populous city with 535,000 Jews), Miami (190,000), San Francisco Bay Area (94,000), and Orange County (30,000) (Table 6).

The largest absolute increase in the number of Jews from 1960–1972 occurred in the South, increasing by 49%, a good portion of which was in Florida and Maryland. The West was the second fastest growing region (35%). The Northeast gained only 146,000 Jews. The Midwest continued its decline, although the decrease was minor (16,000). Little change is seen in the index of dissimilarity, remaining at about 44% at the state level.

1984

Table 4 and Figure 4 show the distribution of the 5.8 million American Jews in 1984, who formed 2.5% of the U.S. population. Although Jews remained a Snowbelt population, with 54% living in the Northeast, this represents a significant decline in the predominance of this region. The continuing growth of the South and the West and the decline of the Midwest, noted for the 1960–1972 period, is further amplified. In 1984, the South contained over 18% of U.S. Jews; the West, over 16%. In contrast, the Midwest was home to only 11%. About 32% of all U.S. Jews lived in New York state (down 10 percentage points from 1972), 14% in California, almost 10% in Florida, about 8% in New Jersey, and 7% in Pennsylvania. Note that 70% of the Jewish population still lived in only 5 states, but that these five top states included two Sunbelt states: California and Florida. The top 10 states still contained 87% of U.S. Jews, down

10 STATES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATION

Figure 1—1940 (88% of U.S. Jewish population)

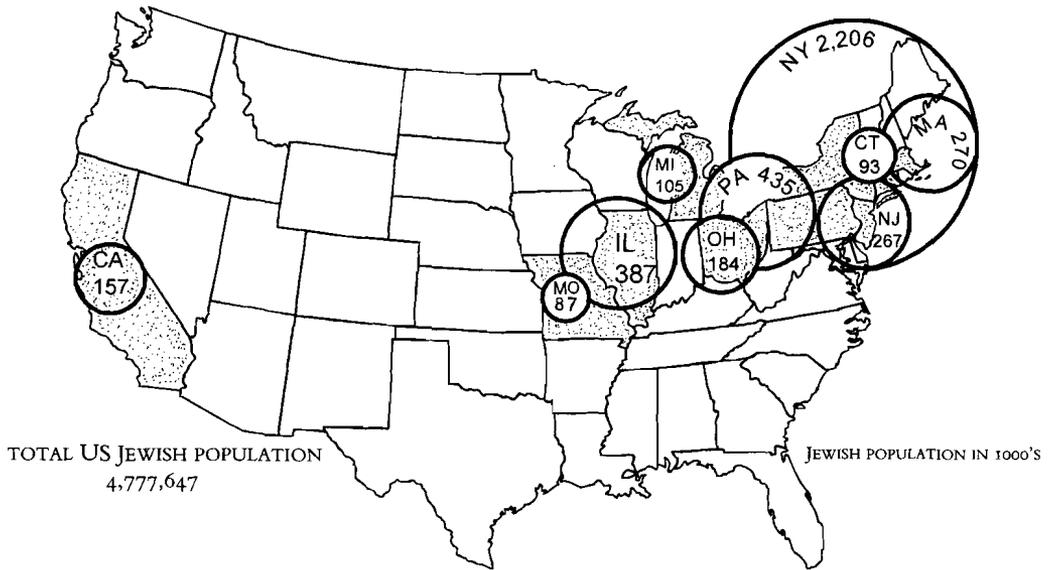


Figure 2—1960 (88% of U.S. Jewish population)

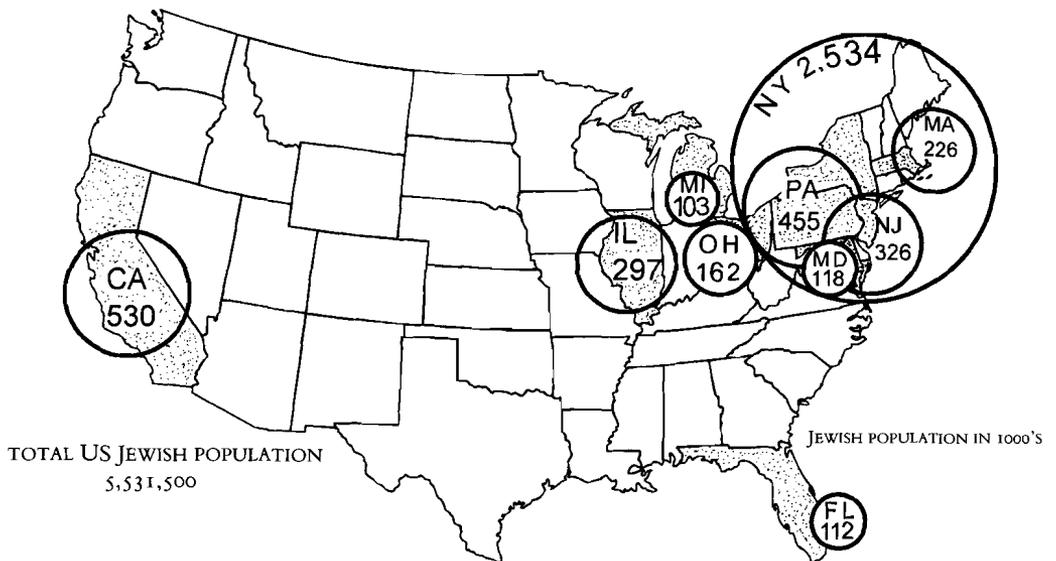


Figure 3 – 1972 (89% of U.S. Jewish population)

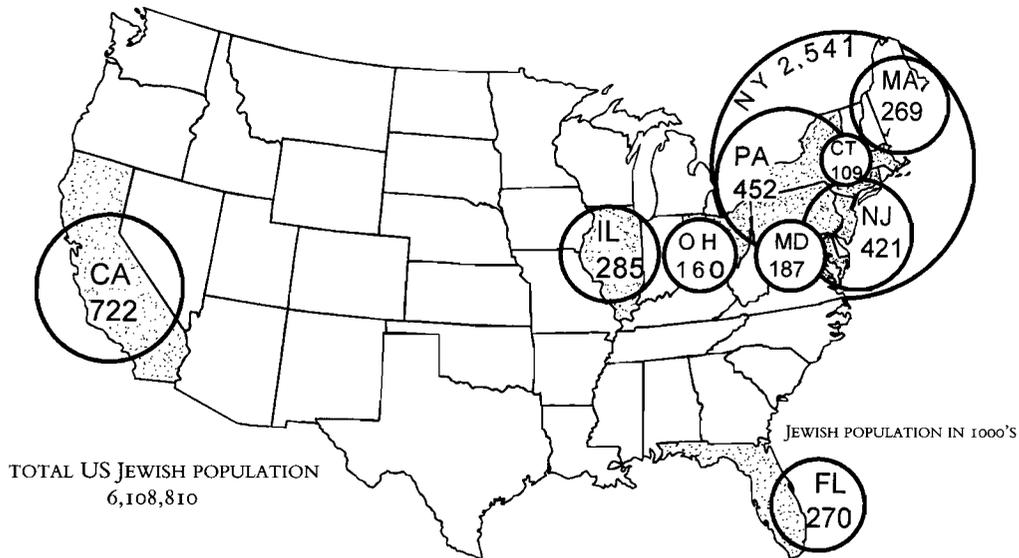


Figure 4 – 1984 (89% of U.S. Jewish population)

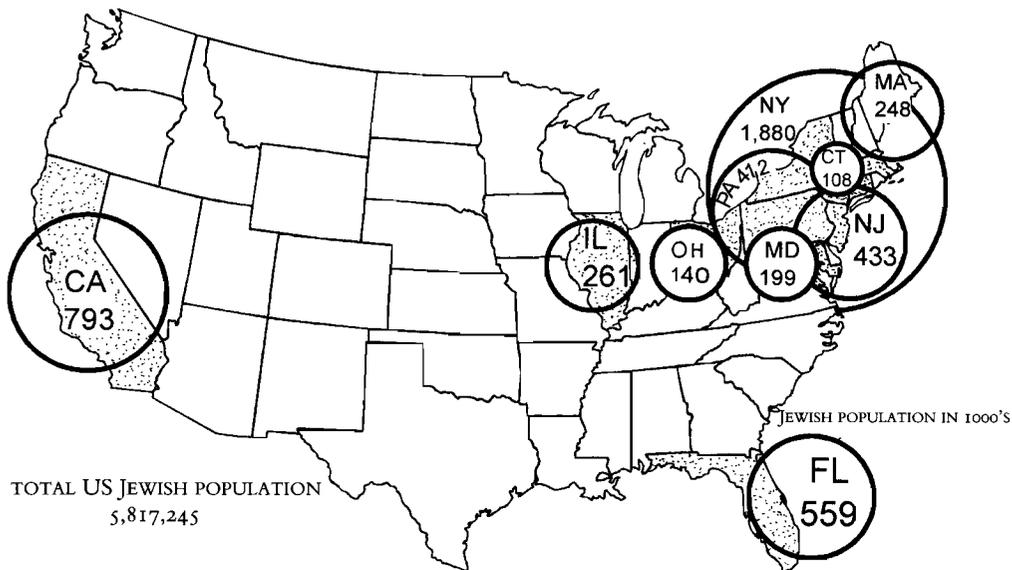
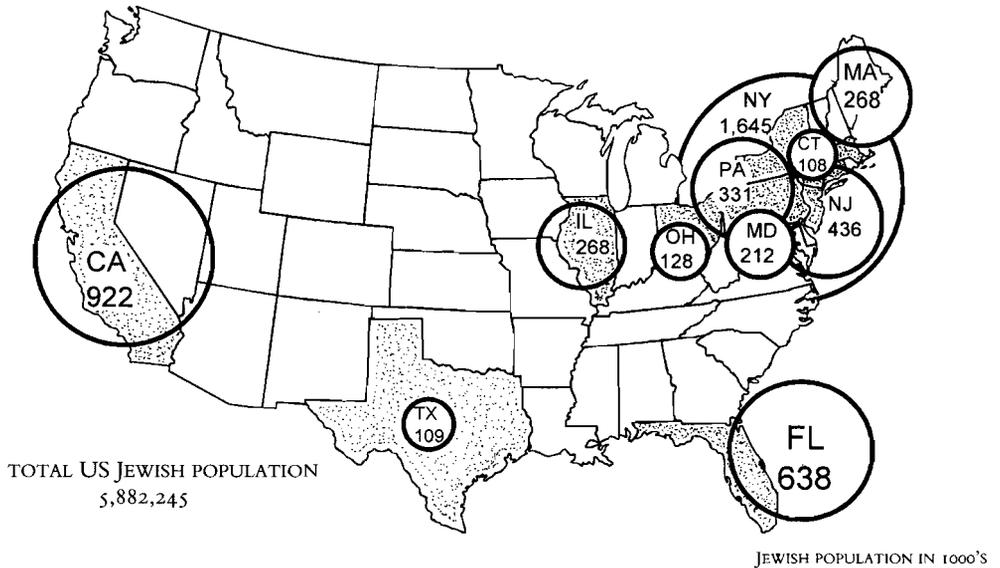


Figure 5 – 1994 (84% of U.S. Jewish population)



only slightly from the 89% in 1972. Of the top twenty cities, eight were Sunbelt cities: Los Angeles (500,870), Miami (187,000), San Francisco Bay Area (115,000), Orange County (60,000), Hollywood, Florida (60,000), South Palm Beach County, Florida (45,000), and West Palm Beach (48,000) (Table 6).

Thus, by 1984 a significant change had occurred in the spatial distribution of the Jewish population. Although the Northeast continued to predominate, with New York still containing almost one-third of American Jews, a significant shift to the Sunbelt had occurred, although this shift was limited in that the Sunbelt destinations were, for the most part, California and Florida. Note, however, that the Snowbelt/Sunbelt shift in this period was an extension of trends noted earlier. Because the movement of Jews to Sunbelt cities has been characterized by a limited set of destinations, in 1984 Jews were as “segregated” from the total population as in 1972: the index of dissimilarity decreased by only 1% from 1972, and by only 2% from 1940, to 43%.

1994

Table 5 and Figure 5 show the distribution of the 5.9 million American Jews in 1994, who formed 2.3% of the U.S. population. Although Jews remained a Snowbelt population, with 48% living in the Northeast, this represents a significant decline in the predominance of this region. The continuing growth of the South and the West and the decline of the Midwest, noted for the 1972–1984 period, is further amplified in 1994. By 1994, the South contained almost 21% of U.S. Jews; the West, almost 20%. In contrast, the Midwest was home to only about 12%. About 28% of all U.S. Jews lived in New York state (down 4 percentage points from 1984), 16% in California, almost 11% in Florida, 7% in New Jersey, and 6% in Pennsylvania. Note that 67% of the Jewish population still lived in only 5 states, the same 5 states as in 1984, and 84% lived in the top 10 states. Of the top twenty cities, 9 are Sunbelt cities: Los Angeles (490,000), Fort Lauderdale (174,000), San Francisco Bay Area (166,000), Miami (145,000), South Palm Beach County (83,000), Orange County (75,000), San Diego (70,000), West Palm Beach (67,000), and Atlanta (67,500).

The largest absolute increase in the number of Jews occurred in the West, increasing by almost 20% (187,000) from 1984–1994, most of which occurred in California (129,485). The South was the second fastest growing region (15% – 161,000), about half of which occurred in Florida. The Northeast showed a decline of more than 305,000 (10%), with a small increase in New England (2%) and a significant decline in the Middle Atlantic (12% – 313,640), about 75% of which was in New York. The Midwest showed a 3% (22,055 person) increase. In 1994 Jews were somewhat less “segregated” from the total population than in 1984: the index of dissimilarity at the state level decreased by 3%, to 40%.

### *Changes in the Jewish Population of Sunbelt and Snowbelt Cities*

Analysis of the data in Table 6 reveals the changes in the Jewish population of Snowbelt cities from 1972–1994. The limited destination thesis, implied above, becomes even more evident at this level of analysis. The New York Metropolitan Area (the city of New York, Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester) lost 931,000 Jews in the 22-year period, accounting for about 87% of the total loss of Jewish population in the Snowbelt. Other cities losing significant numbers include Philadelphia (75,000), Bergen County (16,000), and Cleveland (15,000). Chicago shows virtually no change in the 22-year period. Note that certain Snowbelt cities show increases in Jewish population. Boston’s Jewish population increased by more than 25% during this period. Detroit’s Jewish population increased almost 20%, although in this case the increase is in part due to a widening definition of the metropolitan area.

An examination of the Sunbelt cities from 1972–1994 supports the concept of limited destinations. The three-county South Florida area (including Miami, Hollywood, Fort Lauderdale, South Palm Beach County, and West Palm Beach) accounts for almost 400,000, or 47%, of the increased Jewish population of the Sunbelt. Note that while Miami has actually shown a decline, overall South Florida has increased due to explosive growth in the other areas. In California, note that while Los Angeles has lost Jewish population (8%), Orange County (a suburb of Los Angeles) increased by 150% (45,000). The San Francisco Bay Area increased from about 94,000 to 166,000 during this period. Grouping South Florida (400,000 increase), San Francisco Bay Area (72,000), San Diego (56,000), and Atlanta (50,000 increase) accounts for 68% of Sunbelt growth in just four metropolitan areas. Phoenix (36,000), Alexandria (22,000), Houston (20,000), and Denver (20,000) are other areas of major growth. Thus, just eight metropolitan areas constitute about 80% of the growth in the Sunbelt.

In sum, one city (New York) accounts for 87% of the loss in the Snowbelt; eight metropolitan areas represent 80% of the Sunbelt destinations.

### *Summary of Changes, 1940–1994*

The spatial distribution of the United States Jewish population has changed significantly in the 54-year period examined in this study. The following summarizes some of these changes.

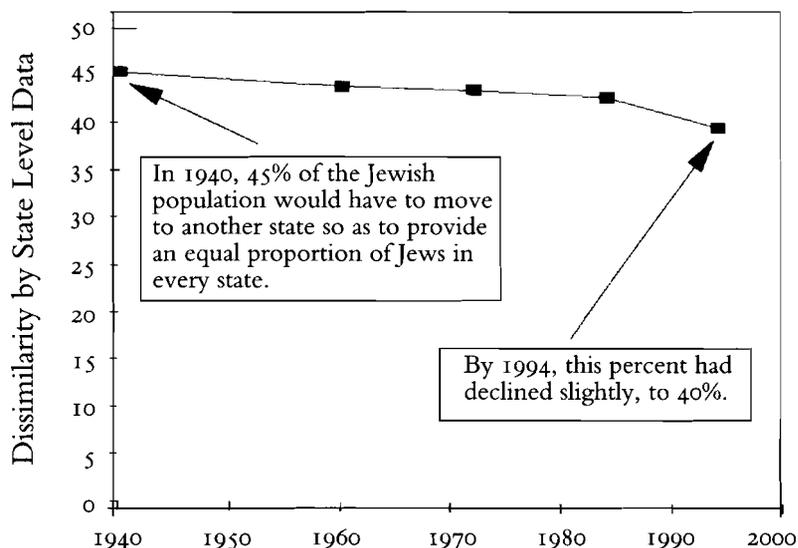
(1) The index of dissimilarity indicates that the Jewish population has always been distributed in a significantly different fashion from the total population. From 1940 to 1984, the index at the state level declined by only about 2% from 45% in 1940 to 43% in 1984. It has, however, declined by an additional 3% in the past decade, indicating a significant increase in the rate at which the Jewish population is dispersing throughout the country (Figure 6).

(2) The Jewish population of the United States has increased from about 4.8 million to about 5.9 million from 1940–1994, with a decline of about 300,000 from 1972–1984 and an increase of 65,000 during the past decade, due to a decline in immigration, low fertility, intermarriage, and assimilation (Kosmin, *et al.* 1991). This 23% increase (from 1940 to 1994) is much lower than the 96% increase in the total population. As a result, the percentage of Americans who are Jewish has declined from 3.6% in 1940 to 2.3% in 1994.

(3) From 1940–1994, the percentage of Jews in the Northeast and Midwest has declined. In 1940, 69% of Jews lived in the Northeast and 19% in the Midwest. These percentages declined to 67% and 14% by 1960; to 63% and 12% by 1972; to 54% and 11% by 1984; and to 48% and 12% in 1994. Thus,

much of the decline in the Midwest occurred in the 1940's and 1950's, whereas the decrease in the Northeast is concentrated after 1972 (Figure 7).

Figure 6 - JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION INDEX  
Relative to Population, by State

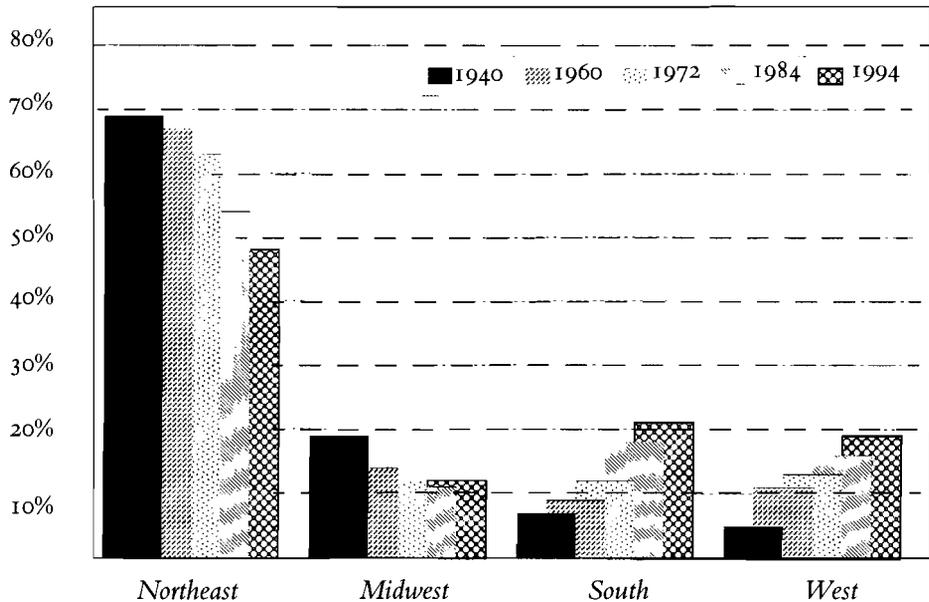


(4) Jews have always been significantly more clustered in the Northeast than the total population. In 1940, 69% of Jews lived in the Northeast, as did 27% of the total population. In 1960, 67% of Jews still lived in the Northeast, whereas only 25% of the total population did. In 1972, these figures declined to 63% and 24%; in 1984, to 54% and 21%; and in 1994, to 48% and 20%. Thus, in spite of the Sunbelt migration, and the fact that the Jewish decline in the Northeast (from 63-48%) is significantly greater than the decline for the total population (from 24-20%), Jews are still significantly (more than 2.6 times) more concentrated in the Northeast than is the general population.

(5) Over the period examined in this paper, the percentage of Jews in the South and West has increased. In 1940, 7% of Jews lived in the South, and 5% in the West. These percentages increased to 9% and 11% by 1960; to 12% and 13% by 1972; to 18% and 16% by 1984; and to 21% and 19% in 1994. Note that much of the increase in the West occurred in the 1940's and 1950's, at the time when the Midwest showed much of its decrease. The increase in the South was most significant in the 1972-1984 period, at a time when the

Northeast saw significant decline. This suggests that much of the migration to the West occurred from the Midwest in the 1940's and 1950's, whereas the growth in the South occurred during the 1970's and 1980's, at the expense of the Northeast.

Figure 7 - CHANGING REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF JEWS



(6) In 1940, New York contained 46% of American Jews; Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, and New Jersey accounted for an additional 28%. About 75% lived in the top five states. In 1960, the top five states still contained 75% of the Jewish population (with New York remaining at 46%), except that Massachusetts dropped to sixth and was replaced by California, which became the second most populous state in terms of Jewish population. In 1972, the same top five states still contained 72% of the Jewish population (with New York decreasing somewhat to 42%). By 1984, New York's predominance remained, but declined so that it contained "only" 32% of America's Jews. The top five states still contained 70% of the Jewish population, but two (California and Florida) were Sunbelt states. By 1994, New York's predominance remained, but declined so that it contained "only" 28% of America's Jews. The top five states still contained 68% of the Jewish population.

(7) Of the top twenty cities in 1940, only two [Los Angeles (number 8) and San Francisco (number 12)] were in the Sunbelt. By 1960, four Sunbelt cities [Los Angeles (2), Miami (6), Washington, D.C. (11), and San Francisco Bay Area (10)] were found in the top twenty. By 1972, Los Angeles remained at number 2, Miami increased to number 5, San Francisco Bay Area increased to 10, and Orange County was 16. In 1984, eight of the top twenty cities were in the Sunbelt. By 1994, half of the top twenty cities were in the Sunbelt.

(8) The percentage of both the Jewish and total population living in the Midwest has been decreasing since 1940, at about the same rates. The percentage of Jews living in the region has declined from 19% to 12%; the total population, from 30% to 24%.

(9) The percentage of Jews living in the South has increased from 7% (1940), to 9% (1960), to 12% (1972), to 18% (1984), to 21% (1994). The comparable figures for the total population are 32%, 31%, 32%, 34%, and 35%. Thus, particularly in the past decade, the Jewish presence in the South has increased faster than the total population.

(10) The percentage of Jews living in the West has increased, from just 5% in 1940, to 11% in 1960, to 13% in 1972, 16% in 1984, and to 19% in 1994. The percentage of the total population living in the West has increased from 11%, to 16%, to 17%, to 20%, and to 22% during the same periods.

### *Supporting Evidence from Other Studies*

Data from studies by Newman and Halvorson (1979) and Halvorson and Newman (1994) also support the general conclusion of this paper, using county-level data from studies completed for the National Council of Churches (Whitman and Trimble 1956; Johnson, Picard, and Quinn 1974). The data from the Newman and Halvorson study is also based upon the *American Jewish Yearbook*. In 1952, only 481 counties were shown to have a Jewish population. This increased to 503 in 1971, to 770 in 1980, and then declined to 748 in 1990. Newman and Halvorson present Jews as a clustered population that has shifted away from the historic northeastern core and from urban counties to suburban counties.

Local Jewish community studies also reflect the changes in geographic distribution presented in this paper. Table 7 shows the percentage of Jews in each of 34 Jewish communities (that have completed local Jewish demographic studies since 1979) who were born in the local community. Note that of the 15 cities with the lowest values, 13 are Sunbelt communities. Of the 19 communities with the highest values, only two are Sunbelt communities.

In addition, both the 1971 and 1990 National Jewish Population Surveys support these results. In the 1971 study (National Jewish Population Study 1974) only 62% of the adult Jewish population in 1970 were still living in the city in which they had resided in 1965.

Goldstein (1982:21) summarizes the trends noted in this paper:

The relatively high rates of mobility shown by the data from the (1971) National Jewish Population Study ... lend support to the thesis that Jews are participating in the major currents of population redistribution characterizing the American population as a whole. Even while distinct areas of regional Jewish population concentration remain, and while Jews continue to be highly concentrated in metropolitan areas, the observed patterns of redistribution has resulted in fewer Jews in the Northeast and Midwest regions and more in the South and the West.

The 1990 survey (Kosmin *et al.* 1991) showed that 75% of adults had changed their state of residence during the past six years. Also, 30% of Northeastern-born Jews and 42% of Midwestern-born Jews were living in a different region of the country than where they were born. More than half of the 838,500 Jews leaving the Northeast moved to the South, another one-third to the West. Of the 335,900 who left the Midwest, just over one-half moved to the West and almost one-third to the South. Finally, 85% of those age 18 and over were living in a city other than where they were born.

### *Implications of the Changes in the Spatial Distribution of American Jews*

This massive shift in the geographic location of the Jewish population has significant implications for the American Jewish community. This paper briefly examines several implications: the need to create a sense of community in relatively new Jewish communities, intermarriage, geographic dispersion of children from parents and grandparents, demographic imbalance, infrastructural needs, and electoral college voting.

*Creating a Sense of Community in Emerging Sunbelt Jewish Communities.* A number of recent articles have commented on the difficulty of involving recent immigrants, particularly retirees in Sunbelt cities, in Jewish communal life, even though these persons were involved significantly in the community from which they had moved (Elazar 1981; Tobin 1984). Other concerns are expressed in a series of newspaper headlines cited by Goldstein (1982:5): "Population Shifts Create New Problems for Jewish Federations," "South Dakota's Lone Rabbi Travels Far and Wide to Sell Judaism to All," "Jewish Outposts in Dixie," "A Growing Trend: Jewish Population Moving from Northeast to Sunbelt," and "Being Jewish Where There Is No Community." Thus, this problem is well-recognized in the Jewish community. Many

Jewish institutions that exist in northeastern and midwestern cities will need to be recreated in southern and western cities. Problems are also created when the Jewish population of a city does not reach the threshold level for the provision of various types of services usually associated with a Jewish community (such as Jewish schools, Jewish camping programs, religious institutions, kosher butchers, etc.). Kosmin and Scheckner (1995) show that Jews tend to lose their Jewish community ties as they migrate from one city to another. In total, they estimate that between \$10-\$20 million is lost to the Jewish Federation system annually because of migration. Thus, the need to identify new migrants into a community and to integrate those migrants into the community as soon as possible is an important implication of the changing spatial distribution.

In some cases, as Goldstein (1992) points out, migration to smaller communities outside the core area of Jewish settlement may bring renewed vitality to small Jewish communities by creating the numbers necessary to reach the threshold numbers for Jewish institutions. Yet the overall pattern is that those Jews who move are less well integrated into the organized Jewish life of the community (Goldstein 1992). These issues are also discussed in Moore (1989).

*Intermarriage.* In the United States as a whole, 3,186,000 households contain at least one person of Jewish heritage. Of these, 16% do not contain any person defined by the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey as a "Core Jew."<sup>8</sup> 32% of households contain Jews living with non-Jews (mostly due to intermarriage), and 57% of households contain only Jews. Table 8 examines these results for each of the large Census Divisions. Note that the percentage of households in which all persons are Jewish is 65% in the Northeast, but is only about 50% in the other three regions. The percentage of households with no Core Jews is only 9% in the Northeast, versus 16% in the West, 22% in the South, and 26% in the Midwest. The evidence is clear that intermarriage rates are much higher in areas outside of the traditional areas of Jewish settlement. In such areas, where the percentage of the population that is Jewish is low, many of those looking for mates will invariably find them among the non-Jewish population.

*Geographic Dispersion of Children from Parents and Grandparents.* As a result of the dispersion of the Jewish population, particularly of retirement migration to places like Florida and Arizona, an increasing number of Jewish children are living in different metropolitan areas than those of their parents and grandparents. In South Palm Beach County, where 76% of Jews are age 60 and over (Sheskin 1995b), for example, only 20% of those age 40 and over who have adult children who have established their own homes, have these adult children living within a 90 minute drive. In addition, 42% of households with married adult children indicated that at least one of their children had intermarried. Thus, just at a time when grandparental influence may be felt

to be most needed to inculcate Jewish identity in grandchildren of both the in-married and the intermarried, grandparental contact is limited by plane fares and long distance telephone calls.

*Creation of Demographically Unbalanced Communities.* About 19% of American Jews are age 60 and over. But about 76% of Jews in south Palm Beach County (Sheskin 1995b), 67% in West Palm Beach (Sheskin 1987), 63% in Sarasota (Sheskin 1992), 55% in South Broward (Tobin and Sheskin 1991), and 37% in Miami (Sheskin 1994) are age 60 and over. These imbalances in age, created by an age-selective retirement migration stream from the Northeast and Midwest to Florida, have significant impact on synagogue and Jewish Community Center programming. The implications are also clear for the Jewish, governmental, and private social service networks that must cater to this elderly population.

*Creation of a New Jewish Infrastructure.* As the spatial distribution of the Jewish population has changed, Jewish communities have had to significantly adjust the infrastructure of the community. In northern communities that have lost population, synagogues and other institutions have had to close or “downsize” their operations. Jews arriving in Sunbelt communities have had to build this infrastructure, including synagogues, Jewish Community Centers, Jewish Federations, Jewish day schools, etc., in new locations. Thus, many Jewish philanthropic dollars that might have gone toward improved programming in Snowbelt communities is being spent on capital projects in Sunbelt communities.

*Electoral Voting Patterns.* Jewish electoral influence in the United States is in excess of the percentage of Jews in the population (2.3%). This is the case for a number of reasons. First, as a relatively well-educated, high income group (Kosmin, *et al.* 1991), Jews tend to donate to presidential campaigns. Second, as a group with low fertility, Jews constitute a somewhat larger percentage of the voting age population than they do of the total population. Third, Jews tend to register and vote in higher proportions than do non-Jewish Americans (Sheskin 1994). Fourth, and probably most important, the Jewish population is geographically concentrated in states containing large numbers of electoral votes. In 1940, the ten states that contained 88% of the Jewish population controlled 44% of the electoral votes. In 1960, the comparable figures were 88% and 43%; in 1972, 89% and 45%; in 1984, 87% and 41%; and in 1994, 84% and 46%. Thus, over the 54-year period, while the geographic concentration of Jews has somewhat lessened, Jews remain concentrated in states with a great many electoral votes.

In 1940, Jews formed 16.4% (2,206,000) of the population of New York, when New York had 47 electoral votes. By 1994, only 9.0% (1,645,000) of New Yorkers were Jewish, but New York had only 33 electoral votes. California has seen its Jewish population increase from 157,000 to 922,000 over the 54-year period, from 2.3% to

3.0% of the state's population, during which time the number of electoral votes in California increased from 22 to 54. Florida has seen its Jewish population increase from 21,000 to 638,000 over the 54-year period, from 1.1% to 4.7%, during which the number of electoral votes in Florida increased from 7 to 25.

Thus, while the spatial distribution of the Jewish population has changed significantly during this period, because Jews have tended to "regroup" as they settle areas outside the traditional Snowbelt cities, they have maintained significant geographic concentration.

### *Conclusion*

This paper has described the changing distribution of the Jewish population over the past half century. The pattern has changed from one in which the Northeast, particularly New York, has lost some of its traditional dominance. The decline in the Midwest has also been significant. The growth in the South, particularly Florida, and the West, particularly California, has been significant. In 1972, 75% of Jews lived in the Snowbelt, versus 52% of all Americans. In 1994, 60% of Jews lived in the Snowbelt, versus 44% of all Americans. Thus, Jews have been moving to the Sunbelt at a more rapid rate than non-Jews. Both at the state level and at the metropolitan area level, a "limited origin, limited destination" thesis has been demonstrated. That is, most Jews have left a small number of northeastern and midwestern metropolitan areas and have relocated to a relatively small number of southern and western metropolitan areas in an even smaller number of states. As illustrated by an index of dissimilarity in 1994 of 40% between Jews and the total population, Jews remain, despite this significant geographic shift, a clustered population.

This paper has also briefly addressed several issues related to the changing spatial distribution of American Jews. Five of the issues (the need to create a sense of community in relatively new Sunbelt Jewish communities, the geographic separation of families, demographic imbalance, creation of a new infrastructure, and intermarriage) represent significant challenges to the survival of a strong American Jewish community. The influence of the changing geographic distribution of Jews on electoral college voting has been shown to be relatively minor because of the "limited origin, limited destination" thesis.

*Notes*

1. The assumption upon which this method was based was that, no matter the level of religious observance, practically all Jewish children refrain from attending school on Yom Kippur. By comparing public school attendance on Yom Kippur with attendance on other days, a fairly accurate estimate of the number of Jewish children in the public schools is obtained. After adding the number of Jewish children enrolled in Jewish days schools, the total Jewish population may be extrapolated using the proportion of school children in the white population as a whole. This method is becoming increasingly problematic because the assumption upon which it is based has become increasingly less reliable.
2. The number of Jewish decedents may be obtained from death records on which the place of interment may be found. If one then assumes that the Jewish death rate is similar to that of the white population as a whole, then the total Jewish population may be extrapolated (Barnett, 1902; Rosenwaik, 1974).
3. Various lists of Distinctive Jewish Names have been developed. The Council of Jewish Federations has published a list of 35 DJNs which they claim, after examination of numerous lists of affiliated Jews, are "held" by about 10-12% of American Jews. The number of households in the telephone book with one of these names may be counted, adjusted for unlisted numbers, and extrapolated to produce an estimate of the number of Jewish households. This estimate may then be expanded by an estimate of Jewish household size to produce estimates of the Jewish population. Certain problems exist with using this methodology in cities with a large German population, because many of the distinctive Jewish names are also held by Germans (Varady and Mantel, 1982).
4. The *American Jewish Year Book*, prepared under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee, presents Jewish population estimates for the United States, each state separately and various cities. Many of these estimates derive from direct requests via questionnaire made to Jewish communal leaders in various cities. Often, the responses are based upon the "intuition" of these leaders.
5. Four-digit random numbers are generated for each telephone exchange code in a metropolitan area. The percentage of households reached which contain a Jewish person can then be derived. This percentage is then multiplied by the number of households in the area to obtain the total number of Jewish households (which is then multiplied by the household size derived from the survey to obtain an estimate of the Jewish population).
6. The 1970 Census asked the following question: "What language, other than English, was spoken in this person's home when he was a child?" Using information from the 1970 National Jewish Population Study, Rosenwaik (1974) calculated a conversion factor between the number of persons reporting Yiddish and the total number of Jews. The procedure was shown to yield reasonable estimates of the Jewish population of

neighborhoods in Philadelphia. Unfortunately, the question of mother tongue was dropped from the 1980 Census. Some researchers have used the percentage of Persons of Russian Stock as an indicator of Jewish population (Rosenthal, 1975; Rees, 1968).

7. The index of dissimilarity is calculated by summing the absolute values of the subtraction of the percentage of the Jewish population residing in each state (Column 6 in Table 1) and the percentage of the total population residing in each state (Column 8), and dividing by two (Barber, 1988). The index of dissimilarity is clearly sensitive to the geographic scale at which a study is undertaken. Because the overwhelming number of Jews live clustered within large cities, Jews are actually much more clustered when compared to the general population than is evident at the state geographic scale.
8. Core Jews either define themselves as Jewish by religion, consider themselves as secular Jews, or are Jews-by-Choice. "non-Core Jews" are persons of Jewish heritage who no longer define themselves as Jewish.

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Table 1: 1940 DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH AND TOTAL POPULATION

*Index of Dissimilarity 45.35%*

	<i>State</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>% Jewish</i>	<i>Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Cumulative Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Distribution of Total Pop</i>
1	New York	2,206,328	13,479,142	16.37%	46.18%	46.18%	10.24%
2	Pennsylvania	414,616	9,900,180	4.39%	9.10%	55.28%	7.52%
3	Illinois	387,330	7,897,241	4.90%	8.11%	63.38%	6.00%
4	Massachusetts	269,945	4,316,721	6.25%	5.65%	69.03%	3.28%
5	New Jersey	267,970	4,160,165	6.44%	5.61%	74.64%	3.16%
6	Ohio	183,570	6,907,612	2.66%	3.84%	78.49%	5.25%
7	California	157,471	6,907,387	2.28%	3.30%	81.78%	5.25%
8	Michigan	105,201	5,256,106	2.00%	2.20%	83.98%	3.99%
9	Connecticut	93,080	1,709,242	5.45%	1.95%	85.93%	1.30%
10	Missouri	86,572	3,784,664	2.29%	1.81%	87.74%	2.87%
11	Maryland	76,124	1,821,244	4.18%	1.59%	89.34%	1.38%
12	Texas	49,196	6,414,824	0.77%	1.03%	90.37%	4.87%
13	Minnesota	41,728	2,792,300	1.49%	0.87%	91.24%	2.12%
14	Wisconsin	39,917	3,137,587	1.27%	0.84%	92.08%	2.38%
15	Indiana	28,155	3,427,796	0.82%	0.59%	92.66%	2.60%
16	Rhode Island	27,813	713,346	3.90%	0.58%	93.25%	0.54%
17	Tennessee	25,811	2,915,841	0.89%	0.54%	93.79%	2.21%
18	Virginia	25,066	2,677,773	0.94%	0.52%	94.31%	2.03%
19	Georgia	23,781	3,123,723	0.76%	0.50%	94.81%	2.37%
20	Colorado	21,375	1,123,296	1.90%	0.45%	95.26%	0.85%
21	Florida	21,276	1,897,414	1.12%	0.45%	95.70%	1.44%
22	Washington	18,422	1,736,191	1.06%	0.39%	96.09%	1.32%
23	Washington, D.C.	18,350	663,091	2.77%	0.38%	96.47%	0.50%
24	Kentucky	17,894	2,845,627	0.63%	0.37%	96.85%	2.16%
25	Louisiana	14,942	2,363,880	0.63%	0.31%	97.16%	1.80%
26	Nebraska	14,579	1,315,834	1.11%	0.31%	97.46%	1.00%
27	Iowa	14,089	2,538,268	0.56%	0.29%	97.76%	1.93%
28	Alabama	12,148	2,832,961	0.43%	0.25%	98.01%	2.15%
29	Oregon	11,649	1,089,684	1.07%	0.24%	98.26%	0.83%
30	Maine	9,000	847,226	1.06%	0.19%	98.45%	0.64%
31	Kansas	8,287	1,801,028	0.46%	0.17%	98.62%	1.37%
32	Oklahoma	7,371	2,336,434	0.32%	0.15%	98.77%	1.77%
33	North Carolina	7,333	3,571,623	0.21%	0.15%	98.93%	2.71%
34	West Virginia	7,213	1,901,974	0.38%	0.15%	99.08%	1.44%
35	Delaware	6,587	266,505	2.47%	0.14%	99.22%	0.20%
36	Arkansas	6,510	1,949,387	0.33%	0.14%	99.35%	1.48%
37	South Carolina	5,905	1,899,804	0.31%	0.12%	99.48%	1.44%
38	Mississippi	4,603	2,183,796	0.21%	0.10%	99.57%	1.66%
39	New Hampshire	3,328	491,524	0.68%	0.07%	99.64%	0.37%
40	Utah	3,166	550,310	0.58%	0.07%	99.71%	0.42%
41	North Dakota	2,744	641,935	0.43%	0.06%	99.77%	0.49%
42	Vermont	2,000	359,231	0.56%	0.04%	99.81%	0.27%
43	South Dakota	1,963	642,961	0.31%	0.04%	99.85%	0.49%
44	Arizona	1,847	499,261	0.37%	0.04%	99.89%	0.38%
45	Montana	1,729	559,456	0.31%	0.04%	99.92%	0.42%
46	New Mexico	1,179	531,818	0.22%	0.02%	99.95%	0.40%
47	Idaho	1,138	524,873	0.22%	0.02%	99.97%	0.40%
48	Wyoming	967	250,741	0.39%	0.02%	99.99%	0.19%
49	Nevada	379	110,247	0.34%	0.01%	100.00%	0.08%
50	Hawaii						
51	Alaska						

<i>Region</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>% Jewish</i>	<i>Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Cumulative Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Distribution of Total Pop</i>
Northeast	3,314,080	35,976,777	9.21%	69.37%		27.32%
New England	405,166	8,437,290	4.80%	8.48%		6.41%
Middle Atlantic	2,908,914	27,539,487	10.56%	60.89%		20.92%
Midwest	914,135	40,143,332	2.28%	19.13%		30.49%
East North Central	744,173	26,626,342	2.79%	15.58%		20.22%
West North Central	169,962	13,516,990	1.26%	3.56%		10.27%
South	330,110	41,665,901	0.79%	6.91%		31.64%
South Atlantic	191,635	17,823,151	1.08%	4.01%		13.54%
East South Central	60,456	10,778,225	0.56%	1.27%		8.19%
West South Central	78,019	13,064,525	0.60%	1.63%		9.92%
West	219,322	13,883,264	1.58%	4.59%		10.54%
Mountain	31,780	4,150,002	0.77%	0.67%		3.15%
Pacific	187,542	9,733,262	1.93%	3.93%		7.39%
United States	4,777,647	131,669,274	3.63%	100.00%		100.00%

Table 2: 1960 DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH AND TOTAL POPULATION

*Index of Dissimilarity 44.04%*

	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>% Jewish</i>	<i>Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Cumulative Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Distribution of Total Pop</i>
1 New York	2,533,900	16,782,304	15.10%	45.81%	45.81%	9.36%
2 California	530,300	15,717,204	3.37%	9.59%	55.40%	8.76%
3 Pennsylvania	454,600	11,319,366	4.02%	8.22%	63.61%	6.31%
4 New Jersey	326,300	6,066,782	5.38%	5.90%	69.51%	3.38%
5 Illinois	297,300	10,081,158	2.95%	5.37%	74.89%	5.62%
6 Massachusetts	226,100	5,148,578	4.39%	4.09%	78.97%	2.87%
7 Ohio	162,200	9,706,397	1.67%	2.93%	81.91%	5.41%
8 Maryland	118,100	3,100,689	3.81%	2.14%	84.04%	1.73%
9 Florida	112,100	4,951,560	2.26%	2.03%	86.07%	2.76%
10 Michigan	102,700	7,823,194	1.31%	1.86%	87.93%	4.36%
11 Connecticut	101,300	2,535,234	4.00%	1.83%	89.76%	1.41%
12 Missouri	80,900	4,319,813	1.87%	1.46%	91.22%	2.41%
13 Texas	60,900	9,579,677	0.64%	1.10%	92.32%	5.34%
14 Washington, D.C.	40,300	763,956	5.28%	0.73%	93.05%	0.43%
15 Wisconsin	38,400	3,951,777	0.97%	0.69%	93.74%	2.20%
16 Minnesota	34,900	3,413,864	1.02%	0.63%	94.37%	1.90%
17 Virginia	31,200	3,966,949	0.79%	0.56%	94.94%	2.21%
18 Georgia	24,800	3,943,116	0.63%	0.45%	95.39%	2.20%
19 Indiana	24,700	4,662,498	0.53%	0.45%	95.83%	2.60%
20 Rhode Island	24,700	859,488	2.87%	0.45%	96.28%	0.48%
21 Colorado	21,300	1,753,947	1.21%	0.39%	96.66%	0.98%
22 Tennessee	16,800	3,567,089	0.47%	0.30%	96.97%	1.99%
23 Louisiana	16,100	3,257,022	0.49%	0.29%	97.26%	1.82%
24 Arizona	14,800	1,302,161	1.14%	0.27%	97.53%	0.73%
25 Washington	13,200	2,853,214	0.46%	0.24%	97.77%	1.59%
26 Kentucky	11,000	3,038,156	0.36%	0.20%	97.96%	1.69%
27 North Carolina	10,300	4,556,155	0.23%	0.19%	98.15%	2.54%
28 Alabama	10,000	3,266,740	0.31%	0.18%	98.33%	1.82%
29 Iowa	9,100	2,757,537	0.33%	0.16%	98.50%	1.54%
30 Nebraska	9,000	1,411,330	0.64%	0.16%	98.66%	0.79%
31 Oregon	8,800	1,768,687	0.50%	0.16%	98.82%	0.99%
32 Delaware	8,500	446,292	1.90%	0.15%	98.97%	0.25%
33 Maine	8,100	969,265	0.84%	0.15%	99.12%	0.54%
34 South Carolina	7,100	2,382,594	0.30%	0.13%	99.25%	1.33%
35 Oklahoma	6,400	2,328,284	0.27%	0.12%	99.36%	1.30%
36 New Hampshire	5,200	606,921	0.86%	0.09%	99.46%	0.34%
37 West Virginia	5,200	1,860,421	0.28%	0.09%	99.55%	1.04%
38 Mississippi	4,000	2,178,141	0.18%	0.07%	99.62%	1.21%
39 Arkansas	3,400	1,786,272	0.19%	0.06%	99.68%	1.00%
40 Kansas	3,200	2,178,611	0.15%	0.06%	99.74%	1.21%
41 New Mexico	2,700	951,023	0.28%	0.05%	99.79%	0.53%
42 Vermont	2,500	389,881	0.64%	0.05%	99.84%	0.22%
43 Nevada	2,400	285,27a	0.84%	0.04%	99.88%	0.16%
44 Utah	1,500	890,627	0.17%	0.03%	99.91%	0.50%
45 North Dakota	1,400	632,446	0.22%	0.03%	99.93%	0.35%
46 South Dakota	900	680,514	0.13%	0.02%	99.95%	0.38%
47 Wyoming	800	3301066	0.24%	0.01%	99.96%	0.18%
48 Hawaii	700	632,772	0.11%	0.01%	99.97%	0.35%
49 Montana	600	674,767	0.09%	0.01%	99.99%	0.38%
50 Idaho	500	667,191	0.07%	0.01%	99.99%	0.37%
51 Alaska	300	226,167	0.13%	0.01%	100.00%	0.13%

<i>Region</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>% Jewish</i>	<i>Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Cumulative Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Distribution of Total Pop</i>
Northeast	3,682,700	44,677,819	8.24%	66.58%		24.91%
New England	367,900	10,509,367	3.50%	6.65%		5.86%
Middle Atlantic	3,314,800	34,168,452	9.70%	59.93%		19.05%
Midwest	764,700	51,619,139	1.48%	13.82%		28.79%
East North Central	625,300	36,225,024	1.73%	11.30%		20.20%
West North Central	139,400	15,394,115	0.91%	2.52%		8.58%
South	486,200	54,973,113	0.88%	8.79%		30.66%
South Atlantic	357,600	25,971,732	1.38%	6.46%		14.48%
East South Central	41,800	12,050,126	0.35%	0.76%		6.72%
West South Central	86,800	16,951,255	0.51%	1.57%		9.45%
West	597,900	28,053,104	2.13%	10.81%		15.64%
Mountain	44,600	6,855,060	0.65%	0.81%		3.82%
Pacific	553,300	21,198,044	2.61%	10.00%		11.82%
United States	5,531,500	179,323,175	3.08%	100.00%		100.00%

Table 3: 1972 DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH AND TOTAL POPULATION

*Index of Dissimilarity 43.75%*

	<i>State</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>% Jewish</i>	<i>Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Cumulative Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Distribution of Total Pop</i>
1	New York	2,540,940	18,366,000	13.84%	41.59%	41.59%	8.82%
2	California	722,085	20,468,000	3.53%	11.82%	53.42%	9.83%
3	Pennsylvania	452,120	11,926,000	3.79%	7.40%	60.82%	5.73%
4	New Jersey	420,715	7,367,000	5.71%	6.89%	67.70%	3.54%
5	Illinois	285,420	11,251,000	2.54%	4.67%	72.38%	5.40%
6	Florida	269,620	7,259,000	3.90%	4.41%	76.79%	5.18%
7	Massachusetts	268,775	5,787,000	9.26%	4.40%	81.19%	3.49%
8	Maryland	187,110	4,056,000	4.61%	3.06%	84.25%	1.95%
9	Ohio	159,985	10,783,000	3.23%	2.62%	86.87%	2.78%
10	Connecticut	108,675	3,082,000	1.76%	1.78%	88.65%	4.36%
11	Michigan	96,150	9,082,000	2.29%	1.57%	90.22%	1.48%
12	Missouri	85,170	4,753,000	1.79%	1.39%	91.62%	2.28%
13	Texas	70,950	11,649,000	0.61%	1.16%	92.78%	5.59%
14	Virginia	42,165	4,764,000	0.89%	0.69%	93.47%	2.29%
15	Wisconsin	35,910	4,520,000	0.79%	0.59%	94.06%	2.17%
16	Minnesota	35,475	3,896,000	0.91%	0.58%	94.64%	1.87%
17	Georgia	27,700	4,720,000	0.59%	0.45%	95.09%	2.27%
18	Colorado	26,925	2,357,000	1.14%	0.44%	95.53%	1.13%
19	Indiana	25,345	5,291,000	0.48%	0.41%	95.95%	2.54%
20	Rhode Island	22,570	968,000	2.33%	0.37%	96.32%	0.46%
21	Arizona	21,000	1,945,000	1.08%	0.34%	96.66%	0.93%
22	Tennessee	18,145	4,031,000	0.45%	0.30%	96.96%	1.94%
23	Louisiana	17,340	3,720,000	0.47%	0.28%	97.24%	1.79%
24	Washington	15,990	3,443,000	0.46%	0.26%	97.50%	1.65%
25	Washington, D.C.	15,000	748,000	2.01%	0.25%	97.75%	0.36%
26	North Carolina	11,495	5,214,000	0.22%	0.19%	97.94%	2.50%
27	Kentucky	11,380	3,299,000	0.34%	0.19%	98.12%	1.58%
28	South Carolina	9,730	2,665,000	0.37%	0.16%	98.28%	1.28%
29	Iowa	9,455	2,883,000	0.33%	0.15%	98.44%	1.38%
30	Alabama	9,260	3,510,000	0.26%	0.15%	98.59%	1.69%
31	Nebraska	9,160	1,525,000	0.60%	0.15%	98.74%	0.73%
32	Oregon	9,085	2,182,000	0.42%	0.15%	98.89%	0.73%
33	Delaware	9,000	565,000	1.59%	0.15%	99.03%	1.05%
34	Maine	8,190	1,029,000	0.80%	0.13%	99.17%	0.27%
35	Oklahoma	8,185	2,634,000	0.31%	0.13%	99.30%	1.26%
36	Mississippi	5,960	2,263,000	0.26%	0.10%	99.40%	1.09%
37	West Virginia	5,945	1,781,000	0.33%	0.10%	99.50%	0.86%
38	New Hampshire	4,830	771,000	0.63%	0.08%	99.58%	1.09%
39	Nevada	3,380	527,000	0.64%	0.06%	99.63%	0.86%
40	Arkansas	3,340	1,978,000	0.17%	0.05%	99.69%	0.25%
41	New Mexico	3,090	1,065,000	0.29%	0.05%	99.74%	0.51%
42	Idaho	2,680	756,000	0.35%	0.04%	99.78%	0.36%
43	Kansas	2,595	2,258,000	0.11%	0.04%	99.82%	1.08%
44	South Dakota	2,065	679,000	0.30%	0.03%	99.86%	0.33%
45	Vermont	1,995	462,000	0.43%	0.03%	99.89%	0.54%
46	North Dakota	1,955	632,000	0.31%	0.03%	99.92%	0.22%
47	Utah	1,900	1,126,000	0.17%	0.03%	99.95%	0.33%
48	Hawaii	1,500	809,000	0.19%	0.02%	99.98%	0.39%
49	Montana	630	719,000	0.09%	0.01%	99.99%	0.35%
50	Wyoming	425	345,000	0.12%	0.01%	100.00%	0.17%
51	Alaska	300	325,000	0.09%	0.00%	100.00%	0.16%

<i>Region</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>% Jewish</i>	<i>Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Cumulative Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Distribution of Total Pop</i>
Northeast	3,828,810	49,758,000	7.69%	62.68%		23.90%
New England	415,035	12,099,000	3.43%	6.79%		5.81%
Middle Atlantic	3,413,775	37,659,000	9.06%	55.88%		18.08%
Midwest	748,685	57,553,000	1.30%	12.26%		27.64%
East North Central	602,810	40,927,000	1.47%	9.87%		19.65%
West North Central	145,875	16,626,000	0.88%	2.39%		7.98%
South	723,315	67,551,000	1.07%	11.84%		32.44%
South Atlantic	578,755	34,467,000	1.68%	9.47%		16.55%
East South Central	44,745	13,103,000	0.34%	0.73%		6.29%
West South Central	99,815	19,981,000	0.50%	1.63%		9.60%
West	808,000	33,372,000	2.42%	13.23%		16.03%
Mountain	60,030	8,840,000	0.68%	0.98%		4.25%
Pacific	747,970	24,532,000	3.05%	12.24%		11.78%
United States	6,108,810	208,234,000	2.93%	100.00%		100.00%

Table 4: 1984 DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH AND TOTAL POPULATION

*Index of Dissimilarity 42.99%*

	<i>State</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>% Jewish</i>	<i>Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Cumulative Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Distribution of Total Pop</i>
1	New York	1,879,955	17,667,000	10.64%	32.32%	32.32%	7.55%
2	California	792,515	25,174,000	3.15%	13.62%	45.94%	10.76%
3	Florida	558,820	10,680,000	5.23%	9.61%	55.55%	4.56%
4	New Jersey	433,475	7,468,000	5.80%	7.45%	63.00%	3.19%
5	Pennsylvania	412,210	11,895,000	3.47%	7.09%	70.08%	5.08%
6	Illinois	261,320	11,486,000	2.28%	4.49%	74.58%	4.91%
7	Massachusetts	248,395	5,767,000	4.31%	4.27%	78.85%	2.46%
8	Maryland	199,415	4,304,000	4.63%	3.43%	82.27%	1.84%
9	Ohio	140,435	10,746,000	1.31%	2.41%	84.69%	4.59%
10	Connecticut	107,575	3,138,000	3.43%	1.85%	86.54%	1.34%
11	Michigan	85,275	9,069,000	0.94%	1.47%	88.00%	3.88%
12	Texas	78,470	15,724,000	0.50%	1.35%	89.35%	6.72%
13	Missouri	64,770	4,970,000	1.30%	1.11%	90.47%	2.12%
14	Virginia	60,820	5,550,000	1.10%	1.05%	91.51%	2.37%
15	Arizona	53,285	2,963,000	1.80%	0.92%	92.43%	1.27%
16	Colorado	44,365	3,139,000	1.41%	0.76%	93.19%	1.34%
17	Georgia	42,155	5,732,000	0.74%	0.72%	93.91%	2.45%
18	Minnesota	32,040	4,144,000	0.77%	0.55%	94.47%	1.77%
19	Wisconsin	31,495	4,751,000	0.66%	0.54%	95.01%	2.03%
20	Washington, D.C.	24,285	623,000	3.90%	0.42%	95.42%	0.27%
21	Washington	22,060	4,300,000	0.51%	0.38%	95.80%	1.84%
22	Rhode Island	22,000	955,000	2.30%	0.38%	96.18%	0.41%
23	Indiana	21,360	5,479,000	0.39%	0.37%	96.55%	2.34%
24	Tennessee	18,465	4,685,000	0.39%	0.32%	96.87%	2.00%
25	Nevada	18,200	891,000	2.04%	0.31%	97.18%	0.38%
26	Louisiana	17,340	4,438,000	0.39%	0.30%	97.48%	1.90%
27	North Carolina	14,945	6,082,000	0.25%	0.26%	97.73%	2.60%
28	Kentucky	12,910	3,714,000	0.35%	0.22%	97.96%	1.59%
29	Kansas	11,450	2,425,000	0.47%	0.20%	98.15%	1.04%
30	Oregon	10,940	2,662,000	0.41%	0.19%	98.34%	1.14%
31	Maine	9,850	1,146,000	0.86%	0.17%	98.51%	0.49%
32	Alabama	9,560	3,959,000	0.24%	0.16%	98.67%	1.69%
33	Delaware	9,500	606,000	1.57%	0.16%	98.84%	0.26%
34	South Carolina	8,615	3,264,000	0.26%	0.15%	98.99%	1.39%
35	Nebraska	7,850	1,597,000	0.49%	0.13%	99.12%	0.68%
36	Iowa	7,760	2,905,000	0.27%	0.13%	99.25%	1.24%
37	Oklahoma	6,960	3,298,000	0.21%	0.12%	99.37%	1.41%
38	New Hampshire	5,980	959,000	0.62%	0.10%	99.48%	0.41%
39	Hawaii	5,550	1,023,000	0.54%	0.10%	99.57%	0.44%
40	New Mexico	5,155	1,399,000	0.37%	0.09%	99.66%	0.60%
41	West Virginia	4,265	1,965,000	0.22%	0.07%	99.73%	0.84%
42	Arkansas	3,175	2,328,000	0.14%	0.05%	99.79%	0.99%
43	Mississippi	3,080	2,587,000	0.12%	0.05%	99.84%	1.11%
44	Utah	2,600	1,619,000	0.16%	0.04%	99.89%	0.69%
45	Vermont	2,465	525,000	0.47%	0.04%	99.93%	0.22%
46	North Dakota	1,080	680,000	0.16%	0.02%	99.95%	0.29%
47	Alaska	960	479,000	0.20%	0.02%	99.96%	0.20%
48	Montana	640	817,000	0.08%	0.01%	99.97%	0.35%
49	South Dakota	610	700,000	0.09%	0.01%	99.99%	0.30%
50	Idaho	535	989,000	0.05%	0.01%	99.99%	0.42%
51	Wyoming	310	514,000	0.06%	0.01%	100.00%	0.22%

<i>Region</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>% Jewish</i>	<i>Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Cumulative Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Distribution of Total Pop</i>
Northeast	3,121,905	49,520,000	6.30%	53.67%		21.16%
New England	396,265	12,490,000	3.17%	6.81%		5.34%
MiddleAtlantic	2,725,640	37,030,000	7.36%	46.85%		15.83%
Midwest	665,445	58,952,000	1.13%	11.44%		25.20%
East North Central	539,885	41,531,000	1.30%	9.28%		17.75%
West North Central	125,560	17,421,000	0.72%	2.16%		7.45%
South	1,072,780	79,539,000	1.35%	18.44%		33.99%
South Atlantic	922,820	38,806,000	2.38%	15.86%		16.59%
East South Central	44,015	14,945,000	0.29%	0.76%		6.39%
West South Central	105,945	25,788,000	0.41%	1.82%		11.02%
West	957,115	45,969,000	2.08%	16.45%		19.65%
Mountain	125,090	12,331,000	1.01%	2.15%		5.27%
Pacific	832,025	33,638,000	2.47%	14.30%		14.38%
United States	5,817,245	233,980,000	2.49%	100.00%		100.00%

Table 5: 1994 DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH AND TOTAL POPULATION

*Index of Dissimilarity 39.86%*

	<i>State</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>% Jewish</i>	<i>Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Cumulative Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Distribution of Total Pop</i>
1	New York	1,645,000	18,197,000	9.04%	27.97%	27.97%	7.06%
2	California	922,000	31,211,000	2.95%	15.67%	43.64%	12.10%
3	Florida	638,000	13,679,000	4.66%	10.85%	54.49%	5.30%
4	New Jersey	436,000	7,879,000	5.53%	7.41%	61.90%	3.06%
5	Pennsylvania	331,000	12,048,000	2.75%	5.63%	67.53%	4.67%
6	Illinois	268,000	11,697,000	2.29%	4.56%	72.08%	4.54%
7	Massachusetts	268,000	6,012,000	4.46%	4.56%	76.64%	2.33%
8	Maryland	212,000	4,965,000	4.27%	3.60%	80.24%	1.93%
9	Ohio	128,000	11,091,000	1.15%	2.18%	82.42%	4.30%
10	Texas	109,000	18,031,000	0.60%	1.85%	84.27%	6.99%
11	Michigan	107,000	9,478,000	1.13%	1.82%	86.09%	3.68%
12	Connecticut	97,500	3,277,000	2.98%	1.66%	87.75%	1.27%
13	Georgia	74,500	6,917,000	1.08%	1.27%	89.02%	2.68%
14	Arizona	72,000	3,936,000	1.83%	1.22%	90.24%	1.53%
15	Virginia	68,500	6,491,000	1.06%	1.16%	91.41%	2.52%
16	Missouri	61,500	5,234,000	1.18%	1.05%	92.45%	2.03%
17	Colorado	51,500	3,566,000	1.44%	0.88%	93.33%	1.38%
18	Minnesota	42,000	4,517,000	0.93%	0.71%	94.04%	1.75%
19	Wisconsin	35,000	5,038,000	0.69%	0.60%	94.64%	1.95%
20	Washington	34,000	5,255,000	0.65%	0.58%	95.21%	2.04%
21	Washington, D.C.	25,500	578,000	4.41%	0.43%	95.65%	0.22%
22	North Carolina	22,000	6,945,000	0.32%	0.37%	96.02%	2.69%
23	Nevada	21,000	1,389,000	1.51%	0.36%	96.38%	0.54%
24	Oregon	19,500	3,032,000	0.64%	0.33%	96.71%	1.18%
25	Indiana	18,000	5,713,000	0.32%	0.31%	97.02%	2.22%
26	Tennessee	18,000	5,099,000	0.35%	0.31%	97.32%	1.98%
27	Louisiana	16,500	4,295,000	0.38%	0.28%	97.60%	1.67%
28	Rhode Island	16,000	1,000,000	1.60%	0.27%	97.87%	0.39%
29	Kansas	14,000	2,531,000	0.55%	0.24%	98.11%	0.98%
30	Kentucky	11,000	3,789,000	0.29%	0.19%	98.30%	1.47%
31	New Hampshire	9,500	1,125,000	0.84%	0.16%	98.46%	0.44%
32	Delaware	9,500	700,000	1.36%	0.16%	98.62%	0.27%
33	South Carolina	9,000	3,643,000	0.25%	0.15%	98.78%	1.41%
34	Alabama	9,000	4,187,000	0.21%	0.15%	98.93%	1.62%
35	New Mexico	9,000	1,616,000	0.56%	0.15%	99.08%	0.63%
36	Maine	8,000	1,239,000	0.65%	0.14%	99.22%	0.48%
37	Nebraska	7,000	1,607,000	0.44%	0.12%	99.34%	0.62%
38	Hawaii	7,000	1,172,000	0.60%	0.12%	99.46%	0.45%
39	Iowa	6,000	2,814,000	0.21%	0.10%	99.56%	1.09%
40	Oklahoma	5,500	3,231,000	0.17%	0.09%	99.65%	1.25%
41	Vermont	5,500	576,000	0.95%	0.09%	99.74%	0.22%
42	Utah	3,500	1,860,000	0.19%	0.06%	99.80%	0.72%
43	Alaska	3,000	599,000	0.50%	0.05%	99.86%	0.23%
44	West Virginia	2,500	1,820,000	0.14%	0.04%	99.90%	0.71%
45	Arkansas	1,800	2,424,000	0.07%	0.03%	99.93%	0.94%
46	Mississippi	1,400	2,643,000	0.05%	0.02%	99.95%	1.02%
47	Montana	800	839,000	0.10%	0.01%	99.97%	0.33%
48	North Dakota	600	635,000	0.09%	0.01%	99.98%	0.25%
49	Idaho	500	1,099,000	0.05%	0.01%	99.98%	0.43%
50	Wyoming	500	470,000	0.11%	0.01%	99.99%	0.18%
51	South Dakota	400	715,000	0.06%	0.01%	100.00%	0.28%

<i>Region</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>% Jewish</i>	<i>Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Cumulative Distribution of Jewish Pop</i>	<i>Distribution of Total Pop</i>
Northeast	2,816,500	51,353,000	5.48%	47.88%		19.91%
New England	404,500	13,229,000	3.06%	6.88%		5.13%
Middle Atlantic	2,412,000	38,124,000	6.33%	41.01%		14.78%
Midwest	687,500	61,070,000	1.13%	11.69%		23.68%
East North Central	556,000	43,017,000	1.29%	9.45%		16.68%
West North Central	131,500	18,053,000	0.73%	2.24%		7.00%
South	1,233,700	89,467,000	1.38%	20.97%		34.69%
South Atlantic	1,061,500	45,738,000	2.32%	18.05%		17.73%
East South Central	39,400	15,718,000	0.25%	0.67%		6.09%
West South Central	132,800	27,981,000	0.47%	2.26%		10.85%
West	1,144,300	56,044,000	2.04%	19.45%		21.73%
Mountain	158,800	14,775,000	1.07%	2.70%		5.73%
Pacific	985,500	41,269,000	2.39%	16.75%		16.00%
United States	5,882,000	257,904,000	2.28%	100.00%		100.00%

Table 6: TOP TWENTY CITIES IN JEWISH POPULATION 1940 – 1994

1940				1960			
1	New York City	NY	2,035,000	1	New York City	NY	2,401,000
2	Chicago	IL	363,000	2	Los Angeles	CA	400,000
3	Philadelphia	PA	293,000	3	Philadelphia	PA	331,000
4	Boston	MA	139,260	4	Chicago	IL	282,000
5	Cleveland	OH	100,000	5	Boston	MA	150,000
6	Detroit	MI	90,000	6	Miami	FL	140,000
7	Essex-Morris	NJ	85,700	7	Essex-Morris	NJ	100,000
8	Los Angeles	CA	82,000	8	Detroit	MI	89,000
9	Baltimore	MD	73,000	9	Cleveland	OH	88,000
10	Pittsburgh	PA	52,000	10	San Francisco	CA	81,000
11	St. Louis	MO	51,000	11	Washington, D.C.		80,900
12	San Francisco	CA	48,315	12	Baltimore	MD	80,000
13	Milwaukee	WI	29,600	13	St. Louis	MO	57,500
14	Kansas City	MO	28,100	14	Pittsburgh	PA	47,000
15	New Haven	CT	24,700	15	Milwaukee	WI	30,000
16	Paterson	NJ	24,000	16	Hartford	CT	26,000
17	Providence	RI	23,800	17	Buffalo	NY	25,500
18	Rochester	NY	23,400	18	Cincinnati	OH	25,000
19	Hartford	CT	23,360	19	Kansas City	MO	22,000
20	Buffalo	NY	21,800	20	Five Cities	Tied	20,000

1972				1984			
1	New York City	NY	2,381,000	1	New York City	NY	1,742,500
2	Los Angeles	CA	535,000	2	Los Angeles	CA	500,870
3	Philadelphia	PA	325,000	3	Philadelphia	PA	295,000
4	Chicago	IL	269,000	4	Chicago	IL	248,000
5	Miami	FL	190,000	5	Miami	FL	187,000
6	Boston	MA	180,000	6	Boston	MA	170,000
7	Washington, D.C.		112,500	7	Washington, D.C.		157,535
8	Bergen County	NJ	100,000	8	San Francisco	CA	115,000
9	Baltimore	MD	100,000	9	Bergen County	NJ	100,000
10	San Francisco	CA	94,000	10	Fort Lauderdale	FL	100,000
11	Essex-Morris	NJ	91,000	11	Baltimore	MD	92,000
12	Detroit	MI	80,000	12	Essex-Morris	NJ	111,000
13	Cleveland	CA	80,000	13	Cleveland	OH	70,000
14	St. Louis	MO	60,000	14	Detroit	MI	70,000
15	Pittsburgh	PA	45,000	15	Orange County	CA	60,000
16	Orange County	CA	30,000	16	Hollywood	FL	60,000
17	Cincinnati	OH	28,000	17	St. Louis	MO	53,500
18	Denver	CO	26,000	18	Pittsburgh	PA	50,000
19	Paterson	NJ	26,000	19	Palm Beach	FL	48,000
20	Rockland Cnty	NY	25,000	20	South Palm Beach	FL	45,000

## 1994

1	New York City	NY	1,450,000
2	Los Angeles	CA	490,000
3	Chicago	IL	261,000
4	Philadelphia	PA	250,000
5	Boston	MA	228,000
6	Washington, D.C.		166,000
7	Fort Lauderdale	FL	174,000
8	San Francisco Bay	CA	166,000
9	Miami	FL	145,000
10	Essex-Morris	NJ	109,700
11	Baltimore	MD	94,500
12	Detroit	MI	94,000
13	Bergen County	NJ	83,700
14	Rockland County	NY	83,100
15	Boca Raton/Delray	FL	83,000
16	Orange County	CA	75,000
17	San Diego	CA	70,000
18	West Palm Beach	FL	67,000
19	Atlanta	GA	67,500
20	Cleveland	OH	65,000

Table 7  
PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS BORN LOCALLY

Jewish Community	Year	% Locally Born	Jewish Community	Year	% Locally Born
West Palm Beach	1987	2%	St. Paul	1992	39%
South Palm Beach	1995	3%	Boston	1985	47%
Sarasota-Manatee	1992	5%	Minneapolis	1981	47%
South Broward	1990	12%	St. Louis	1982	50%
St. Petersburg	1994	14%	Baltimore	1985	50%
Orlando	1993	14%	Rhode Island	1988	50%
Los Angeles	1979	16%	New Orleans	1988	50%
Columbus	1990	17%	Essex-Morris, N.J.	1986	51%
Miami	1994	22%	Louisville	1991	53%
Hartford	1982	22%	Kansas City	1985	59%
Richmond	1983	22%	Cleveland	1987	59%
Denver	1981	22%	Chicago	1990	61%
San Francisco	1988	24%	Pittsburgh	1984	63%
Dallas	1989	29%	Philadelphia	1984	65%
Washington, D.C.	1983	36%	Chicago	1981	66%
Harrisburg	1994	39%	Worcester	1987	76%
Toronto	1991	39%	Rochester	1988	87%

Table 8  
JEWISHNESS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	All Jewish Households	Mixed Households	No Core Jews	Total
Northeast	65%	26	9	100%
Midwest	49%	25	26	100%
South	52%	26	22	100%
West	52%	32	16	100%
Total	57%	27	16	100%

Source: Author from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey