

**ESTIMATING CLEVELAND'S
JEWISH POPULATION**

1979

Report No. 2
of the
Population Research Committee



The Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland
January, 1980

A. SIZEBackground

In the first two decades of this century, estimates of Cleveland's Jewish population, published in the *American Jewish Yearbook*, ranged from 40,000 in 1900 to 100,000 in 1918. After 1930 with the end of open immigration, these estimates were narrowed to between 80,000 and 85,000. The single exception was in 1960, when evidence of increased enrollment of Jewish pupils in the public schools, following the post-war baby boom, justified a temporary increase to 88,000 inhabitants. Since 1972, the figure reported to the Council of Jewish Federations, Inc. has been 80,000. Although it is not certain that Federation provided the census figures in the early decades, it has been the official source of local information for the last 35 years.

This report, the second in a planned series of studies, is part of a population research program on the Cleveland Jewish community made possible by a grant from the Endowment Fund of The Jewish Community Federation.

Scientific demographic techniques for estimating Cleveland's population were apparently first utilized in the 1923 community survey carried out by the New York Bureau of Jewish Social Research. Using Jewish mortality rates established by checking vital statistics and cemetery records, the Bureau reported the community numbered 86,540 individuals, an apparently precise figure which nowhere appears in subsequent editions of the *American Jewish Yearbook*. Another method was applied during the period 1944 to 1968, when a series of statistical surveys of public school absenteeism on the Day of Atonement provided a basis for measuring the size and distribution of the community.

The next estimate, which fixed the community at 85,000 members

was made in 1970-71, when the Federation conducted a tie-in survey in conjunction with the National Jewish Population Study.* One year later in 1972, Federation reduced its estimate of the size of the community to 80,000. The smaller figure seemed warranted by the figures on new births in the more Jewish suburbs, which had declined significantly in these areas below the county average, and, secondly, by a sizable out-migration of Jewish contributors to the South and West Coast, as indicated by record changes in the Welfare Fund list.

Current Estimate -- 75,000

The most current estimate is based on research undertaken in September, 1978. In fall of that year, Federation began a study of older persons in the community ("Older Persons in the Cleveland Jewish Community," Report No. 1 of the Population Research Committee, Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland, June, 1979). The design of the study also enabled measurement of the size of the community in the course of screening a geographically randomized sample of Jewish households. Over 2,000 households were contacted to locate families with older persons. At the same time, all households were queried on the number of members in the household and their place of residence five years previously. Based on the methodology described in Appendix A, the responses show the community now has 75,000 residents, a drop of approximately one percent each year from the 1972

*This figure was based on a master list sample. A parallel estimate based on frequency counts of distinctive Jewish names (DJN's are names such as Cohen, Katz, Levine, Siegel, etc.) in the city directory projected a total closer to 90,000. However, the latter technique, like methods other than an area census study, presents statistical problems, and the projection did not seem compatible with other population data from the survey.

figure of 80,000. The figure is an approximation within acceptable statistical limits of the actual total, if a head count of everyone in the community identified as Jewish were possible.

This downward pattern has been noted for some time in many urban areas. The rate of population growth in the United States generally has been below the one percent level since 1971 and below the national average in the Northeast, North Central and Middle Atlantic regions. The most recent figures on the Cleveland Metropolitan area from the U.S. Bureau of Census show a loss, as well, in suburban population in addition to that in Cleveland. Growth was mainly in outlying suburbs and in the adjacent counties of Lake, Geauga and Medina.

The drop to 75,000 from the previous estimate of 80,000 also seems compatible with the impressions noted earlier of out-migration from the Greater Cleveland area and the continuing decline in the birthrate. To a modest extent, in-migration of Soviet Jews is a positive factor; however, the 1600 Soviet Jews resettled to date here do not offset the demographic trends which have surfaced so noticeably since 1970.

B. RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

Background

A second aspect of estimating the size of the Jewish community is locating its members on the map of Cleveland and Cuyahoga County. From its very beginnings, the Jewish community has been identified geographically with Cleveland's east side. The area of first settlement throughout the 19th century, Woodland, stretched from the Central market place to E. 55th Street and north to south between Scovill and Orange Avenues. In this century, notably after World War I, Glenville to the

northeast and Mt. Pleasant-Kinsman to the southeast were primary Jewish neighborhoods. Movement into the inner ring of eastern suburbs, first to Cleveland Heights, can be traced back at least 60 years, but in the decade of the 1940s the Cleveland Jewish community departed almost en masse from the central city to become virtually a suburban population. In fact, by 1955 Cleveland was described as a "city without Jews."

Since this mass transfer, Jewish population movement has taken place within this suburban setting -- in internal shifts in the inner ring of suburbs immediately adjacent to the city, Cleveland Heights and Shaker Heights; to the middle ring including South Euclid, University Heights and Beachwood; and to the outer suburban ring which includes Mayfield Heights and Pepper Pike. In recent years, the striking mobility of Jewish families has carried them into western portions of Lake and Geauga Counties and into the most southeasterly sections of Cuyahoga County -- Hunting Valley, Moreland Hills and Solon. Figure 1 (page 5) diagrams this group movement across the eastern half of Greater Cleveland.

Movement in these transitional years between 1944 and 1968 was tracked primarily by a series of Day of Atonement studies. The comparative changes in school enrollments demonstrated the gradual movement out of Cleveland's public schools to the Heights area school systems and then to the Beachwood and Orange (Pepper Pike) school systems (Figure 2, page 6). Jewish population for many suburbs was approximated by projecting the number of school-age children 5-17 as a proportion of the total community.

The 1970-71 tie-in study provided data on the location, size and mobility of Jewish households in Greater Cleveland, in addition to extensive information on education, vocation, inter-marriage and attitudes. It established the benchmarks against which the most recent findings, those gathered in conjunction

FIGURE 1: THE JEWISH MIGRATION

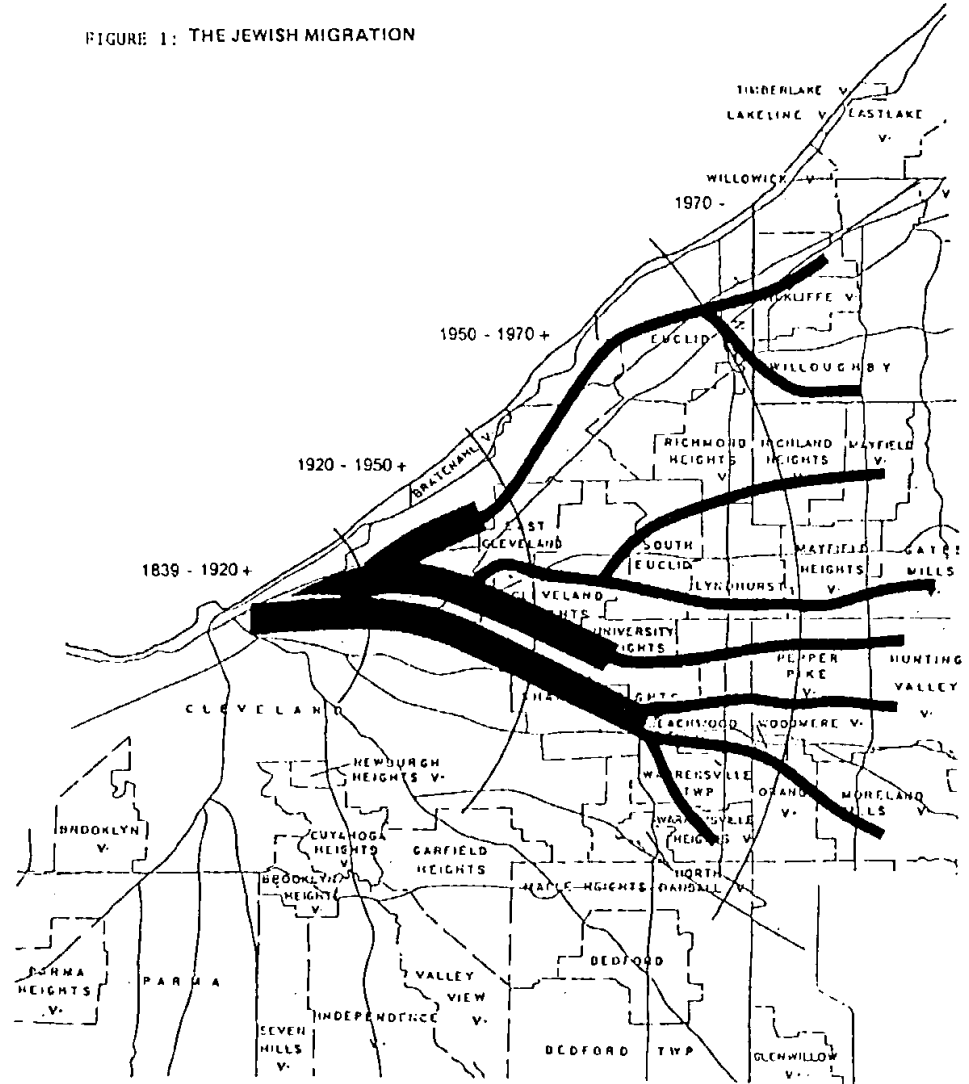
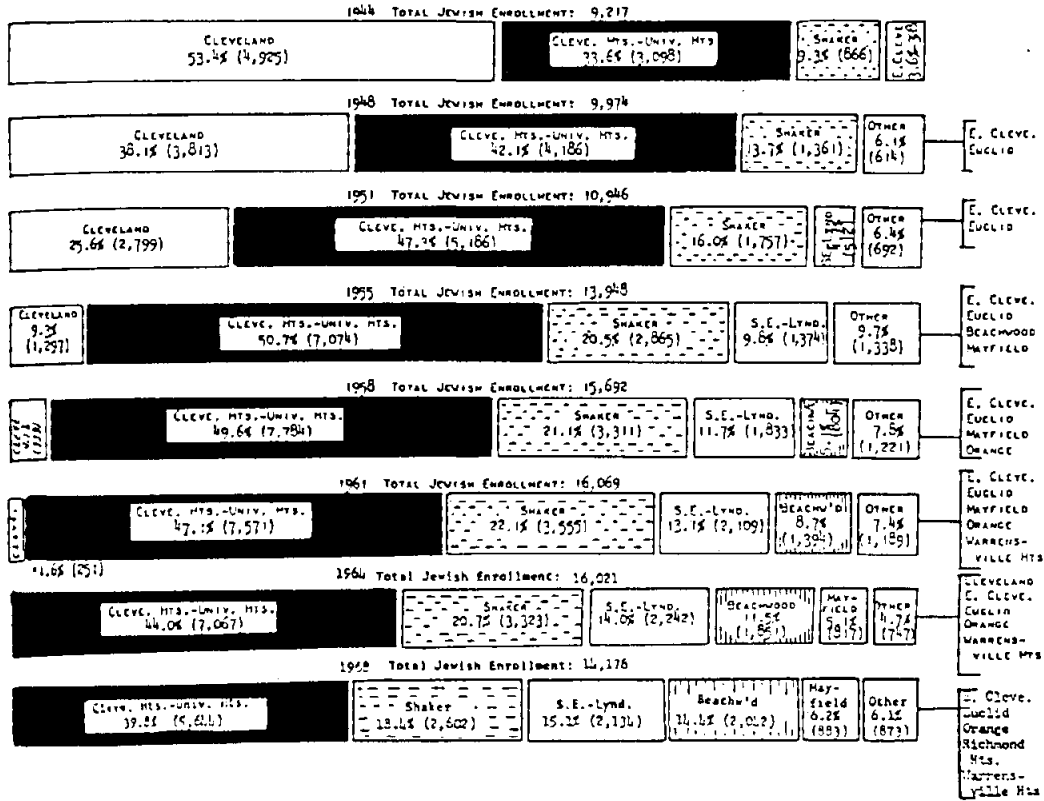


FIGURE 2: JEWISH ENROLLMENT IN GREATER CLEVELAND SCHOOL DISTRICTS 1944 - 1968



with the study on older persons, can be compared.

Family Size and Mobility

Although several factors affect the size of a given population and its geographical distribution, birth rate and mobility impact most directly on the group. Cleveland findings on these two measures are compared below with similar information from the National Jewish Population Study.

TABLE 1: Family Size and Mobility

	1970-71 NJPS	1970 Cleve- land Survey	1978 Older Persons Study
Family Size	2.98	3.1	2.67
Family Residence Five Years Ago			
Same Address	61.6*	71.9	71.4
Different Cleve- land Address		20.9	18.6
Plan to Move in Next Five Years	16.1	19.2	--

*Same city as in 1965.

The smaller average size of today's Cleveland Jewish households, rather than any significant change in their total number, accounts mainly for the reduced total of 75,000 residents. Many Jewish population studies report that Jewish families have led the slide in urban birthrates over the past two decades. Here in Cuyahoga County, the birthrate declined from 17.7 per 1,000 population in 1970 to 12.1 in 1977, and the average household size had dipped from 3.01 to 2.75. The percentage decline in Jewish family size for the same interval is 11.0 percent compared to 8.6 percent for the county. The National Jewish Population Study reported an average household size of 2.98 persons,

which included all persons (Jewish and non-Jewish) in Jewish households, a classification compatible with the Cleveland definition in its 1970 and 1978 reports.

The findings on mobility show relative stability for a majority of Jewish households in this intermediate period, combined with a steady rate of movement within the Cleveland community. The measurements from the 1970 survey and the older persons study eight years later are very similar: approximately four percent, 1100 Cleveland Jewish households, move in a given year to new homes in the area. The overall measure is even greater, but statistical data on out-migration by older persons for reasons of health and climate and the drain of younger people, a newer phenomenon, to other more attractive areas of the country are lacking at present. Both factors are offset only in part by in-migration, and the result is a net loss in population. In effect, movement by smaller sized households has dispersed the community beyond geographical boundaries demarcated in 1970 into a larger suburban area. These changes, including for the first time measurable movement across county lines, are analyzed in the next section.

Current Residential Patterns

In 1970, the Cleveland study confirmed that 65.0 percent of the area's 85,000 Jews were located in the four suburbs comprising the Heights section -- Cleveland Heights, University Heights, South Euclid and Shaker Heights. By the end of 1978, this area had declined 24.1 percent, from 54,400 to 41,300 Jewish residents.

TABLE 2: Distribution of Jewish Population in Greater Cleveland -- 1970 and 1978

	Population		Percent Change
	1970	1978	
1. CORE AREA -- HEIGHTS			
Cleveland Heights	15,300	10,400	(-) 32.0
Shaker Heights	14,700	12,600	(-) 14.0
University Heights	14,200	10,300	(-) 27.5
South Euclid	<u>10,200</u>	<u>8,000</u>	<u>(-) 21.6</u>
Subtotal:	54,400	41,300	(-) 24.1
2. CORE AREA -- OUTER SUBURBS			
Beachwood	7,800	9,300	19.2
Lyndhurst	2,600	3,700	42.3
Mayfield Heights	3,450	4,900	42.0
Pepper Pike	<u>1,500</u>	<u>2,100</u>	<u>40.0</u>
Subtotal:	15,350	20,000	30.3
3. CUYAHOGA COUNTY -- All Other Sections	12,750	10,600	(-) 16.9
4. OUT OF COUNTY	1,000	2,000	100.0
5. OTHER	1,500	500+	--
TOTAL:	85,000	75,000	(-) 11.8

By contrast, four adjacent outer core suburbs show increases in population. Beachwood, Lyndhurst, Mayfield Heights and Pepper Pike have increased by 30.3 percent in the same period from 15,350 to 20,000 Jewish residents. Pepper Pike excepted, their growth is very likely due to the construction of high rise apartments, which have attracted older Jewish householders, in many instances from the municipalities which have shown decline. It is interesting to note as well that the general population changes in these suburbs, so geographically central to Jewish life, are in the same plus or minus direction as for the Jewish population (Appendix C). However, the degree of change for the latter is in every instance greater. In Cleveland Heights, for example,

total population went down 7.0 percent since 1970, compared to 32.0 percent for the Jewish population. On the upward side, the comparable figures for Mayfield Heights are 0.9 and 42.0 percent, and for Pepper Pike 14.1 and 40.0 percent.

One of the intriguing comparisons in Table 2 is the population drop for the remaining areas of Cuyahoga County subsumed in Item 3. Included in this category are East Cleveland and Euclid, whose considerable losses of Jewish residents, well over 3,000, conceal the noticeable increases in areas like Solon, Moreland Hills and Orange Village. There is also some increase for the whole of western Cuyahoga County, but this scatter of population only highlights the density picture.

The statistics in Table 3 on the next page show convincingly that Cleveland continues its unique suburban demographic style. The break-up of Jewish neighborhoods in the central city some 35 years ago did not result in dispersion, which has characterized most, if not all, large American Jewish communities. Although separating from the areas of second settlement in the city, Jewish families came together in an expanding suburban area, separated only by political boundaries. It merits re-emphasizing that the Heights area, in 1978 as in 1970, still contains the largest numerical segment of the Jewish community. Adding in the outer core suburbs increases the size of this central mass to 61,300, 81.8 percent of the current total of 75,000 population. Eight years earlier, 69,750 members, 82.1 percent of the 85,000 estimate, resided in the same contiguous area (Table 3).

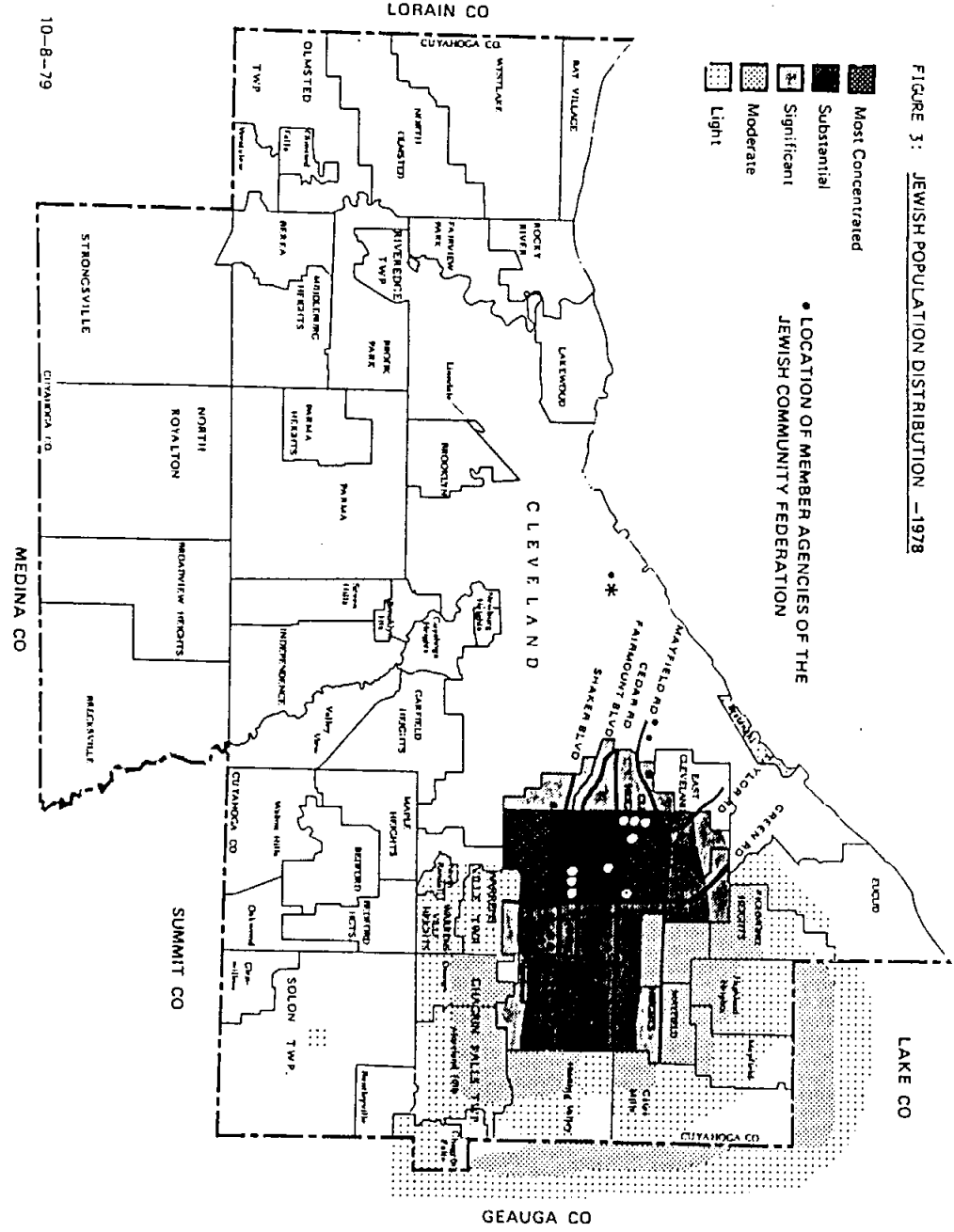
TABLE 3: Proportional Distribution of Jewish Population in Greater Cleveland -- 1970 and 1978

AREA	1970	1978
	(base 85,000)	(base 75,000)
1. Core Area -- Heights	64.0	55.1
2. Core Area -- Outer Suburbs	18.1	26.7
3. Cuyahoga County -- All Other Areas	15.0	14.1
4. Out of County	1.1	2.7
5. Other	1.8	0.7+
	100.0	99.3+

The percentage figures for this core area are virtually the same, but the census data in Table 2 for the two geographical units which it comprises are opposite. The Heights area has lost 13,000 Jewish residents in eight years. As an older area with an older Jewish population, part of this drop is explained by vital statistics, where Jewish births do not balance deaths and where in-migration does not offset out-migration. In the larger configuration with the outer core suburbs included, the loss is reduced to approximately 8,000, a rate of one percent per year.

A closer examination of Cleveland Heights, which has undergone the largest change, casts a different light on the significance of this movement, part of which is natural to any group or community. Cleveland Heights is the oldest suburb in point of extensive Jewish settlement in the eastern suburban ring, but the experience of a generation ago, when the Glenville and Kinsman sections were practically evacuated overnight, is not being repeated. The more dramatic population shifts in Cleveland Heights occurred during the first years of this decade. The evidence from recent municipal studies points now to a stabilized, moder-

FIGURE 3: JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION - 1978



ate rate of change in the general population, including increases in the white birth rate in 1978 and in white home buyers. It can be assumed that these trends are influenced, at least to some degree, by similar trends in the suburb's sizable Jewish population.

Approved building plans will also add several hundred housing units to the community and should attract new and former residents in an era of energy shortages. Another critical difference, which distinguishes the present census picture from the past, is the organized effort by civic groups and their programs, such as Federation's Heights Area Project, aimed at neighborhood stabilization. These factors taken together would seem to assure that Cleveland Heights, in years ahead, will remain a major element in the geography of Jewish community life.

Outlying Areas of Jewish Population

The older persons survey also produced evidence of another trend, particularly for the future. For the first time, sufficient numbers emerged to establish a statistical base for Jewish population in outlying areas of Greater Cleveland and across the boundaries of Cuyahoga County into western Lake County and Geauga County. Table 4 summarizes these findings.

TABLE 4: Jewish Population in Outlying Areas of Greater Cleveland

Western Lake County (Willoughby, Wickliffe, Willowick and Willoughby Hills)	1,100
Lake County (remaining areas)	300
Gauga County (Novelty, Russell, Burton)	400
Western Portage (Aurora, Kent) and Northern Summit Counties)	200
Eastern Cuyahoga County	
Chagrin Falls	200
Solon	300
Moreland Hills, Hunting Valley	250
Orange Township (excluding Pepper Pike)	200
TOTAL:	3,000

In all, it is estimated that 3,000 people, four percent of the total Jewish population, are now residing in sections which until recently have been regarded as outside or on the very edge of the Jewish community. Almost 70 percent of this group, 2,000, live outside Cuyahoga County. Although these residential areas will undoubtedly attract more Jewish families in coming years, the country life-style and pattern of land use, with some exceptions, will probably encourage only small, relatively distant groupings of Jewish householders. This trend, which is newer to Cleveland than in many other Jewish communities, points to issues of regionalization in the practice of community organization and the delivery of communal services.

The distribution of Jewish population in proportion to population in the tri-county area is visualized in the density map (Figure 3) on the preceding page. The map, which includes the location of Federation agencies, shows the close relationship of Jewish institutions and population within a concentrated suburban core area, approximately four miles wide (north to south) and seven miles long (west to east).

Conclusion

Cleveland's smaller population at the end of the 1970s is the result of demographic trends noted earlier but whose cumulative impact is now confirmed. The decline reflects a birthrate, which does not balance mortality losses, and a rate of out-migration of older residents coupled now with movement away by young adults, which in-migration does not offset. These trends may possibly slow for the near future. Some population experts have predicted an upward turn in the general birthrate, which may affect the Jewish community. However, at this point in time, older people are the increasing proportion of our population. The high cost of out-migration and resettlement may perhaps have dulled the impulse to move for many of

them. Similarly, dwindling job opportunities elsewhere may stem the departure of younger people. These considerations suggest additional losses will be incurred in the next several years, but with some prospect that the decline will be minimal and that the community will stabilize near, but below, the 75,000 level.

The phenomenon of clustering continues to dominate the geography of Jewish Cleveland. Identifiable Jewish neighborhoods were notable features of its past and are still the underpinning of its contemporary life-style. But there are differences between the past and present in terms of time and space. Simply stated, the community is more spread out in a larger contiguous suburban area. At its base is the Heights area, now stabilizing, and four adjacent outer core suburbs, which, despite all the demographic changes, together contain over 80 percent of the total Jewish community. There will also be continuing movement by Jewish families into the spaces on the rim of Cuyahoga County and across it into the adjacent areas. Its pace may be constrained by many complex and interrelated factors arising from economic conditions, energy shortages and housing costs, but for the foreseeable future, the Jewish community very much remains together in a most familiar, if somewhat remodeled setting.

APPENDIX A

ESTIMATING CLEVELAND'S JEWISH POPULATION

- 1979 -

The methodology outlined here was developed in consultation with Cleveland demographer Robert Dykes of Creative Research Services. It was also reviewed with Alvin Chenkin, Research Consultant, Council of Jewish Federations, Inc. The steps are as follows:

1. A total of 20,497 Jewish households was compiled from the Welfare Fund prospect list as of June, 1978. This list was then organized by census tract and within each census tract by street and number.
2. A 10 percent sample of this list was drawn for the study of older Jewish persons. Examination of the list determined that five percent of the households, despite prior screening, were invalid because they were non-Jewish households, business addresses or duplications of households. When applied to the total list, this five percent factor reduced the list of households from 20,497 to 19,472.
3. The complete household file was further compared with the Cleveland telephone directory listings, using the distinctive Jewish names technique. This analysis indicated that the household list contained 70 percent of the names in the telephone directory. Differences are primarily accounted for by individuals being removed from the Jewish Welfare Fund active files and by inclusion of many older persons who were no longer contributors to the Welfare Fund. This was verified by a check of the Welfare Fund removal file records and by examination of lists of agencies serving

senior citizens. Based on this 70 percent factor, the estimate of total Jewish households in Greater Cleveland is then 27,817 (19,472 divided by 0.7).

- 4. The screening of the 2,000 households for this sample survey of older persons yielded a mean or average household size of 2.67 persons.
- 5. The estimate of Jewish population in Greater Cleveland is, accordingly, 27,817 times 2.67, or 74,271. Increasing this figure to the next highest thousand as an outside limit, the size of the Cleveland Jewish population is estimated to be 75,000 persons.

APPENDIX B

THE JEWISH POPULATION OF CLEVELAND 1860-1979

<u>Year</u>	<u>*Population Estimate</u>
1860	1,200
1885	5,000
1905	25,000
1912	60,000
1918	100,000
1927	93,000
1937	90,000
1948	80,000
1961	85,000
1974	80,000
1978	75,000

*Estimates from 1912 on are as published in the *American Jewish Yearbook*.

APPENDIX C
POPULATION OF EASTERN SUBURBS
CUYAHOGA COUNTY

<u>Suburb</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>% Change</u>
Cleveland Heights	60,767	56,505	(-) 7.0
Shaker Heights	36,306	34,427	(-) 5.2
University Heights	17,055	16,298	(-) 4.4
Beachwood	9,631	10,709	(+) 11.2
South Euclid	29,579	28,497	(-) 3.7
Mayfield Heights	22,139	22,340	(+) 0.9
Lyndhurst	19,749	19,862	(+) 0.6
Pepper Pike	5,933	6,772	(+) 14.1