Demographic

Los Angeles Jewry: A Demographic Portrait

As a city, Los Angeles is quite unlike New York. New York is concentrated and urban, while Los Angeles is spread out over hundreds of square miles. As a Jewish center, too, Los Angeles differs from New York. New York has the Lower East Side as a visible link to the Jewish immigrant past; Los Angeles is a continent away from such links. Moreover, in New York, "Jewish" is a conspicuous ethnic identity; in Los Angeles it is easy for Jews to get lost.

Still, Los Angeles has developed a Jewish community with identifiably Jewish neighborhoods, an impressive range of institutions, and a dynamic cultural life. For older communities in the Southwest, and especially for a host of new "pioneering" communities, Los Angeles has become the great Jewish center.

This article presents a portrait of the Los Angeles Jewish community: its development since earliest days, its demographic characteristics, and the patterns of participation by Jews in community activities and institutions. Data for the study come from three primary sources: a 1979 survey carried out by the author for the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, three earlier surveys (1951, 1959, 1967) conducted by Fred Massarik, and the 1980 U.S. population census.

GROWTH OF THE LOS ANGELES JEWISH COMMUNITY

Early History

Unlike the major urban centers of the East and Midwest, Los Angeles was never a city of direct disembarkation for immigrants during the nineteenth century. Since it did not emerge as a city until the beginning of the twentieth century, its Jewish community is relatively young. While there were some German Jews living in Los Angeles in the nineteenth century, San Francisco was the center of population in California for Jews and non-Jews alike.[1] The dramatic growth of the Los Angeles Jewish community occurred as part of the growth of

[1]Robert E. Levinson, *The Jews in the California Gold Rush* (New York, 1978), p. 7.

Los Angeles itself and can only be understood within that context. (Table 1 traces the growth of both the Jewish and the general populations over a 100-year period.*)

In the 1870s Los Angeles began making the transition from a dusty frontier town —not much larger than the original Spanish pueblo—to the second-largest city in the United States. Between 1870 and 1880 the population grew by 101 percent, and by another 213 percent between 1880 and 1890. As the general population of Los Angeles County increased, so did the number of Jews, except that the Jewish population grew at a faster rate. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, when the general population of Los Angeles County grew fivefold, the Jewish population increased almost 20 times: from 136 Jews in 1880 to 2,500 at the dawn of the new century.

Even before the Southern Pacific Railroad had arrived in Los Angeles, speculators were busy turning open land into new towns. The "SP" itself was busy promoting southern California through excursions from the East and Midwest, and even sold plots of land in the city.[2] As Los Angeles journalist and social historian Carey McWilliams has noted:

> Every city has its booms, but the history of Los Angeles is the history of its booms. Actually, the growth of Southern California since 1870 should be regarded as one continuous boom punctuated at intervals with major explosions. Other American cities have gone through a boom phase and then entered upon a period of normal growth. But Los Angeles has always been a boom town, chronically unable to consolidate its gains or to integrate its new population.[3]

A "bust" in 1888 following a boom in 1887 caused growth to slow down in the 1890s, but it resumed again after the turn of the century. The first two decades of the twentieth century saw the general population of Los Angeles County multiply fivefold and the Jewish population twelvefold. While great waves of Eastern European Jewish immigrants continued to settle in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, smaller but still significant numbers made their way across the continent. In addition to the attraction of expanding business opportunities, the area's mild climate drew sufferers from tuberculosis and the other respiratory ailments that were common among the sweatshop workers of the East.

Not until the 1920s did the growth rate for the county as a whole (135 percent) catch up to and even surpass that of the Jewish population (128 percent). The 1920–1930 period, which included a major land boom in 1923, brought over 200,000 people to California, the majority (72 percent) to the southern part of the state. According to McWilliams, "The migration to Southern California in this decade has been characterized as the largest internal migration of the American people."[4] By

*See Appendix for tables.

[2]Carey McWilliams, *Southern California; An Island on the Land* (Layton, Utah, 1973), pp. 125–126.

[3]Ibid., p. 114.

[4]Ibid., p. 135.

the end of the decade, the Jewish community of Los Angeles had become the sixth largest in the country (just behind Detroit).

Although both Jewish and general growth rates slowed during the Great Depression, Jewish growth between 1930 and 1940 remained almost twice the general rate: 44 percent as compared with 27 percent.

Wartime and Postwar Period

The decade of greatest expansion for Los Angeles Jewry was the 1940s. During the war, the entire Pacific coast, and the southland in particular, gained strategic importance as a staging area for the Pacific theater and also as an aircraft manufacturing center. The combination of a land boom in 1943 and a burgeoning economy sparked a new cycle of growth. Once again the Jewish rate surpassed that of the overall population, and by the end of the decade the proportion of Jews in the county had risen from 4 to 7 percent.

Between 1940 and 1950 more than 168,000 Jews came to Los Angeles—more Jews than came in any decade before or after, and more Jews than lived in Detroit, Boston, Cleveland, or Baltimore in 1950. Many of these were servicemen who had been stationed in California—or had passed through en route to the Pacific—liked what they saw, and decided to make it their home. As a result of this migration, the size of the Jewish community almost tripled in the space of a few years. Indeed, by 1955 the Los Angeles Jewish community had become the second largest in the United States.[5]

In the 1950s Jewish growth slowed to the same rate as that of the county—if a growth rate of 50 percent can be called "slow"!— and has remained close to the county rate ever since. During the 1960s the rate of Jewish growth fell behind that of Los Angeles County, while in the 1970s the Jewish growth rate was higher. This is noteworthy because the decade of the 1970s also brought large-scale immigration of Mexicans, Central Americans, and Asians to the area.

The dramatic growth of Jewish Los Angeles, as seen in the population figures, can be explained only partially by the general westward migration to California. Many factors undoubtedly served to attract Jews in such large numbers, among them the promise of unparalleled business and professional opportunities, a benign climate, the casual and glamorous lifestyle depicted in the movies, and ease of social integration. Perhaps there was a greater willingness among those who came to pull up roots and start over again and perhaps, too, a greater desire to break with the past and start afresh in a place that seemed to embody the ultimate American dream.

Changing Jewish Residential Patterns Within Los Angeles

With growing population movement into Los Angeles, urban boundaries were forced to expand, and the city's physical appearance underwent radical change.

[5]As reported in the AJYB, Vol. 57, 1956, pp. 126–130.

Hollywood, for example, which was largely rural as late as 1915, became entirely urban within the succeeding ten years. During the various boom decades of Los Angeles' growth, the nature of Jewish settlement also changed, with Jewish neighborhoods springing up in newer and more distant areas. Since World War II was a watershed in the community's development, the discussion of changing residential patterns falls naturally into two main periods: 1900–1940 and 1940–1980. (The areas referred to in the discussion that follows are shown on maps A-1 and A-2, pp. 130–131.)

1900–1940

At the turn of the century Los Angeles Jews lived in the area now known as "downtown," with two additional concentrations in the nearby Westlake and University districts.[6] As Los Angeles changed from a frontier town to a city in the early decades of the century, the Jewish population began to spread. Between 1910 and 1926, the percentage of Jews living in the older Jewish settlement shrank from 30 to 3 percent, while two nearby areas succeeded "downtown" as Jewish centers: Temple Street (near what is now the new downtown Civic Center) in the teens, and Central Avenue (south of what is now "Little Tokyo") in the twenties. However, since both areas were close to what was then "downtown" (and are in fact considered part of the contemporary downtown), Jews remained essentially urban, even as the city itself was moving further outward. The real departure from "downtown" began only during the boom years of the 1920s, with the development of two important migration trends: east across the Los Angeles River to Boyle Heights, and west to the neighborhoods of Fairfax, Hollywood, and West Adams.

From the point of view of urban development, Boyle Heights can be considered similar to areas of second settlement in older cities. Like the Roxbury section in Boston, for example, Boyle Heights was built in the late nineteenth century as a "streetcar" suburb, in the first ring of settlement outside the boundaries of the "walking city."[7] As happened elsewhere, upwardly mobile Jews replaced upper-class Protestants, and Boyle Heights became a transition area between the ethnic neighborhoods of the inner city and the residential urban mainstream.[8] Unlike Boston, however, Los Angeles had no immigrant "ghetto," and newcomers to Boyle Heights were predominantly newcomers to Los Angeles. Boyle Heights, then, functioned simultaneously as an area of first and second settlement for Jewish Los Angeles.

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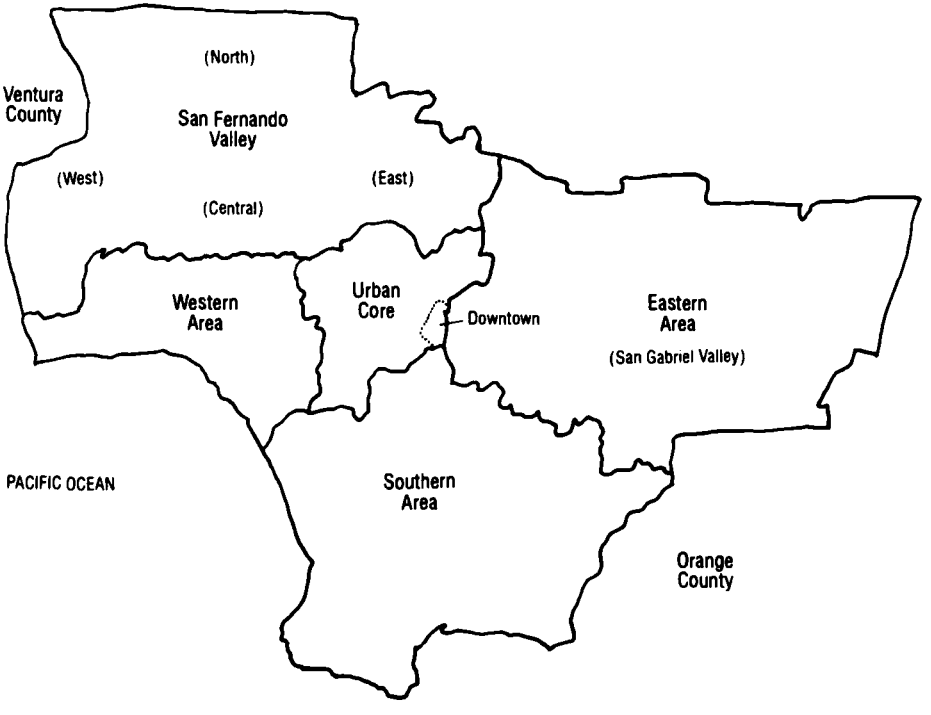
[6]Max Vorspan and Lloyd Gartner, *History of the Jews of Los Angeles* (Philadelphia, 1970), p. 117; Mitchell Gelfand, "Progress and Prosperity: Jewish Social Mobility in Los Angeles in the Booming Eighties," *American Jewish History,* June 1979, p. 414.

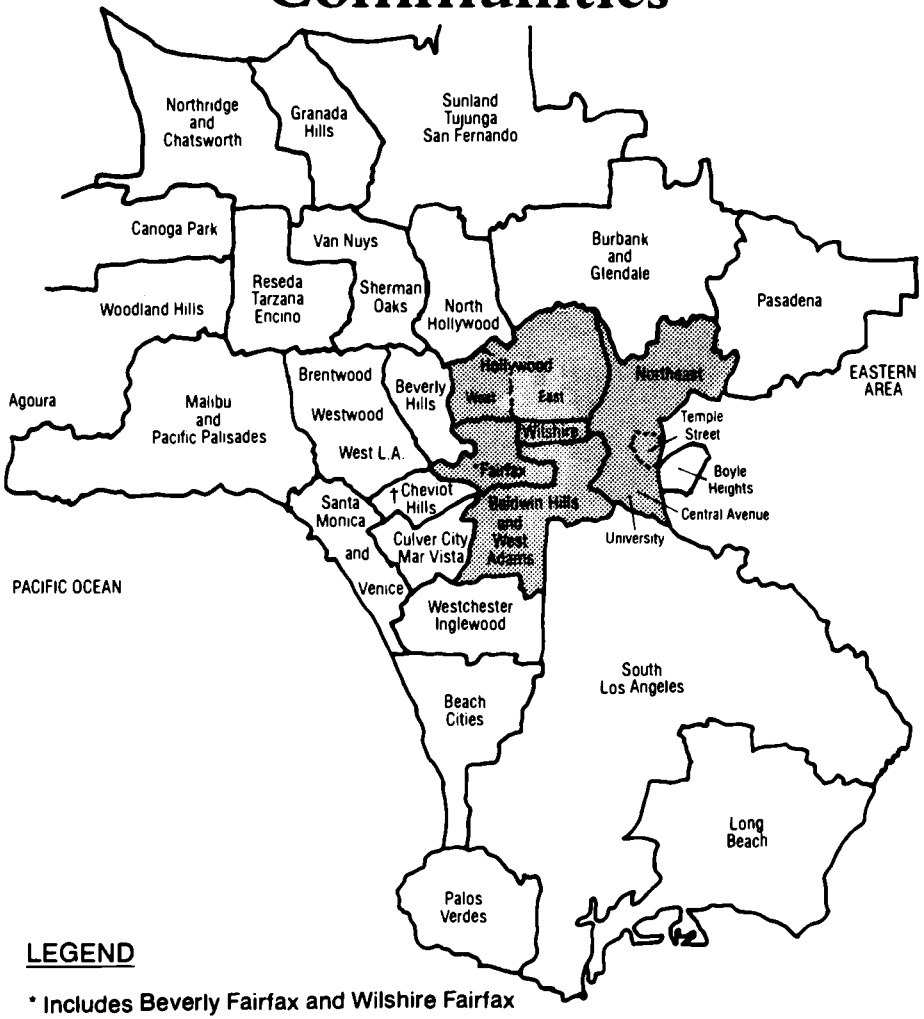
[7]Sam Bass Warner, *Street Car Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870–1900* (New York, 1972), p. 58.

[8]Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, *The Zone of Emergence: Observations of the Lower Middle and Upper Working Class Communities of Boston, 1905–1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 31–35.

MAP A-1
Los Angeles County: Geographic Areas



MAP A-2
Los Angeles County: Communities



LEGEND

* Includes Beverly Fairfax and Wilshire Fairfax

† Includes Beverlywood

Urban Core

Boyle Heights grew from 1,800 Jewish households in 1920 to more than 10,000 in 1930, and to more than 14,000 by 1938.[9] It was the first visibly Jewish neighborhood in Los Angeles: "On the main streets of Boyle Heights were stores where Jews bought and sold, Yiddish was freely used, and Saturdays and Jewish holidays were marked by festive appearances and many closed businesses. Such was Boyle Heights of the late 1920s and the years following as mass immigration created a large-scale Jewish environment."[10]

Although numerically small as compared to the great Jewish urban enclaves of the East and Midwest, Boyle Heights had an immense psychological impact on Los Angeles Jewry. For Jews experiencing the inevitable anomie of the dislocated, Boyle Heights was a link to communities left behind. Jews who lived in Boyle Heights during the '20s, '30s, and '40s exhibit a nostalgic affection for "the Heights" to this day.

At the same time that Boyle Heights was undergoing its period of rapid growth, important changes were taking place in newly developed neighborhoods on the westside of Los Angeles, neighborhoods that had not even existed ten years earlier. Los Angeles Jews, like other Angelenos, flocked to these new areas of the city. According to Vorspan and Gartner:

> More prosperous and acculturated Jews settled westward in such areas as Wilshire, West Adams and Hollywood. Affluent Wilshire, with about 310 Jewish households in 1914, had 2,410 in 1926. Hollywood, still sylvan in 1914, had hardly any; by 1926 there were about 3,287. West Adams rose during the same period from 143 to 1,534.[11]

As a result of the population movement that took place between 1920 and 1940, there emerged two sides to Jewish Los Angeles: the Yiddish, Orthodox, working-class eastside and the more affluent and acculturated westside, with its two main centers in Beverly Fairfax and West Adams. The difference in socioeconomic status between eastside and westside can be documented from the 1940 U.S. census. Five census tracts were notably Jewish (using the "Russian stock" population to identify Jews): three in Beverly Fairfax and West Adams and two in Boyle Heights. Using occupation, education, and rent as indicators, the Beverly Fairfax and West Adams tracts were of middle social rank, while the Boyle Heights tracts were of low social rank.[12]

By 1940, the westside had replaced the older eastside as the leading Jewish neighborhood of Los Angeles. In the meantime, a new "westside" was forming in more affluent areas.

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[9]Vorspan and Gartner, op. cit., pp. 118, 203.

[10]Ibid., p. 119.

[11]Ibid., p. 118.

[12]Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, *The Social Areas of Los Angeles: Analysis and Typology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), p. 70.

1940–1980

As the population of Los Angeles mushroomed during the 1940s, the scope of Jewish settlement widened beyond what Fred Massarik has termed the "Urban Core" areas, described above, to include two new areas: the San Fernando Valley and the Western Area.[13] Between 1950 and 1980 the new areas expanded and the Urban Core declined, with the result that by 1980 there were almost equal numbers of Jewish households in the San Fernando Valley, the Western Area, and the Urban Core.

A few geographical definitions will be helpful at this point. The Urban Core begins with Beverly Fairfax, Wilshire Fairfax, and West Hollywood and extends eastward to Boyle Heights. The Western Area begins with Beverly Hills and Cheviot Hills-Beverlywood and extends west to the ocean, taking in the exclusive hillside communities of Westwood and Brentwood, the flats of West Los Angeles, Mar Vista, and the ocean communities of Venice, Marina Del Rey, Santa Monica, Pacific Palisades, and Malibu. While both the Western Area and Urban Core are separated from the San Fernando Valley by mountains, they are divided from each other by socioeconomic rather than geographic barriers.

The "westside" of Los Angeles—wherever its location in any particular decade —has always been the most prestigious section of the city. Beverly Hills, legally an independent city, is considered part of the westside by virtue of its affluence and international social status. South of Beverly Hills are the communities of Cheviot Hills and Beverlywood, which developed after the boom years of the twenties. Their modern single-family dwellings on winding streets contrast markedly with the older homes and many apartment buildings, laid out on square blocks, that characterize Beverly Fairfax, Wilshire Fairfax, and West Hollywood—the three neighborhoods that border Beverly Hills and Cheviot Hills-Beverlywood. Thus, the Western Area can be distinguished from the Urban Core by neighborhoods that are more affluent and less urbanized.

The San Fernando Valley lies to the north of the Western Area and Urban Core and is separated from them by the Santa Monica Mountains. Ecologically, historically, and logistically it is entirely separate from the rest of Los Angeles. In the early decades of the century, when the Valley was largely agricultural, it was accessible only through the Cahuenga Pass (where the Hollywood Bowl is located). Even today access to the Valley is limited to four winding canyon roads and three freeways.

Two sections of Los Angeles have remained Jewishly marginal: the Eastern Area, consisting of the San Gabriel and Pomona Valleys, and the Southern Area, extending south from Los Angeles International Airport, the Fox Hills and Baldwin Hills

[13]Fred Massarik, *The Jewish Population Indicator Reports, 1971–1974,* Community Planning Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, mimeo, 1976.

areas, to San Pedro and the Palos Verdes Peninsula. These areas, which together have never accounted for more than 15 percent of the Jewish population of Los Angeles, are discussed separately below.

Beginning in 1951, Fred Massarik began to collect and publish estimates of the number of Jewish households in over 20 named communities in Los Angeles. As a result, it is possible to study population shifts both among and within the three major Jewish areas—the San Fernando Valley, the Western Area, and the Urban Core—during the period 1950–1980 (Tables 2A,B,C).

In 1951 Jewish Los Angeles was still largely urban; over half (61 percent) of all Jewish households were located in the Urban Core. The Western Area, the second largest in the city, had fewer than half the number of Jewish households found in the Urban Core. (Beverly Fairfax, now included in the Urban Core, was still considered at that time to be on the "westside," as evidenced by the naming of the "Westside Jewish Community Center" in the early 1950s.[14]) The San Fernando Valley, just beginning to open up to Jewish settlement, had less than half again as many households as the Western Area (Table 2C).

In 1959 the Jewish community was still urban, but less so than it had been just a few years earlier. The Urban Core entered a period of decline in the 1950s, while the San Fernando Valley grew by 125 percent, increasing its share of Jewish households from 9.5 to 19 percent. The Western Area, which grew by a more modest 25 percent, particularly in Santa Monica and Cheviot Hills-Beverlywood, was just barely maintaining its position as the second-largest Jewish area (Tables 2B, C).

Jewish residential trends established in the 1950s continued throughout the 1960s. Overall, the Urban Core lost another 9 percent of its Jewish households, the San Fernando Valley grew by another 80 percent, and growth in the Western Area accelerated to 53 percent. The result was that by 1970, the number of Jewish households was almost evenly divided among the three major areas: 33 percent in the Urban Core; 28 percent in the Western Area; and 26 percent in the San Fernando Valley.

The rapid growth of Jewish population in the San Fernando Valley and the Western Area was part of the postwar suburban growth that characterized all American cities. It was also associated with economic changes and the movement of minorities within the city.

The changing economic fortunes of the Valley, Western Area, and Urban Core have been plotted over a 30-year period by the City of Los Angeles, using U.S. census data from 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970.[15] Based on information on income, education, and home value, all Los Angeles census tracts were assigned economic ranks from "1" (the highest) to "4" (the lowest). The 30-year period 1940–1970 saw

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[14]Located two blocks east of the intersection of Olympic Boulevard and Fairfax Avenue.

[15]*1980 Los Angeles County Forecast,* Appendix A, Community Development Department, Community Analysis and Planning Division, City of Los Angeles, Sept. 1977.

a marked decline in the socioeconomic status of the Fairfax area. Whereas in 1940 census tracts in Beverly Fairfax, Wilshire Fairfax, and West Hollywood had all been either in the first ("upper economic") or second ("above average") ranks, by 1950 only three tracts were in the first rank, and by 1960 only one. Beginning in the 1960s, tracts which had formerly been in the second ("above average") rank had fallen to the third ("below average") rank. Only the exclusive hillside areas of West Hollywood remained in the first rank.

Even more dramatic change occurred in the San Fernando Valley. In 1940, when all the census tracts in and around Fairfax were in the first or second rank, most Valley tracts were in the second and third ranks—none were in the first. Little change took place in the San Fernando Valley between 1940 and 1950. By the 1960 census, however, a number of second-ranked census tracts had moved to the first rank, and a number of third-ranked tracts had moved to the second. This economic upgrading took place primarily in a strip of communities hugging the Santa Monica Mountains "south of the Boulevard" (i.e., Ventura Boulevard): Encino, Sherman Oaks, and Tarzana. Particularly notable improvement took place in Woodland Hills (West Valley), which moved, between 1940 and 1960, from the third to the first rank, and in Northridge (North Valley), sections of which moved, between 1950 and 1970, from the third to the first or second rank. Census tracts in North Hollywood, the original area of San Fernando Valley settlement, either declined or remained stable during this period.

By 1970, the areas in the Valley with the highest economic standing were also those that had experienced the most Jewish growth: the North Valley and West Valley (including Granada Hills, Woodland Hills, and Northridge), Encino, and Sherman Oaks. Thus the move to the Valley, which in the 1940s and early 1950s had commonly been a move to affordable single-family housing, became two decades later a move upward in socioeconomic status.

Even more so did the shift to the Western Area reflect a movement of upward social mobility. Beginning in the 1940s, Cheviot Hills came to occupy the first rank, as did Westwood and Brentwood. Beverlywood, on the eastern slope of the Cheviot Hills, was consistently in the second rank.

These trends continued until the mid-1970s. Between 1970 and 1974 the Urban Core declined an additional 17 percent, losing more Jewish households in five years (8,681) than it had in the previous ten (4,962). By contrast, the Valley gained an additional 10,309 Jewish households and the Western Area an additional 7,745.

Beginning in the post-World War II period, the movement of Jews to the west and the north was accompanied by a movement of blacks into the areas that the Jews were vacating.[16] The impact of this change was felt first in West Adams, in the late

[16] *An Ethnic Trend Analysis of Los Angeles County, 1950–1980,* Community Development Department, Community Analysis and Planning Division, City of Los Angeles, mimeo, Dec. 1977.

1940s, after restrictive housing covenants were struck down by the Supreme Court. When the extent of black migration into West Adams became apparent, the Jewish Community Centers Association canceled plans for additional building that had been contemplated in that area.[17]

Just to the west of West Adams, Baldwin Hills—which was the primary residential area for Sephardic Jews from Greece and Turkey[18]—attracted growing numbers of upwardly mobile, middle-class blacks, and by 1970 blacks had moved just east of Beverlywood and just south of Wilshire Fairfax, adding to the black student population of the two "Jewish" high schools—Fairfax and Hamilton.[19] The same year, after a major earthquake destroyed the predominantly black Los Angeles High School, situated in the district just east of Fairfax, a number of black students were transferred to Fairfax. In response to these changes, Beverly Fairfax, Wilshire Fairfax, and West Hollywood lost Jewish households for the first time since the 1920s, thereby reversing a half century of growth. Cheviot Hills-Beverlywood, located in the Hamilton High School district, experienced no change, ending a period of growth that had begun before 1950. In contrast, neighboring Beverly Hills, with its independent school district, grew by 30 percent in the years 1970–1974.

By 1974 it appeared that the Urban Core would eventually be eclipsed entirely by the San Fernando Valley and the Western Area. However, a housing speculation boom in the late 1970s dramatically reversed the trend. The recession at the beginning of the decade had caused a slump in housing starts, even as the population continued to grow. As a result of increased demand, existing housing appreciated rapidly, with prices fueled by heavy speculation. As housing costs became prohibitive in more desirable neighborhoods, more Jewish families (and even single persons) bought houses and rented apartments in what had been declining, and therefore less expensive, neighborhoods. Thus, the Urban Core, which had consistently lost Jewish households through 1974, showed a 40-percent increase by 1979 (for a net increase of 16.8 percent during the decade 1970–1979) (Table 2B). For every household that moved out of Beverly Fairfax between 1974 and 1975, more than two new ones moved in.[20] The turnaround in the area was so complete that by 1981 a report commissioned by the Young Israel Community Development Corporation in the Fairfax area warned that small shopkeepers and low-income residents were in danger of being forced out by escalating rental charges.

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[17]Fred Massarik, *The Jewish Population of the West Adams Area: A Tentative Report,* Jewish Centers Association, mimeo, 1948.

[18]Eliezer Chammou, "Migration and Adjustment: The Case of Sephardic Jews in Los Angeles," Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Social Geography, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976.

[19]*An Ethnic Trend Analysis of Los Angeles County, 1950–1980,* op. cit.; map "1980 Ethnic Clusters."

[20]Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning,* Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980, p. 30.

In contrast to the Urban Core, growth in the Western Area, during 1974–1979, slowed to 6 percent, but the picture was far from uniform. All the growth was concentrated in the Brentwood-Westwood area, in which the number of Jewish households more than doubled.[21] The Valley continued to grow, but in new ways. Expensive areas such as Encino and Tarzana (ranked as "1" even in 1970) lost Jewish households, while less desirable communities such as Van Nuys, Reseda, and North Hollywood gained Jewish households.[22] Communities in the West Valley and North Valley that were in the first rank but further out from the urban center gained new households as well.

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN AREAS

The Eastern and Southern Areas have always had an insignificant share of the Jewish population of Los Angeles County. The San Gabriel Valley to the east never held much attraction, probably for two reasons. First, it is geographically isolated from the rest of Los Angeles, not only by mountains but by bumper-to-bumper commuter traffic on the freeways. Second, the San Gabriel Valley as a whole is of lower socioeconomic status than the rest of Los Angeles.

The Southern Area can be divided into three separate sections: the beach cities, the midcities inland from the beach communities, and the promontory of the Palos Verdes Peninsula. The midcities, located on the flat plains of South Los Angeles and of lower socioeconomic status, have never attracted Jewish settlement. Nor have the beach cities (Hermosa Beach, Redondo Beach, Playa Del Rey), though Jews did move to other beach communities, such as Santa Monica and Venice, early on. The probable reason for Jews avoiding the Southern Area is that these beach cities not only did not welcome Jews but were the headquarters for a number of overtly antisemitic organizations.[23] The exclusive and expensive Palos Verdes area was largely off-limits to Jews until the 1960s, but has since experienced growing Jewish settlement.

Distribution of Jewish Households in 1979

A striking feature of the Jewish population of Los Angeles is that it is widely spread out, but also highly localized. If Jews were randomly distributed throughout the county, any given community in 1979 would have had a Jewish density of about

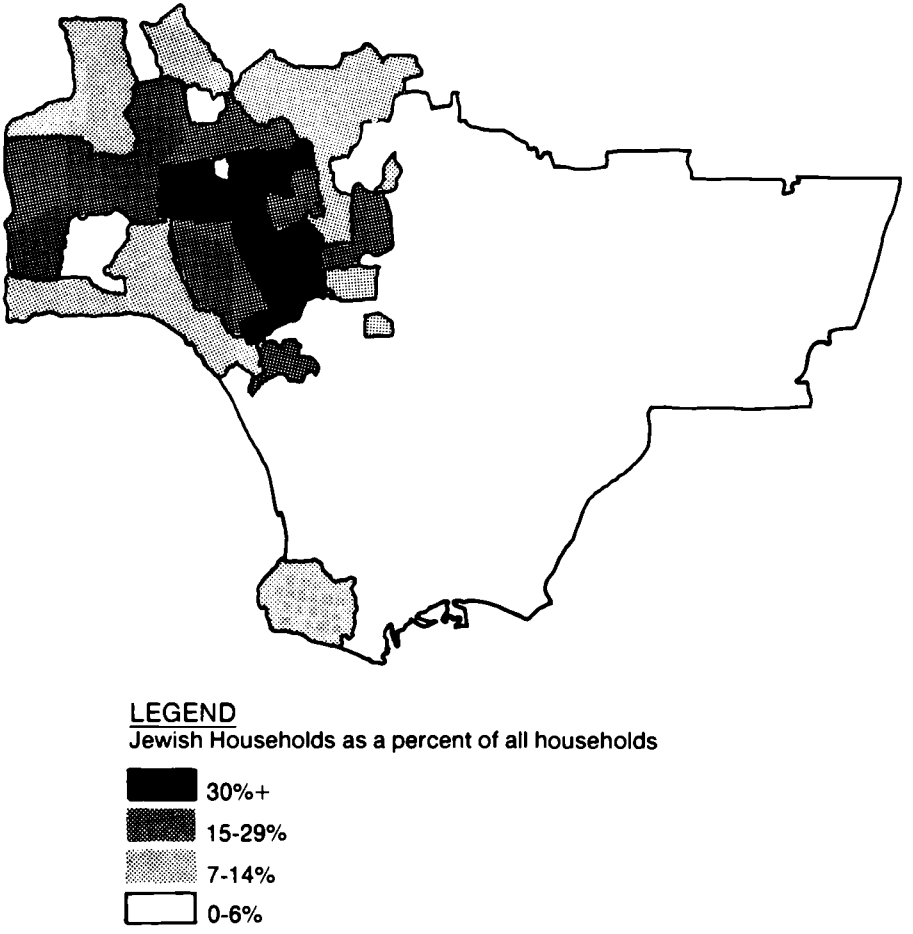
[21]Ibid. Although Cheviot Hills had been in the first rank economically in 1970, the continued movement of the black population in its direction reduced its desirability. By the 1980s, high prices in Westwood made Cheviot Hills once again attractive to Jewish home buyers.

[22]Valley neighborhoods that are south of Ventura Boulevard are more desirable and expensive because they are either in or adjacent to the foothills. Reseda, Van Nuys, and North Hollywood are all on the floor of the Valley.

[23]Information communicated to the author by John Babcock, author of a forthcoming history of Jewish Los Angeles.

MAP B

JEWISH DENSITY BY ZIP CODE LOS ANGELES COUNTY, 1979



7 percent (the percentage of Jews in the population). Even if only those communities outside the black concentrations of Watts, Compton, and South-Central Los Angeles are considered, a random distribution would have produced approximately 10-percent Jewish density. In actuality, more than half of all Jewish households were concentrated in 32 zip-code areas that had Jewish densities of at least 14 percent —twice that of the overall Jewish density for Los Angeles.

Map B illustrates the concentration of Jews throughout Los Angeles County in 1979. More than 30,000 phone calls from a random-digit-dialing survey were used to estimate the size of the Jewish population and its distribution by zip codes. (See "Sociodemographic Profile," below.) The zip-code percentages were then assigned to four strata: the first with 30 percent or more Jewish households; the second with 15 to 29 percent Jewish households; the third with 7 to 14 percent Jewish households; the fourth with less than 7 percent Jewish households.

The pattern that emerged was one of concentric rings of decreasing Jewish density. The area of highest density—the darkest on the map, shaped like a *T* with a fat base—included both Valley and city (i.e., Western Area and Urban Core) zip codes. The south, or city, side of this first stratum included Beverly Hills, Beverly Fairfax, Beverlywood, and West Hollywood. These formed the stem of the *T*. The Valley part of the first stratum, or the cross of the *T*, consisted of Encino, Van Nuys, Sherman Oaks, Studio City, and North Hollywood. Thus, the Valley zip codes of the first stratum were directly north over the hills from the city zip codes, indicating that the most Jewish parts of the Valley were those closest to the city.

While the city had a smaller Jewish population, it was more densely Jewish than the Valley, which occupied an extensive land area and offered a large selection of acceptable places to live in. All but one of the first-stratum zip codes in the city had Jewish densities of 40 percent or more, as contrasted with the Valley, where all but one of the first-stratum zip codes had Jewish densities of less than 40 percent. An interesting feature of the distribution is that in both city and Valley, the first stratum consisted of both newer affluent areas and contiguous older areas (e.g., Beverly Fairfax and Beverly Hills in the city, North Hollywood and Sherman Oaks in the Valley).

In both Valley and city, the most densely Jewish areas included the communities generally regarded as most desirable. These were Woodland Hills, Encino, Brentwood, Pacific Palisades, and, slightly lower in status, West Wilshire—including Beverly Fairfax and West Hollywood—and West Los Angeles. An analysis of census-tract characteristics in the 1970 census identified the residents of these communities as having the highest per capita income and the most years of college education, as well as homes with the highest real-estate values and rental costs.[24]

[24] *A Trend Analysis of Los Angeles County, 1950–1970.* Community Analysis Bureau, Office of the Mayor, City of Los Angeles, mimeo, June 1, 1976.

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF LOS ANGELES JEWRY

Sampling Methodology

The sociodemographic profile of Los Angeles Jews that is presented here is based on a telephone survey of 800 randomly selected Jewish households that was conducted in spring 1979.[25] A random-digit-dialing sample was stratified by area (with an oversampling of the Southern and Eastern Areas due to need for planning) and by the distribution of residential phone numbers within the area. The sample included all of Los Angeles County (except for predominantly black areas in South-Central Los Angeles) and those areas of Ventura County that are contiguous to and form a Jewish extension of the West Valley (e.g., Agoura, Thousand Oaks, Newbury Park, etc.).

A minimum of five calls was made to each phone number in the sample, at random intervals including evenings and Sundays. Interviews were conducted in English, Spanish, Arabic, Hebrew, Parsi (Persian), Yiddish, and Hungarian. All persons answering the phone were read a short explanation of the survey based on standard protocols used at the Survey Research Center of the Institute for Social Science Research at UCLA. The purpose of the initial screening was to eliminate nonresidential phone numbers from the sample. If the phone number was determined to be a residence, the respondent was read a further explanation of the study and asked whether any Jewish persons lived in the household.

In addition to the 1979 survey data, comparable data are introduced into the discussion from Jewish population surveys conducted in 1951, 1959, and 1967 (referenced in Table 3) as well as the 1980 U.S. census for Los Angeles County.[26] With the help of the older surveys it is possible to evaluate the extent of social change that has taken place among Los Angeles Jews. The comparison with the non-Hispanic white population made possible by the availability of data from the 1980 census highlights similarities and differences between Los Angeles Jews and other whites in the population.[27]

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[25]The study was funded by the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles and conducted by the author as Research Director of the Planning and Budgeting Department. (See Phillips, op. cit.)

[26]Special tabulations for the non-Hispanic white population in Los Angeles County were ordered from the California State Demographic Office, from Summary Tape File #4, Part B, as described in *1980 Census of Population and Housing, User's Guide Part A. Text*, PHC80-R1-A, Mar. 1973; and *User's Guide Part C. Index to Summary Tape Files 1 to 4*, PHC80-R1-C, Sept. 1983, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

[27]The effect of the one-year difference between the 1979 Jewish population study and the 1980 census is minimal. The validity of the comparison was enhanced by including only non-Hispanic whites in the analysis. Although many Hispanics classify themselves as white in the census, they constitute a distinct linguistic, cultural, and ethnic group. Because of significant differences in family size and socioeconomic status between Hispanic and

Impact of Mobility on the Jewish Population

Los Angeles has long been described as a community without roots, and this is true of Jewish Los Angeles as well. In every decade there have been significant numbers of Jewish newcomers who have been living in Los Angeles less than ten years (Table 3). The proportion of new arrivals rose to its highest in 1951, after the population explosion of the 1940s. At that time the majority (62 percent) of Jewish households reported being in the city five years or less; a mere 16 percent of Jewish households in Los Angeles in 1951 had lived in that city before World War II. In effect, a whole new community came into being in the space of a decade.

In the 20 years following 1959, newcomers constituted a small but sizeable element in the city. In that period, between one-fifth and one-quarter of all Jewish households had been in Los Angeles less than a decade. The significance of this can be highlighted by noting the proportion of Jewish households in 1979 that were resident in Los Angeles when earlier population surveys were conducted: 75 percent in 1967; 55 percent in 1959; and 25 percent in 1951. Another indicator of the youthfulness of the community is the proportion of households in 1979 that had been in the city 21 years or longer (Table 3)—55 percent. The comparable figure for a more established community, such as Milwaukee, was 75 percent.[28]

While all the Jewish areas within Los Angeles benefited from movement into the city, it was not evenly distributed in terms of either period or rate (Table 4). The Urban Core, for example, experienced an upsurge between 1974 and 1979—20 percent newcomers as compared with a citywide newcomer rate of 14 percent. The San Fernando Valley, which experienced major growth in the 1950s and 1960s, saw a tapering off in the 1970s. In Santa Monica, Pacific Palisades, and Malibu, which were relatively new areas of Jewish settlement, 45 percent of Jewish households had moved in just in the ten years prior to 1979. By contrast, the populations of Beverly Hills and other Western Area communities were older and more stable; in Beverly Hills, 68 percent of Jewish households had been in the city 20 years or longer, as compared with 55 percent citywide.

As might be expected in a community made up largely of newcomers, relatively few Jewish adults were native-born Angelenos. Between 1951 and 1979 the

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non-Hispanic whites, inclusion of the former can either spuriously accentuate, or accidentally mask, the differences between Jews and other whites, making it harder to evaluate the extent to which Jews are "blending in" to mainstream American society.

Because the census does not ask about religion and there is no way of identifying Jews, Jews are included in the data for the non-Hispanic white population (of which they constitute about 10 percent in Los Angeles County). The effect of comparing the Jewish population with a larger population that includes them is to underestimate differences between Jews and non-Jews. Thus, if a comparison could be made between the Jewish population and the non-Hispanic white, *non-Jewish* population, the differences would be even greater than those reported here.

[28]Bruce A. Phillips and Eve Weinberg, *The Milwaukee Jewish Population: Report of a Survey*, Milwaukee Jewish Federation, Jan. 1984, p. I-25.

proportion of Jewish adults born in Los Angeles increased from 8 to 14 percent—almost doubling but still remaining relatively small (Table 5). The effect of post-World War II migration is to be seen in the fact that 39 percent of 18–29-year-olds —those born since 1950—were native-born (Table 6). With regard to the future, assuming that in-migration remains constant, as the current cohort of 18–29-year-olds ages, and as children under 18—three-quarters of whom are native Californians (Table 8)—become adults, native-born Angelenos will come to predominate in the community.

While the proportion of foreign-born Jews in Los Angeles decreased from 37 percent in 1951 to 29 percent in 1979 (Table 5), the late 1970s brought a new wave of immigration from abroad. Fully one-third of all born-Jewish respondents who arrived in Los Angeles between 1974 and 1979 had been born in other countries (Table 7). Included in this immigration were three particularly visible groups: Soviet and Iranian Jews and Israelis.

There were an estimated 12,000 to 15,000 Israelis living in Los Angeles in 1979. While popular estimates generally put this number much higher—anywhere from 50,000 to 150,000—the 1979 estimate was corroborated by a study of immigration data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service[29] that was later confirmed informally by statisticians from the Central Bureau of Statistics in Israel.

In comparison with the white population as a whole, Jews were more likely to have been born either outside of California or out of the United States (Table 8). Jews were more than twice as likely as all American-born whites to have been born in the Northeast (comprising the Mid-Atlantic and New England regions).

Age and Household Type

AGE

Jewish demographers and federation planners tend to focus on the oldest and youngest ends of the age distribution in order to track the extent to which the American Jewish population is aging—thanks to increased life expectancy—and declining in numbers—due to low fertility. Surprisingly, the common assumptions about these demographic indicators were not confirmed—or at least not totally—for Los Angeles Jewry. Thus, while Jewish fertility had declined, it was actually slightly ahead of the rate for non-Hispanic whites. Similarly, while the proportion of the aged had increased over several decades, by 1979 it had leveled off. Indeed, the proportion of the aged was higher among non-Hispanic whites in Los Angeles than among Jews.

Following the baby boom of the 1950s, the proportion of children (aged 0–19) in the Jewish population rose from 27 percent in 1951 to 35 percent in 1959 (Table

[29]Pini Herman and David LaFontaine, "In Our Footsteps: Israeli Migration to the U.S. and Los Angeles," master's thesis, University of Southern California School of Social Work and Hebrew Union College, Los Angeles, 1983.

9). With the end of the baby boom and the start of a trend away from childbearing, the proportion of children dropped to 32 percent in 1967 and to a low of 23 percent in 1979. The change was most dramatically apparent in the proportion of children under age 10, which declined from 20 to 10 percent between 1959 and 1979. While the drop in fertility was a cause for concern, the Jewish fertility rate was actually slightly ahead of the non-Hispanic white rate (Table 10), as reflected in the proportion of the population under 5 years of age.

On the national level, Jewish planners work on the assumption that the Jewish population is becoming increasingly aged.[30] In Los Angeles, however, Jews are not older than the non-Hispanic white population. In fact, in 1979 non-Hispanic whites as a group had a greater proportion of the elderly (60 and older) than did the Jews: 20.2 as against 16.4 percent (Table 10). Moreover, Jews and non-Hispanic whites had nearly identical proportions of children aged 0–9 and 10–19. The only significant differences were in the higher proportion of Jews aged 30–39 and the lower proportion aged 20–24. The latter may well be accounted for by the large number of Jews attending college and graduate school outside the county.

HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND DISTRIBUTION

While the overall contours of household type and family structure of the non-Hispanic white and Jewish populations were similar, Jews were more likely to be married, to have children, and to be married with children (Table 11). Thus, 58 percent of all Jewish households contained married couples as against 50 percent of non-Hispanic white households; 28 percent of all Jewish households had children as against 25 percent of non-Hispanic white households; and 24 percent of all Jewish households contained married couples with children as against 20 percent of non-Hispanic white households.

As would be expected from the preceding figures, fewer Jewish households were headed by single persons (42 vs. 50 percent), and far fewer were single-parent families (non-Hispanic white households were 1.4 times as likely as Jewish households to be single-parent families). This was not because Jews did not divorce, for the percentage of divorced persons in the Jewish population rose steadily from 1951 on.[31] However, 22 percent of all ever-married Jews under age 54 had been divorced, as compared with 33 percent of non-Hispanic whites (Table 12). Jews were also more likely to be remarried. Approximately one-third of all married persons had gone through divorce, yet more Jews than non-Jews were currently married.

As with the geographical distribution of the total Jewish population, Jewish household types were not homogeneously distributed throughout the city. Rather, particular household types were more numerous in some areas than in others. The analysis of the distributions is complicated, however. An attempt was made to

[30]See, for example, *Jewish Environmental Scan to 1990,* Council of Jewish Federations, Long Range Strategic Planning Committee, mimeo, Oct. 1984, p. 2.

[31]Phillips, op.cit., p. 9.

include as many separate communities as possible, even while bearing in mind that small subsamples have large variances which are reflected in over-large or -small proportions of particular household types. Two typologies were employed for the analysis: "household type," combining the marital status of the respondent with the presence or absence of children; and "family-cycle stage," grouping households according to the ages of respondents and children.

The Valley and the Eastern Area had higher proportions of married couples with children (37 and 30 percent respectively) than any of the other areas or the Jewish community overall (24 percent) (Table 13). Conversely, never-married households were least likely to be found in the San Fernando Valley.

The San Fernando Valley, with a Jewish population ten times as large as that of the Eastern Area, was the premier family area in Los Angeles. Over half (56 percent) of the Jewish married couples with children lived in the San Fernando Valley, the majority (58 percent)[32] concentrated in the North Valley and West Valley (running from Woodland Hills and Agoura north through Granada Hills and Northridge). In fact, a majority of Jewish households in these two areas consisted of married couples with children: 53 percent as compared with 24 percent in Los Angeles overall (Table 14).

The communities contiguous with the North Valley and West Valley—Encino, Tarzana, and Sherman Oaks—would have been expected to have the next highest concentrations of married couples with children, but this was not the case. These communities actually had the lowest proportions of married couples with children, and it was the Central Valley that contained the next highest (30 percent) proportion of married couples with children in the San Fernando Valley. Since Encinco, Tarzana, and Sherman Oaks were the most expensive areas in the San Fernando Valley, it is likely that they were too costly for younger families. This observation is confirmed by looking at the ages of the children in the households (Table 15). The less expensive Central Valley had the highest proportion of families with children under age 6 of any area either in the San Fernando Valley or Los Angeles.

While the area breakdown shows the Urban Core and the Western Area as having the lowest proportions of married couples with children and the highest proportions of never-married and divorced household heads, closer analysis reveals a more complex picture. The Western Area, for example, includes such disparate communities as Beverly Hills and Venice–Mar Vista–Culver City. Beverly Hills, renowned for its excellent school system, had the highest percentage of married couples with children in Los Angeles (35.1 percent), while Venice–Mar Vista–Culver City, an area with many small apartments near the beach, had the lowest (6.7 percent).

The figures for Beverly Fairfax–West Hollywood may also be misleading. These Urban Core communities, which experienced a rejuvenating influx of young families, showed the third-lowest proportion of married couples with children. However,

[32]Ibid.

these were largely families with young children. If only households with children under the age of 6 are considered, the Urban Core proportion (7.4 percent) was almost the same as that in the North Valley and West Valley (10 percent), which were highly suburban areas, strongly identified as family centers.

Just as the Eastern Area was identified as being family-oriented, so the Southern Area stood out as having large numbers of single-parent families. Single-parent families were relatively rare (4 percent) in the Los Angeles Jewish community as a whole, but they accounted for 13 percent of all Jewish households, and 36 percent of all households with children, in the Southern Area. While there were numerically more single-parent families in the Western Area and Urban Core, this is explained by their much larger Jewish populations. Only the Central Valley came close to having the same proportion of single-parent families as that in the Southern Area —8 percent of all households and 22 percent of all households with children. What these two areas had in common was availability of apartments and relatively low housing costs.

Marriage and Divorce

The 12 years between the 1967 and 1979 surveys saw the rise of a new marital pattern—Jews delaying marriage longer, in many cases not marrying until their 30s. Although the 1979 survey questionnaire did not include an item on age at first marriage, by comparing the relationship between age and marital status in 1967 and 1979 it is possible to document the dramatic shift that took place (Table 16A).

The most striking difference is found in the cohort aged 30–39. In 1967 only 6.2 percent of 30-year-olds had never been married, whereas in 1979 the proportion had more than doubled (16 percent). Tracing this shift in detail is made difficult by the use of ten-year intervals in the 1967 survey, which masks significant five-year changes. That five-year intervals are important can be seen from Table 16B, which presents data from 1979 only, but broken down into five-year cohorts. The percent never-married in 1979 drops by half (from 80 to 38 percent) after age 25, and then again by three-fourths (from 23 to 8 percent) after age 35.

Changing patterns of divorce since 1967 are also striking, particularly in the 30- and 40-year-old age groups. In 1979 the percentage of Jews aged 30–39 who had been divorced was three times as high as in 1967 (12.6 as against 3.9 percent), while the percentage of those aged 40–49 was twice as high (13.6 as against 6.8 percent). Overall, the percentage of divorced persons more than doubled during the period.

Intermarriage

Religious intermarriage (defined as marriage to a non-Jew by birth who has not converted to Judaism) dramatically increased in the decade of the 70s. This can be seen by comparing the percentage of born Jews married to non-Jews in different age

groups (Table 17). Whereas 13 percent (an average of the male and female figures) of those in the 30–39 age group had non-Jewish spouses, some 30 percent of Jews under age 30 had non-Jewish spouses. Thus, the individual intermarriage rate for Jews under age 30 was nearly one-third. As against this, the couple intermarriage rate for the same age group was 49 percent, or one-half (Table 18). The difference in the two rates is due to the method of reporting. When individuals are counted, each born-Jew counts as one. When a tabulation is made of all *couples,* however, two Jews who marry persons not born Jewish are counted as two marriages, but two Jews who marry each other are counted as one. This reduces the total (the denominator) on which the percentage is taken and results in the higher rate.

Sex differences in intermarriage show no consistent patterns, although overall a slightly higher percentage of females was intermarried. In the 30–39 age range, Jewish males were 50 percent more likely to be married to non-Jews than were Jewish females. Under age 30, however—the age group in which intermarriage rates increased sharply—Jewish females were 35 percent more likely to be married to non-Jews than were Jewish males. Similarly, Jewish females in their 40s were more likely to be married to non-Jews than were Jewish males of the same age.

The relationship between conversion and intermarriage is characterized by a sharp break between the over-40 and under-40 age groups (Table 18). While in absolute numbers conversion was on the increase—because the total number of exogamous marriages (marriage to a born non-Jew who may or may not have converted) was increasing—the proportion of convert marriages to the total of all intermarriages actually showed a steep decline, dropping from 31.4 percent for 40–49-year-olds to 11 percent for those under 40. Thus, the rate of conversion declined as the intermarriage rate increased.

That the intermarriage rate for couples under age 40 was in fact higher than in the past is borne out by a comparison with earlier studies (Table 19). First, however, a methodological problem has to be clarified, involving the computation base used in earlier studies. Whereas in 1979 intermarriage was computed against a base of *all current marriages* (couples)—the standard practice—in 1951, 1959, and 1967 intermarriage was reported as a percentage of all *households.* The number of total households is always greater than the number of married couples, since the former includes single as well as married household heads. A comparison between the 1979 and earlier studies cannot proceed, then, without a common denominator of households. Because married couples made up 58 percent of all households in 1979 (Table 13), the 20 percent of all couples who were intermarried (Table 18) is equivalent to 11.7 percent of all Jewish households.

A comparison using a consistent intermarriage rate essentially confirms the expected rise. The 11.7-percent household intermarriage rate reported for 1979 represents a 100-percent increase over the 1967 rate of 5.4 percent and a 125-percent increase over the 4.8-percent rate reported in 1951. The one apparent inconsistency in the figures—a decline from 6.3 percent in 1959 to 5.4 percent in 1967—is a

methodological artifact.[33] Given the tendency toward later marriage, it is probable that the 1979 figures do not reflect the full magnitude of the trend toward increased intermarriage. As more of the 20-year-olds who were surveyed in 1979 marry in their late 20s and early 30s, an even more dramatic increase in the intermarriage rate is likely to be seen.

Socioeconomic Status

EDUCATION

Jewish males and females in 1979 were better educated than non-Hispanic whites. Across all age groups, Jewish males were between 40 and 50 percent more likely than non-Hispanic white males to have gone beyond high school, and twice as likely to be college graduates (Table 20). Jewish females, too, had more education than non-Hispanic white females. Jewish women under age 65 were twice as likely to have gone beyond high school, and between 50 and 60 percent more likely to be college graduates.

Among Jewish males, educational attainment was inversely related to age. The percentage of those who had attended college jumped from 43 percent among those aged 65 and over to 75 percent in the 45–64 age group. The increase in college attendance was less pronounced, but still steady, for males under age 45, 90 percent of whom had attended college. College attendance among Jewish females showed a similar pattern—increasing from 30 percent of the over-65 age cohort to 59 percent of the cohort aged 40–49, to 79 percent of the cohort aged 25–44. The biggest gain among Jewish females was in the proportion graduating from college: those under age 45 were twice as likely as those aged 45–64 to have graduated from college, while the latter, in turn, were twice as likely to have completed college as those over age 65.

The educational gap between Jewish males and Jewish females narrows with age, though never completely closing. Jewish males over age 65 were 1.4 times as likely to have gone beyond high school as Jewish females of the same age group; Jewish males aged 45–64 were 1.3 times as likely to have gone beyond high school, and

[33]When intermarriage is calculated as the proportion of all households—as was the case in the 1951, 1959, and 1967 studies—single household heads are counted as if they were in-married couples. As long as the proportion of single-headed households stays constant over time, this does not present a problem. In 1959, however, the percentage of single-headed households was 50 percent lower than in 1951 and 25 percent lower than in 1967. Thus, the high intermarriage rate reported in 1959 reflects the lower proportion of singles, rather than a lower proportion of in-married households. See Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1959*, Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, November 1959; and *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1968*, Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1968.

Jewish males under age 45 were 1.14 times as likely to have gone beyond high school. Similarly, Jewish males over age 65 were 2.6 times as likely to be college graduates as Jewish females of the same age; Jewish males aged 45–64 were 2.1 times as likely to be college graduates; and Jewish males under age 45 were 1.4 times as likely to be college graduates.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

As would be expected, increased education was accompanied by an increase in professionalization, most conspicuously in the years between 1951 and 1967 (Table 21). The proportion of males employed professionally grew by 63 percent between 1951 and 1959, and then by another 42 percent over the next ten years. Beginning in 1967 the professions were the modal category for employed males, although the percentage dropped slightly over the next 12 years. The percentage in the category of "proprietors, managers, and officials" was lower than it had been in the 1950s and 1960s, but was slightly higher than in 1967. The employment of Jewish males in clerical and sales positions declined during the 1950s but leveled off at about 21 percent after 1967. The proportion of males employed in skilled, craft, and unskilled occupations also decreased after the 1950s.

Jewish males worked in higher-status occupations than non-Hispanic white males, with the greatest differences appearing in the professional and retail categories (Table 22). Just as Jewish males were twice as likely as non-Hispanic white males to be college graduates, so also were they twice as likely to be professionals: 32 as against 17 percent. As to choice of profession, Jewish males were more likely to be working in the health area (e.g., as physicians and dentists) and in law, while non-Hispanic white males were more likely to be employed as engineers (Table 23).

The biggest difference between Jews and non-Hispanic whites was in the category of retail business, with Jewish males almost 8 times as likely as non-Hispanic white males to be in self-employed retail management and proprietorship.[34] Still, retail ownership was not a primary Jewish occupation in Los Angeles. More Jewish males worked in the professions than in any other category, followed by managerial (21 percent) and sales positions (exclusive of self-employed retail managers and proprietors) (18.2 percent). One out of every five employed Jewish males worked in a clerical, service, skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled position.

Since no occupational data were reported for working females in earlier studies, it is not possible to chart employment trends for Jewish females in Los Angeles. However, in 1979 the differences reported between Jewish and non-Hispanic white males applied to females as well, with the exception of managerial positions and sales

[34]The U.S. census reports "Retail self-employed managers" separately from "Supervisor, self-employed," in Sales, as shown in Table 23. The two categories are reported together in Table 22, "Retail-mgr./proprietor."

employment, where the proportions of Jewish and non-Jewish females were about the same (Table 22). Like Jewish males, Jewish females were more likely to be employed in the professions and in retail ownership than their non-Hispanic white counterparts.

Although Jewish females were most likely to be employed as professionals, they tended toward such traditionally female professions as teaching (13.1 percent), librarianship (3.4 percent), and social work (5.5 percent) (Table 23). However, they were also clustered in two "male" professional areas: lawyers and judges (4 times as likely as non-Hispanic whites) and "writers, artists, and athletes" (2.3 times as likely as non-Hispanic whites).

After the professions, Jewish females were next most frequently employed in clerical (i.e., "administrative support") occupations, but less so than non-Hispanic white females, for whom clerical work was the largest category. Jewish females were also much less likely than non-Hispanic white females to be employed in service occupations (5 as against 12 percent) or in skilled, unskilled, and craft positions (5 as against 9 percent).

The biggest difference between Jewish and non-Hispanic white females was in self-employed retail management and proprietorship—Jewish females were 5.4 times as likely to be so employed. Overall, however, only 2.7 percent of working Jewish females were self-employed retail managers and proprietors. They were more likely to be employed in sales (exclusive of self-employed proprietorship), where their rate of participation (14 percent) was almost the same as that of non-Hispanic white females. Within this occupational category, however, Jewish females were more likely to be salaried supervisors and financial representatives than cashiers or retail workers.

Despite differences in occupation and education, the labor-force-participation rates of Jewish females were virtually identical to those of non-Hispanic white females (Table 24). Married females with children in both groups were equally likely to be in the labor force, and in both cases females with children aged 6–17 were more likely to be working than females with children aged 5 and under. In both groups employment was highest among single mothers—78 percent for non-Hispanic white females and 81 percent for Jewish females.

PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION IN JEWISH COMMUNAL LIFE

Except for the neighborhoods around Fairfax Avenue, the Jewish community of Los Angeles is largely invisible. It is the formal institutions and organizations of the community that provide it with its structure. For that reason, it makes sense to employ institutional affiliation as the measure of Jewish identity. Formal affiliation

is defined here as participation in one or more of three major types of associations: synagogues, Jewish organizations, and the local Federation.[35]

Findings

Of all Jewish households in Los Angeles, 44 percent had some kind of formal affiliation, and 56 percent had none (Table 25). If a Jewish household was formally affiliated, it most likely had a single kind of affiliation. Only 12 percent of Jewish households had two affiliations, and only 5 percent had all three kinds.

Although the Federation is the largest, wealthiest, and most visible Jewish organization in Los Angeles, it was the synagogues and Jewish organizations that were the primary points of formal affiliation. Among Jewish households with one or more affiliations, 39 percent belonged to a synagogue or a Jewish organization (or both), as compared to 14 percent who gave to the Federation. If a household had only one affiliation, it was much more likely to be a synagogue (11 percent) or an organization (12 percent) than the Federation (4 percent). Similarly, those households with two affiliations were much more likely to belong to both a synagogue and an organization (7 percent) than to either of these two and the Federation (2 and 3 percent).

Membership in synagogues and Jewish organizations was divided almost equally between those who were affiliated with either of the two and those who were affiliated with both. Of the 39 percent of Jewish households that claimed membership in either a synagogue or a Jewish organization, 13 percent belonged to a synagogue and not to an organization, 14 percent belonged to a Jewish organization and not to a synagogue, and 12 percent belonged to both. Stated another way, just under half of all synagogue members (48 percent) belonged to a Jewish organization, and just under half (46 percent) of Jewish organization members belonged to a synagogue.

Over the years, the level of synagogue affiliation has remained at about one-quarter of all Jewish households: 24 percent in 1951;[36] 27 percent in 1967;[37] and 25 percent in 1979. When the growing rate of intermarriage is taken into consideration, the synagogue affiliation rate may actually be seen as increasing since 1967. Intermarriage increased 100 percent between 1967 and 1979, and only 7 percent of intermarried couples had a congregational membership. Thus, if the overall rate of congregational membership remained stable in the face of rising intermarriage, the affiliation rate of in-married couples must have increased. The unusually high rate of congregational membership of 34 percent[38] observed in 1959 is linked to the

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[35]For a more extensive discussion of affiliation and Jewish identity in Los Angeles, see Neil C. Sandberg, *Jewish Life in Los Angeles: A Window to Tomorrow* (Washington, D.C., forthcoming).

[36]Massarik, *Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1959*, p. 31.

[37]Massarik, *Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1968*, Table 20.

[38]Massarik, *Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1959*, p. 31.

higher marriage rate found in that study, corroborating the positive relationship between marriage and synagogue affiliation that is discussed below.

Federation giving was closely related to other forms of affiliation. Only 4 percent of Los Angeles Jewish households claimed Federation giving as their only formal affiliation, and less than a third (31 percent) of all Federation givers had no other affiliation. Exactly half of all Federation givers were synagogue members, and just over half (53 percent) belonged to an organization. The vast majority (68 percent) of Federation givers were affiliated either with a synagogue or with a Jewish organization.

Respondents could name up to five separate Jewish organizations to which they or their spouses belonged. When the individual Jewish organizations were grouped into eight categories, the most popular in terms of membership (11.7 percent of all households) was that of clubs and social organizations. This category included a diverse range of associations, from Jewish community center groups to groups for singles, young adults, and seniors, and a Jewish Masonic lodge. The next most popular category was women's organizations, such as Hadassah, ORT, Mizrachi Women (now AMIT Women), and the National Council of Jewish Women; 10.4 percent of all Jewish households claimed a membership in a women's organization.

The other categories were all named by less than 5 percent of households. Thus, 4 percent were affiliated with Jewish health and welfare organizations, such as Jewish Big Brothers, Cedars-Sinai Hospital, and the Jewish Home for the Aged. This category was followed by Israel-oriented organizations, such as Habonim, Histadrut (Labor Zionists), ARZA (Reform Zionists), and support groups for Israeli hospitals and universities, which were mentioned by 2.5 percent of the respondents. Jewish "defense" organizations, such as the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, and the American Jewish Congress, drew 1.8 percent of households, followed by voluntary activities in the Los Angeles Federation, such as working for the Welfare Fund or participation in a Federation committee. Educational and cultural groups were mentioned by 0.8 percent of respondents, and special-interest groups, such as Jewish Marriage Encounter and Jewish homosexual organizations, were mentioned by 0.4 percent.

Affiliation Variables

Affiliation with the Jewish community is related to two sets of social variables: those relating to the type of family or household, and those relating to the place of the household in the social structure of the Los Angeles Jewish community. The family and household variables examined here are age, household type, family-cycle stage, and Jewish status of the spouse (i.e., intermarriage status). The two social-structure variables considered are length of residence in Los Angeles and income.

Family and Household Variables

AGE

Synagogue membership was only loosely related to age: households with respondents aged 36–50 were the most likely to belong; households with respondents 18–35 years old were the least likely to belong; and households with respondents over age 50 were in the middle (Table 26). Organizational membership, on the other hand, was very much related to age—the older the respondents, the greater was the probability of one or more memberships. Federation giving, too, was related to age, with respondents over the age of 36 being between 4.6 and 9 times as likely to give as those under age 36.

Overall patterns of affiliation increased with age, from 26 percent for those under age 36, to 44 percent for those aged 36–50, 58 percent for those aged 51–65, and 68 percent for those aged 65 and over (Table 27). The sharpest increase in affiliation (one, two, and three affiliations) occurred with a move into the 36–50 age group.

HOUSEHOLD TYPE

Single parents, separated or divorced persons, and the never-married were the least likely to be affiliated with any institution (Table 29). Married couples with children and widowed household heads were the most likely to be affiliated. Married couples with children were the most likely to have all three kinds of affiliation (8 percent) as well as two out of the three (21 percent).

Married couples with children were the most likely to belong to a synagogue (44 percent), followed by married couples without children (24 percent), and widows (23 percent) (Table 28). Married couples with children were also the most likely to be Federation givers, along with married couples without children (22 and 20 percent). Widows and widowers were the most likely to belong to a Jewish organization (45 percent), followed by both kinds of married couples (31 percent).

FAMILY-CYCLE STAGE

Synagogue affiliation was lowest for families with no children and a household head under age 40 and highest for families with children aged 6–17 (with a slight dip for families with only teenagers) (Table 30). Synagogue membership was 44 percent higher for families with children of bar-mitzvah age than for families with children under age 6 only. (This is undoubtedly related to the desire for bar-mitzvah preparation, which is a significant—often the only—inducement for Jewish education.)

Although married couples with children were the most likely to belong to a synagogue, fewer than half of them actually did so, and fewer than half (42 percent) of Jewish children aged 6–13 were receiving any Jewish education. Among children

past bar-mitzvah age, religious-school enrollment dropped to 18 percent; in the San Fernando Valley, where most Jewish children lived, only 7 percent of teenagers were enrolled in a Jewish educational program.[39]

Although children tend to leave Hebrew and religious school after bar mitzvah, their parents apparently maintain ties to the sponsoring synagogue. Synagogue affiliation was the same for families whose children were all past bar-mitzvah age as for those with 6–13-year-olds. Moreover, Jewish families with only teenage children were the most likely to belong to a Jewish organization (43 percent) and to give to the Federation (36 percent).

Among households with no children, those with household heads over age 40 were more likely to be affiliated than those with under-40 heads; the over-40 household heads were almost twice as likely to belong to a synagogue, 6 times as likely to belong to a Jewish organization, and more than 12 times as likely to be Federation givers.

Families with only teenage children were the most likely to have all three kinds of affiliation (20 percent), and households without children with a head under age 40 were the least likely (only 15 percent had any affiliation at all) (Table 31).

INTERMARRIAGE

Intermarried couples had very little formal connection with the Jewish community (Table 32). Only 8 percent belonged to a synagogue (as compared with 42 percent of in-married couples), and only 1.5 percent held membership in a Jewish organization (as compared with 27 percent of in-married couples). None of the intermarried couples in the survey were Federation givers. Overall, the total rate of formal affiliation among intermarried couples was only 8 percent, as compared with 53.2 percent for in-married couples (Table 33).

The affiliation patterns of convert couples are puzzling because they differ substantially from those of in-married couples. The convert couples were more organizationally than congregationally involved, 37 percent claiming affiliation with a Jewish organization and only 10 percent with a synagogue. Also, while a much larger proportion of convert couples than of in-marrieds had all three affiliations, their overall affiliation rate was lower than that of in-married couples. Since the number of convert marriages in the sample was small, the anomalous patterns may simply be a reflection of sample size.

Social-Structure Variables

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN LOS ANGELES

The number of years lived in Los Angeles was a significant factor in affiliation. For synagogue membership, 6 and 11 years of residence were thresholds at which

[39]Phillips, op. cit., p. 20.

membership increased (by 44 percent and 80 percent respectively) (Table 34). The thresholds for membership in a Jewish organization were 6 and 31 years of residence; after 5 years in Los Angeles, organizational membership doubled, from 10 to 20 percent, and after 30 years it increased another 80 percent. For Federation giving, 11 and 31 years were the thresholds, with the giving rate increasing by 55 percent after 10 years, and by 51 percent after 30 years.

The overall rate of affiliation was also related to length of residence, increasing in the first 20 years, declining in the 21–30-year range, and climbing to its highest in the 31-years-and-over range. Whereas just over one-fifth (22 percent) of Jewish households present in Los Angeles for fewer than 6 years were affiliated, one-third (32 percent) of those in the community 6–10 years, one-half (51 percent) of those in the community between 11 and 20 years, and 57 percent of those in the community 30 years and over had at least one affiliation (Table 35).

HOUSEHOLD INCOME

The relationship between household income and Jewish participation is clearly evident in Los Angeles, with $30,000 being the threshold figure (Table 36). At $30,000, synagogue membership increased by 56 percent, organizational membership by 87 percent, and Federation giving by over 400 percent. The number of affiliations also increased with income (Table 37). Households with incomes of $50,000 and over were the most likely to have all three kinds of affiliation, followed by households with incomes between $30,000 and $49,000. Interestingly, households with incomes under $20,000 were more likely to belong to a Jewish organization, give to the Federation, and have all three affiliations than households with incomes between $20,000 and $29,000. This was due to the higher proportion of older persons in the lowest income category, with older people being more likely to participate in community activities.

Mean Affiliation Score

Table 38 summarizes the mean level of affiliation for the family and social-structure variables discussed above with a mean affiliation score. Households were coded as "0" for no affiliation, "1" for one type of affiliation, "2" for two types of affiliation, or "3" for three types of affiliation. The mean affiliation score does not give the average number of total affiliations, but rather the average number of *types* of affiliation. If all Jewish households had one type of affiliation each, the mean affiliation score would be "1." Similarly, if every household had all three kinds of affiliation, the mean affiliation score would be "3." The mean affiliation score for all Jewish households in Los Angeles was 0.065, less than 1, because there were more Jewish households with no affiliations whatsoever—56 percent—than there were with two or three types of affiliation—16.8 percent (Table 25).

Only three groups had mean affiliation scores of 1.00 or higher—married couples with children (1.00); households with only teenage children (1.25); and born Jews married to converts (1.05). Another 12 groups had mean affiliation scores of 0.70 or higher: born Jews married to born Jews (0.98); households headed by persons 51 years of age or older (0.89 and 0.98); households headed by widow(er)s (0.86); households with children aged 6–13 (0.85); households in Los Angeles 31 years or longer (0.84); households with incomes over $30,000 (0.80 and 0.84); households without children, where the respondent was 40 years and over (0.83); households in Los Angeles between 11 and 20 years (0.78); households headed by persons aged 36–50 (0.71); and married couples with no children (0.71).

Because several of the variables related to affiliation are also related to each other, it is difficult to tell which are the most weighty. Age, for example, is related to marital status (Table 16A), and also, among married couples, to the Jewish status of the spouse (Table 17). Which of the variables discussed, then, are most strongly associated with affiliation? A multiple-regression model was created to deal with this question.

Multiple regression is a statistical technique that measures the degree of correlation between a single dependent variable and a number of independent variables, using a linear equation. The dependent variable that was employed for this analysis is the mean level of affiliation discussed above, and called AFFILIATION in the regression model.

Seven independent variables, based on the variables discussed above, were entered into the equation as follows: *AGE*—Age was used as a continuous variable running from 18 to 95. *INCOME*—The 13 categories for income used in the questionnaire were entered into the regression equation rather than the 4 categories used in the discussion above and in Tables 37 and 38. *MARRIED*—Married was entered as a dummy variable based on marital status of the respondent; a married household head was coded "1" and a single household head as "0." *WIDOW*—Widows were seen to have particularly high organizational affiliation, so widowhood was entered as a dummy variable with "1" coded for widow(er) and "0" for all other marital-status categories. *KIDCYCLE*—The family-cycle typology used above was altered to emphasize both the presence and ages of children. Households with no children were coded as "0," households with children only under age 6 were coded as "1," households with children between ages 6 and 13 were coded as "2," and households with children only aged 14 and over were coded as "3." *LAYEARS*—The number of years in Los Angeles was coded as a continuous variable starting with "0" for households that had moved to Los Angeles in 1979. *MARRIAGE*—Marriages between two born Jews and between a born Jew and a convert were coded as "1"; intermarried couples and single household heads were coded as "0."

The stepwise regression model that was used for the analysis orders the independent variables in order of correlation, starting with the variable that has the highest individual correlation. Each subsequent variable is entered into the equation

controlling for the effect of the previous variable(s). The results of the multiple regression are found in Table 39. The simple *R* in the table is the independent correlation coefficient, or the correlation between the independent variable and AFFILIATION, without controlling for the other variables. The beta is the coefficient used in the regression equation for predicting the value of the dependent variable. The *R*-Square is the amount of variance explained by the individual variable combined with all the previous variables. An independent variable that contributes to our understanding of the dependent variable is one that adds to the *R*-Square. In other words, including it in the equation explains additional variance in the dependent variable.

The variable called *MARRIAGE* is the first-ranked variable in the equation, with the highest individual correlation (.36). In other words, being married to another Jew (as opposed to not being married or being married to a non-Jew) is the factor most predictive of affiliation. *AGE* is the next best predictor, followed by *KIDCYCLE,* which takes into account the presence and ages of the children. These are the three most important variables because, taken together, they explain 21 percent of the variance in AFFILIATION.

The remaining four variables, *MARRIED, INCOME, WIDOW,* and *LAYEARS,* together explain only an additional 2.4 percent of the variance in AFFILIATION. In other words, being married to a born Jew is more important for affiliation than simply being married. Similarly, being elderly (as reflected in *AGE*) is a better predictor of affiliation than the particular marital status of widowhood.

The biggest surprise of the regression analysis is the fifth-place rank and relatively low correlation of *INCOME* with AFFILIATION. Once the family variables (marital status, type of marriage, and ages of children in the household) are held constant, the correlation between *INCOME* and AFFILIATION is greatly reduced.

In summary, although all the variables were found to be associated with the degree of affiliation presented first in the cross-categorical analysis (i.e., combinations of affiliation with the Federation, a synagogue, and Jewish organizations), it is the family-related variables that are the best predictors of affiliation. In-married families with older children in the household had the greatest degree of formal affiliation with the Los Angeles Jewish community.

IS LOS ANGELES DIFFERENT?

To round out the analysis, it would be well to take a brief look at Los Angeles Jews in the broader context of American Jewry. Toward that end, Los Angeles is here compared with the other "big three" Jewish communities of New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. The comparison is based on three dimensions: age and family structure, intermarriage, and affiliation.

Age and Family Structure

Given the popular images of hedonistic, freewheeling California, one would expect there to be proportionately fewer Jewish families in Los Angeles than elsewhere. This is partly true (Table 40). Los Angeles has a lower proportion of Jewish married couples with children than does either New York or Chicago (24 percent in Los Angeles vs. 30 percent in New York and 36 percent in Chicago), but it has almost the same proportion as Philadelphia (26 percent). Thus, Los Angeles can be said to be part of a larger demographic pattern rather than to stand by itself.

When age is taken into account, Los Angeles appears even less deviant, for it has the same proportion of children as New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago (Table 41). Los Angeles, however, has a larger share of the young-adult cohort (aged 30–39)—17 percent of Los Angeles Jews as against 14 percent of New York and Philadelphia Jews—a difference that may help to explain the smaller percentage of married couples with children. As noted above (see Table 16A), since 16 percent of the 30–39-year-olds in Los Angeles have never been married, and another 13 percent have been separated or divorced, 30 percent (including 0.8 percent who are widowed) of this age cohort are single. With most of these individuals living in single-person households, the effect is to lower the proportion of households with children.

Los Angeles also has fewer elderly Jews than the other three communities: 22 percent of New York Jews and 23 percent of Philadelphia Jews are 60 and over, as compared with only 16 percent of Los Angeles Jews. Or, put another way, there are 1.4 elderly Jews in New York and Philadelphia for every 1 elderly Jew in Los Angeles. In Chicago, 15 percent of the Jewish population is 65 and over as compared with 11 percent in Los Angeles—again a ratio of almost 1.4 to 1.

The lower percentage of the elderly and the higher percentage of young adults in Los Angeles are both associated with migration. Since Los Angeles is not the retirement city that Miami is, migrants have tended to be younger rather than older. Further, since half of all Jewish household heads have come to Los Angeles only since 1959, they have not resided there long enough to become elderly.

Intermarriage

The intermarriage rate has historically been higher in the West than in the Midwest or East. A study using data from 1964 found that Jews born in the West were up to 2.6 times as likely to intermarry as Jews born in the Northeast and almost twice as likely to intermarry as Jews born in the North Central states.[40] Reviewing more recent community studies (i.e., since 1979), Charles Silberman found that

[40]Fred Solomon Sherrow, "Patterns of Religious Intermarriage Among American College Students," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University (University Microfilm #72-28, 099), 1971, p. 103.

intermarriage rates continued to be higher in the West than anywhere else in the country.[41]

Within the West, Los Angeles has the lowest intermarriage rate of any community studied thus far (Table 42). For those under the age of 30—the cohort in which intermarriage is highest—the intermarriage rates (for couples) are 66 and 60 percent in Denver and Phoenix respectively, as compared with 49 percent in Los Angeles. For the 30–39 age group, the couple intermarriage rate in Denver is 40 percent, nearly twice as high as the 21-percent rate in Los Angeles.

Affiliation

Statistics on affiliation show that Los Angeles Jews are less likely to belong to Jewish organizations than are Chicago Jews, and are much less likely to do so than Philadelphia Jews (Table 43). Only 25 percent of Los Angeles Jewish households belong to a synagogue, as compared with 41 percent or more in Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago. The statistics on Federation giving follow the same pattern: only 14 percent of Los Angeles Jewish households gave to the Federation as compared with 26 percent in New York.[42]

To sum up: it is clear that the Los Angeles Jewish community is different from the large Jewish communities of the Midwest and the East in certain key aspects. Its population is younger overall, it has a higher intermarriage rate, and its Jews are much less likely to be affiliated with the organized community than Jews elsewhere. At the same time, marriage and family patterns of Los Angeles Jews closely resemble those in other communities.

Looking to the Future

If New York symbolizes continuity with the Jewish past, Los Angeles represents the emergence of a new Jewish America in the Sunbelt, particularly in the West. This second Jewish America is distinctive in that it has no significant European roots, its cultural heritage is more Wild West than Lower East Side, and its members

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[41]Charles E. Silberman, *A Certain People: American Jews and Their Lives Today* (New York, 1985), p. 294.

A direct comparison of Western with Eastern and Midwestern cities is not feasible either because the intermarriage data have not been published or because they are not clearly comparable. However, to provide some basis for comparison, it is worthwhile to report estimates of the individual intermarriage rate for the under-35 population, as cited by Silberman, based on correspondence with various study directors: New York Metropolitan Area, 13 percent; St. Louis, 14 percent; Chicago, 20 percent; Philadelphia, 24 percent; Cleveland, 24 percent.

[42]The Federation's estimate of the number of givers is higher, but at any rate is not higher than the giving rate in New York. See also Paul Ritterband and Steven M. Cohen, "The Social Characteristics of the New York Area Jewish Community, 1981," AJYB, Vol. 84, 1984, p. 133.

have few cultural reference points in common. Nevertheless, there is a growing community in the West, with Los Angeles its acknowledged capital. This fact has been recognized by the three main religious groups in Jewish life, which have established branches of their schools of higher learning in Los Angeles.[43]

For Jewish communities in the West, the issues of intermarriage, migration, and affiliation are particularly acute. Rather than counting on affiliation as part of the natural course of the Jewish life cycle, the organized Jewish community is increasingly thinking in terms of outreach. The Hebrew Union College, for example, is developing a museum-outreach center situated in the Sepulveda Pass between the westside and the Valley. The Council on Jewish Life of the Jewish Federation Council sponsors a task force on synagogue affiliation as well as a commission on outreach to intermarrieds.

Additional help may come from an unexpected quarter. Situated as it is on the eastern shore of the "Pacific rim," Los Angeles has attracted growing numbers of Asian immigrants—Japanese, Chinese, Thais, Filipinos, Koreans, Laotians, Cambodians, and Samoans. In addition, because it is only a two-hour drive from Mexico, Los Angeles is a natural destination for Spanish-speaking immigrants—both documented and undocumented. (Los Angeles is already the second-largest Spanish-speaking city in the world, after Mexico City.) Immigration has had such an impact on Los Angeles that *Time* magazine recently called it "the New Ellis Island."[44] As the population of Los Angeles becomes increasingly varied, ethnicity could easily become the city's dominant cultural motif. Such a development might spur Los Angeles Jews to strengthen their own sense of identity and community as part of the expanding ethnic mosaic.

Whatever the future holds, one thing is clear. Los Angeles will remain the largest Jewish community as well as the Jewish institutional center of a rapidly growing western region. This includes Dallas, Houston, Denver, Phoenix, San Francisco, and Orange County—all with Jewish communities that have doubled their populations over the last decade. These communities represent the new face of American Jewry.

BRUCE A. PHILLIPS

[43]These are the West Coast branch of the Hebrew Union College, representing the Reform movement; the University of Judaism, which is the West Coast branch of the Jewish Theological Seminary; and Yeshiva University of Los Angeles.

[44]*Time*, June 13, 1983, pp. 18–27.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. GENERAL AND JEWISH POPULATION GROWTH IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY, 1880–1980: ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, GROWTH RATE, AND JEWISH DENSITY

Year	General		Jewish		Jewish
	Population Size	Growth[a] (Percent)	Population Size	Growth[a] (Percent)	Density[b] (Percent)
1880	33,381	—	136	—	0.4
1890	101,454	200	No estimate	—	—
1900	170,298	68	2,500	—	1.5
1910	489,322	180	9,000	260	1.8
1920	880,862	80	31,500	250	3.6
1930	2,066,460	135	72,041	128	3.5
1940	2,621,372	27	103,634	44	4.0
1950	3,900,920	49	272,100	163	7.0
1960	5,615,748	44	400,000	47	6.8
1970	6,579,585	17	444,934	11	6.8
1980	7,116,066	8	503,000	13	7.1

Sources: U.S. Census of Population (not including Long Beach). Jewish population estimates for 1880 to 1920 are from Max Vorspan and Lloyd Gartner, *History of the Jews of Los Angeles* (Philadelphia, 1970). Estimates for 1930, 1940, 1950, and 1960 are extrapolated from the AJYB figures for 1927, 1937, 1944, 1948, 1954, 1959, and 1964. The 1970 estimate was provided by Dr. Fred Massarik in an unpublished report to the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles. The 1980 estimate is from Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning,* Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980.

[a]Relative to the previous decade, for example:

$$\text{Change}_{1960\text{–}1970} = \frac{(\text{Population}_{1970} - \text{Population}_{1960})}{\text{Population}_{1960}}$$

[b]Jewish households as a percent of Los Angeles County households, minus Long Beach households.

TABLE 2A. DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA AND NAMED COMMUNITY, 1951–1979

Area & Community	1951	1959	1970	1974	1979
Urban Core	64,818	56,699	51,737	43,056	60,405
Wilshire Fairfax	8,446	9,294	9,188	8,790	9,890
Beverly Fairfax	8,627	9,371	11,725	8,547	13,619
Hollywood	18,096	15,337	23,517	21,509	23,416
Central Wilshire	7,815	5,308	3,149	1,256	5,642
Northeast-Downtown	2,228	5,228	764	1,256	3,852
East Los Angeles	8,069	4,967	743	159	0
Baldwin Hills-West Adams	8,728	5,813	2,131	1,053	1,915
Jefferson-University	2,809	1,381	520	486	2,071
Western Area	23,068	28,993	44,294	52,039	54,877
B.W.-C.H.-M.V.-C.C.[a]	9,853	13,124	20,596	21,840	15,244
Beverly Hills	10,929	6,563	7,705	10,050	8,890
Westwood-Brentwood	incl. above	5,038	9,112	10,299	22,626
Santa Monica	2,286	4,268	6,881	9,850	8,117
San Fernando Valley	10,165	22,827	40,997	51,286	72,136
North & West Valley	incl. above	3,776	7,975	10,287	13,537
Reseda-Encino	" "	3,767	9,992	14,113	14,043
Van Nuys-Sherman Oaks	" "	4,157	10,743	12,722	19,900
North Hollywd-Burbank	" "	6,456	10,007	10,405	16,168
Sunland-Glendale	" "	4,671	2,280	3,759	8,488
Eastern Area	2,067	4,859	9,350	8,305	11,893
San Gabriel Valley	1,553	4,345	7,700	7,000	9,665
Pasadena-Altadena	514	514	1,650	1,305	2,228
Southern Area	6,780	6,982	10,200	8,670	20,805
Westchester-Inglewood	2,075	2,139	4,010	1,890	2,862
South Los Angeles	3,498	3,386	3,780	3,420	8,590
Beach Cities & South	1,207	1,457	2,410	3,360	9,353
Total	106,898	120,360	156,578	163,356	220,116

Sources (2A, 2B, 2C): Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles,* Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, January 1953; Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1959,* Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Nov. 1959; Fred Massarik, *Jewish Population Indicator Reports I, II, III, IV, and Special Analysis Memo Number 4,* Jewish Federation Council Community Planning Department, mimeo, 1976; Bruce A. Phillips, *Analysis of the 1974 Jewish Population Indicator Reports,* Jewish Federation Council Community Planning Department, mimeo, 1976; Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning,* Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980.

[a]Beverlywood, Cheviot Hills, Mar Vista, & Culver City

TABLE 2B. CHANGES IN DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS, BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA AND NAMED COMMUNITY, 1951–1979 (PERCENT)

Area & Community	Percent Change				
	1951–59	1959–70	1970–79	[1970–74	1974–79]
Urban Core	−12.5	−8.8	16.8	[−16.8	40.3]
Wilshire Fairfax	10.0	−1.1	7.6	[−4.3	12.5]
Beverly Fairfax	8.6	25.1	16.2	[−27.1	59.3]
Hollywood	−15.2	53.3	−0.4	[−8.5	8.9]
Central Wilshire	−32.1	−40.7	79.2	[−60.1	349.2]
Northeast-Downtown	134.6	−85.4	404.2	[64.4	206.7]
East Los Angeles	−38.4	−85.0	−100.0	[−78.6	−100.0]
Baldwin Hills-West Adams	−33.4	−63.3	−10.1	[−50.6	81.9]
Jefferson-University	−50.8	−62.3	298.3	[−6.5	326.1]
Western Area	25.7	52.8	23.9	[17.5	5.5]
B.W.-C.H.-M.V.-C.C.[a]	33.2	56.9	−26.0	[6.0	−30.2]
Beverly Hills	6.1	17.4	15.4	[30.4	−11.5]
Westwood-Brentwood	incl. above	80.9	148.3	[13.0	119.7]
Santa Monica	86.7	61.2	18.0	[43.1	−17.6]
San Fernando Valley	124.6	79.6	76.0	[25.1	40.7]
North & West Valley	incl. above	111.2	69.7	[29.0	31.6]
Reseda-Encino	" "	165.3	40.5	[41.2	−0.5]
Van Nuys-Sherman Oaks	" "	158.4	85.2	[18.4	56.4]
North Hollywd-Burbank	" "	55.0	61.6	[4.0	55.4]
Sunland-Glendale	" "	−51.2	272.3	[64.9	125.8]
Eastern Area	135.1	92.4	27.2	[−11.2	43.2]
San Gabriel Valley	179.8	77.2	25.5	[−9.1	38.1]
Pasadena-Altadena	0.0	220.8	35.0	[−20.9	70.7]
Southern Area	3.0	46.1	104.0	[−15.0	40.0]
Westchester-Inglewood	3.1	87.5	−28.6	[−52.9	51.4]
South Los Angeles	−3.2	11.6	127.2	[−9.5	151.2]
Beach Cities & South	20.7	65.4	288.1	[39.4	178.4]

[a]Beverlywood, Cheviot Hills, Mar Vista, & Culver City

TABLE 2C. JEWISH POPULATION OF GEOGRAPHIC AREAS AND NAMED COMMUNITIES AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL LOS ANGELES JEWISH POPULATION, 1951–1979

Area & Community	1951	1959	1970	1974	1979
Urban Core	60.6	47.1	33.0	26.4	27.4
Wilshire Fairfax	7.9	7.7	5.9	5.4	4.5
Beverly Fairfax	8.1	7.8	7.5	5.2	6.2
Hollywood	16.9	12.7	15.0	13.2	10.6
Central Wilshire	7.3	4.4	2.0	0.8	2.6
Northeast-Downtown	2.1	4.3	0.5	0.8	1.7
East Los Angeles	7.5	4.1	0.5	0.1	0.0
Baldwin Hills-West Adams	8.2	4.8	1.4	0.6	0.9
Jefferson-University	2.6	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.9
Western Area	21.6	24.1	28.3	31.9	24.9
B.W.-C.H.-M.V.-C.C[a]	9.2	10.9	13.2	13.4	6.9
Beverly Hills	10.2	5.5	4.9	6.2	4.0
Westwood-Brentwood	incl. above	4.2	5.8	6.3	10.3
Santa Monica	2.1	3.5	4.4	6.0	3.7
San Fernando Valley	9.5	19.0	26.2	31.4	32.8
North & West Valley	incl. above	3.1	5.1	6.3	6.1
Reseda-Encino	" "	3.1	6.4	8.6	6.4
Van Nuys-Sherman Oaks	" "	3.5	6.9	7.8	9.0
North Hollywd-Burbank	" "	5.4	6.4	6.4	7.3
Sunland-Glendale	" "	3.9	1.5	2.3	3.9
Eastern Area	1.9	4.0	6.0	5.1	5.4
San Gabriel Valley	1.5	3.6	4.9	4.3	4.4
Pasadena-Altadena	0.5	0.4	1.1	0.8	1.0
Southern Area	6.3	5.8	6.5	5.3	9.5
Westchester-Inglewood	1.9	1.8	2.6	1.2	1.3
South Los Angeles	3.3	2.8	2.4	2.1	3.9
Beach Cities & South	1.1	1.2	1.5	2.1	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a]Beverlywood, Cheviot Hills, Mar Vista, & Culver City

TABLE 3. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF JEWISH HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN LOS ANGELES BY YEAR OF SURVEY, 1951–1979 (PERCENT)

Years in Los Angeles	Year of Survey			
	1951	1959	1967	1979
0–5	61.7	12.3	14.2	13.9
6–10	22.8	15.1	6.9	12.9
11–15	[15.6]	25.9	16.0	[17.9]
16–20	[ ]	[46.7]	19.2	[ ]
21–30	[ ]	[ ]	26.2	26.7
30 +	[ ]	[ ]	23.9	28.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percentage in Los Angeles 10 years or more:	15.6	72.6	78.9	73.2

Sources: Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles,* Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, Jan., 1953; Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1959,* Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Nov., 1959; Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1968,* Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1968; Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning,* Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980.

TABLE 4. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF JEWISH HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN LOS ANGELES BY COMMUNITY, 1979 (PERCENT)

Years in Los Angeles	Community						
	Beverly Fairfax W.Hollywood	Silverlake Los Feliz Hollywood	Beverly Hills	Santa Monica Palisades Malibu	Venice Mar Vista Culver	Cheviot W.L.A. Bevwood	Westwood Brentwood
0–5	20.0	20.8	11.2	26.3	26.9	9.9	10.8
6–10	6.0	8.5	6.5	18.6	10.7	12.6	18.6
11–20	18.2	23.3	14.4	17.5	18.2	15.0	12.5
21–30	19.5	7.6	36.0	14.6	27.4	29.3	18.1
30 +	35.5	39.8	31.8	23.0	16.8	33.1	40.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Years in Los Angeles	North & West Valley	Central Valley	Encino Tarzana Sh. Oaks	North Hollywood	Southern Area	Eastern Area
0–5	12.4	6.6	10.0	4.6	14.7	11.6
6–10	15.8	18.2	16.6	24.8	11.4	3.4
11–20	17.1	20.2	18.9	24.7	20.3	17.9
21–30	26.3	39.6	28.3	33.9	29.9	37.0
30 +	28.4	15.3	26.2	12.1	23.7	30.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning*, Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980.

TABLE 5. PLACE OF BIRTH OF BORN JEWS 18 AND OVER BY YEAR OF SURVEY, 1951–1979 (PERCENT)

Place of Birth	Year of Survey			
	1951	1959	1967	1979
Los Angeles	8.3	11.8	not	14.1
Other U.S.	52.1	53.6	available	57.3
Foreign born	39.6	34.6		28.6
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0

Source: Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1959,* Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Nov., 1959: Table 18 compares 1959 and 1951; Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning,* Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980.

TABLE 6. PLACE OF BIRTH OF BORN JEWS 18 AND OVER BY AGE, 1979 (PERCENT)

Place of Birth	Age				
	18–29	30–39	40–49	50+	All
New England	2.5	2.2	3.5	4.5	3.7
Mid-Atlantic	15.2	34.3	39.2	27.8	28.8
East North-Central	15.2	14.2	15.1	19.3	16.8
West North-Central	2.9	3.4	1.0	3.6	3.0
South Atlantic	2.9	3.0	0.5	3.2	2.6
E. & W. South-Central	1.5	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.7
Mountain	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.8
Pacific	0.0	0.7	0.5	0.2	0.3
Los Angeles	39.2	17.9	14.1	2.8	14.1
Other California	2.5	3.0	0.5	0.8	1.5
U.S. not specific	2.9	0.4	3.5	2.1	2.1
Foreign born	14.7	18.3	21.6	35.0	25.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning,* Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980.

TABLE 7. PLACE OF BIRTH OF BORN JEWS 18 AND OVER BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN LOS ANGELES, 1979 (PERCENT)

Place of Birth	Years in Los Angeles				
	5 or Less	6–10	11–20	21–30	30+
New England	5.5	7.6	1.6	2.0	3.2
Mid-Atlantic	29.5	36.2	41.9	24.1	25.1
East North-Central	13.3	21.6	14.2	16.3	17.6
West North-Central	4.4	2.1	0.7	2.8	3.7
South Atlantic	3.9	2.3	3.4	3.4	1.7
E. & W. South-Central	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.4	0.0
Mountain	1.1	0.5	0.0	0.5	1.1
Pacific	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.4	0.3
Foreign born	33.0	20.4	28.4	17.5	21.3
U.S. not specific	3.1	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.7
California	6.2	8.3	7.2	29.9	25.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning,* Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980.

TABLE 8. PLACE OF BIRTH OF WHITE AND JEWISH POPULATIONS OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY, 1979–1980 (PERCENT)

Place of Birth	All Whites[a]	Jewish Population Only		
		All Ages	Adults	Children
Born in California	41.2	29.9	16.0	73.6
Out of state	40.3	48.0	58.0	15.4
Northeast	(10.4)	(26.8)	(33.5)	(5.8)
North Central	(16.8)	(17.3)	(20.4)	(7.7)
South	(7.6)	(3.0)	(3.4)	(1.8)
Other Mountain & Pacific	(5.4)	(0.9)	(1.2)	(0.0)
Foreign born	18.5	22.1	25.6	11.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Summary Tape File #4, PB-25; Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning,* Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980.

[a]All whites, including Hispanics and Jews, are incorporated in this tabulation.

TABLE 9. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH POPULATION BY YEAR OF SURVEY, 1951–1979 (PERCENT)

Age	Year of Survey			
	1951	1959	1967	1979
0–4	8.2	10.0	7.1	4.3
5–9	7.7	10.4	7.4	5.5
10–14	5.8	8.7	10.3	6.3
15–19	5.3	6.4	8.3	7.2
20–24	4.9	3.5	4.5	6.2
25–29	6.8	5.0	3.9	10.4
30–34	8.0	8.0	4.7	9.2
35–39	11.0	8.6	7.7	8.1
40–44	9.1	8.1	8.9	5.3
45–49	7.1	7.0	6.0	6.8
50–54	6.4	6.5	5.0	6.8
55–59	6.2	5.2	5.0	7.5
60–64	5.3	4.4	4.2	5.3
65–69	[ ]	4.1	3.8	4.2
70–74	[6.9]	2.1	[ ]	3.1
75–79	[ ]	1.1	[8.4]	1.9
80 +	[ ]	0.8	[ ]	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles,* Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, Jan. 1953; Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1959,* Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, November 1959; Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1968,* Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1968; Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning,* Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980.

TABLE 10. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF NON-HISPANIC WHITE AND JEWISH POPULATIONS BY 5-, 10-, AND 15-YEAR COHORTS, 1979–1980 (PERCENT)

5-Year Cohorts			10- & 15-Year Cohorts		
Age	White	Jewish	Age	White	Jewish
0–4	4.7	4.3	0–9	9.4	9.8
5–9	4.7	5.5	10–19	13.6	13.5
10–14	6.0	6.3	20–29	18.0	16.6
15–19	7.6	7.2	30–39	14.9	17.3
20–24	9.1	6.2	40–49	10.9	12.1
25–29	8.9	10.4	50–59	13.2	14.3
30–34	8.2	9.2	60–69	10.6	9.5
35–39	6.6	8.1	70+	9.6	6.9
40–44	5.4	5.3			
45–49	5.4	6.8	Total	100.0	100.0
50–54	6.3	6.8			
55–59	6.8	7.5			
60–64	5.8	5.3	0–19	23.0	23.3
65–69	4.8	4.2	20–35	26.2	25.8
70–74	3.7	3.1	35–50	17.5	20.2
75–79	2.7	1.9	50–65	18.9	19.6
80+	3.2	1.9	65+	14.4	11.1
Total	100.0	100.0	Total	100.0	100.0

Sources: Summary Tape File #4, PB-1; Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning,* Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980.

TABLE 11. HOUSEHOLD TYPES, NON-HISPANIC WHITE AND JEWISH, 1979–1980 (PERCENT)

Household Type	White	Jewish
Married couple	50.1	57.6
With children	19.8	24.3
No children	30.4	33.3
Single-headed	49.9	42.4
With children	5.5	4.0
No children	44.4	38.4
Percent of all households that include children:	25.3	28.3

Sources: Summary Tape File #4, computed from Tables PB2, PB3, PB7, PB8, and PB18; Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning,* Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980.

TABLE 12. MARITAL HISTORY OF ALL EVER-MARRIED PERSONS, AGED 15–54, NON-HISPANIC WHITE AND JEWISH, 1979–1980 (PERCENT)

Marital History	White	Jewish
Never widowed or divorced	64.4	74.6
Widowed only	2.3	3.7
Ever divorced	33.3	21.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Sources: Summary Tape File #4, PB23; Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 13. JEWISH HOUSEHOLD TYPES BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA, 1979 (PERCENT)

Household Type	Geographic Area					
	Urban Core	Western Area	S.F. Valley	Southern Area	Eastern Area	All Areas
Married couple with children	11.4	16.3	37.4	22.5	29.5	24.3
Married couple no children	29.7	36.4	33.2	36.9	29.2	33.3
Single parent	1.8	4.3	3.8	12.5	2.7	4.0
Never married	25.4	23.6	7.7	16.6	16.2	17.2
Widow(er)	16.5	7.7	9.1	3.5	12.5	10.2
Sep./div.	15.1	11.8	8.8	8.1	10.0	11.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 14. JEWISH HOUSEHOLD TYPES BY COMMUNITY, 1979 (PERCENT)

Household Type	Community						
	Beverly Fairfax W.Hollywood	Silverlake Los Feliz Hollywood	Beverly Hills	Santa Monica Palisades Malibu	Venice Mar Vista Culver	Cheviot W.L.A. Bevwood	Westwood Brentwood
Married couple with children	13.7	0.0	35.1	20.4	6.7	7.9	13.3
Married couple no children	27.0	43.3	40.3	23.9	38.2	37.4	41.3
Single parent	2.2	0.0	0.0	8.6	5.9	2.6	4.3
Never married	22.3	41.0	9.2	25.7	34.2	30.3	19.7
Widow(er)	18.1	8.5	11.0	8.6	0.0	10.4	7.3
Sep./div.	16.7	7.2	4.5	12.9	15.0	11.3	14.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Household Type	North & West Valley	Central Valley	Encino Tarzana Sh. Oaks	North Hollywood	Southern Area	Eastern Area	All Areas
Married couple with children	53.0	29.7	21.5	26.7	22.5	29.5	24.3
Married couple no children	30.5	35.4	26.4	42.5	36.9	29.2	33.3
Single parent	1.2	8.3	3.8	3.5	12.5	2.7	4.0
Never married	4.0	6.5	17.8	8.6	16.6	16.2	17.2
Widow(er)	5.0	7.6	14.9	15.5	3.5	12.5	10.2
Sep./div.	6.3	12.5	15.5	3.2	8.1	10.0	11.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 15. JEWISH FAMILY-CYCLE STAGE BY COMMUNITY, 1979 (PERCENT)

Family-Cycle Stage	Community						
	Beverly Fairfax W.Hollywood	Silverlake Los Feliz Hollywood	Beverly Hills	Santa Monica Palisades Malibu	Venice Mar Vista Culver	Cheviot W.L.A. Bevwood	Westwood Brentwood
Children							
Under 6 only	7.4	0.0	2.7	2.1	2.1	1.7	0.0
6–13	5.3	0.0	23.4	19.3	9.9	8.0	6.6
14–17 only	3.5	0.0	9.9	7.5	3.3	1.0	9.2
No Children							
Head under 40	26.7	49.1	12.3	39.7	55.6	37.8	38.8
Head over 40	57.2	50.9	51.7	31.4	29.1	51.5	45.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Family-Cycle Stage	North & West Valley	Central Valley	Encino Tarzana Sh. Oaks	North Hollywood	Southern Area	Eastern Area	All Areas
Children							
Under 6 only	10.0	17.7	0.0	12.2	5.3	4.7	6.3
6–13	36.2	14.9	11.4	13.8	20.4	18.1	15.6
14–17 only	8.0	6.1	15.1	5.2	7.9	7.1	6.4
No Children							
Head under 40	14.8	22.5	21.6	22.4	31.0	34.3	28.6
Head over 40	30.9	38.7	51.8	46.4	35.4	35.9	43.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 16A. MARITAL STATUS OF JEWS BY 10-YEAR COHORTS, 1967 AND 1979 (PERCENT)

Marital Status	Cohort and Year			
	20–29		30–39	
	1967	1979	1967	1979
Never married	50.9	58.8	6.2	16.1
Married	43.6	34.0	87.8	70.5
Widow(er)	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.8
Sep./div.	5.5	7.2	3.9	12.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Marital Status	40–49		50–59	
	1967	1979	1967	1979
Never married	4.8	3.7	1.0	0.9
Married	86.5	81.2	91.1	83.1
Widow(er)	2.0	1.6	4.2	8.2
Sep./div.	6.8	13.6	3.7	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Marital Status	60 +		All Ages	
	1967	1979	1967	1979
Never married	3.5	2.2	19.7	18.2
Married	68.7	61.9	69.3	64.2
Widow(er)	22.7	28.2	6.6	8.1
Sep./div.	4.4	7.7	4.4	9.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1968,* Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1968, Table 5; Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 16B. MARITAL STATUS OF JEWS BY 5- AND 10-YEAR COHORTS, 1979 (PERCENT)

Marital Status	Cohort			
	18–24	25–29	30–34	35–39
Never married	80.1	38.0	23.0	8.3
Married	12.6	54.8	63.5	78.5
Widow(er)	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.8
Sep./div.	7.3	7.2	12.7	12.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Marital Status	40–49	50–59	60–69	70 +
Never married	3.7	0.9	1.4	3.3
Married	81.2	83.1	72.1	48.4
Widow(er)	1.6	8.2	19.7	39.5
Sep./div.	13.6	7.8	6.8	8.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 17. INTERMARRIAGE STATUS OF SPOUSES OF CURRENTLY MARRIED BORN JEWS BY AGE AND SEX, 1979 (PERCENT)

Status of Spouse	Age and Sex of Born Jew					
	18–29		30–39		40–49	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Born Jew	70.4	60.2	82.8	88.5	90.1	88.7
Convert	3.4	4.6	2.7	0.7	6.1	0.9
Non-Jew	26.2	35.3	14.5	10.8	3.9	10.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Status of Spouse	50 +		All Ages	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Born Jew	90.8	92.4	87.3	85.2
Convert	2.0	1.6	3.1	1.7
Non-Jew	7.0	6.0	9.6	13.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 18. INTERMARRIAGE STATUS OF MARRIED COUPLES WITH AT LEAST ONE BORN-JEWISH SPOUSE, BY AGE OF RESPONDENT, 1979 (PERCENT)

Status of Couple	Age of Respondent[a]				All Ages
	18–29	30–39	40–49	50+	
Born Jew–born Jew	44.8	76.5	80.6	83.9	75.5
Born Jew–convert	6.3	2.6	6.1	3.6	4.2
Born Jew–non-Jew	48.9	20.8	13.3	12.5	20.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Conversion rate[b]	11.4	11.1	31.4	22.4	17.3

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

[a]The intermarriage rates by age in Tables 17 and 18 do not correspond exactly. Table 18 is based only on the age of the respondent, Jew or non-Jew. Table 17 includes the ages of all Jewish spouses, males and females, either of whom may have been counted as the respondent in Table 18.

[b]Marriages to converts as a percentage of all exogamous marriages (i.e., marriages to converts + marriages to non-Jews).

TABLE 19. INTERMARRIAGE RATE (BORN JEW MARRIED TO NON-JEW) BY YEAR OF SURVEY, 1951–1979

	Year of Survey			
	1951	1959	1967	1979
Percentage of Households with Intermarried Couple	4.8	6.3	5.4	11.7

Sources: Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles,* Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, Jan. 1953; Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1959,* Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Nov. 1959; Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1968,* Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1968; Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 20. EDUCATION OF NON-HISPANIC WHITE AND JEWISH POPULATIONS BY AGE AND SEX, 1979–1980 (PERCENT)

	Males					
	White			Jewish		
Education	25–44	45–64	65+	25–44	45–64	65+
Elementary	2.2	7.8	25.8	0.5	0.9	17.9
Some h.s.	6.7	12.3	17.6	1.4	3.2	7.1
H.S. grad.	25.5	31.3	26.5	7.8	20.6	32.1
Some college	29.5	21.4	15.1	20.7	19.3	10.7
College grad.	36.1	27.2	15.0	69.6	56.0	32.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Jewish/White Ratio[a]						
Some college				1.4	1.5	1.4
Some college & college grad.				1.9	2.1	2.1

	Females					
	White			Jewish		
Education	25–44	45–64	65+	25–44	45–64	65+
Elementary	2.2	6.8	25.6	0.4	2.7	19.4
Some h.s.	8.1	13.8	18.0	0.7	4.1	6.8
H.S. grad.	35.9	43.7	32.5	19.9	34.5	44.3
Some college	29.3	22.3	14.7	28.5	32.3	17.0
College grad.	24.4	13.4	9.2	50.5	26.4	12.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Jewish/White Ratio[a]						
Some college				2.1	2.0	1.4
Some college & college grad.				1.5	1.6	1.2

Sources: Summary Tape File #4, PB48; Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

[a]Jewish/White Ratio = $\frac{\%\text{ of Jews}}{\%\text{ of whites}}$

TABLE 21. OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED JEWISH MALES BY YEAR OF SURVEY, 1951–1979 (PERCENT)

Occupational Category	Year of Survey			
	1951	1959	1967	1979
Professional & semiprofessional	15.3	24.9	35.4	33.7
Proprietors, managers, officials	35.5	30.5	23.5	28.8
Clerical and sales occupations	28.3	24.2	20.8	21.5
Skilled, crafts, and unskilled	19.2	17.5	16.6	13.6
Service occupations	1.7	2.9	3.8	4.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles,* Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, Jan. 1953; Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1959,* Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Nov. 1959; Fred Massarik, *A Report on the Jewish Population of Los Angeles, 1968,* Research Service Bureau, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1968; Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 22. OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED NON-HISPANIC WHITE AND JEWISH POPULATIONS BY SEX: SUMMARY, 1979–1980 (PERCENT)

Occupational Category[a]	Males		Females	
	White	Jewish	White	Jewish
Managerial-excl. retail props.	16.8	21.0	11.4	11.6
Professional	16.5	31.5	15.4	35.7
Retail-mgr./prop.	1.0	7.8	0.5	2.7
Technicians	3.6	2.2	2.8	0.3
Sales-excl. retail superv.	10.9	18.2	12.1	13.7
Administrative support	7.8	3.3	36.2	26.5
Service	6.8	4.2	12.0	4.6
Skilled, unskilled, & craft	36.4	13.6	9.2	4.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Summary Tape File #4, PB57; Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

[a]Full and part-time employed males and females.

TABLE 23. OCCUPATIONS OF NON-HISPANIC WHITE AND JEWISH POPULATIONS BY SEX: DETAILED, 1979–1980 (PERCENT)

Occupational Category[a]	Males		Females	
	White	Jewish	White	Jewish
Executive, Administ., & Managerial				
Public administration	0.2	1.1	0.1	2.7
Manufacturing	4.1	3.3	1.2	0.6
[Retail, self-employed]	0.3	2.6	0.2	0.6
Retail, salaried	1.6	1.1	1.1	0.9
Other	7.1	8.6	5.2	5.2
Management-related	3.9	6.6	3.8	2.1
Professional				
Architects	0.3	3.1	0.0	0.3
Engineers	4.1	0.0	0.3	0.0
Surveyors	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.3
Nat. sci., math, computer sci.	0.9	1.3	0.5	0.3
Health, diagnosis	1.6	7.7	0.3	0.9
Health, assessment	0.5	1.3	3.3	3.7
Teachers, elem. & second.	1.5	1.3	5.1	13.1
Other teach. & librarians	1.3	1.1	1.8	3.4
Social scientists	0.3	0.9	0.4	0.6
Social, rec. & relig. wrkrs.	0.6	0.4	0.7	5.5
Lawyers & judges	1.6	7.0	0.4	1.5
Wrtr-Artst-Entrtnr-Athlte	3.6	4.0	2.7	6.1
Technicians				
Health, excl. nurses	0.3	0.7	0.8	0.3
Lic. nurses	0.0	1.5	0.7	0.0
Other	3.3	0.0	1.3	0.0
Sales				
[Supervisor, self-employed]	0.7	5.1	0.3	2.1
Supervisor, Salaried	1.5	3.5	0.9	2.7
Representatives:				
-finance	3.2	4.0	2.8	5.5
-commodities, excl. retail	2.5	3.1	0.9	0.6
Workers:				
-retail	2.7	5.5	4.5	2.1
-non-retail	0.4	0.7	0.4	0.0

Continued on next page

TABLE 23—*(Continued)*

Occupational Category[a]	Males		Females	
	White	Jewish	White	Jewish
Cashiers	0.6	0.2	2.6	1.8
Sales-related	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.9
Administrative Support				
Supervisors	1.1	0.9	1.9	1.2
Computer operators	0.4	0.9	0.7	0.9
Secretaries & typists	0.2	0.9	12.6	16.5
Bookkeepers & accts.	0.5	0.2	4.8	4.6
Financial processors	0.1	0.0	0.9	0.0
Mail & message distrib.	0.9	0.0	0.5	0.0
Material recording	2.0	0.4	1.7	0.3
Other	2.6	0.0	13.3	3.0
Service				
Household	0.1	1.3	0.6	0.3
Police-firefighters	0.9	0.7	0.1	0.0
Guards	0.9	0.9	0.3	0.0
Other protective	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Food	2.0	0.4	5.0	1.2
Health	0.3	0.0	2.2	0.3
Building cleaners	1.6	0.4	0.6	0.6
Personal	0.8	0.0	3.2	2.1
Farming, Fishing, etc.				
Farm mgrs.	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.6
Other farm	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
Related agriculture	0.6	0.0	0.2	0.0
Forest & logging	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Fishing, hunting, trapping	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Craft & Repair				
Auto mechanics	1.6	1.8	0.0	0.0
Other mechanics	3.9	0.2	0.3	0.0
Carpenters	1.5	0.7	0.0	0.0
Other construction	4.7	2.4	0.2	0.0
Extractors	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0

Continued on next page

TABLE 23—*(Continued)*

Occupational Category[a]	Males		Females	
	White	Jewish	White	Jewish
Precision Production				
Supervisors	2.7	0.2	0.7	0.0
Metal workers	2.0	0.0	0.2	0.3
Plant & syst. operators	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	1.3	0.0	0.9	1.5
Operators				
Machine excl. precision	3.6	1.1	1.8	1.2
Fabricators, assembl.	1.5	0.4	1.0	0.6
Product inspectors	0.5	0.0	0.6	0.0
Transport & Material Movers				
Vehicle operators	3.8	1.1	0.4	0.3
Other transport	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Material movers	0.7	0.0	0.1	0.0
Handlers, Helpers, & Laborers				
Helpers	3.6	0.7	1.8	0.0
Construct. laborers	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Handlers	1.4	0.0	0.4	0.3
Cleaners	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0
Misc. manual	1.5	0.0	0.6	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Summary Tape File #4, PB57; Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

[a]Full- and part-time employed males and females.

TABLE 24. LABOR-FORCE PARTICIPATION OF NON-HISPANIC WHITE AND JEWISH FEMALES BY FAMILY AND MARITAL STATUS, 1979–1980 (PERCENT)

Family and Marital Status of Female	White	Jewish
Married, husband present		
With own children 0–5 yrs.	41.9	42.2
With own children 6–17 yrs.	59.8	60.4
Without own children[a]	46.9	52.4
Other marital status		
With own children 0–17 yrs.	77.7	80.5
Without own children[a]	54.4	57.4

Sources: Summary Tape File #4, PB23; Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

[a]"Children" refers to children under 18 only.

TABLE 25. PATTERNS OF AFFILIATION, 1979 (PERCENT)

Number of Different Types of Affiliation	Percent of Households	Particular Type of Affiliation	Percent of Households
Three	4.8	Synagogue (current)	25.1
Two	12.0		
Syn. & org.	(7.2)		
Syn. & Fed.	(2.2)	One or more Jewish	
Org. & Fed.	(2.6)	organizations	26.1
One	26.8	Federation	
Syn. only	(10.9)	(as a giver)	14.0
Org. only	(11.5)		
Fed. only	(4.4)		
None	56.3		
Total[a]	100.0		

OVERLAP AMONG TYPES OF AFFILIATION	
Percent of synagogue members who	
Belong to a Jewish organization	47.8
Give to Federation	27.9
Percent of Jewish organization members who	
Belong to a synagogue	45.8
Give to Federation	28.2
Percent of Federation givers who	
Belong to a synagogue	50.0
Belong to a Jewish organization	52.9

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.
[a]The total refers to the underlined percentages. The percentages in parentheses are subtotals under the patterns of combined affiliations.

TABLE 26. TYPES OF AFFILIATION BY AGE OF RESPONDENT, 1979 (PERCENT)

Type of Affiliation	Age of Respondent			
	18–35	36–50	51–65	65 +
Synagogue member (current)	20.0	32.8	26.6	28.6
Member of Jewish organization	13.0	25.8	36.9	44.7
Gives to Federation	3.7	17.0	24.1	20.1

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 27. PATTERNS OF AFFILIATION BY AGE OF RESPONDENT, 1979 (PERCENT)

Number of Different Types of Affiliation	Age of Respondent			
	18–35	36–50	51–65	65 +
Three	0.6	6.7	8.8	6.3
Two	8.9	13.3	12.8	17.4
Syn. & org.	(7.1)	(7.0)	(6.1)	(9.8)
Syn. & Fed.	(0.6)	(4.0)	(2.9)	(2.2)
Org. & Fed.	(1.2)	(2.3)	(3.8)	(5.4)
One	16.8	24.0	36.4	44.0
Syn. only	(11.0)	(12.8)	(8.0)	(11.8)
Org. only	(4.5)	(7.1)	(19.8)	(26.0)
Fed. only	(1.3)	(4.1)	(8.6)	(6.2)
None	73.6	56.1	41.9	32.3
Total[a]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.
[a]The total refers to the underlined percentages. The percentages in parentheses are subtotals under the patterns of combined affiliations.

TABLE 28. TYPES OF AFFILIATION BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE, 1979 (PERCENT)

Type of Affiliation	Household Type					
	Married Couple		Single Household Head			
	With Children	No Children	Single Parent	Never Married	Widow/ Widower	Sep./ Div.
Synagogue member (current)	44.1	23.5	19.8	14.6	23.3	15.3
Member of Jewish organization	31.1	31.4	21.3	7.2	44.9	15.3
Gives to Federation	21.5	19.6	4.0	2.5	12.4	6.6

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 29. PATTERNS OF AFFILIATION BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE, 1979 (PERCENT)

Number of Different Types of Affiliation	Household Type					
	Married Couple		Single Household Head			
	With Children	No Children	Single Parent	Never Married	Widow/ Widower	Sep./ Div.
Three	7.6	6.7	1.5	0.0	4.8	1.6
Two	20.5	11.6	10.4	3.9	12.2	8.3
Syn. & org.	(12.3)	(5.5)	(7.9)	(2.7)	(10.1)	(5.0)
Syn. & Fed.	(4.9)	(1.8)	(2.5)	(0.6)	(1.0)	(0.8)
Org. & Fed.	(3.3)	(4.3)	(0.0)	(0.6)	(1.1)	(2.5)
One	33.1	28.1	20.9	16.0	47.1	15.7
Syn. only	(19.7)	(7.1)	(7.1)	(10.8)	(9.4)	(6.6)
Org. only	(7.6)	(14.1)	(13.8)	(3.9)	(32.2)	(7.4)
Fed. only	(5.8)	(6.9)	(0.0)	(1.3)	(5.5)	(1.7)
None	38.9	53.6	67.3	80.0	36.0	74.5
Total[a]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.
[a]The total refers to the underlined percentages. The percentages in parentheses are subtotals under the patterns of combined affiliations.

TABLE 30. TYPES OF AFFILIATION BY FAMILY-CYCLE STAGE, 1979 (PERCENT)

Type of Affiliation	Family-Cycle Stage				
	Children			No Children	
	Under 6 Only	6–13	14–17 Only	Head under 40	Head 40 +
Synagogue member (current)	30.7	44.3	44.1	13.0	24.8
Member of Jewish organization	25.5	26.9	42.6	6.2	36.9
Gives to Federation	9.7	15.8	35.7	1.5	19.1

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 31. PATTERNS OF AFFILIATION BY FAMILY-CYCLE STAGE, 1979 (PERCENT)

Number of Different Types of Affiliation	Family-Cycle Stage				
	Children			No Children	
	Under 6 Only	6–13	14–17 Only	Head under 40	Head 40 +
Three	0.0	3.6	19.9	0.8	6.3
Two	17.2	20.5	18.5	3.0	13.5
Syn. & org.	(7.5)	(15.3)	(7.8)	(3.0)	(7.0)
Syn. & Fed.	(2.2)	(5.2)	(5.6)	(0.0)	(2.2)
Org. & Fed.	(7.5)	(0.0)	(5.1)	(0.0)	(4.3)
One	32.8	32.7	28.2	11.1	34.5
Syn. only	(21.3)	(19.5)	(12.1)	(8.4)	(7.8)
Org. only	(11.5)	(6.3)	(10.9)	(1.9)	(20.2)
Fed. only	(0.0)	(6.9)	(5.2)	(0.8)	(6.5)
None	50.1	43.2	33.4	85.3	45.8
Total[a]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.
[a]The total refers to the underlined percentages. The percentages in parentheses are subtotals under the patterns of combined affiliations.

TABLE 32. TYPES OF AFFILIATION BY INTERMARRIAGE STATUS, 1979 (PERCENT)

Type of Affiliation	Born Jew Married to		
	Born Jew	Convert	Non-Jew
Synagogue member (current)	41.1	10.2	7.9
Member of Jewish organization	27.2	36.9	1.5
Gives to Federation	11.9	30.2	0.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 33. PATTERNS OF AFFILIATION BY INTERMARRIAGE STATUS, 1979 (PERCENT)

Number of Different Types of Affiliation	Born Jew Married to		
	Born Jew	Convert	Non-Jew
Three	2.0	10.2	0.0
Two	23.0	20.0	1.5
Syn. & org.	(15.9)	(0.0)	(1.5)
Syn. & Fed.	(4.1)	(0.0)	(0.0)
Org. & Fed.	(3.0)	(20.0)	(0.0)
One	28.2	6.7	6.4
Syn. only	(19.1)	(0.0)	(6.4)
Org. only	(6.3)	(6.7)	(0.0)
Fed. only	(2.8)	(0.0)	(0.0)
None	46.8	63.1	92.1
Total[a]	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.
[a]The total refers to the underlined percentages. The percentages in parentheses are subtotals under the patterns of combined affiliations.

TABLE 34. TYPES OF AFFILIATION BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN LOS ANGELES, 1979 (PERCENT)

Type of Affiliation	Number of Years Respondent in Los Angeles				
	Less than 6	6–10	11–20	21–30	31 +
Synagogue member (current)	13.0	18.7	33.5	29.7	27.4
Member of Jewish organization	9.9	20.4	28.8	25.1	37.2
Gives to Federation	6.5	8.1	14.6	13.1	21.1

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 35. PATTERNS OF AFFILIATION BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN LOS ANGELES, 1979 (PERCENT)

Number of Different Types of Affiliation	Number of Years Respondent in Los Angeles				
	Less than 6	6–10	11–20	21–30	31 +
Three	0.0	2.8	4.6	5.3	7.8
Two	8.1	11.9	18.0	10.3	11.7
Syn. & org.	(5.7)	(8.6)	(11.9)	(6.0)	(5.4)
Syn. & Fed.	(2.2)	(1.5)	(3.1)	(1.0)	(3.1)
Org. & Fed.	(0.2)	(1.8)	(3.0)	(3.3)	(3.2)
One	13.4	16.8	28.5	28.8	37.5
Syn. only	(5.7)	(6.9)	(14.6)	(15.9)	(8.8)
Org. only	(3.5)	(7.9)	(10.0)	(9.3)	(21.6)
Fed. only	(4.2)	(2.0)	(3.9)	(3.6)	(7.1)
None	78.4	68.4	48.9	55.7	43.0
Total[a]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.
[a]The total refers to the underlined percentages. The percentages in parentheses are subtotals under the patterns of combined affiliations.

TABLE 36. TYPES OF AFFILIATION BY COMBINED HOUSEHOLD INCOME, 1979 (PERCENT)

Type of Affiliation	Combined Household Income			
	Less than $20,000	$20,000–$29,000	$30,000–$49,000	$50,000 and over
Synagogue member (current)	20.4	21.2	33.0	34.0
Member of Jewish organization	21.9	15.9	29.7	27.9
Gives to Federation	8.1	4.1	21.2	26.9

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.

TABLE 37. PATTERNS OF AFFILIATION BY COMBINED HOUSEHOLD INCOME, 1979 (PERCENT)

Number of Different Types of Affiliation	Combined Household Income			
	Less than $20,000	$20,000–$29,000	$30,000–$49,000	$50,000 and over
Three	3.7	2.2	6.8	9.8
Two	7.9	8.5	16.2	16.6
Syn. & org.	(5.9)	(6.9)	(9.3)	(2.4)
Syn. & Fed.	(0.7)	(1.1)	(0.4)	(7.9)
Org. & Fed.	(1.3)	(0.5)	(6.5)	(6.3)
One	24.0	18.4	27.3	21.6
Syn. only	(9.8)	(10.5)	(15.0)	(10.4)
Org. only	(11.7)	(7.5)	(4.5)	(8.3)
Fed. only	(2.5)	(0.4)	(7.8)	(2.9)
None	64.4	71.1	49.7	52.0
Total[a]	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Bruce A. Phillips, Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, 1979.
[a]The total refers to the underlined percentages. The percentages in parentheses are subtotals under the patterns of combined affiliations.

TABLE 38. MEAN AFFILIATION SCORE BY SELECTED VARIABLES

	Mean Affiliation Score[a]
Age	
18–35	0.37
36–50	0.71
51–65	0.89
65 +	0.98
Family-Cycle Stage	
Children	
Under 6 only	0.67
6–13	0.85
14–17 only	1.25
No Children	
Head under 40	0.19
Head 40 +	0.83
Number of Years in L.A.	
5 or less	0.30
6–10	0.49
11–20	0.78
21–30	0.65
30 +	0.84
Household Type	
Married couple w/children	1.00
Married couple, no children	0.71
Single-parent family	0.46
Never married	0.24
Widow/widower, sep./div.	0.86
Household Income	
Under $20,000	0.51
$20,000–$29,000	0.42
$30,000–$49,000	0.80
$50,000 and over	0.84
Jewish Status of Spouse	
Born Jew	0.98
Convert	1.05
Non-Jew	0.18

[a]The mean affiliation score is computed from a score of "3" if the household has all three kinds of affiliation (i.e., synagogue membership, organizational membership, and Federation giving), a "2" if it has two out of three kinds of affiliation, a "1" if it has a single affiliation, and a "0" if it has no affiliation.

TABLE 39. MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATION FOR AFFILIATION

Variable	Correlation Coefficient (Simple R)	Beta	R-Square	F-Test	Significance
MARRIAGE	0.365	0.375	0.132	95.35	.001
AGE	0.276	0.180	0.180	66.86	.001
KIDCYCLE	0.241	0.172	0.211	54.15	.001
MARRIED	0.234	−0.138	0.218	42.27	.001
INCOME	0.195	0.112	0.227	35.54	.001
WIDOW	0.086	0.095	0.232	30.41	.001
LAYEARS	0.152	0.064	0.235	26.51	.001

TABLE 40. JEWISH HOUSEHOLD TYPES IN 4 CITIES, 1979–1984 (PERCENT)

Household Type	Los Angeles (1979)	Philadelphia (1984)	New York (1981)	Chicago (1981)
Married couple w/children	24.0	26.0	30.0	36.0
Single-parent family	4.0	4.0	5.0	n/a

Sources: Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, Overview for Regional Planning,* Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980, p. 10; Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia, *Summary Report of the Jewish Population Study of Greater Philadelphia,* June 1985, p. 18; Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago, *Metropolitan Chicago Jewish Population, 1981,* p. 4; Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, *The Jewish Population of Greater New York: A Profile,* 1984, p. 15.

TABLE 41. JEWISH AGE DISTRIBUTION IN 4 CITIES, 1979–1984 (PERCENT)

Age (by Decade)	Los Angeles (1979)	Philadelphia (1984)	New York (1981)	Age (by Life-Cycle Stage)[a]	Chicago (1981)	Los Angeles (1979)
0–9	9.8	9.0	11.0	0–17	[21.0]	[20.4]
10–19	13.5	14.0	12.0		[ ]	[ ]
20–29	16.6	15.5	17.0	18–39	[35.0]	[36.8]
30–39	17.3	13.5	14.0		[ ]	[ ]
40–49	12.1	13.5	12.0	40–64	[30.0]	[31.7]
50–59	14.3	14.0	11.0		[ ]	[ ]
60–69	9.5	12.0	12.0	65 +	[15.0]	[11.1]
70+	6.9	9.5	11.0			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	Total	100.0	100.0

Sources: Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Population Study, Overview for Regional Planning,* Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980, p. 7; Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia, *Summary Report of the Jewish Population Study of Greater Philadelphia,* June 1985, p. 13; Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago, *Metropolitan Chicago Jewish Population, 1981,* p. 3; Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, *The Jewish Population of Greater New York: A Profile,* 1984, p. 19.

[a]Based on different reporting method in Chicago study.

TABLE 42. INTERMARRIAGE RATE (BORN JEW MARRIED TO NON-JEW) IN 3 WESTERN CITIES, 1979–1983

Age of Household Head	Percentage of Households with Intermarried Couple		
	Los Angeles (1979)	Phoenix (1983)	Denver (1981)
18–29	48.9	60.3	66.0
30–39	20.8	25.8	40.0
40–49	13.3	23.7	13.3

Sources: Bruce A. Phillips, *Denver Jewish Population Study,* Allied Jewish Federation of Denver, 1982, p. 47; Bruce A. Phillips and William S. Aron, *The Greater Phoenix Jewish Population Study,* Jewish Federation of Greater Phoenix, 1984, p. 11.

TABLE 43. AFFILIATION RATE IN 4 CITIES, 1979–1984

Type of Affiliation	Percentage of Affiliated Households			
	Los Angeles (1979)	Phila-delphia (1984)	New York (1981)	Chicago (1981)
Synagogue member	25.1	41.0	41.0	44.0
Member of Jewish organization	26.1	70.0	n/a	34.0
Gives to Federation	14.0	n/a	26.0	n/a

Sources: Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning,* Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, 1980; Federation of Jewish Agencies of Greater Philadelphia, *Summary Report of the Jewish Population Study of Greater Philadelphia,* June 1985, p. 25 (includes data for other communities); Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago, *Metropolitan Chicago Jewish Population, 1981,* p. 18; Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, *The Jewish Population of Greater New York: A Profile,* 1984, pp. 23, 31.

California Jews: Data from the Field Polls

As California goes—according to the common wisdom—so goes the rest of America. This is true not only in the cultural and political spheres but also in terms of demographic patterns. Such trends as decreased and delayed marriage, increased divorce and remarriage, childless marriage, high geographic mobility, and low institutional religious participation first became evident in California. It is natural to wonder how the sizeable Jewish population of that state fits into the picture. Are California Jews like other Californians—setting the pace for the rest of American Jewry in social-cultural and demographic developments?

According to the most recent estimates, the Jewish population of California numbers over 790,000, qualifying it to be the second-largest Jewish "state" in the country.[1] At present, one out of every seven Jews in the United States lives in California. Given the significant upswing in Jewish migration to the Sunbelt in recent years, that proportion is bound to increase.

The bulk of the Jewish population lives in southern California, primarily in metropolitan Los Angeles. With just over half a million Jews,[2] Los Angeles emerges as the second-largest Jewish community both in the United States and in the world. It is home to the second-largest Israeli population outside of Israel and one of the largest Russian-Jewish communities outside of the Soviet Union. While Jews constitute less than 4 percent of the state's population, they can significantly affect the outcome of statewide (and thus national) elections, and they have high visibility in the media.

Methods

The data selected for the present study come from Field Polls, which have been conducted statewide in California since 1947.[3] Use of the early polls (up to 1958)

Note: This project was aided by a Social and Behavioral Science Dean's Award, California State University Dominguez Hills, and a grant from the American Jewish Committee. Cooperation and help were extended by Mark DiCamillo of the Field Institute and Lynn Anderson of the Computer Center, CSUDH.

[1]AJYB, Vol. 85, 1985, p. 180.

[2]Ibid., p. 183.

[3]To study American Jews, social scientists have turned increasingly to the use of general survey data, such as that provided by the Gallup Poll or the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. General surveys are considered to produce more representative samples than studies directed solely at the Jewish population (which may overcount affiliated, and undercount nonaffiliated, Jews). However, the number of Jews even in a large national sample is too small to be useful. To overcome this difficulty, at least four separate investigators have employed the technique of aggregating responses across several studies in order to create

presents certain problems in that they were conducted infrequently, suffered from small sizes, and used an abbreviated, irregular list of demographic questions, which sometimes omitted religion. In the late 1950s the situation took a positive turn: sampling procedures were improved, the number of questions was increased, and the demographic items became more standardized. Since 1960, polling has been conducted four times a year during nonelection years and six times a year during election years, with minor deviations.

Like most major polls, Field uses primarily random-digit telephoning within geographical clusters (proportionate to telephone and population density), reaching a sample of about 1,150 (California) respondents 18 years of age and older. Recent research has been increasingly accepting of telephone polling, even though it does eliminate people without phones, as well as those who are homeless or in institutions.[4] Many of these individuals belong to the lower socioeconomic classes; in California, many are foreign born, particularly Hispanics. The resultant bias produces a telephone sample that has higher socioeconomic status, with more "Anglos" (including Jews), more American-born, and more citizens than the general population. (In election years, a few polls also screen out people who admit to not being registered to vote.)

The biases, however, are mitigated by several factors. First, census data are available to weight against. Second, the Field organization has incorporated adjustments into the sampling and weighting to ensure the fit of age, sex, and region within California. Last—and in the present context, most importantly—the distortions are much smaller for Jews than for other Californians because Jews have higher incomes, are better educated, and are more likely to be American-born citizens and registered to vote.

The data cited in this article are from 1958 through 1984. Data are either not available or are without religious identification (with up to one exception per year) for the years 1959, 1965–1968, and 1973. The total number of polls is 106, averaging 5 per year for those years in which data are available. The median Jewish subsample is 43, compared with a total median sample of 1,073 per poll. Since demographic change tends to be relatively slow, and the small subsample size is a critical issue, polls are generally aggregated over three-to-four-year periods, with some adjustments made to compensate for uneven subsample sizes and inaccessible polls. The

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a respectable Jewish sample. These studies are, in chronological order: Bernard Lazerwitz, "A Comparison of Major United States Religious Groups," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Sept. 1961, pp. 568–579; John Shelton Reed, "Needles in Haystacks: Studying Rare Populations by Secondary Analysis of National Sample Surveys," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Winter 1975–76, pp. 514–522; Steven M. Cohen, "The American Jewish Family Today," AJYB, Vol. 82, 1982, pp. 136–154; Alan M. Fisher, "The National Gallup Polls and American Jewish Demography," AJYB, Vol. 83, 1983, pp. 111–126.

[4]Robert M. Groves and Robert L. Kahn, *Surveys by Telephone: A National Comparison with Personal Interviews* (New York, 1979) and James H. Frey, *Survey Research by Phone* (Beverly Hills, 1983).

aggregated Jewish samples of 550–950 yield an approximate error margin of ± 5.4 to ± 2.6 percentage points. (In comparison, the average Field Poll—like most major media polls—has an average error margin of approximately ± 3.3 percentage points.)[5]

Even though the error margin is relatively large for demographic studies—which means that the data can be regarded only as rough indicators—it needs to be stressed that the Field Polls provide a rich source of data on California Jews. The Field sampling methodology is superior to—less biased than—that of almost all Jewish community studies, most of which have also employed telephone interviews.[6] In addition, because the Field data allow for religious identification, it is possible to compare Jews with non-Jewish Californians as two mutually exclusive populations.

The sociodemographic findings covered here fall into four basic categories: place of residence; achieved status (education, income, occupation); marital status and family size; and ascribed status (race, gender, age). The first data section presents various comparisons of California Jews with Jews nationwide (the 1970–1971 National Jewish Population Study and Gallup Poll studies), as well as with New York Jews (the 1981 Greater New York Jewish Population Survey), in order to examine regional differences. The next section compares Jews and non-Jews in California in the early 1980s. A third section looks at trends in California over the last 20 years. Finally, there is a brief summary discussion of the data including projections for the immediate future.

Comparative Jewish Perspectives

Findings from the Field Poll have been specially aggregated for two separate time periods in order to compare them with the 1970–1971 National Jewish Population Study (NJPS) and the 1981 New York study; where appropriate and available, national Gallup Poll data about Jews have also been introduced.[7] Some of the differences among the four studies are attributable to differences in response categories. In Table 1, for example, the lower level of graduate education shown by Field

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[5]The error margins, based on a significance level of .05, are only approximate, since they depend upon both exact proportions and sampling methods. The standard formula of s.e.$= 1.96\sqrt{p(1-p)/n}$ applies to purely random sampling and is minimized as the distribution moves from 50-50 to 100-0.

[6]For a review of communal studies, see Gary Tobin and Alvin Chenkin, "Recent Jewish Community Population Studies: A Roundup," AJYB, Vol. 85, 1985, pp. 154–178; Sidney Goldstein, "Jews in the United States: Perspectives from Demography," AJYB, Vol. 81, 1981, pp. 3–59; and Sidney Goldstein, "American Jewry, 1970: A Demographic Profile," AJYB, Vol. 72, 1971, pp. 3–88.

[7]NJPS data are from Fred Massarik and Alvin Chenkin, "United States National Jewish Population Study: A First Report," AJYB, Vol. 74, 1973, pp. 264–306; New York data from Paul Ritterband and Steven M. Cohen, "The Social Characteristics of the New York Area Jewish Community, 1981," AJYB, Vol. 84, 1984, pp. 128–163; Gallup data from Fisher, op. cit.

reflects the inclusion of a small number of respondents too young (18-20) to have finished advanced degrees.

ACHIEVED STATUS

In the period 1969–1972, California Jews were not dramatically different from Jews across the country in achievement: a slightly smaller percentage of California Jews had a high-school education or less and a smaller percentage had achieved graduate degrees (Table 1). On the other hand, a larger percentage of California Jews had some college, undoubtedly a reflection of the extensive statewide system of two-year community colleges.

By the early 1980s, California Jews had achieved significantly higher educational levels than Jews across the country (Table 2). Even if the data overstate education, it is clear that relatively few California Jews had less than a high-school degree, and the large majority (81 percent) had at least some college. At the highest level, postgraduate study, the distribution is similar to that of New York Jews.

TABLE 1. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF JEWS IN CALIFORNIA (1969–1972) AND NATIONAL (1970–1971) POLLS (PERCENT)

Education	California[a]	NJPS[b,c]
Less than high school	16.0	15.9
High-school graduate[d]	24.1	30.6
Some college[d]	31.8	20.4
College graduate	15.3	14.5
M.A. and beyond[e]	12.8	18.6
Total[f]	100.0 (N=752)	100.0 (N=c.7,500)

Sources: California Field Polls; NJPS (recalculated), AJYB, Vol. 74, 1973, p. 278.
[a]Based on respondents 21 and older for 1969–70, and 18 and older for 1970–72.
[b]Based on respondents aged 25 and older.
[c]The category for no response eliminated and the numbers recalculated as a percentage of legitimate responses.
[d]The original NJPS category of "other" (1.6 percent) is divided in two and half (0.8) added here.
[e]The original NJPS category of professional degree (6.4 percent) is included here.
[f]Errors in column total due to rounding.

TABLE 2. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF JEWS IN CALIFORNIA (1980–1982), NEW YORK (1981), AND NATIONAL (1979) POLLS (PERCENT)

Education	California	New York	Nation
High school graduates and lower	20	30	44
Some college	35	17	
College degree	23	32	56
Graduate degree	23	21	
Total[a]	100 (N=745)	100 (N=c. 4,500)	100 (N=991)

Sources: California Field Polls; Greater New York Jewish Population Study, AJYB, Vol. 84, 1984, p. 156; National Gallup Polls, AJYB, Vol. 83, 1983, p. 123.
[a]Errors in column total due to rounding.

Generally parallel findings occur for another measure of personal achievement, income. One must be careful, however, about aggregating income in the late 1970s and very early 1980s, because of high inflation rates and high unemployment, which made yearly differences greater than those in more stable periods. Other problems in the Field Poll findings are the lack of one standardized set of income categories and a change in minimum respondent age.

In 1970 the income of California Jews was only moderately larger than that of all American Jews in the Gallup data, and almost equal to that shown in the NJPS figures. By the early 1980s the Jews of California were remarkably similar in income to the Jews of New York and, according to Gallup data, were far ahead of Jews nationwide (Table 3). While individual community studies show Los Angeles Jews as not differing much from Jews in other large communities,[8] the Gallup data may well be the more accurate because not just Jews, but California and New York non-Hispanic whites overall, made more money than other Americans.

Differences in the incidence of poverty among New York and California Jews and those elsewhere in the country, as shown in Table 3, may be overstated, due both to the bias of telephone polling and variance in the cost of living. At the upper levels, however, the geographical differences likely reflect not only sampling differences and higher cost of living in the Los Angeles and New York areas but the greater job opportunities and related higher educational and occupational levels of Jews in those cities.

Comparable results obtain for occupation. California Jews in 1970 had higher occupational status—a greater percentage of professionals and a smaller percentage

[8]Tobin and Chenkin, op. cit., p. 169.

TABLE 3. HOUSEHOLD INCOME OF JEWS IN CALIFORNIA (1980–1982), NEW YORK (1981), AND NATIONAL (1979) POLLS (PERCENT)

Income	California	New York	Nation
Less than $10,000	12	11	25
$10,000–19,999	17	16	25
$20,000–29,999	19	20	49
$30,000+	52	53	
Total[a]	100 (N=664)	100 (N=c. 4,500)	100 (N=991)

Sources: California Field Polls; Greater New York Jewish Population Study, AJYB, Vol. 84, 1984, p. 158; National Gallup Polls, AJYB, Vol. 83, 1983, p. 125.
[a]Errors in column total due to rounding.

of salespeople/clerks—than did Jews in both the NJPS and Gallup studies, and the differences increased a little in the early 1980s.

MARITAL STATUS AND FAMILY SIZE

While the proportion of married California Jews in the early 1970s closely matched that of Jews in the national Gallup data, Jews in the NJPS were significantly more likely (79:68) to be married (Table 4).

Some of the difference undoubtedly results from the sampling strategy of the NJPS, which, by starting with known Jewish families, found an inflated proportion of marrieds. Much of the difference in marital rates is real, however, reflecting the fact that Californians were less likely than other Americans to be married at the time and more likely never to have married. (Examination of the combined categories of divorced/separated and widowed reveals no important differences.) A comparison of marital status among California and other Jews in 1981, using both the NJPS and New York data as standards, shows the differences persisting: a smaller percentage of California Jews were married and a larger percentage had never married.

Since California Jews were less likely to marry, they were more likely to live alone or with friends. Comparison of average family or household size across studies is made difficult by a lack of identical questions, the use of different categories, and the availability of only partially published data. However, taking all the difficulties into account, a comparison of figures indicates that household size for California Jewish families has been consistently smaller—smaller than for Jewish families nationwide in 1970 (NJPS); and smaller than for New York families in 1981, if the adjusted figure (2.78) based on similar categories is employed (Table 5).

TABLE 4. MARITAL STATUS OF JEWS IN CALIFORNIA (1970–1972) AND NATIONAL (1970–1973) POLLS (PERCENT)

Marital Status	California[a]	NJPS (1970–71)[b]	Nation (1973)[c]
Never married	16.7	6.2	19.9
Married	67.8	78.6	67.6
Separated/ divorced	0.7 4.2	5.1	0.3 12.2
Widowed	10.7	10.0	
Total[d]	100.0 (N=600)	100.0 (N=c. 7,500)	100.0 (N=571)

Sources: California Field Polls; NJPS (recalculated), AJYB, Vol. 74, 1973, p. 275; National Gallup Polls, AJYB, Vol. 83, 1983, p. 114.
[a]Based on respondents 18 and older (N=489) and 21 and older (N=111).
[b]Based on head of household. The category for "no response" (0.4 percent) eliminated and the figures recalculated as a percentage of legitimate responses.
[c]Based on respondents 18 and older.
[d]Errors in column total due to rounding.

TABLE 5. MEAN HOUSEHOLD SIZE OF NEW YORK JEWS (1981), CALIFORNIA JEWS, AND CALIFORNIA NON-JEWS (1980–1982)

Household Size	California Jews[a,b]	California Non-Jews[b]	New York Jews[c]	New York Jews[a]
	2.54 (N=648)	2.87 (N=15,662)	2.49 (N=c. 4,500)	2.78 (N=c. 4,500)

Sources: California Field Polls; Greater New York Jewish Population Study, AJYB, Vol. 84, 1984, p. 141.
[a]Both Jewish and non-Jewish household members counted for Jewish respondents. Calculation for New York estimated by 0.66K(J), where K is the proportion of households (including non-Jews/Jews only) found in the Washington, D.C. community study (2.7/2.3) and J is the mean size for New York households with only Jews.
[b]Families with more than 6 members counted as having 7.77 members.
[c]Only Jewish household members counted.

Confirmation of the California figure can be found in the 1979 community study of Los Angeles.[9]

ASCRIBED STATUS

Neither the NJPS nor the New York study provides information about race or Hispanic subethnicity. The Gallup Poll, which does include such information, shows a very low (about 0.5 percent) but consistent figure for nonwhite (primarily black) Jews, and this matches the Field Polls.

Gender produces fewer surprises. Because it is relatively easy to control for in sampling and weighting, the male-female ratio regularly hovers around 49–51 percent in all the major surveys.

Since the Field Polls provide no systematic accounting for people under 18 (under 21 before 1970), age distribution is shown for adults only (Table 6). Comparison with the NJPS is complicated by the use of different respondent categories, but in 1970 all three studies of Jews (NJPS, Gallup, and Field) showed a notably similar age distribution. By the 1980s, however, the relative age distribution had changed noticeably. A picture compiled from the Gallup Polls, New York data, and other recent community studies—as well as projections from earlier ones—shows that California (adult) Jews were younger: a larger percentage were under age 30 and a smaller percentage were over age 65. (This difference can be seen, also, in a comparison of the Los Angeles and other community studies.)[10] While Table 6

TABLE 6. AGES OF JEWS IN CALIFORNIA (1980–1982), NEW YORK (1981), AND NATIONAL (1979) POLLS (PERCENT)

Age	California	New York	Nation
18–29	27	24	22
30–49	39	31	34
Over 50	35	45	43
Total[a]	100 (N=743)	100 (N=c. 4,500)	100 (N=991)

Sources: California Field Polls; Greater New York Jewish Population Study, AJYB, Vol. 84, 1984, p. 149; National Gallup Polls, AJYB, Vol. 83, 1983, p. 120.
[a]Errors in column total due to rounding.

[9]Bruce A. Phillips, *Los Angeles Jewish Community Survey: Overview for Regional Planning* (Planning and Budgeting Department, Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, Los Angeles, 1980).

[10]See Tobin and Chenkin, op.cit., and Goldstein, op. cit. (1971 and 1981), as well as individual community studies, especially that of Los Angeles—Phillips, op. cit., p. 7.

probably magnifies the differences at the extremes by 1 or 2 percentage points—because of the particular years selected—the differences are still significant. The explanation is probably related to migration dynamics, i.e., a relatively high movement of young people to California in the 1970s and 1980s.

Contemporary California: Jews and Non-Jews

PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Within California, the geographical distribution of Jews is heavily weighted toward two regions, Los Angeles–Orange counties and the San Francisco–Bay Area (Table 7). These two areas contain more than eight out of ten Jews in the state, six of whom live in the greater Los Angeles area.

The AJYB allocations for city and metropolitan areas, as shown in Table 7, have been redistributed according to the Field configuration. Because the Field Poll is broken down into so many (10) categories, each one contains a smaller number of people, thus increasing the margin of error. (In order to increase the sample size, this is the only table which includes data from 1985.) At the same time, for the AJYB there are questions about two subareas in the Los Angeles basin which may have been double counted.[11]

While both sources find overwhelming concentrations of Jews in Los Angeles–Orange counties and the San Francisco–Bay area, there are noticeable differences. The Field data report Jews slightly more dispersed, with more Jews in San Francisco and fewer in Los Angeles than in the AJYB estimates. The difference probably reflects both migration dynamics and sampling bias. Jews who move to largely non-Jewish areas tend to be more marginal than those moving to Jewishly identified regions, e.g., Los Angeles. Whereas the methods employed in community studies —organizational membership lists, personal references, and Jewish name indexes—make it easier to sample publicly identified and affiliated Jews in Jewish areas, the less stratified random-dialing techniques of the Field Poll are as likely to reach a Jew in a mountain cabin as one in the middle of the Fairfax ghetto—provided that each has one telephone number and neither denies being Jewish.

The AJYB updated several of its population counts in the mid-1980s, bringing them closer to the Field data than they had been in 1981. Based on a number of factors—too many to be analyzed here—it appears that the AJYB figures are more accurate, especially for Los Angeles–Orange counties. They are not exact, however, and where the Field data differ, correction needs to be made in the direction of the latter.

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[11]For a comprehensive overview, see Jack Diamond, "A Reader in the Demography of American Jews," AJYB, Vol. 77, 1977, pp. 251–319.

TABLE 7. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CALIFORNIA JEWS AND NON-JEWS (1980–1985) (PERCENT)

Region[a]	Jews, 1980–85 (Field)	Jews, 1984 (AJYB)	Non-Jews, 1980–85 (Field)	State Population, 1980 (Census)
Oregon Border	0.2	0.0	0.7	1.0
Sacramento Valley	2.0	0.9	5.3	5.1
Northern Sierras	0.6	0.0	1.6	2.3
San Francisco–Bay Area	22.5	17.1	25.4	21.9
Monterey–Coast	1.3	0.4	3.1	2.8
San Joaquin Valley	1.1	0.6	7.0	8.7
Santa Barbara–Ventura	3.7	1.3	4.5	3.5
Los Angeles–Orange[b]	59.5	74.2	38.1	39.8
San Diego	6.1	4.3	8.1	7.9
Riverside–San Bernadino–Desert[b]	3.0	1.3	6.3	7.0
Total[c]	100.0 (N=1,220)	100.0	100.0 (N=31,923)	100.0

Sources: California Field Polls; AJYB, Vol. 85, 1985, p. 170; U. S. Census, *California: General Population Characteristics,* Part 6, pp. 17–18.

[a]Composition of the counties as spelled out in "California Field Poll Codebook," April 1984, p. 90.

[b]AJYB figure for the Pomona Valley (3,500) is divided into Los Angeles–Orange (2,900) and San Bernadino (600).

[c]Errors in column total due to rounding.

As the distribution makes clear, Jews were not scattered randomly throughout the state; nor did they live in rural regions. California Jews lived primarily in urban areas with sizeable Jewish populations.

On the related item of housing—not shown in the tables—the Field Polls indicate that California Jews were nearly as likely as non-Jews (61:63) to own their own homes. In the past, the gap had been larger—close to 8 percentage points.

ACHIEVED STATUS

In matters pertaining to personal achievement, the differences are consistently sharp, although the exact figures are distorted by the sampling procedure. In the early 1980s, only one out of five California Jews had no college experience, compared with one out of three non-Jews (Table 8). Jews were also significantly more likely than others to have extended their education beyond the four-year baccalaureate.

The high educational attainment of Jews makes it likely that they will be well represented among professionals and will enjoy relatively high income. This is borne

TABLE 8. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF CALIFORNIA JEWS AND NON-JEWS (1981–1984) (PERCENT)

Education	Jews	Non-Jews
5th grade or less	0.8	2.4
Some high school	1.8	7.0
High-school graduate	16.1	24.5
Trade school	1.7	2.6
Some college	31.6	36.6
4-year-college graduate	17.4	12.8
Some graduate school	5.9	4.3
M.A.	12.7	5.7
More than M.A.	12.2	4.0
(More than B.A.)	(30.8)	(14.0)
Total[a]	100.0 (N=901)	100.0 (N=22,433)

Source: California Field Polls.
[a]Errors in column total due to rounding.

out, in fact, by the data (Table 9). By the early 1980s, about three-fifths of employed Jewish household heads worked primarily as professionals (44 percent) or as managers (17 percent). Combining all levels of labor and service jobs yields only about 12 percent of employed Jews (compared with 34 percent of non-Jews). Slightly more than one-third of employed Jewish household heads worked for themselves, double the figure for non-Jews (Table 10).

TABLE 9. OCCUPATIONS OF WORKING CALIFORNIA JEWS AND NON-JEWS (1981–1984) (PERCENT)

Occupation[a]	Jews	Non-Jews
Professional	44.1	29.5
Managerial	16.7	17.3
Clerical	7.6	10.4
Sales	19.2	9.3
Skilled labor	6.4	15.9
Semi-skilled labor	1.7	7.4
Service	2.7	7.3
Farm and unskilled labor	1.5	2.9
Total[b]	100.0 (N=657)	100.0 (N=15,795)

Source: California Field Polls.
[a]Based only on chief wage earner.
[b]Errors in column total due to rounding.

TABLE 10. SELF-EMPLOYMENT OF WORKING CALIFORNIA JEWS AND NON-JEWS (1981–1984) (PERCENT)

Employment Status[a]	Jews	Non-Jews
Self-employed	36.4	19.7
Work for other	63.6	80.3
Total	100.0 (N=662)	100.0 (N=15,915)

Source: California Field Polls.
[a]Based on chief wage earner.

In line with Jewish educational and occupational attainment, Jewish family income was significantly higher than that of other Californians (Table 11). The superior earning power of Jews was not a function of the presence of more wage earners per family. In the early 1980s a direct question on the number of wage earners produced the following results: Jewish households were slightly more likely than non-Jewish households to have one and particularly two breadwinners, but were less likely to have more than two—reflecting smaller Jewish household size. (See Table 18.)

Although there are no direct data on the subject of working women, related data indirectly suggest that Jewish women were more likely than non-Jewish women to be employed. Jewish households were smaller, and fewer of them consisted of married couples—yet more Jewish households had two working adults. This is most likely explained by a large proportion of working women, an inference that is further reinforced by the considerably higher educational levels of Jewish women compared with non-Jewish women.[12]

At the lower end of the income scale, relative differences between Jews and non-Jews were smaller than in the highest income category. About 10 percent of California Jewish households reported an income of $10,000 or less, compared with 14 percent of other Californians. However, since poor, foreign-language-speaking, and institutionalized individuals are all underrepresented in telephone surveys, the figures for both Jews and non-Jews should probably be increased by at least 3–4 percentage points.

TABLE 11. HOUSEHOLD INCOME OF CALIFORNIA JEWS AND NON-JEWS (1981–1984) (PERCENT)

Income	Jews	Non-Jews
Less than $7,000	5.3	6.6
$7,000–$9,999	4.9	7.8
$10,000–$14,999	5.7	9.7
$15,000–$19,999	8.6	13.3
$20,000–$29,999	20.8	23.8
More than $30,000	54.6	38.8
Total[a]	100.0 (N=853)	100.0 (N=21,383)

Source: California Field Polls.
[a]Errors in column total due to rounding.

[12]Alan M. Fisher and Curtis K. Tanaka, "Jewish Demography in California: The Use of Aggregated Survey Data," in *Papers in Jewish Demography 1985* (Jerusalem, forthcoming).

MARITAL STATUS AND FAMILY SIZE

Differences in marital status between Jews and non-Jews were small, although significant and in the same direction found in the Gallup studies: Jews were more likely never to have been married and slightly less likely to be currently married (Table 12). Since California Jews were not younger than other Californians, these differences cannot be attributed to age.

Rates for divorce, separation, and widowhood are similar. One-seventh of California adults were separated or divorced. (Since people who had been divorced and were currently married counted as married, the figures for "divorced" and "separated" are only partial indicators of the total incidence of divorce.)

The notion of widespread singledom in California has some basis in fact. Indeed, there were higher proportions of one-person households and single-parent families in California than in the rest of the nation. Still, among all Californians, married adults significantly outnumbered the unmarried. Among Jews, although a smaller percentage were married or had ever been married, the majority were in fact married.

In the early 1980s, about one-fifth of Jewish households consisted of only one person, variously defined as divorced, separated, widowed, but primarily never-married (Table 13). The addition of single parents raises the number of one-adult households to one-quarter of all Jewish households. (This figure is not shown in the table, in which "two persons" may be a parent and child or two adults.) Furthermore, almost six out of ten California Jewish households consisted of no more than one or two people—primarily couples (married and unmarried), but also single

TABLE 12. MARITAL STATUS OF ADULT CALIFORNIA JEWS AND NON-JEWS (1983–1984) (PERCENT)

Marital Status[a]	Jews	Non-Jews
Never married	25.4	21.1
Married	54.6	57.7
Separated/ divorced	14.0	13.8
Widowed	6.1	7.4
Total[b]	100.0 (N=394)	100.0 (N=9,876)

Source: California Field Polls.
[a]Based on respondents 18 and older.
[b]Errors in column total due to rounding.

TABLE 13. HOUSEHOLD SIZE OF CALIFORNIA JEWS AND NON-JEWS (1981–1984) (PERCENT)

Number of Persons per Household	Jews	Non-Jews
1	21.4	18.0
2	38.3	33.2
3	18.0	18.7
4	13.2	17.2
5	6.2	7.8
6	1.7	3.0
7 or more	1.1	2.1
Total[a]	100.0 (N=809)	100.0 (N=19,763)

Source: California Field Polls.
[a]Errors in column total due to rounding.

parents with one child and unrelated roommates. Not only were Jewish households significantly smaller overall than those of non-Jews, but the sampling bias against the poor and the foreign-born suggests that the real differences were even greater than they appear.

Married couples with at least one child at home—the traditional family—constituted a distinct minority, both among Jews and other Californians, and represented a smaller percentage than in the past. Although there is no single measure of the total number of children living at home, a partial picture can be obtained by looking at numbers of children in three age groupings: 0–5, 6–12, 13–17 (Table 14). For each age category, more than four-fifths of all California households (including Jews) showed no children at all. (An indirect measure of the declining Jewish birthrate is the fact that a slightly smaller percentage had very young children at home than had children aged 6–12, and a smaller percentage had 6–12-year-olds than had teenagers.) For all three age groups, Jews were more likely than non-Jews to have no children at home, and for those who did have children, Jews were more likely than others to have only one.

ASCRIBED STATUS

In matters of ascribed status, the Field findings are weighted for one measure (gender), are completely one-sided for a second (race), and are expected for the third (age).

TABLE 14. NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN CALIFORNIA JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS, BY AGES OF CHILDREN (1981–1984) (PERCENT)

Number of Children	Children's Ages, Jewish Households		
	0–5	6–12	13–17
0	90.4	88.0	84.5
1	8.4	8.3	11.4
2	1.2	3.5	3.5
3	0.0	.2	.5
4	0.0	0.0	0.0
5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total[a]	100.0 (N=809)	100.0 (N=809)	100.0 (N=809)
Number of Children	Children's Ages, Non-Jewish Households		
	0–5	6–12	13–17
0	83.5	81.6	82.5
1	11.3	12.1	11.9
2	4.4	5.2	4.4
3	.7	.9	1.0
4	.1	.2	.2
5	0.0	.1	0.0
Total[a]	100.0 (N=19,714)	100.0 (N=19,683)	100.0 (N=19,614)

Source: California Field Polls.
[a]Errors in column total due to rounding.

The distribution of gender within the Jewish community is not apparently much different from the rest of the population, but this is one of the only variables for which the sampling-error margin precludes any confidence in the findings.

As is commonly known, almost all Jews are white—almost 98 percent, according to the polls of the early 1980s. Among California Jews, 0.4 percent were Asian, 0.6 percent black, and 1.2 percent "other." Since Eskimos and Native Americans are not plentiful in the Jewish community, "other" probably signifies primarily the offspring of interracial marriages. It is noteworthy that both the Field and Gallup Polls have found small but consistent traces of nonwhite Jews. Since California is one of the most racially heterogeneous states in the country, it is not surprising that the figures are higher there.

A separate question turns up a small proportion (3.4 percent) of California Jews who claim Latin descent, a larger number than in the past. This probably reflects the increased antisemitism and economic instability in some Latin American countries, leading to emigration.

For age, the California findings of the early 1980s duplicate the general pattern found across the country, but with more moderate differences: a smaller percentage of young (adult) Jews and a larger percentage of older ones than in the population at large (Table 15). In the middle of the age spectrum, differences are minimal. (See also Table 19.) This is explainable by the declining size of Jewish families, i.e., more people who have never married and fewer children for married couples, hence a smaller proportion of young people. This is partly balanced by an immigration weighted toward younger people.

TABLE 15. AGES OF ADULT CALIFORNIA JEWS AND NON-JEWS (1981–1984) (PERCENT)

Age[a]	Jews	Non-Jews
18–20	5.1	5.7
21–29	20.1	21.6
30–39	21.6	23.6
40–49	15.4	15.2
50–59	14.7	13.8
60–69	13.5	12.4
70+	9.4	7.8
(60+)	(22.9)	(20.2)
Total[b]	100.0	100.0
	(N=901)	(N=22,349)

Source: California Field Polls.
[a]Based only on population 18 and older.
[b]Errors in column total due to rounding.

Change Over Two Decades

ACHIEVED STATUS

How have California Jews and other Californians changed over the last quarter of a century? The most dramatic change has been in educational attainment. The proportion of California Jewish adults who were college graduates or higher doubled —from 24 percent in the 1958–1961 period to 48 percent in the early 1980s (Table 16). The percentage having at least some college experience rose from 49 to 79 in

TABLE 16. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF CALIFORNIA JEWS (1958–1984) (PERCENT)

Education	1958–61	1962–64	1968–72	1974–77	1978–80[a]	1981–84[a]
Less than 8th grade	13.9	8.0	7.6	3.1	1.3	0.8
Some high school	11.5	6.6	8.2	5.6	2.5	1.8
High-school graduate	25.8	26.6	23.5	23.1	17.0	17.8
Some college	25.0	22.8	33.6	26.4	33.9	31.0
College graduate	15.3	23.2	13.7	23.1	16.9	17.4
Post-graduate work	8.3	12.8	13.4	18.8	28.5	30.7
Total[b]	100.0 (N=503)	100.0 (N=561)	100.0 (N=801)	100.0 (N=576)	100.0 (N=629)	100.0 (N=901)

Source: California Field Polls.
[a]Trade school included as high-school graduate.
[b]Errors in column total due to rounding.

the same time span. By 1982 the proportion of Jews going on to graduate school was greater than the proportion that had finished college 20 years earlier.

The proportion of non-Jewish adults in California with at least some college rose from 38 to 63 percent—almost proportional to the Jewish increase—and the proportion of college graduates increased from 15 to 27 percent.

Changes in occupation and income follow those in education. The proportion of Jews working as professionals rose from 25 percent (1958–1961) to 44 percent (1981–1984), with some leveling off between the late 1970s and the early 1980s. The most significant decreases were for managers and clerical workers, attributable largely to increasing education and a focus on the professions. There were few physical laborers in the early 1960s, and even fewer in the early 1980s. (See Table 9.)

For non-Jewish Californians, the pattern of change closely parallels that of Jews, including a rise in the proportion of professionals. For many years the proportion of non-Jews who were professionals was between 60 and 67 percent of the comparable figure for Jews. The fact that this proportion was higher in the 1980s than in the 1960s suggests a possible trend toward less differentiation.

The proportions of Jews working for others and those working for themselves remained generally stable. The proportion of self-employed individuals was about 37 percent from the early 1960s on. Among non-Jewish Californians, there was a

slight increase in the percentage of self-employed from the early 1970s to the early 1980s, but the figure (15–20 percent) always remained lower than that for Jews.

A noteworthy change that occurred among Jews between 1972 and 1982 was in the number of wage earners (Table 17). The proportion of households without any wage earner declined (from 23 to 16 percent), as did the proportion of households with only one wage earner (from 49 to 43 percent). There was a complementary increase in the number of households with two or more working people, from 28 to 42 percent. The wage-earner trend for other Californians was similar, though the percentage of non-Jewish families with no working member remained the same over the years.

The increasing number of working couples—combined with higher educational levels and a rise in vocational status—led to much higher levels of income. Although part of this increase obviously reflected inflation, real income rose strikingly. Whereas in the late 1960s about two-fifths of Jews had a family income of over $15,000, by the early 1980s more than one-half earned above $30,000.

A comparative study of income produces mixed findings. From 1969 to 1984 the proportion of Jews in the highest income category (which increases to $40,000 in 1981) was about double the proportion of other Californians, although there was a slight decline over time. Keeping the top category at $30,000 (see Table 11), however, the relative proportion decreases considerably, from 204 to 144 (with 100 as parity). At the lowest income levels the figures are much closer. According to Table 11, for example, the relative proportion of Jews making less than $7,000 per year was almost equal (0.80) to the comparable figure for non-Jews. The persistence over time of a poor Jewish element is linked to the relatively high (and growing) percentage of elderly within the community (though this percentage was lower in California for both Jews and non-Jews than elsewhere).

TABLE 17. NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS IN CALIFORNIA JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS (1971–1984) (PERCENT)

Number of Wage Earners	1971–72	1974–77	1978–81	1982–84
0	22.8	18.8	14.2	15.8
1	49.0	54.4	49.1	42.6
2	25.1	24.4	32.2	34.5
3	3.1	2.4	4.6	7.1
Total[a]	100.0 (N=382)	100.0 (N=463)	100.0 (N=696)	100.0 (N=707)

Source: California Field Polls.

[a]Errors in column total due to rounding.

MARITAL STATUS AND FAMILY SIZE

The picture with regard to marital status is somewhat blurred; in the past the question appeared irregularly in the Field Poll, and the statewide findings for 1970 differ from the census by 5 percentage points. By contrast, in the 1980s the figures corresponded more closely.

Jews match and even slightly surpass other Californians in the percentage increase in those never-married as well as in the percentage decrease in those currently married. (Dramatic changes in Jewish marital rates can be seen by comparing Tables 4 and 12.) Rates for widows remain about the same, whereas those for the separated and divorced increase.

Changes in household or family size are harder to detect than changes in marital status because the ranges are narrow. Californians in general start at a low level, and the 1970 findings are biased by use of a minimum age of 21 rather than 18. Nevertheless, there was a small but noticeable diminution in the number of people living at home with family. In the 1969–1972 period, 35 percent of Jewish households had at least four family members, whereas ten years later the figure was 23 percent (Table 18). During the same period, the proportion of single-person families increased gradually from 17 to 21 percent. The modal two-person household climbed from 33 percent in 1969–1972 to a relatively stable 38 percent from 1975 onward.

The proportion of Jewish households with any child younger than six dropped from 13.2 percent in 1970–1972 to 9.6 percent in 1981–1984, while the proportion of those with more than one young child dropped from 4.9 to 1.2 percent. Jewish

TABLE 18. HOUSEHOLD SIZE OF CALIFORNIA JEWS (1969–1984) (PERCENT)

Number of Persons per Household	1969–72	1974–77	1978–80	1981–84
1	16.6	19.0	22.4	21.4
2	32.7	36.9	41.0	38.3
3	15.7	14.9	14.2	18.0
4	20.7	18.4	14.8	13.2
5	10.5	6.3	4.8	6.2
6	2.8	3.0	2.0	1.7
7	0.9	1.5	0.8	1.1
Total[a]	100.0 (N=667)	100.0 (N=463)	100.0 (N=393)	100.0 (N=809)

Source: California Field Polls.
[a]Errors in column total due to rounding.

families were not the only ones becoming smaller, however. Similar patterns obtain for California in general.

ASCRIBED STATUS

For the state as a whole—Jews excepted—dramatic changes in racial composition were brought about by the immigration of large groups of Koreans, Hong-Kong Chinese, and Vietnamese. The proportion of whites (including Latinos) in the Field statewide sample dropped from 95 percent in 1960 to 88 percent in the early 1980s, while for Jews it remained almost exactly the same—99 to 98 percent. There was no noticeable change with regard to gender for either group.

Changes in age distribution reflect the singular dynamics of California's population. According to census data for the United States as a whole, the proportion of adults (18+) aged 65 and over jumped from 13.7 to 16.0 percent between 1960 and 1984. In California, however, the increase was from 13.6 to 14.0 percent—one-sixth of the increase for the country as a whole.

The Field findings resemble census figures in that age is weighted against them and the error margin is narrowed. In order to facilitate observation over time, the initial (Field) age divisions have been kept, with 21 as the minimum and senior status set at age 60 and above. Fluctuations—which arise even in the three-year time periods—have been moderated by combining two such periods. Because the findings in the available polls from 1969 through 1976 present a disconcerting interruption in the flow from the earlier period to the mid-1980s, we treat the middle period as containing some minor sampling aberrations, although there are some consistent developments as well. The most striking change in age distribution is the increase in the percentage of people in their 20s (Table 19). Also noteworthy is the relatively modest increase in adults (21+) aged 60 and above—for Jews from 20.9 to 22.2 percent and for non-Jews from 19.9 to 20.9 percent. Like other Californians, Jews, as a group, have not appreciably aged. This is due primarily to migration of mostly younger people, from other parts of the United States and from overseas (including Israel, the Soviet Union, and Iran).

Future Trends

California is a trendsetter, a place where change starts and then spreads. While this has been less true in Jewish life, where New York City is still the pivot, the signs of change are there: New York is losing Jewish population, while California is gaining; New York Jews are becoming older and many of them poorer, while California Jews, on the whole, are maintaining their relative youthfulness and becoming wealthier.

For several of the demographic characteristics examined in this article, California Jews are more like other Jews than other Californians. They are more likely to live in cosmopolitan areas; are more highly educated, of higher vocational status, have

TABLE 19. AGES OF CALIFORNIA JEWS AND NON-JEWS (1958–1984) (PERCENT)

Age	Jews 1958–64	Jews 1969–76[a]	Jews 1977–84
21–29	16.5	19.9	22.4
30–39	24.6	17.5	25.2
40–49	22.1	19.2	15.4
50–59	15.9	18.0	14.7
60+	20.9	25.3	22.2
Total[b]	100.0 (N=1,314)	100.0 (N=1,628)	100.0 (N=1,477)
Age	**Non-Jews 1958–64**	**Non-Jews 1968–76[a]**	**Non-Jews 1977–84**
21–29	17.1	22.4	23.5
30–39	24.9	21.3	24.4
40–49	22.0	19.2	16.2
50–59	16.1	16.5	14.9
60+	19.9	20.7	20.9
Total[b]	100.0 (N=26,551)	100.0 (N=40,463)	100.0 (N=36,208)

Source: California Field Polls.
[a]Data for 1973 are missing.
[b]Errors in column totals due to rounding.

higher incomes, and are more likely to be self-employed; they are also more likely to be single or to have smaller families. Since these traits also characterize the Jews who are currently moving to California, they are likely to persist in the near future.

But the Jews do not live in a vacuum; demographically, they have not escaped the currents of California life. There is no single demographic trait for which Jews have moved in a direction different from other Californians. Thus, increasing educational levels result not only from an influx of educated migrants but also from a higher educational system that is open to all Californians. The same factors that have created stress for non-Jewish marriages have led to fewer successful Jewish marriages. Even in racial composition Jews have not been insulated from societal change, acquiring a small but growing number of black and Asian Jews, or some mixture thereof, as well as Hispanic Jews.

The future is likely to bring more of the same for both Jews and non-Jews in California. Immigration of Anglos, which had slowed in the late 1970s, will continue, especially for Jews, centering upon the young and upwardly mobile, but also including some of the elderly. Jews will continue to succeed in socioeconomic terms, being disproportionately represented among the most highly educated and economically comfortable segments of California society.

It may perhaps be that California has passed the peak of a demographic upheaval like that which occurred on the East Coast in the 30 years prior to 1920. When the process is finished, the California Jewish community will be more numerous and powerful than ever before. After that, the numbers will depend primarily on rates of birth and assimilation, and prosperity will continue to be tied to education and the general economic condition of the state.

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Jewish Population in the United States, 1985

THE JEWISH POPULATION in the United States in 1985 is estimated to be 5.835 million. This figure is approximately the same as that reported for 1984, and reflects the absence of demographic factors making for population increase.

The basic population units are the fund-raising areas of local Jewish federations, which may represent one county or an aggregate of several counties. In Table 3, those communities shown with two asterisks have indicated changes in their Jewish populations in 1985; those with a single asterisk have submitted current estimates, but have indicated no changes in numbers. While less than a quarter of all communities have supplied population estimates for 1985, the total population of the responding communities accounts for more than 90 percent of the estimated total population of Jews in the United States in 1985.

The state and regional totals shown in Table 1 and Table 2 are derived by summing individual community estimates, shown in Table 3, and then making three adjustments. First, communities of less than 100 are added. Second, duplications within states are eliminated. Third, communities falling within two or more states (e.g., Washington, D.C., and Kansas City, Missouri) are distributed accordingly.

In almost every instance, local estimates refer to "Jewish households," i.e., households in which one or more Jews reside. As a consequence, non-Jews are included in the count, their percentage of the total being estimated (based on the 1970 National Jewish Population Study and a number of current studies) as between 6 and 7 percent. Assuming this proportion, the number of individuals in "Jewish households" who identify themselves as Jewish in 1985 would be approximately 5.425 million.

Based on recent studies, three communities reported significant changes from their 1984 estimates. Atlanta and Phoenix showed increases: Atlanta from 33,500 to 50,000; Phoenix from 35,000 to 50,000. Philadelphia lowered its estimate from 295,000 to 240,000. These changes, which are reflected in the state and regional totals, are part of the continuing trend toward geographical redistribution that has been evident over the past decade. The Jewish population in the Northeast is decreasing as a proportion of the total Jewish population, while the South's and the West's proportions are increasing.

ALVIN CHENKIN

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1985

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population*	Estimated Jewish Percent of Total
Alabama	9,400	3,990,000	0.2
Alaska	960	500,000	0.2
Arizona	68,285	3,053,000	2.2
Arkansas	2,975	2,349,000	0.1
California	793,065	25,622,000	3.1
Colorado	48,565	3,178,000	1.5
Connecticut	105,400	3,154,000	3.3
Delaware	9,500	613,000	1.6
District of Columbia	24,285	622,823	3.9
Florida	570,320	10,976,000	5.2
Georgia	58,570	5,837,000	1.0
Hawaii	5,550	1,039,000	0.5
Idaho	505	1,001,000	0.1
Illinois	262,710	11,511,000	2.3
Indiana	21,335	5,498,000	0.4
Iowa	5,570	2,910,000	0.2
Kansas	11,430	2,438,000	0.5
Kentucky	12,775	3,723,000	0.3
Louisiana	17,405	4,462,000	0.4
Maine	9,350	1,156,000	0.8
Maryland	199,415	4,439,000	4.5
Massachusetts	249,370	5,798,000	4.3
Michigan	86,125	9,075,000	0.9
Minnesota	32,240	4,162,000	0.8
Mississippi	3,130	2,598,000	0.1
Missouri	64,690	5,008,000	1.3
Montana	645	824,000	0.1
Nebraska	7,865	1,606,000	0.5
Nevada	18,200	911,000	2.0
New Hampshire	5,980	977,000	0.6
New Jersey	430,570	7,515,000	5.7
New Mexico	5,155	1,424,000	0.4
New York	1,915,145	17,735,000	10.8

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population*	Estimated Jewish Percent of Total
North Carolina	14,990	6,165,000	0.2
North Dakota	1,085	686,000	0.2
Ohio	138,935	10,752,000	1.3
Oklahoma	6,885	3,298,000	0.2
Oregon	11,050	2,674,000	0.4
Pennsylvania	353,045	11,901,000	3.0
Rhode Island	22,000	962,000	2.3
South Carolina	8,095	3,300,000	0.2
South Dakota	635	706,000	0.1
Tennessee	19,445	4,717,000	0.4
Texas	78,655	15,989,000	0.5
Utah	2,850	1,652,000	0.2
Vermont	2,465	530,000	0.5
Virginia	60,185	5,636,000	1.1
Washington	22,085	4,149,000	0.5
West Virginia	4,265	1,952,000	0.2
Wisconsin	31,190	4,766,000	0.7
Wyoming	310	511,000	0.1
U.S. TOTAL	**5,834,655	236,031,000	2.5

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

*Resident population, July 1, 1984, provisional. (Source: *Provisional Estimates of the Population of Counties: July 1984,* Bureau of the Census, series P-26, No. 84-52-C, March 1985.)

**Exclusive of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, which previously reported Jewish populations of 1,800 and 510, respectively.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. JEWISH POPULATION BY REGIONS, 1985

Region	*Total Population*	*Percent Distribution*	*Jewish Population*	*Percent Distribution*
Northeast:	49,728,000	21.1	3,093,330	53.0
New England	12,577,000	5.3	394,555	6.8
Middle Atlantic	37,151,000	15.7	2,698,760	46.3
North Central:	59,118,000	25.0	663,810	11.4
East North Central ..	41,602,000	17.6	540,300	9.3
West North Central..	17,516,000	7.4	123,515	2.1
South:	80,667,000	34.2	1,100,295	18.9
South Atlantic	39,541,000	16.8	949,625	16.3
East South Central...	15,028,000	6.4	44,750	0.8
West South Central ..	26,098,000	11.1	105,915	1.8
West:	46,538,000	19.7	977,220	16.8
Mountain.....	12,554,000	5.3	144,515	2.5
Pacific	33,984,000	14.4	832,710	14.3
TOTALS.....	236,031,000	100.0	5,834,655	100.0

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

TABLE 3. COMMUNITIES WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1985 (ESTIMATED)

State and City	Jewish Population
ALABAMA	
Anniston	100
*Birmingham	4,500
Dothan	205
Gadsden	180
Huntsville	550
*Mobile	1,250
**Montgomery	1,650
Selma	210
Tri-Cities[a]	150
Tuscaloosa	315
ALASKA	
Anchorage	600
Fairbanks	210
ARIZONA	
**Phoenix	50,000
*Tucson	18,000
ARKANSAS	
Fayetteville	120
Ft. Smith	160
Hot Springs (incl. in Little Rock)	
**Little Rock	1,400
Pine Bluff	175
Southeast Arkansas[b]	140
Wynne-Forest City	110
CALIFORNIA	
*Alameda & Contra Costa Counties	35,000
Antelope Valley	375
Bakersfield (incl. in Kern County)	
El Centro	125
Elsinore	250
Eureka	250
Fontana	165
*Fresno	2,000
Kern County	850
Lancaster (incl. in Antelope Valley)	
*Long Beach	13,500
*Los Angeles Metropolitan Area	500,870
Merced	100
Modesto	260
Monterey	1,500
Oakland (incl. in Alameda & Contra Costa Counties)	
Ontario (incl. in Pomona Valley)	
*Orange County	60,000
*Palm Springs	4,950
Pasadena (also incl. in Los Angeles Metropolitan Area)	2,000
Petaluma	800
Pomona Valley[c]	3,500
Riverside	1,200
**Sacramento	8,500
Salinas	350
San Bernardino	1,900
**San Diego	35,000
*San Francisco	80,000
*San Jose	18,000
San Luis Obispo	450
San Pedro	300
Santa Barbara	3,800
Santa Cruz	1,000
Santa Maria	200
Santa Monica	8,000
Santa Rosa	750
**Stockton	1,500
Sun City	800
Tulare & Kings County (incl. in Fresno)	
Vallejo	400
Ventura County	6,000
COLORADO	
Colorado Springs	1,000
**Denver	46,800
Pueblo	375
CONNECTICUT	
*Bridgeport	18,000
Bristol	250
Colchester	525
*Danbury (incl. New Milford)	3,500
**Greenwich	5,000
*Hartford (incl. New Britain)	26,000
Lebanon	175
Lower Middlesex County (incl. in New London)[d]	
Manchester (incl. in Hartford)	
Meriden	1,400
Middletown	1,300
Milford (incl. in New Haven)	
Moodus	150
*New Haven	22,000
New London	3,500
Newtown (incl. in Danbury)	
*Norwalk	4,000
Norwich	2,500
Putnam	110
Rockville (incl. in Hartford)	
*Stamford	12,000

State and City	Jewish Population
Torrington	450
Valley Area[e]	700
Wallingford	440
**Waterbury	2,700
Westport	2,800
Willimantic	400
Winsted	110
DELAWARE	
*Wilmington (incl. rest of state)	9,500
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
*Greater Washington[f]	157,335
FLORIDA	
*Boca Raton-Delray	40,000
Brevard County	2,250
*Daytona Beach	2,000
**Fort Lauderdale	110,000
Fort Pierce	270
Gainesville	1,000
*Hollywood	60,000
*Jacksonville	6,800
Key West	170
Lakeland	800
**Lee County (incl. Ft. Myers)	3,000
Lehigh Acres	125
*Miami	253,340
*Orlando	15,000
*Palm Beach County (excl. Boca Raton)	45,000
Pensacola	725
Port Charlotte	150
**Sarasota	8,500
St. Augustine	100
*St. Petersburg (incl. Clearwater)	9,500
Tallahassee	1,000
*Tampa	10,500
GEORGIA	
Albany	525
Athens	250
**Atlanta	50,000
*Augusta	1,500
Brunswick	120
*Columbus	1,000
Dalton	235
Fitzgerald-Cordele	125
Macon	900
*Savannah	2,600
Valdosta	145
HAWAII	
Hilo	100
Honolulu	5,000
Kona	150
Kuaii	100
Maui	200
IDAHO	
Boise	120
ILLINOIS	
Aurora	400
Bloomington	125
*Champaign-Urbana	2,000
*Chicago Metropolitan Area	248,000
Danville	240
Decatur	350
East St. Louis (incl. in So. Ill.)	
Elgin	830
Galesburg (incl. in Peoria)	
*Joliet	800
Kankakee	260
**Peoria	1,500
**Quad Cities[g]	1,750
Quincy	200
Rock Island (incl. in Quad Cities)	
*Rockford	975
**Southern Illinois[h]	900
*Springfield	1,100
Sterling-Dixon	110
Waukegan	1,200
INDIANA	
Anderson	105
Bloomington	300
Elkhart (incl. in South Bend)	
Evansville	1,200
**Ft. Wayne	1,170
Gary (incl. in Northwest Indiana-Calumet Region)	
**Indianapolis	11,000
*Lafayette	600
Marion	170
**Michigan City	450
Muncie	175
**Northwest Indiana-Calumet Region[i]	3,000
Richmond	110
Shelbyville	140
*South Bend	1,900
Terre Haute	450
IOWA	
Cedar Rapids	330
Council Bluffs	245
Davenport (incl. in Quad Cities, Ill.)	
**Des Moines	3,200
Dubuque	105
Fort Dodge	115
Iowa City	750
Mason City	110
Muscatine	120
Ottumwa	150

State and City	Jewish Population
**Sioux City	785
Waterloo	450
KANSAS	
Topeka	500
*Wichita	1,000
KENTUCKY	
**Lexington	2,000
*Louisville	9,200
Paducah	175
LOUISIANA	
Alexandria	700
**Baton Rouge	1,400
Lafayette	600
Lake Charles	250
**Monroe	425
*New Orleans	12,000
**Shreveport	1,200
MAINE	
Augusta	215
Bangor	1,300
Southern Maine (excl. Portland)	950
Calais	135
**Lewiston-Auburn	500
*Portland	5,500
Waterville	300
MARYLAND	
Annapolis	2,000
*Baltimore	92,000
Cumberland	265
Easton Park Area[j]	100
Frederick	400
Hagerstown	275
Hartford County	500
Howard County	4,000
Montgomery and Prince Georges County[f]	99,500
Salisbury	300
MASSACHUSETTS	
Amherst	750
Athol	110
Attleboro	200
Beverly	1,000
*Boston (incl. Brockton)	170,000
Fall River	1,780
Fitchburg	300
*Framingham	10,000
Gardner	100
Gloucester	400
Great Barrington	105
Greenfield	250
Haverhill	1,650
Holyoke	1,100
Hyannis	1,200
**Lawrence	3,600
*Leominster	750
Lowell	2,000
*Lynn (incl. Beverly, Peabody, and Salem)	19,000
Medway (incl. in Framingham)	
Milford (incl. in Framingham)	
Mills (incl. in Framingham)	
*New Bedford	2,700
Newburyport	280
North Berkshire	675
Northampton	700
Peabody	2,600
**Pittsfield (incl. all Berkshire County)	3,100
Plymouth	500
Salem	1,150
Southbridge	105
**Springfield	11,250
Taunton	1,200
Webster	125
*Worcester	10,000
MICHIGAN	
Ann Arbor (incl. all Washtenaw County)	3,000
Battle Creek	245
Bay City	650
Benton Harbor	650
*Detroit	70,000
**Flint	2,765
*Grand Rapids	1,500
Iron County	160
Iron Mountain	105
Jackson	375
Kalamazoo	1,000
**Lansing	2,100
Marquette County	175
Mt. Clemens	420
Mt. Pleasant	100
Muskegon	235
**Saginaw	400
South Haven	100
MINNESOTA	
Austin	125
*Duluth	1,100
Hibbing	155
**Minneapolis	23,000
Rochester	240
*St. Paul	7,500
Virginia	100
MISSISSIPPI	
Biloxi-Gulfport	100
Clarksdale	160
Cleveland	180
Greenville	500
Greenwood	100
Hattiesburg	180
**Jackson	700
Meridian	135
Natchez	140
Vicksburg	260

State and City	Jewish Population
MISSOURI	
Columbia	350
Joplin	115
**Kansas City	19,000
Kennett	110
Springfield	230
St. Joseph	343
*St. Louis	53,500
MONTANA	
Billings	160
NEBRASKA	
Lincoln	750
*Omaha	6,500
NEVADA	
*Las Vegas	17,000
Reno	1,200
NEW HAMPSHIRE	
Claremont	130
Concord	350
Dover	425
Keene	105
Laconia	150
*Manchester	3,000
Nashua	450
Portsmouth	1,000
NEW JERSEY	
*Atlantic City (incl. Atlantic County)	12,000
Bayonne	4,500
*Bergen County[k]	100,000
Bridgeton	375
*Camden[l]	28,000
Carteret	300
Elizabeth (incl. in Union County)	
Englewood (incl. in Bergen County)	
*Essex County[m]	111,000
Flemington	875
Gloucester County[n]	165
Hoboken	350
**Jersey City	4,000
**Middlesex County[o]	39,350
Millville	240
*Monmouth County	33,600
Morris-Sussex Counties[p] (incl. in Essex County)	
Morristown (incl. in Morris County)	
Mt. Holly	300
Newark (incl. in Essex County)	
New Brunswick (incl. in Raritan Valley)	
North Hudson County[q]	7,000
*North Jersey[r]	32,500
**Ocean County	9,000
**Passaic-Clifton	7,800
Paterson (incl. in North Jersey)	
Perth Amboy (incl. in Middlesex County)	
Plainfield (incl. in Union County)	
Princeton	2,600
Salem	230
**Somerset County[s]	4,300
Somerville (incl. in Somerset County)	
Toms River (incl. in Ocean County)	
Trenton[t]	8,500
*Union County	32,000
**Vineland[u]	3,290
Wildwood	425
Willingboro (incl. in Camden)	
NEW MEXICO	
*Albuquerque	4,500
Las Cruces	100
Santa Fe	300
NEW YORK	
*Albany	12,000
Amenia	140
Amsterdam	595
Auburn	315
Batavia	165
Beacon	315
*Binghamton (incl. all Broome County)	3,000
Brewster (also incl. in Danbury, Ct.)	300
*Buffalo	18,500
Canandaigua	135
Catskill	200
Corning	125
Cortland	440
Dunkirk	150
Ellenville	1,450
*Elmira	1,100
Geneva	300
*Glens Falls	800
Gloversville	535
Herkimer	185
Highland Falls	105
Hudson	470
Ithaca	1,000
Jamestown	185
*Kingston	3,000
Liberty	2,100
Loch Sheldrake-Hurleyville	750
Monroe	400
Monticello	2,400
Mountaindale	150
*New York City Metropolitan Area	1,742,500
New Paltz	150

State and City	Jewish Population
Newark	220
**Newburgh-Middletown	8,950
**Niagara Falls	600
Norwich	120
Olean	140
Oneonta	175
Oswego	100
Parksville	140
Pawling	105
Plattsburg	275
Port Jervis	560
Potsdam	175
Poughkeepsie	4,900
*Rochester	19,600
**Rockland County	60,000
Rome	205
Saratoga Springs	500
Schenectady	5,400
Sharon Springs	165
South Fallsburg	1,100
*Syracuse	9,000
Troy	1,200
*Utica	2,100
Walden (incl. in Newburgh-Middletown)	
Warwick	100
Watertown	250
White Lake	425
Woodbourne	200
Woodridge	300
NORTH CAROLINA	
**Asheville	1,100
**Chapel Hill-Durham	2,400
*Charlotte	4,000
Fayetteville (incl. all Cumberland County)	500
Gastonia	220
Goldsboro	120
**Greensboro	2,500
Hendersonville	105
High Point	400
Raleigh	1,375
Rocky Mount	110
Whiteville Zone[c]	160
Wilmington	500
Winston-Salem	440
NORTH DAKOTA	
Fargo	500
Grand Forks	100
OHIO	
*Akron	6,000
**Canton	2,750
*Cincinnati	22,000
*Cleveland	70,000
*Columbus	15,000
*Dayton	6,000
East Liverpool	300
Elyria	275
Hamilton	560
Lima	168
Lorain	1,000
Mansfield	600
Marion	150
Middletown	140
New Philadelphia	140
Newark	105
Piqua	120
Portsmouth	120
Sandusky	150
Springfield	340
**Steubenville	200
*Toledo	6,300
Warren	500
Wooster	200
**Youngstown	5,000
Zanesville	350
OKLAHOMA	
Muskogee	120
**Oklahoma City	2,325
*Tulsa	2,900
OREGON	
Corvallis	140
Eugene	1,500
**Portland	8,950
Salem	200
PENNSYLVANIA	
Aliquippa	400
Allentown	4,980
*Altoona	580
Ambridge	250
Beaver (incl. in Pittsburgh)	
Beaver Falls	350
Berwick	120
Bethlehem	960
Braddock	250
Bradford	150
Brownville	150
Butler	300
Carbon County	125
Carnegie	100
Central Bucks County	400
Chambersburg	340
Chester	2,100
Coatesville	305
Connellsville	110
*Delaware Valley (Lower Bucks County)[w]	23,000
Donora	100
Easton	1,300
Ellwood City	110
**Erie	855
Farrell	150
Greensburg	300
*Harrisburg	6,500
Hazleton	481
Homestead	300
Indiana	135
*Johnstown	550
Kittanning	175

State and City	Jewish Population
Lancaster	1,800
Lebanon	425
Lock Haven	140
McKeesport	2,000
Monessen	100
Mt. Pleasant	120
New Castle	400
New Kensington	560
*Norristown	1,500
North Penn	200
Oil City	165
Oxford-Kennett Square	180
**Philadelphia Metropolitan Area	240,000
Phoenixville	340
**Pittsburgh	45,000
Pottstown	700
Pottsville	500
*Reading	2,800
Sayre	100
*Scranton	3,400
Sharon	330
State College	450
Stroudsburg	410
Sunbury	200
Uniontown	240
Upper Beaver	500
Washington (incl. in Pittsburgh)	
Wayne County	210
West Chester	300
**Wilkes-Barre	4,200
Williamsport	415
*York	1,600
RHODE ISLAND	
*Providence (incl. rest of state)	22,000
SOUTH CAROLINA	
*Charleston	3,500
**Columbia	2,000
Florence	350
Greenville	600
Orangeburg County	105
Spartanburg	295
Sumter	190
SOUTH DAKOTA	
**Sioux Falls	125
TENNESSEE	
*Chattanooga	2,000
Johnson City[x]	210
Knoxville	1,350
**Memphis	10,000
**Nashville	5,120
Oak Ridge	240
TEXAS	
Amarillo	300
**Austin	3,800
Baytown	300
Beaumont	400
Brownsville	160
*Corpus Christi	1,200
*Dallas	22,000
De Witt County[y]	150
**El Paso	4,700
*Ft. Worth	3,600
Galveston	630
*Houston	28,000
Laredo	420
Longview	185
Lubbock	350
McAllen	295
Odessa	150
Port Arthur	260
*San Antonio	9,000
Texarkana	100
Tyler	450
**Waco	385
Wharton	170
Wichita Falls	260
UTAH	
Ogden	100
**Salt Lake City	2,750
VERMONT	
Bennington	120
Burlington	1,800
Rutland	350
St. Johnsbury	100
VIRGINIA	
Alexandria (incl. Falls Church, Arlington County, and urban Fairfax County)	33,550
Arlington (incl. in Alexandria)	
Charlottesville	800
Danville	180
Fredericksburg	140
Hampton (incl. in Newport News)	
Harrisonburg	115
Hopewell	140
Lynchburg	275
Martinsville	135
*Newport News (incl. Hampton)	2,575
*Norfolk (incl. Virginia Beach)	11,000
Petersburg	600
*Portsmouth (incl. Suffolk)	1,100
*Richmond	8,000
**Roanoke	710
Williamsburg	120
Winchester	110
WASHINGTON	
Bellingham	120

State and City	Jewish Population
Bremerton (incl. in Seattle)	
*Seattle	19,500
*Spokane	1,000
Tacoma	750
WEST VIRGINIA	
Bluefield-Princeton	250
Charleston	1,075
Clarksburg	205
*Huntington	450
Morgantown	200
Parkersburg	155
Weirton	150
Wheeling	650
WISCONSIN	
Appleton	250
Beloit	120
Eau Clair	120
Fond du Lac	100
*Green Bay	280
**Kenosha	240
*Madison	4,500
Manitowoc	115
*Milwaukee	23,900
Oshkosh	150
**Racine	375
Sheboygan	250
Superior	165
Waukesha (incl. in Milwaukee)	
Wausau	155
WYOMING	
Cheyenne	255

*Denotes estimates submitted in current year.

**Estimates submitted in current year; represents change from previous estimate.

[a]Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia.

[b]Towns in Chicot, Desha, Drew Counties.

[c]Includes Alta Loma, Chino, Claremont, Cucamonga, La Verne, Montclair, Ontario, Pomona, San Dimas, Upland.

[d]Centerbrook, Chester, Clinton, Deep River, Essex, Killingworth, Old Lyme, Old Saybrook, Seabrook, Westbrook.

[e]Ansonia, Derby-Shelton, Oxford, Seymour.

[f]Greater Washington includes urbanized portions of Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties, in Maryland; Arlington County, Fairfax County (organized portion), Falls Church, Alexandria, in Virginia.

[g]Rock Island, Moline (Illinois); Davenport, Bettendorf (Iowa).

[h]Towns in Alexander, Bond, Clay, Clinton, Crawford, Edwards, Effingham, Fayette, Franklin, Gallatin, Hamilton, Hardin, Jackson, Jasper, Jefferson, Jersey, Johnson, Lawrence, Mascoupin, Madison, Marion, Massac, Montgomery, Perry, Pope, Pulaski, Randolph, Richland, St. Clair, Saline, Union, Wabash, Washington, Wayne, White, Williamson Counties.

[i]Includes Crown Point, East Chicago, Gary, Hammond, Munster, Valparaiso, Whiting, and the Greater Calumet region.

[j]Towns in Caroline, Kent, Queen Annes, Talbot Counties.

[k]Allendale, Elmwood Park, Fair Lawn, Franklin Lakes, Oakland, Midland Park, Rochelle Park, Saddle Brook, Wykoff also included in North Jersey estimate.

[l]Includes Camden and Burlington Counties.

[m]Includes Morris & Sussex Counties & contiguous areas in Hudson, Somerset & Union Counties.

[n]Includes Clayton, Paulsboro, Woodbury. Excludes Newfield; see Vineland.
[o]Includes in Somerset County, Kendall Park, Somerset; in Mercer County, Hightstown.
[p]See footnote (m).
[q]Includes Guttenberg, Hudson Heights, North Bergen, North Hudson, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, West New York, Woodcliff.
[r]Includes Paterson, Wayne, Hawthorne in Passaic County, and nine towns in Bergen County. See footnote (k).
[s]Excludes Kendall Park and Somerset, which are included in Middlesex County.
[t]Includes Mercer County in New Jersey; and Lower Makefield, Morrisville, Newtown, and Yardley in Pennsylvania.
[u]Includes in Cumberland County, Norma, Rosenheim, Vineland; in Salem County, Elmer; in Gloucester County, Clayton, Newfield; in Cape May County, Woodbine.
[v]Elizabethtown, Fairmont, Jacksonville, Lumberton, Tabor City, Wallace, Warsaw, and Loris, S.C.
[w]Bensalem Township, Bristol, Langhorne, Levittown, New Hope, Newtown, Penndel, Warington, Yardley. Also includes communities listed in footnote (u).
[x]Includes Kingsport and Bristol (including the portion of Bristol in Virginia).
[y]Includes communities also in Colorado, Fayette, Gonzales, and La Vaca Counties.