THE WANDERING JEW IN AMERICA

UZI REBHUN

Jewish Identities in Post-Modern Society

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For Maayan

Contents

Tables and Illustrations

Preface

In the 350 years since Jews first settled in the colonies of North America, in what is now New York, migration has been a key factor in explaining changes in the concentration of Jews across the American continent. The types of Jewish relocation have included local movements, intrastate mobility, long-distance migration between states and between regions, repeat movements, and bi-local residence. Unlike the large number of East-European Jewish immigrants of the turn of the twentieth century who clearly preferred settling in major entry port-cities along the Northeastern coast, where demand for labor fitted with their professional skills, or conditions enabled many others to open their own small businesses, their second and third generation descendants are intensively on the move towards the West and South.

"Geography" is not only a matter of location. The patterns and trends of Jewish migration reflect wide structural changes in the social and economic characteristics of American Jews, their growing integration into the American mainstream, and the changing nature of their ethno-religious identification. The importance of Jewish migration was eloquently expressed as early as the 1920's by sociologist Louis Wirth in *The Ghetto*, where he suggests that "if you would know what kind of Jew a man is, ask him where he lives; for no single factor indicates as much about the character of the Jew as the area in which he lives. It is an index not only of his economic status, his occupation, his religion, but also to his politics and his outlook on life and the stage in the assimilative process that he has reached." But this view is also apparent in literature and popular culture. The closing chapter of *Motl, the Cantor's Son* (Sholem Aleichem, 1916) indicates that "the Americans have a custom — they moof. That means you pack and go from one place to another. From one strit to another. From one biznis to another. Everyone has

to moof. If you don't want to, someone makes you" (Halkin, 2002). Similarly, in the 1953 Danny Thomas remake of the 1927 musical film *The Jazz Singer*, the setting was shifted from the lower East Side in New York to an upper-class district in Philadelphia.

As with human migration in general, Jewish relocation is associated with educational and occupational attainments. Movement associated with changes in career, marital status, and retirement also helps to explain the heightened overall Jewish mobility. Jews are also affected by macro structural conditions in areas of origin and destination; geographic inequality in employment opportunities and income, as well as non-monetary environmental factors, whether cultural or climatic, push people out from, or pull them into, different areas. Ethnicity, in terms of group residential concentration or as a form of location-specific social capital, is yet another factor responsible for differentiation in Jews' migration.

Local amenities, economic depression or prosperity, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, lifestyle, are fluid. They may change over time and vary between different geographic areas. This suggests that processes of internal migration are dynamic and changeable, requiring periodic follow-ups. Such a follow-up has become possible with the two sets of empirical evidences of the 1990 and 2000/1 National Jewish Population Surveys (NJPS) of American Jews. Hence, this book describes and accounts for the wandering of the Jews in the United States, examining this topic from a nation-wide perspective and across time. The book focuses on the patterns and directions of Jewish internal migration in the United States, the social characteristics of the migrants, and the influence of migration on Jewish identification and communal cohesion. I discuss the relevance of shifting residential patterns and associated factors for communal planners who must consider the size and composition of potential constituencies for various social, welfare, cultural and religious services for both migrant and non-migrant populations.

It should be noted that the processes that have characterized Jews attest to their "normalization" in Christian America and more generally to the status of Judaism as a nation-wide American religion (Herberg, 1955). We learned that Jews have often been ahead of other ethnic and religious minorities in adjusting to the demographic and

socio-economic patterns of the majority population (Goldscheider, 1967; Goldstein, 1969). Thus, a diachronic investigation of the determinants of Jews' internal migrations not only contributes to the understanding of the social and cultural patterns of an important component in the American religio-ethnic mosaic, but can also help to assess the anticipated trajectory for other ethnic and religious minorities.

This book draws partly on revisions and expansions of several articles which have been published over the last few years in scientific journals (i.e., The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Contemporary Jewry, Population Research and Policy Review, and Sociological Forum) as well as new chapters. I am deeply grateful to Sidney Goldstein, with whom I researched and published a few of these articles, for his fruitful and pleasant collaboration and his willingness to allow me to revise and incorporate our joint publications in this book. The data files of the 1990 and 2000/1 NJPS were provided by the Berman North American Jewish Data Bank of the University of Connecticut. The publication of this book was supported by a grant from the Research Committee, Faculty of Humanities, Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I wish to thank Dalia Sagi for her helpful assistance in data analysis, Israel Pupko for helping in the organizational aspects involved in converting the articles into a book format, and Judith Even for editorial assistance — all from the Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics of the A. Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Adele James from the Institute for Urban Research at Rice University was most helpful with providing data from the Panel Study of American Religion and Ethnicity. This book reflects my long-standing interest in the demography of American Jews in general, and their internal migration in particular, which has been overseen with much care and wisdom by a revered mentor and colleague, Sergio DellaPergola, to whom I am deeply indebted.

This book is dedicated, with much love and admiration, to my wife Maayan, with whom I share interest in the combination of social sciences and humanities in general, and that of the Jewish society in particular; and efforts to transmit this knowledge and curiosity to our children Eynat, Noa and Ido.

Chapter One

Internal Migration and Ethnicity in the United States

1. Overview

Migration is the passage of people from one place to another. Such mobility reflects a substitution of residential community, to distinguish it from local movement, and it has significant social, economic and often cultural meanings for both the individual and his associated environments. Hence, migration involves factors that operate in the place of origin, others that characterize the place of destination, intervening obstacles (e.g., distance), and individual considerations of the overall gain or loss of the migration. Each of these dimensions of migration includes components of ethnic or religious belonging. This chapter provides a theoretical framework and review of the major corpus of knowledge on internal migration in general, and that of minorities in particular, as well as some insights into the meaning and interpretation of the term "time" in the context of social and identificational processes.

2. Internal Migration: Theoretical Considerations

In contemporary industrial and modern societies most people experience some geographic movement over the course of their lives (Zelinsky, 1971). Often this migration crosses physical and social spaces, thereby involving significant distance. The social order which assists people independent of family obligations or area-specific economic resources eases the flow of people from one place to another. This flow is further accelerated due to the desire of people to improve their material welfare and quality of life, taking into account, among other things, environmental and ecological considerations. Improvement in transportation and the spread of mass communication, which enable the maintenance of

different types of personal connections across geographic areas, also contribute to the increasing tendency to move.

Hence, migration is strongly associated with stages in the life-cycle (Long and Hansen, 1980; Rossi, 1955). The attainment of higher education, changes in employment (entering the job market, change in place of employment, retirement), or changes in family status are anticipated to involve movement to a new locality. Over the second half of the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century several processes might have intensified the tendency of people to move. These include the increasing importance of academic education and the entrance of a large number of baby boomers to universities, many of which are located outside metropolitan areas; the substantial shift from the status of self-employed to that of employee; changes in the nature of occupations from heavy industry, which is concentrated in limited and defined areas, to advanced technology, which is more widely dispersed across the country; as well as changing trends in family patterns such as independent residence from relatively young ages, later marriage, low fertility and a high rate of marriage dissolution (Frey, 1990; Long, 1988). Likewise, satisfaction and happiness are temporary feelings; "as one want is satisfied, another often rises to take its place," and satisfying this new want can lead to a change of locale (Ben-Chiek, 1975: 329).

On the macro level, and as a social phenomenon, migration reflects — whether as a cause or as a consequence — social, economic and cultural differences between origin and destination areas (Bogue, 1969). From a neoclassical perspective, migration evolves from interregional differences in labor supply and demand, as well as wage disparities. People leave areas that have large supplies of labor and scanty capital in favor of areas that offer high wages and have labor shortages. Through migration, people aspire to improve — or stabilize — their educational achievements, income level, professional career fulfillment opportunities, and life-styles (Massey, 1990). Internal migration also evolves from regional restructuring of areas undergoing economic progress and the development of research and high technology, provision of quality services (education, medical), and leisure activities. Migration movements may reflect reactions to temporary passing events such as economic crises, either local or international, which affect

employment opportunities across the country (Frey, 1988; Hall and Dennis, 1980).

There are regional cultural variations in the United States that reflect life-styles, social openness, and the nature and role of religion. The four major geographic points of North, South, East and West are meaningful for the American social consciousness. Such a division does not necessarily view these regions separately; often, they will be dichotomously distinguished, or seen as three regions versus the remaining one, reflecting political, social and economic influences (Meining, 1994). Others emphasize the distinction between three major areas. The first area includes the states along the south-west coast, the states of the north-east coast, and Florida. Most of the states in this group are characterized by a positive and strong relationship with higher education, a high rate of employment in white-collar occupations, and enhanced settlement of new immigrants; the group includes most of the large metropolises, urban patterns of residence, high levels of initiative (especially in the west), and an environment of high amenity. The second group is mostly the Midwest and is characterized by more traditional cultural patterns, and more moderate and sober populations, who tend less toward exotic and risky activities. The third area is the South (excluding Florida and to a large extent also Georgia [mainly Atlanta]), which ranks lowest on many social and economic indicators, including material well-being. The culture of this area emphasizes much interest in celebrities from the field of entertainment, fashion, and sexual permissiveness (Zelinski, 1994).

At the same time individual regions have their own significant particularities. To a large extent, the East is characterized by more continuous and uniform patterns among its various parts, as compared with the West, which is more diverse. This difference between the East and the West is attributed not only to the greater physical distance between localities in the latter; since the West is also regarded as a frontier, it is seen less as a place than as a process, with different areas within it being developed independently (Meining, 1994). Certainly, New York is conceptualized as a unique cultural and social area not resembling any other city or area of the country. The large numbers of migrants to the West were attracted by the "California way of life," which is perceived as being somewhat

different and better than that found in other parts of the country (Meining, 1994).

Significant cultural differences also exist locally between parts of a given state. Cultural differences are furthermore not static, and new core regions emerge. The role, or characteristics, of such new dominant areas may vary, whether reflecting the concentration of cultural or scientific institutions or the areas of quiet beauty which are often found in a warm climate. Different areas may also be centers for specific religious groups, but these can move from one place to another. Obviously, many large metropolises are mixed and provide cultural opportunities of different types. Still, each core area has its unique values and symbols which are shared by a large number of its inhabitants and may thus constitute holding or repellent factors for people who live in the area or pull/reject factors for people from other places.

The various factors which influence people to leave or stay in their place of residence, as well as their choice of a new area of settlement, are not distributed evenly among the population (Lee, 1966; Ritchey, 1976). People respond differently to incentives of migration and to push and pull factors in different areas and thus migrants are likely to be disproportionately concentrated in specific social and economic strata (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996; Lee, 1966). Similarly, according to the cost-benefit framework of migration decision-making (Sjaastad, 1962), the utility of net income is largely dependent on individual characteristics; thus the anticipated benefits of a given location are unequally distributed across a given population (Stecklov, et al., 2005). Since migration is sometimes a reaction to social and economic change, people who are more exposed to such processes will be more apt to migrate than others. Similarly, settlement of new immigrants may bring about competition for employment opportunities with more veteran residents, mainly among the lower economic strata, inducing the latter to migrate out to a different (often adjacent) state (Frey, 1995a; 1995b). Some migration selectivity should be seen as an essential aspect of almost all modern societies with high levels of specialization (Bogue, 1969).

Hence, migration not only influences the size of the populations at origin and destination but also their composition. The size of migration flows and the characteristics of the migrants vary

largely depending on the ability of people to overcome intervening obstacles, perhaps chief among these being distance. These aspects of migration are fluid and may change over time and according to the specific areas involved (Ritchey, 1976). Migration may, of course, also have far-reaching effects on structural characteristics of origin and destination areas such as economic or cultural patterns.

It should also be noted that migration has a chain effect. People who have once experienced movement will more easily tend to migrate again. Migrants, on their part, may encourage other people, namely relatives, friends or members of their personal community, to migrate as well. Such familial or social connections "lower the costs and, hence, increase the expected net returns to migration" (Massey, 1990: 8). More generally, migration has a 'demonstration effect' on the behavior of other people.

Often, migration detaches the individual from h/her family and relatives as well as from social networks. Settlement in a new area, especially if far from the previous place of residence, involves making acquaintance with the new environment, integration into a new place of work, affiliation in new organizations and clubs, and the like. These social and psychological aspects suggest that the decision to move may involve considerations and influences of other people, especially spouses and children. Ethnic and religious needs, or any other consideration associated with belonging to a group with specific cultural patterns, also play an important role in any decision regarding migration (Moore and Rosenberg, 1995; Trovato and Halli, 1990; Uhlenberg, 1973). Hence, migration results from a multi-dimensional and complicated array of issues which include personal (including psychological), familial and communal factors (Gerson, Stueve and Fischer, 1977; Peryor, 1975). Nevertheless, internal migration often does not involve changes in major social and cultural patterns such as language, citizenship, professional licenses, or claims to welfare rewards, the migrants may continue to be affiliated with the same political and economic systems, and their personal national identity also remains the same (Skeldon, 2006).

The advancement of technology, the expansion of economic opportunities, and the diversity of residential and life styles, along with the increasing emphasis on individualism and self-fulfillment,

enhance the inclination of people to move geographically. On the other hand, technological innovation has diminished travel time between geographic points and has made it easier to maintain connections. Remote communication, for its part, diminishes the importance of distance between home and work and has affected living and working conditions in the direction of diminishing spatial mobility. The flattening of the space and the increasing similarity between different areas weakens the incentives of people to change their places of residence and especially to undertake long-distance migration. In the private sphere as well, the growth in the number of two-earner families, the rising rate of homeownership, and the attainment of residential preferences in small and pleasant areas (Long, 1988) may deter migration. Between these two forces, which operate in contradictory directions, apparently the changes accompanying the processes of modernization and globalization are ultimately transcendent, turning internal migration into an existential need for many people. Constant change and movement have become a way of life (Zelinsky, 1971). And specifically in the United States, society is today characterized by 'a culture of migration' (Gober, 1993).

3. Migration and Ethnicity

My approach to the study of internal migration of members of an ethno-religious group relies heavily on the competing explanatory perspectives of assimilation and the minority status effect (Ritchey, 1976). The first perspective attaches paramount importance to demographic and socio-economic characteristics as determinants of variation in the tendency of people to migrate. By contrast, the theory of a minority status effect suggests that differences between minority and majority populations remain after adjusting for the influence of individual characteristics and, more generally, that there is a continuum of ethno-religious specific considerations in individual and family decisions regarding residential relocation. A manifestation of the latter perspective suggests that minorities will often tend to migrate less than the majority group and that they will furthermore head toward different destinations. To a large extent, the low rate of migration can borrow the arguments of marginality and insecurity that were offered to explain low levels

of fertility among members of minority groups (Goldscheider, 1967; Ritchey, 1975).

The empirical evidences from the United States, in order to ensure appropriate anchorage in the time framework of the present investigation, focus here on the last two decades of the twentieth century and largely emphasize the importance of group belonging. Goldscheider & Goldscheider (1994) argue that leaving home among young adults in the early 1980s was affected by "family values" which are strongly associated with religion and ethnicity. Hispanics are less likely to leave home before marriage and they do so at a much slower pace than non-Hispanic whites. African Americans tend to stay at home until marriage. These racial differences, however, have narrowed over time. Likewise, the reasons for leaving home have become more similar among the three groups with greater emphasis on education and less on marriage. After controlling for major socio-demographic characteristics, the authors found that Catholics delay leaving home more than any other religious group. Jews also leave home rather slowly; nevertheless they have experienced the greatest change over time. By contrast, both fundamentalist Protestants and liberal Protestants leave home at quite an early age but due to very different reasons: young age at marriage and college study, respectively. The youngest to leave home are people with no religious affiliation, presumably for "non-family reasons, especially non-traditional family formation" (28).

Foulkes and Newbold (2000) attempted to evaluate the effects of demographic, cultural and economic factors on five-year interstate migration (1985-1990) among three Hispanic groups: Cubans, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. With the exception of foreign-born Cubans, the other groups, both by nationality and nativity (i.e. native-born vs. foreign-born) demonstrated positive relationships between education and the propensity to migrate. Young age and being male also enhanced the odds of moving to another state. Marital status did not have a significant effect for Cubans and Mexicans, but married Puerto Ricans, both foreign-born and native-born, were more likely to migrate than their unmarried counterparts. Besides native-born Puerto Ricans, for all other groups the presence of co-ethnics deterred out-migration. Other social and cultural factors, such as language skills, unemployment rate and employment growth have had mixed and inconsistent impacts on migration. Some of the

above variations in the effects of the exogenous factors are assumed to reflect different strategies of integration into the host society across nativity groups and generations as well as characteristics of the beginning-of-period state of residence that were not fully considered in the study.

Frey (1995b) shows large similarities in the effects of macro-economic and environmental factors on inter-metropolitan migration among the total population and non-Latino whites. The arrival and settlement of new immigrants encourages low-skilled native-born workers to move away, with this variable being the strongest determinant of net internal migration. Other studies have found little or no support for the immigration-internal migration hypothesis (e.g., Wright, et al., 1997).

According to Gurak and Kritz (2000), the direction of the effects of human capital and state context measures on the interstate migration of men in 1985-1990 were similar for the native-born and immigrants by nativity although the magnitude of the effects may vary, especially for education. This study does suggest, however, that for most origin groups, living in a state with a high proportion of compatriots weakens the propensity to move to another state. Shumway and Hall (1996) show that native-born Chicano males who returned to their state of birth during the 1985-1990 period were younger and had higher levels of human capital than onward migrants; even though their earning was somewhat worsened by such a move they were willing to trade this for the benefit of living among a high concentration of co-ethnics. Similarly Clark (1992), who focused on Los Angeles, found that migration patterns are affected by the desire to live in areas with ethnic or racial profiles similar to those of the group to which the potential migrants belong. The relationships between preferences and behavior are strongest for Anglos (as he termed white non-Hispanics) and Asians and less so among Hispanics and African Americans. Thus, the presence of a large number of compatriots acts as a form of location-specific social capital; combined with other variables of social bonds, these indicate kinship ties, group cohesion and the availability of parochial services, and might also serve as a proxy for job opportunities in enclave economics which are likely to determine migration patterns. The importance of ethnic processes varies between groups according to religio-ethnic belonging (Kobrin

and Speare, 1983) as well as to nativity background (Kritz and Nogle, 1994).

In sum, the determinants of migration among ethnic, religious and racial minorities in the United States show many similarities, including the central and positive effects of education, young age, and the desire for physical proximity to people from the same group; migrants consider this as providing social, cultural and economic support. At the same time, high education somewhat moderates whites' sensitivity to the settlement of low skilled immigrants, but among minorities it might enhance return migration and proximity to co-ethnics. Higher education seems to be a factor enhancing tolerance and awareness of group roots and traditional exceptionalism. Macro economic factors also reflect quite consistently the anticipated inclination to maximize chances of work and high quality of life. However, for many of the variables, differences appear in the direction and size of their effect on migration according to ethnic/religious or racial group. Since some of these differences were observed among similar types of migration they can be assumed to be strongly inherent to the specific origin of the group. The role, whether direct or indirect, of ethnicity on migration attests to more general trends of inter-group relations and social integration (Gordon, 1964; Massey and Mullan, 1984).

Our attempt here to provide explanations for the internal migration of the American Jewish population and changes in patterns over time should also contribute to the understanding of the geographic patterns of minority populations in America.

4. Time Matters

Migration is an intervening factor between social and economic success and integration into the mainstream that shapes the social and political order. Besides individual characteristics and area-specific economic opportunities, the role of "time," namely the differences between later period and earlier period, assumes great importance. The analytical factor of time reflects ideological, social and cultural processes on the general scene of the host society.

To the extent that "time" has a meaningful effect on migration, it offers important evidence of changes in the sensitivity of people

towards their ethnic group sub-system versus the social and cultural incentives of the host society. Time is not a one-step passage from one date to another; rather, it operates as a continuum, it is beyond control, and its influences are seen in the total American population as well as among sub-groups who wish to integrate into the societal mainstream. Ideological and social changes, represented by time that passes, penetrate all the different areas of personal life. Thus time has a deep social sense (Abbott, 2001). As feelings, whether objective or subjective, of strangeness and dislocation are moderated, members of minority groups will behave with greater freedom in regard to residential preferences and identification. The direction of the effect of "time" on major minority behavioral patterns such as migration and religioethnic identification may be indicative of processes of group exceptionalism and cohesion versus assimilation.

Another aspect of time is the changes in the dynamics between various social factors. The high rate of social mobility is one of the fundamental characteristics of modernity and it has the potential for developing continuous processes of change (Eisenstadt, 1968). Accordingly, social advancement enhances the likelihood of spatial mobility. The geographic spread of opportunities and resources has only strengthened the relationship between the two (Massey and Mullan, 1984). This is especially salient in achievement-oriented societies such as the United States. For minority groups, the interplay among different types of social variables that jointly create the mechanisms that motivate people to move from one place to another also involves religious and ethnic considerations that may influence people's cultural distinctiveness (Ritchey, 1976). Using early and later data should allow us to assess how the relationships between demographic and socio-economic characteristics and migration, as well as the interrelations between migration and religioethnic characteristics, have developed over time.

Long distance mobility of minority populations across states and regions reflects a complicated combination of historical patterns of entry and settlement, federal policy as a force restricting mobility, and the awareness of economic opportunities coupled with the ability to respond to them via migration (Sandefur and Jeon, 1991). The tendency of people to move is also affected by location of near kin, ties to social networks, and involvement in religio-ethnic institutions (Lieberson and Waters, 1988) as well as

by factors controlling any group belonging to an economic and political source that offers better opportunities than those available in the general market (Kobrin and Speare, 1983). Insofar as "time" has a meaningful effect on religioethnic identification, it furnishes important evidence of changes in people's sensitivity toward their ethnic group sub-system as against the social and cultural incentives of the host society.

5. Methodology

In order to investigate contemporary Jewish migration in the United States and its related social and religioethnic characteristics, I made use of data from the 1990 and 2000/1 NJPS. The 1990 survey used a three-stage data collection process (Kosmin, et. al., 1991; Waksberg, 1996). First, a national sample of households was reached by random digit dialed (RDD) telephone interviews as part of the twice-weekly general market-research surveys conducted by ICR Survey Group of Media, PA. Respondents (adults aged 18 and over) were asked to state any attachment to Judaism for themselves and for each member of their household. In the second stage, the inventory stage, attempts were made to re-contact households containing at least one Jewish member to verify the identity of potential respondents and to solicit participation for the final sample. During the inventory procedure, several potential respondents dropped out of the sample pool owing to changes in household composition or disqualification upon further review of the Jewish credentials. The third interview stage of the survey of earlier-identified Jews was conducted from May through July 1990 and yielded a total sample of 2,441 completed interviews.

The 2000/01 study, conducted by RoperASW, was also a random sample of telephone numbers attained using RDD procedure in all 50 states, as well as the District of Columbia (Kotler-Berkowitz, et al., 2003). The United States was divided into seven strata according to an early estimate of Jewish population distribution. To achieve greater sampling efficiency, strata with higher estimated levels of Jewish density were over-sampled as compared to strata with lower estimated levels of Jewish density, and the differences among strata in the chance of being called were adjusted by a weighting process. A series of screening questions was introduced to verify any

current or past connection to Judaism. If only one person qualified as a Jewish adult, that person was assigned the full interview; in households with two or more qualified adult Jews, the interviewed person was randomly selected. The complete sample constituted 5,148 respondents, representing both Jews and non-Jews of Jewish background.[1]

The present analysis focuses on respondents who at the time of the survey defined themselves as Jewish. This includes respondents who indicated Jewish as their current religion (Jews by 'religion'), as well as respondents who reported no religion but who considered themselves Jewish ('ethnic' Jews).[2] Application of these criteria resulted in a sample of 1,804 respondents in 1990 and 4,147 respondents in 2000. Data in both surveys were weighted to account for their differential selection probability.

6. Structure of the Book

This book is organized around three main chapters. The analysis of the Jewish migration in the United States is accompanied by empirical evidence in tables and graphs. Each chapter is introduced within an appropriate conceptual framework and literature review and includes a concise summary and discussion of main findings.

After the foregoing review of the theoretical literature on internal migration in general, that of ethnic groups in particular, and a conceptual approach to the meaning of time, Chapter 2 sketches the types, levels and directions of Jewish internal migration across the country. Among other things, it analyzes the changes in the spatial dispersion of American Jews (in comparison to that of the total white population); recent intra- and interstate migration; primary, repeat and return mobility; metropolitan/non-metropolitan residence, and bilocal residence. The use of two successive surveys allows us to compare changes of these characteristics over time. Chapter 3 analyzes the social and economic selectivity of the Jewish migrants. Attention is mainly directed to the role of education, occupation and marital status. The descriptive analysis is followed by an advanced statistical approach (called multivariate analysis) which allows us to evaluate the net effect of each independent factor on the explained phenomenon. In addition to individual affinities we incorporate into our models state context characteristics reflecting

economic and environmental conditions. Further, after integrating the data from the two NJPS we introduce "time" as an independent factor to evaluate its role in determining Jewish migration patterns in the United States. Chapter 4 examines the relationships between migration and Jewish identification. I use both descriptive and multivariate techniques to evaluate three competing models: "self-selection," "disruption," and "heightening," and how the validity of these models changed over time. I constructed different complementary measures of Jewish identification which coincide with the broadly described identification of Jewishness in contemporary United States as being concurrently a religion and an ethnicity.

The concluding discussion in chapter five links the general theoretical background with the empirical findings about Jewish migration in the United States. By contemplating the matter in this way, we can draw conclusions about Jewish integration versus exceptionalism in mainstream society. These findings may have important implications for public policy of the local and national organized Jewish community.

Chapter Two

Geographic Dispersion and Mobility

1. Overview

The United States constitution, which calls for the separation between church and state, prevents the decennial census as well as other official statistical sources from inquiring into matters of creed. For many years only an indirect assessment of Jewish migration was possible through reports made by Jewish local communities on the size of their Jewish populations. However, since the 1960s the number of such communal surveys has increased, with some localities having done repeat surveys, and more and more having included information on population movement. As a result, these surveys have cumulatively come to cover a large proportion of the total American Jewish population. Nevertheless, because each community is unique in some respects, the community data could not be easily used to generalize regarding the national Jewish scene. Moreover, because of their focus on current population, communal studies are mainly concerned with new in-migrants, and do not provide information on those who moved out (Goldstein, 1987; Groeneman and Smith, 2009; Rebhun, 1997b). Only national data, which first became available from the results of the 1970/1 NJPS and again two and three decades later enable a comprehensive and direct assessment of national patterns of Jewish internal migration and Jewish population redistribution across the country (Goldstein, 1982; Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996; Rebhun, 1997a).

Among the findings that have emerged from the first two national studies (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996; Rebhun, 1997a) is evidence of a continuous decline within the total United States Jewish population of the relative share of Jews in the Northeast; a drop in the proportion of Jews in the Midwest; and considerable growth in the two sunbelt regions of the South and West. While differences remain, the spatial distribution of the Jewish population

has largely realigned with that of their total American counterparts including that of non-Hispanic whites (Rebhun, 1997a; 2001). This reflects the strong pace of Jewish migration. The proportion of native-born Jewish adults, ages 18 and over, living outside their state of birth almost doubled from 29.1 percent in 1970 to 52.3 percent in 1990, while that of the general white population only increased from 33.8 percent to 38.0 percent. This process was observed across different age groups of the Jewish population. Likewise, five-year interstate migration rates of Jews in their teens and twenties more than doubled (from 9.9 percent in 1965-1970 to 23.9 percent in 1985-1990), while they slightly declined among whites (from 17.3 percent to 16.3 percent, respectively), reversing the trend from lower to higher Jewish rates.

Based on the 1990 and 2000/1 NJPS, this chapter traces changes in the geographic distribution of Jews across the country, the types and levels of migration, and the directions of their spatial movements. I focus mainly on five-year migration, but also direct attention to documentation of longer-term migration throughout the respondents' life-cycle, as well as metropolitan-non-metropolitan characteristics of residential areas and bilocal residence. Some comparisons are made with the geographic characteristics of total whites to assess the special dimension of Jewish integration into America's social mainstream.

2. Regional Distribution

I begin by examining the changing distribution patterns of American Jews over the period 1990-2000.[3] This is evaluated in light of earlier changes and their implications for the continuation of longer term processes and suggestions of new directions. As Table 2.1 suggests, the last decade has witnessed the continuation, although at a slower pace, of the long-term decline in the proportion of American Jews located in the Northeast, from 43.5 percent of the national total in 1990 to 42.7 percent in 2000. The pace of the decline, however, seems to be significantly slower than in the preceding two decades (from 60.7 percent in 1970 to 43.5 percent in 1990). This overall decline reflects opposite trends in the two divisions which comprise the region: the percentage of Jews who live in New England increased from 6.1 percent in 1970 to 8.1 percent in

1990, and then declined to 6.8 percent in 2000. At the same time, the sharp drop between 1970 and 1990 in the proportion of Jews in the Middle Atlantic States (New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey) stopped, giving way to a very slight increase. Among the total white population, the relative share of both divisions has declined, suggesting continuation of earlier processes.

After a gradual decline through the earlier decades of the twentieth century, from 23.7 percent of the national total in 1900 to only 11.3 percent in 1990, the proportion of Jews in the Midwest has recently experienced a modest revival to 12.4 percent in 2000. This is mainly attributed to growth in the West North Central division. Nevertheless, the Midwest continues to encompass the smallest regional percentage of Jews in the nation. These redistribution patterns differ from those characterizing total whites, whose proportion living in the Midwest continued to diminish throughout the century.

The two sunbelt regions exhibited rather different patterns of change over the last decade. The percentage of Jews living in the South increased slightly (from 21.6 percent to 22.6 percent), while the percentage of Jews in the West declined (from 23.6 percent to 22.3 percent). The growing presence of Jews in the South Atlantic division, with its attraction for retirees (especially Florida) and, to a lesser extent, the West South Central division, are jointly responsible for the overall percentage increase in the South. In the West, both the Mountain and Pacific divisions have undergone declines in their proportions of the national Jewish population — for the first time since 1930. Thus, by 2000 the South and West had very similar proportions of Jews. Total whites continued to increase their concentration in the South with the region having the largest net migration gain of the four regions (Schachter, 2003) including the West.

Overall, between 1990 and 2000 the spatial distribution of the Jews across the nine divisions of the United States underwent only modest changes. This is summarized by the index of dissimilarity, which reflects the percentage magnitude of differences between two distributions (Table 2.1). When the distribution of Jews in 2000 is compared to that of Jews in 1990, the index of dissimilarity is only 2.6. This is in sharp contrast to an index of 24.9 for the comparison between 1970 and 1990. When the Jewish distribution is compared

Distribution of Total United States Whites and Core Jewish Population,

Region[a]	1900		1930	
	Jewish[b]	United States[c]	Jewish[d]	United States[e]
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number (in 1000's)	(1,058)	(66,809)	(4,228)	(108,864)
Northeast	56.6	30.9	68.3	30.5
New England	7.4	8.3	8.4	7.4
Middle Atlantic	49.2	22.6	59.9	23.1
Midwest	23.7	38.6	19.6	34.1
East North Central	18.3	23.5	15.7	22.3
West North Central	5.4	15.1	3.9	11.8
South	14.2	24.7	7.6	25.5
South Atlantic	8.0	10.0	4.3	10.4
East South Central	3.3	7.6	1.4	6.7
West South Central	2.9	7.1	1.9	8.4
West	5.5	5.8	4.6	9.9
Mountain	2.3	2.4	1.0	3.0
Pacific	3.2	3.4	3.6	6.9
Index of Dissimilarity[l]				
Jews-Jews[m]		12.1		11.5
Jews-Total U.S. Whites	26.6		37.8	

a) States included in each division are as follow: New England: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut; Middle Atlantic: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania;

East North Central: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin; West North Central: Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas;

South Atlantic: Delaware, Maryland, D.C., Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida; East South Central: Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi; West South Central: Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas;

Table 2.1

by Regions, 1900, 1930, 1970, 1990, and 2000 *(percentages)*

1970			1990			2000	
Jewish[f]	United States[g]		Jewish[h]	United States[i]		Jewish[j]	United States[k]
100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0
(5,420)	(177,612)		(5,515)	(199,686)		(5,200)	(211,461)
60.7	24.9		43.5	21.1		42.7	19.6
6.1	6.4		8.1	6.0		6.8	5.7
54.6	18.5		35.4	15.1		35.9	13.9
16.3	29.1		11.3	26.0		12.4	25.5
14.1	20.4		9.3	17.9		9.3	17.4
2.2	8.7		2.0	8.1		3.1	8.1
11.9	28.3		21.6	32.8		22.6	34.4
8.9	13.6		18.1	16.7		18.2	17.6
1.7	5.7		1.0	6.0		1.1	6.2
1.3	9.0		2.5	10.1		3.3	10.6
11.1	17.7		23.6	20.1		22.3	20.5
1.2	4.4		4.5	5.9		3.8	6.9
9.9	13.3		19.1	14.2		18.5	13.6
		24.9			2.6		
36.1			28.7			26.4	

Mountain: Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada; Pacific: Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, Hawaii.

b) "Jewish Statistics". *American Jewish Year Book, 1900*, vol. 1, pp. 623-624.

c) U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, 1931. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, No. 53, p. 13.

d) Linfield, H.S. 1931. "Statistics of Jews". *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 33, p. 276.

e) U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, 1931. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, No. 53, p. 12.

Notes to Table 2.1 (continuation)

f) Our own data analysis of the 1970/1 NJPS.

g) U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1971. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, No. 92, p. 27.

h) Our own data analysis of the 1990 NJPS.

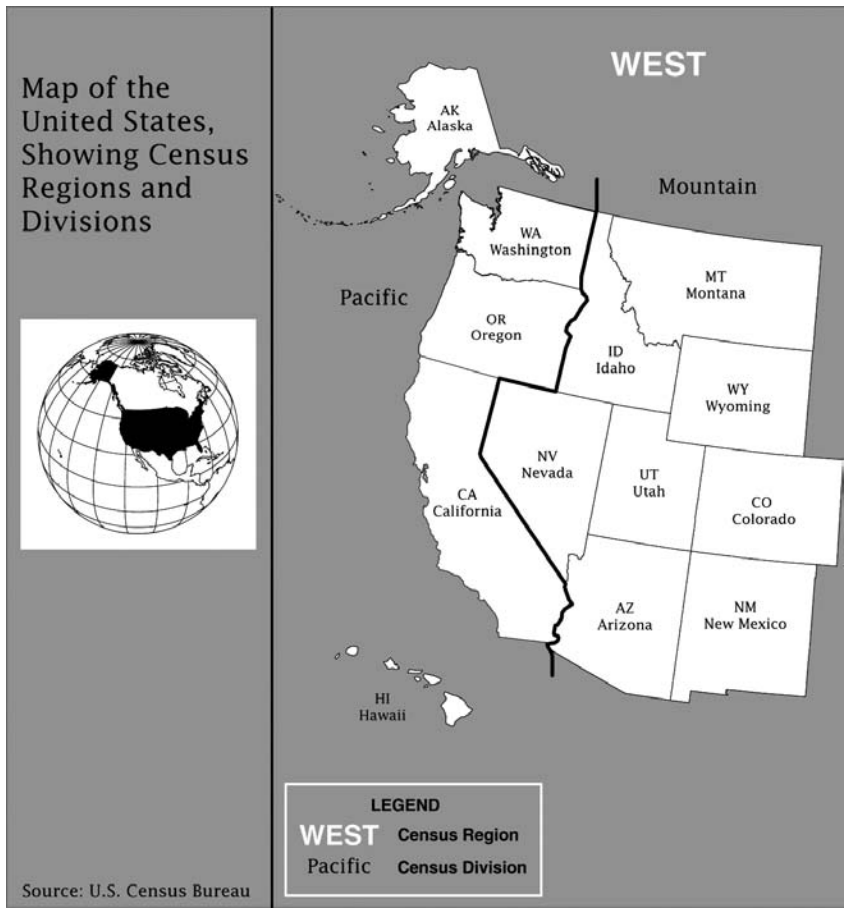
i) U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1992. *1990 Census of Population and Housing: Summary Population and Housing Characteristics, United States*, p. 59.

j) Our own data analysis of the 2000/1 NJPS.

k) U.S. Department of Commerce, Economic and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau, 1992. *2000 Census of Population and Housing, United States: 2000, Summary Population and Housing Characteristics*, Part 1, p. 4.

l) $\Delta = \Sigma \mid Xi - Xj \mid / 2$ where Xi is the relative weight of each region among population i, and Xj is the relative weight of the same regions among population j.

m) Comparison of successive decennial points in time.



to that of United States whites, the index changed minimally between 1990 (28.7) and 2000 (26.4). This suggests that Jews have maintained relatively stable patterns of distribution during the last decade vis-à-vis the larger Unites States population. This is quite different from earlier periods of the century, when the index rose from 26.6 in 1900 to 37.8 in 1930 and then declined to 28.7 in 1990.

American Jews are not cut of one cloth. Substantial differences exist in regional distribution by type of Jewish identity. Such differences, however, cannot be solely, or even mainly, accounted for by the effects of selective migration, and may have stemmed from historical developments, socio-economic composition, and localized cultural norms, each of which can directly impinge on group identity

Table 2.2

Five-Year Migration Status by Age: American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(percentages)*

Age	Same House	Same Town	Same State	Different State		International	Total Percent	Total Number in the Sample
				Same Region	Different Region			
1990								
18-29	20.1	32.6	21.3	15.6	8.3	2.1	100.0	(350)
30-44	38.4	32.5	15.9	6.7	5.4	1.1	100.0	(730)
45-64	69.6	18.2	5.4	3.4	2.7	0.7	100.0	(430)
65+	81.4	10.4	3.9	3.5	0.8	-	100.0	(450)
Total	51.8	24.3	11.8	6.8	4.3	1.0	100.0	(1,960)
2000								
18-29	22.5	21.5	24.0	11.5	15.1	5.4	100.0	(622)
30-44	38.8	22.5	17.3	6.4	10.5	4.5	100.0	(976)
45-64	70.6	11.7	8.5	3.8	4.0	1.4	100.0	(1,453)
65+	76.7	9.9	6.5	2.0	3.8	1.1	100.0	(1,048)
Total	56.6	15.5	12.7	5.2	7.3	2.7	100.0	(4,099)

and belonging (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996). Data not shown here suggest that in a comparison of core Jews with the peripheral population (that is, people of Jewish background), in 2000 the core Jews in the United States were more heavily concentrated in the Northeast (42.7 percent), while less than one-third of the peripheral population resided in this region. At the same time, compared to the core Jews, more of the total United States peripheral Jewish population lived in each of the three other regions. Concurrently, sharp differences characterized the two sub-segments comprising core Jews: whereas almost half (45.8 percent) of Jews by religion and ethnicity lived in the Northeast, only about one-quarter (27.1 percent) of the Jewish-connected were located there. The largest concentration of Jewish-connected was in the West, suggesting

that this area either attracts a substantial number of marginal Jews, or that conditions in this region weaken consciousness of religio-ethnic identity. Thus, the emerging patterns of redistribution have particular implications for a cohesive and vital national Jewish community.

It should be noted, however, that despite the substantial turnover in Jewish internal migration over the last few decades, their spatial distribution emphasizes clear preference to coastal, or near coastal, states in the East, West and South which Zelinsky (1994) considered as a well defined and distinguishable area from other parts of the country. This area includes New York, California, and Florida as well as a few other states (i.e., New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts) which jointly host about three fourths of all American Jews (Schwartz and Scheckner, 2001). Hence, to a large extent, Jewish migrants selectively choose their destination areas which, despite some important differences, nevertheless have some common ground with a familiar social and cultural setting from the past. Thus, the origin-destination areas of Jewish migration involve complex arrays of cultural similarities and particularities.

3. Recent Migration Patterns

A more direct assessment of the migration behavior of American Jews is gained through examination of the levels and types of internal migration (Table 2.2). In 1990, about half of the Jewish population aged 18 and over were residentially stable, that is, they were living in the same house as in 1985; another one-quarter had relocated within the same city or town. Almost 12 percent had moved to a different location within the state, and an additional 11.1 percent had moved to a different state (among whom 6.8 percent remained in the same region and 4.3 percent moved to a different region). A high level of mobility continued to characterize American Jews in the late 1990s but the inclinations for local versus long-distance mobility had changed somewhat: while over half (56.6 percent) of the population remained stable between 1995 and 2000, among those who did move, a slightly higher percentage in 2000 compared to 1990 chose to relocate outside their 1995 town of residence in the same state (12.7 percent), to a different state (12.5 percent), or to another region.

Migration is often related to lifecycle. Events such as enrollment in higher education, marriage, entrance into the job market, and retirement help to explain variations in movement by age groups. The general and consistent age patterns characterizing both the 1990 and 2000 data sets point to the high propensity of young adults to move, with a gradual decline among older cohorts. Thus, whereas only 20.1 percent of Jews aged 18-29 lived in the same house in 1990 as in 1985, this was true of fully 81.4 percent for the elderly population; the parallel levels for 1995-2000 are 22.5 percent and 76.7 percent, respectively. Moreover, from one decade to the next, mobile Jews in each age group were less inclined to remain in the same town or state and more were likely to move to other states and especially other regions. For example, 23.9 percent of the Jews aged 18-29 in 1990 were recent interstate migrants and this rose to 26.6 percent in the same age group in 2000; within this overall increase, the proportion of those who had moved to another state in the same region declined from 15.6 percent for 1985-1990 to 11.5. percent for 1995-2000, while the percentage reporting interregional moves had almost doubled from 8.3 percent to 15.1 percent, respectively. The proportion of interregional migrants also just about doubled in the 30-44 year old group, but increased somewhat more modestly among those aged 45-64; the sharpest relative increase in inter-regional migration characterized the elderly Jewish population, rising from 0.8 percent in 1990 to 3.8 percent in 2000.

Another important finding is the substantial increase in the proportion of new immigrants in the total adult population — from 1.0 percent in 1990 to 2.7 percent in 2000. This reflects the large waves of Jews who arrived from the former Soviet Union following perestroika. This population is structurally heterogeneous in age, but is disproportionately concentrated in the young cohorts below the age of 45.

Overall, more Jews in 2000, as compared to 1990, made long-distance moves in the five years preceding the respective surveys, whether internally or internationally. Many of these migrants entered new physical and social-cultural environments away from families and places of origin. Such moves present increased challenges, but also new opportunities for receiving communities to integrate and engage the newcomers in local Jewish institutions and activities.

4. Directions of Recent Migration

Migration status varies further by area of residence in the United States at the survey dates, reflecting the 'retention' and 'push-pull' factors operating in different parts of the country and how they have changed over the course of the last decade. The data in Table 2.3 show a high level of geographic stability among Jewish adults in the Northeast, of whom approximately 60 percent resided in 1990 in the same house as in 1985; less than half of the Jewish population in the other three regions had not moved in the previous five years, especially in the South and West. These data make clear that the overall growth in the percentage of the residentially-stable Jewish population between 1990 and 2000 was common to all regions of the country. However, this was mostly salient in the South and to a somewhat lesser extent in the Midwest and West.[4]

On the other hand, three regions have experienced some increase in interstate migrants among their residents. In 1990, nine percent of the Jewish adults in the Northeast had moved from another state, either intra- or interregionally, in the preceding five years, whereas in 2000, 10.9 percent had moved to a different state since 1995. Similarly, the Midwest and West experienced increases in the proportion of interstate migrants (from 12.7 percent to 14.3 percent, and from 8.5 percent to 10.2 percent, respectively). Only in the South did the proportion of interstate migrants decline slightly (from 17.6 percent to 16.9 percent), although in both 1990 and 2000 this region had the highest percentage of Jews who had changed their state of residence during the previous five-year interval.

A closer examination suggests that the general increase in the proportion of interstate migrants in the Midwest is due solely to the growing attractiveness, or retention, of the West North Central division (which, as discussed earlier, experienced a growth in the percentage of Jews out of the total American population). In the South, the change in the proportion of interstate migrants resulted from the contradictory trends of a decline in the South Atlantic states and a twofold rise in East South Central states. According to Table 2.1, however, these divisions did not undergo any significant change in their relative shares of the national total, suggesting either a flow of migration nearly balanced with that of the rest of

Five-Year Migration Status, by Area of Current Residence:

Area of Residence	Five-Year Migration Status					Total Percent	Total Number in the Sample
	Same House	Same Town	Same State	Different State	Inter-national		
	1990						
Northeast	59.6	18.9	11.7	9.0	0.8	100.0	(859)
New England	53.5	15.3	18.5	11.4	1.3	100.0	(157)
Middle Atlantic	61.1	19.8	10.2	8.3	0.6	100.0	(702)
Midwest	49.0	29.5	8.8	12.7	-	100.0	(211)
East North Central	49.5	26.9	9.7	13.9	-	100.0	(172)
West North Central	46.7	41.1	4.6	7.5	-	100.0	(39)
South	43.9	28.9	8.3	17.6	1.2	100.0	(433)
South Atlantic	41.8	29.4	7.9	19.2	1.7	100.0	(361)
East South Central	59.4	25.9	11.6	3.1	-	100.0	(19)
West South Central	52.7	27.1	9.2	11.1	-	100.0	(53)
West	45.7	27.6	16.9	8.5	1.3	100.0	(457)
Mountain	39.7	34.1	8.5	16.0	1.6	100.0	(81)
Pacific	47.2	26.1	18.6	6.9	1.2	100.0	(376)

Table 2.3

American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(percentages)*

Five-Year Migration Status					Total Percent	Total Number in the Sample
Same House	Same Town	Same State	Different State	Inter-national		
2000						
61.2	14.2	11.6	10.9	2.2	100.0	(2,252)
52.4	12.6	16.9	16.9	1.3	100.0	(274)
63.1	14.5	10.4	9.6	2.4	100.0	(1,978)
55.6	16.0	11.5	14.3	2.5	100.0	(320)
55.4	15.2	12.6	14.1	2.6	100.0	(258)
56.3	18.4	8.0	14.9	2.3	100.0	(62)
54.9	16.2	9.9	16.9	2.0	100.0	(871)
54.5	15.3	9.3	18.3	2.5	100.0	(788)
39.4	33.3	21.2	6.1	-	100.0	(21)
63.6	16.2	9.1	11.1	-	100.0	(62)
51.5	16.5	17.8	10.2	4.4	100.0	(691)
51.3	15.1	11.8	18.5	3.4	100.0	(83)
51.1	16.8	19.0	8.5	4.6	100.0	(608)

the country, and/or trends in the level of interstate migration within the division.

New immigrants tend to settle in different parts of the country (Table 2.3). All four regions experienced a growth in the proportion of Jews who had moved from abroad over the previous five-year interval. Most noticeable is the increasing share of immigrants in the total adult Jewish population in the Middle Atlantic, the East North Central, West North Central, and Pacific divisions. While in 1990, several divisions had a percentage of immigrants higher than the national average (of 1.1 percent), by 2000 only the two Western divisions had a percentage higher than the national. Still, NJPS-2000 suggests that the Northeast had attracted more immigrants in absolute numbers than any other region of the country.[5]

For those individuals who reported having made interstate moves we cross-classified the region of origin with the region of destination (current residence) in an attempt to evaluate the direction of long-distance moves, and the overall pattern of gain or loss of each region as a result of these movements (Table 2.4). For both periods, the largest single migration stream was intra-regional; approximately one-quarter to one-half of the interstate migrants moved within their region of residence. Two interesting developments over time are the increasing percentage of interstate migrants in the Midwest and South, who moved within their respective regions, and the decline in the proportion of intra-regional movements in the West.

The above trends help explain, either as causes or results, the changes in the proportion of interregional migrants among all those who moved between states. Among other findings, the proportion of interstate migrants from the Northeast to the West has increased (from 10.8 percent in 1985-1990 to 18.2 per-cent in 1995-2000) but at the same time the reverse flow, from the West to the Northeast, increased even more (from 13.1 percent to 31.3 percent respectively, of the total interstate migrants out of the West), in effect reducing the percentages from the other two regions.

These overall trends are seen more clearly if only interregional migrants are considered. The lower panel for each period in Table 2.4 shows that the proportion of out-migrants from the Northeast who moved to the West increased from 18.4 percent in 1985-1990 to 32.7 percent in 1995-2000, while the percentage of all out-migrants

from the West who settled in the Northeast more than doubled — from 22.2 percent to 50.0 percent. By contrast, the percentage of out-migrants from the Midwest and South to the Northeast declined. Like the 'counterstreams' from the West and Northeast, those from the Midwest to the South and from the South to the Midwest have also increased over time. The out-migration from the South to the West, and the counterstream, point to a decline in the attractiveness of the two sunbelt regions to each other. However, the overall distribution of out-migration (shown in the last column of Table 2.4) reveals an increasing proportion of migrants originating in the Northeast (from 36.8 percent in 1985-1990 to 44.2 percent in 1995-2000) and slight declines in the other three regions; on the other hand, only the West has experienced an increase in the relative share of in-migrants out of the total interregional movements from 18.1 percent to 24.1 percent.

The overall effect of these interregional movements was a net loss of migrants by the Northeast and Midwest regions (Table 2.4). The very small loss for the Northeast in 1985-1990 of 0.1 percent of its end-of-period adult population had increased to 3.3 for the 1995-2000 interval, while the net loss of the Midwest slightly diminished from 4.3 to 3.5, resulting in an almost total convergence of the amount of the effect in these two regions. By contrast, the South and even more so the West experienced substantial growth in the net gains — from 3.0 to 4.0 for the South and from 1.3 to 3.7 for the West — of their total adult populations. Thus, these data point to the strengthening of the westward and southward shifts of American Jews, but, perhaps more important, to fairly substantial turnovers and counterstreams among all regions.

5. Types of Mobility: Primary, Repeat and Return

Migration may increasingly be seen as a complex and multi-stage process involving for many individuals several movements during a typical lifetime, with different time intervals between the events. Thus, for some people migration will be a matter of new biography while for others it can be the continuation of an old biography (Goldscheider, 1971). The different types of migration jointly contribute to the overall effect of internal mobility and to the redistribution of the population.

Region of Residence Five Years Ago by Region of Current and Gain or Loss due to Interregional Five-Year

	Region of Residence at Time of Survey				Total Percent	Distribution by Region of Residence 1985/1995
	Northeast	Midwest	South	West		
	1990					
Percent Distribution of Interstate Migrants *Region of Residence, 1985*						
Northeast	42.0	8.7	38.5	10.8	100.0	39.1
Midwest	36.2	24.6	25.8	13.4	100.0	16.0
South	35.0	10.5	38.7	15.8	100.0	29.4
West	13.1	12.2	28.9	45.8	100.0	15.5
Total U.S.	34.5	12.3	35.1	18.1	100.0	100.0
Percent Distribution of Regional Out-Migrants *Region of Residence, 1985*						
Northeast	-	14.3	67.3	18.4	100.0	36.8
Midwest	48.2	-	33.3	18.5	100.0	20.3
South	56.4	17.9	-	25.7	100.0	29.3
West	22.2	22.2	55.6	-	100.0	13.6
Total U.S.	29.3	13.5	39.1	18.1	100.0	100.0
Net Gain or Loss as Percent of 1990 Population	-0.1	-4.3	+3.0	+1.3		

Table 2.4

Residence, for Persons who Moved between States, Migration: American Jews in 1990 and 2000

	Region of Residence at Time of Survey					
	Northeast	Midwest	South	West	Total Percent	Distribution by Region of Residence 1985/1995
	2000					
Percent Distribution of Interstate Migrants *Region of Residence, 1995*						
Northeast	44.2	6.1	31.5	18.2	100.0	46.6
Midwest	25.0	32.8	25.0	17.2	100.0	16.5
South	29.5	15.8	43.2	11.6	100.0	24.5
West	31.3	10.4	20.8	37.5	100.0	12.4
Total U.S.	35.8	13.4	32.0	18.8	100.0	100.0
Percent Distribution of Regional Out-Migrants *Region of Residence, 1995*						
Northeast	-	10.9	56.4	32.7	100.0	44.2
Midwest	37.2	-	37.2	25.6	100.0	18.9
South	51.8	27.8	-	20.4	100.0	23.7
West	50.0	16.7	33.3	-	100.0	13.2
Total U.S.	25.9	13.6	36.4	24.1	100.0	100.0
Net Gain or Loss as Percent of 2000 Population	-3.3	-3.5	+4.0	+3.7		

Integrating data on place of birth and place of residence five years preceding the specific survey in conjunction with residence at the time of the survey allows one to distinguish between five migration-status categories (Eldridge, 1965).[6] This typology is restricted to native-born persons who were also living in the United States in mid-decade, that is 1985 or 1995. These categories are defined as follows:

Non migrants: persons who were living in the same state at all three reference points: birth, five years before the survey and at the time of the survey.

Early migrants: persons who five years before the survey were living in a state different from their state of birth but who were in that same state at the time of the survey.

Primary migrants: persons who were living five years prior to the specific survey in the same state in which they were born but who had moved since then to another state.

Repeat migrants: persons who were living in different states at all three reference points namely, birth, five years before the survey, and at the time of the survey.

Return migrants: persons who five years before the survey resided in a state different from their state of birth, but who, at the time of the survey, were found back in the state in which they were born.

Among the Jewish population of 1990, 54.3 percent had made some interstate move between birth and the time of the survey (Table 2.5). The largest number of these had moved between birth and 1985 (early migrants) and since then remained in the same state. Of the total adult sample, 11.1 percent moved over the 1985-1990 period, 3.9 percent as primary migrants, 6.1 as repeat migrants, and 1.1 percent as return migrants. By 2000, the extent of migration had changed only modestly, with the proportion of people who moved during their lifetime having increased to 56.2 percent. More significant are the changes in the distribution of the different types of mobility; they show a higher percentage of people who moved between birth and 1995 and a lesser tendency to move during the period 1995-2000. Further, the decline in the proportion of those who moved during the most recent interval reflects declines in primary and mainly repeat migration, while the proportion of people who returned to their state of birth grew

somewhat. For both the 1985-1990 and 1995-2000 periods, however, a disproportional part of the overall recent migration is attributed to repeat and return movements of people who had already

Table 2.5

Distribution of Interstate Migration Type, by Age: American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(U.S.-Born Only; percenatges)*

Age	Migration Type					Total Percent	Total Number in the Sample
	Non-Migrant	Early Migrant	Primary Migrant	Repeat Migrant	Return Migrant		
1990							
18-29	49.1	26.8	9.8	11.2	3.2	100.0	(323)
30-44	43.6	44.3	4.2	6.9	1.0	100.0	(669)
45-64	47.9	46.3	1.0	4.3	0.7	100.0	(396)
65+	44.0	52.1	1.1	2.8	-	100.0	(376)
Total	45.7	43.3	3.9	6.1	1.1	100.0	(1,764)
2000							
18-29	48.6	38.2	4.6	5.3	3.3	100.0	(495)
30-44	45.0	45.0	3.6	4.5	2.0	100.0	(818)
45-64	44.7	49.1	2.1	3.5	0.5	100.0	(1,248)
65+	35.4	60.0	3.1	1.2	0.4	100.0	(827)
Total	43.8	47.8	3.2	3.7	1.4	100.0	(3,388)

experienced interstate moves earlier in their lives rather than to the initiation of a first-time interstate move.

Types of migration are strongly associated with age, reflecting the greater opportunities to move during the life course (Eldridge, 1965; Lee, 1974). This is most evident among early migrants, among whom the percentage of migrants increases as the span of time between birth and five years prior to the specific survey becomes longer (Table 2.5). The actual act of migration, however, often occurs

at an early stage of the life cycle, as evidenced by the high proportion of interstate migration, including primary, repeat and return, among the youngest age group; this then decreases with rising age. This pattern is interrupted, especially for primary migrants, as people reach retirement age and tend to relocate to another state, whether guided by climatic considerations or by the desire to be closer to family who had moved earlier.

A comparison of the two surveys reveals that the youngest cohorts in 2000 were more likely to experience interstate mobility than were their counterparts in 1990. Whereas in 1990, 26.8 percent of those under the age of 30 had made an interstate move between birth and five years prior to the survey, this was true for 38.2 percent of their counterparts in 2000. If we combine these migrants with all those who five years before the survey were living outside their state of birth (that is early, repeat and return migrants), the respective proportions among the youngest age cohort are 41.2 percent and 46.8 percent. By contrast, fewer young Jews moved during the 1995-2000 period than in the years 1985-1990, with the percentage for primary and repeat migration in 1995-2000 (4.6 and 5.3, respectively) being less than half what they had been in 1985-90 (9.8 and 11.2). Quite similar patterns, though at a much lower level, characterized the 30-44 age groups. Despite these changes, the two youngest age groups displayed the highest percentage of all age cohorts for these two types of five-year migration. Elderly Jews (aged 65 and over) are those who experienced the most substantial increase in the proportion of interstate migrants from 56.0 percent of the 1990 population to as high as 64.6 percent of the 2000 population. This was mainly accounted for by the increase in early migrants. Similarly, the increase in return migration of Jewish elderly might be part of a developing trend among sun belt retirees who, as they get older, realize that they do not have the informal support needed to remain independent; 'then the option of moving back to a place where they have long-established ties and perhaps family becomes very appealing' (La Ferla, 2004:1,6).

Another way of examining the relationship between type of migration and age is through the age profile of five-year migration rates in which the probability of moving is based first on the total population at risk of migration (that is, migrants per thousand population), and second on the population eligible to make a given

Table 2.6

Rates of Primary, Repeat, and Return Interstate Migration, by Age: American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(U.S.-Born Only)*

Age	Rate per 1000 Population[a]				Rate per 1000 Population at «Risk»		
	Total	Primary	Repeat	Return	Primary[b]	Repeat[c]	Return[c]
1990							
18-29	242	99	111	31	168	273	76
30-44	121	42	69	11	88	131	20
45-64	56	10	40	5	21	79	10
65+	40	11	29	-	24	53	0
Total	111	39	61	11	78	121	21
2000							
18-29	132	46	53	33	86	114	70
30-44	101	36	45	20	74	87	38
45-64	62	22	35	5	46	66	9
65+	47	31	12	4	80	19	6
Total	83	32	37	14	67	70	27

a) Out of total population in age cohort.

b) Out of sum of non-migrants and primary migrants.

c) Out of sum of early migrants, repeat migrants and return migrants.

type of move (at 'risk') (Table 2.6). These findings confirm previous conclusions, and show that in both periods the peak rates of all types of migration were among the youngest age cohort (18-29). These relationships largely also hold true when migration rates are calculated in regard to the population eligible to make a given type of move (at 'risk') according to which primary migration refers to the population who resided in their state of birth in 1985/1995, and repeat and return migration refer to those who by 1985 and 1995, respectively, resided outside their state of birth. Yet, on the basis of

these calculations (which can also be interpreted as probabilities) (Hamilton, 1965; Thomlinson, 1962), we must reverse our previous conclusions and suggest that the rate of return migration among young adults has declined somewhat rather than increased. This potentially reflects the longer time it takes for young migrants to reach a point at which they decide to return to their area of origin. Also noted is the substantial increase of primary migrants among the elderly Jewish population.

It is interesting to examine the extent to which the different types of migration vary among the different regions of the country. To this end, region rather than state is the geographic unit for measuring migration. According to this definition, an individual who moved between states within a given region during the specified time intervals is not considered a migrant. The expansion of the geographic units diminishes the levels of migration and lowers the number of primary, repeat and return migrants. However, the volume of return migration will be less affected than that of primary or repeat migration because the expansion of geographic units enhances the probabilities of returning to the region of birth (Long, 1988).[7] Somewhat contrary to interstate migration, the proportion of Jewish adults who made at least one interregional move during the course of their lifetime diminished slightly from 39.4 percent in 1990 to 37.9 percent in 2000 (Table 2.7). This suggests an increasing tendency on the part of interstate migrants to stay in their regions of birth. More consistent is the decline in the proportion of recent migration (the sum of primary, repeat, and return migration) from 6.9 percent to 5.0 percent. This tendency characterized both those who had moved for the first time during the five years preceding the survey and those for whom this was the second documented move over their life-cycle.

The extent of movement is largely associated with region of birth. Consistently over time, the highest level of stability characterized those born in the West, with eight out of every ten living in the region at all three points of time. Those born in the Northeast and the South had very similar proportions of non-migrants, slightly more than six out of every ten, with a very modest increase between 1990 and 2000. The least stable population was that born in the Midwest, among whom slightly less than half made no move from their region of birth. For all four regions, interregional moves largely occurred

Table 2.7

Distribution of Interregional Migration Types, by Region of Birth: American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(U.S.-Born Only; percenatges)*

Region of Birth	Migration Type					Total Percent	Total Number in the Sample
	Non-Migrant	Early Migrant	Primary Migrant	Repeat Migrant	Return Migrant		
1990							
Northeast	60.5	32.6	3.4	1.4	2.2	100.0	(1,109)
Midwest	45.4	46.0	4.9	1.3	2.4	100.0	(287)
South	63.3	28.3	5.0	0.5	2.9	100.0	(173)
West	81.1	15.6	2.5	0.8	-	100.0	(194)
Total U.S.	60.6	32.5	3.7	1.2	2.0	100.0	(1,764)
2000							
Northeast	61.2	32.6	3.6	1.0	1.5	100.0	(2,339)
Midwest	46.9	48.1	2.5	1.2	1.3	100.0	(476)
South	65.2	30.9	2.0	1.2	0.6	100.0	(295)
West	81.4	16.0	1.2	0.6	0.8	100.0	(303)
Total U.S.	62.1	32.8	2.8	1.0	1.2	100.0	(3,413)

at a fairly early stage of the lifecycle (as shown by the percentage in the early migrant category). The most significant changes in type of recent migrations were 1) the increase in the percentage of primary migrations of those born in the Northeast relative to the declines in the other regions, resulting in the Northeast assuming top place among the four regions in the level of primary migrants; 2) an increase in the proportion of repeat migrants among those born in the South; and 3) an increase in return migration among those born in the West.

An examination of lifetime regional mobility from the point of view of current region of residence provides, as expected, a different perspective (Table 2.8). The less attractive destination

regions identified earlier, namely the Northeast and Midwest, have the highest proportion of persons who were born in the region and also lived there five years before the specific survey and at the time of the survey (non-migrants). In both these regions, the proportion of non-migrants remained almost unchanged over time. By contrast, the two sunbelt regions, which are preferred areas for Jewish migration, had much lower proportions of Jews in 1990 and in 2000 who had lived in these regions for their entire lives. However, with time, a growing proportion of the adult Jewish populations in these two regions were lifetime residents there, probably reflecting the growing number of children born in these regions. The proportion of non-migrants is higher in the West than

Table 2.8

Distribution of Interregional Migration Types, by Current Region of Residence: American Jews in 1990 and 2000
(U.S.-Born Only; percentages)

Region of Current Residence	Migration Type					Total Percent	Total Number in the Sample
	Non-Migrant	Early Migrant	Primary Migrant	Repeat Migrant	Return Migrant		
1990							
Northeast	87.0	8.0	1.7	0.3	3.1	100.0	(771)
Midwest	67.7	23.2	3.1	2.4	3.6	100.0	(193)
South	27.7	61.1	8.8	1.2	1.3	100.0	(397)
West	39.0	55.6	2.9	2.4	-	100.0	(404)
Total U.S.	60.6	32.5	3.7	1.2	2.0	100.0	(1,764)
2000							
Northeast	86.4	10.0	1.0	0.4	2.2	100.0	(1,809)
Midwest	69.3	25.7	1.7	1.4	1.9	100.0	(283)
South	37.3	55.5	5.5	1.4	0.3	100.0	(756)
West	49.4	45.7	3.1	1.4	0.5	100.0	(565)
Total U.S.	62.1	32.8	2.8	1.0	1.2	100.0	(3,413)

in the South, probably reflecting its stronger holding power for the locally-born population, while the South attracts more people born in other parts of the country. By 2000 just under one-half of the adult Jews in the West were non-migrants.

As a consequence of the above growth, the proportion of both early migrants and those who moved during a five-year interval among the Jewish population in the West has declined. By both 1990 and 2000, the South attracted more five-year migrants from other parts of the country than did the West (sum of primary, repeat and return columns in Table 2.8). Yet these differentials significantly converged from 11.3 percent for the South and 5.3 percent for the West in 1985-1990 to 7.2 percent and 5.0 percent, respectively in 1995-2000. This resulted from contrasting processes in the two regions: there were increasing shares of primary and return migrants in the West and a decline in repeat migrants, while the South became more attractive to people who were already living outside their region of birth and less so to primary and return migrants. While these changes are likely to derive from individual demographic characteristics and structural socio-economic conditions relevant for different segments of the population, they also have implications for communal planning because each group of migrants requires a somewhat different strategy for its integration into Jewish life and local institutions.

6. Metropolitan/Non-metropolitan Residence

American Jews have traditionally displayed a preference for residence in large cities and metropolitan areas (United States Bureau of the Census, 1958). Despite their migration patterns and high rates of dispersion across the country, they were always overwhelmingly concentrated in such areas. This concentration is probably associated with the higher educational attainment and professional qualifications of Jews and the associated job opportunities and cultural tastes, which are more easily satisfied in an urban/metropolitan environment.

Over time, however, reflecting their wider distribution across the United States, an increasing number of metropolitan areas need to be included in order to encompass a given proportion of the national Jewish population (Newman and Halvorson, 1979;

Ritterband, 1986). Also important is the fact that the high percentage of immigrants among earlier cohorts of the Jewish population led many to settle in the cities to which they initially arrived, such as New York, although when they migrated elsewhere in the United States, they also tended to prefer urban residence.

Interestingly, over the period 1990-2000 the proportion of Jews living in metropolitan areas has declined slightly from 95.6 percent to 92.9 percent (Table 2.9). This tendency characterized Jews in all four regions of the country, but mainly in the Midwest, where metropolitan residence in 2000 declined to 87.3 percent. Other regions changed 1-4 percentage points. Given previous evidence which indicated that peripheral Jews showed lower tendencies to live in metropolitan areas (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996), it is

Table 2.9

Metropolitan/Nonmetropolitan Residence, by Region: American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(percentages)*

Metropolitan Residence	Region of Residence				Total
	Northeast	Midwest	South	West	
1990					
Metropolitan	96.8	94.6	93.7	94.5	95.6
Nonmetropolitan	3.2	5.4	6.3	4.5	4.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number in the Sample	(743)	(172)	(368)	(380)	(1,662)
2000					
Metropolitan	96.0	87.3	90.0	92.8	92.9
Nonmetropolitan	4.0	12.7	10.0	7.2	7.1
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Number in the Sample	(2,259)	(320)	(874)	(694)	(4,147)

likely that if NJPS-2000/01 had collected complete data for all people with Jewish backgrounds, this tendency to favor non-metropolitan residence would be even more substantial. Indeed, the data available for 2000 show that Jews living in non-metropolitan areas are less Jewishly-oriented than are their metropolitan counterparts. Certainly, Jews in non-metropolitan areas are not members of ultra-orthodox enclave communities since less than one half of one percent of them defined themselves as Orthodox, as compared to more than eight percent among Jews in metropolitan areas; by contrast, Jews in non-metropolitan areas disproportionately lack denominational preference — about half as compared to less than one-third among metropolitan Jews. Accordingly, Jews in non-metropolitan areas have a weaker sense of belonging to the Jewish people, they tend less to observe the Shabbat and major Jewish holidays, and they have a lower level of synagogue attendance. It should be noted that during the same time the proportion of total Americans living in metropolitan areas has increased slightly (Perry and Mackun, 2001). The slight shift by Jews to non-metropolitan residence may reflect a growing preference for residence in smaller towns and outlying areas, resulting possibly from greater concern with environmental issues and facilitated by computer technology.

Further insights into the redistribution patterns of American Jews can be gained through examination of the relationships between metropolitan/non-metropolitan residence and five-year migration status (Table 2.10). In both 1990 and 2000, more of the Jews living in metropolitan areas than those living in non-metropolitan areas were residentially stable over their lifetimes. Consistent with this pattern, a small shift took place between 1995 and 2000 from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas: 29.4 percent of the Jews living in non-metropolitan areas in 2000 had changed community of residence within the United States whereas this was true of only 27.0 percent in 1990. In 2000, people who migrated to non-metropolitan areas were increasingly coming from different states (16.7 percent) than from within the state (11.8 percent), suggesting that the recent increase in non-metropolitan residents is more attributable to longer-distance migrants. The joint characteristics of being both an interstate migrant and a resident of a non-metropolitan area, presumably farther away from Jewish facilities and institutions, presents a double challenge to the individual's Jewish identity and communal ties. Data also show

Table 2.10

Five-Year Migration Status, by Metropolitan/Nonmetropolitan Residence: American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(percentages)*

Metropolitan Residence	Migration Status				Total Percent	Total Number in the Sample
	Non-migrant	Intrastate	Interstate	International		
1990						
Metropolitan	75.9	11.1	12.0	1.1	100.0	(1,586)
Non-metropolitan	73.0	13.6	12.9	0.5	100.0	(74)
2000						
Metropolitan	72.4	12.6	12.1	2.9	100.0	(3,978)
Non-metropolitan	70.6	11.8	16.7	0.9	100.0	(148)

that at the end of the twentieth century, international migrants, as in the past, were strongly inclined to settle in metropolitan areas, and this tendency has grown even stronger in the late 1990s.[8]

7. Bilocal Residence

In addition to permanent movements, a large number of people in America, including Jews, circulate among two or even more places of residence, often at specific times of the year and for defined, and not necessarily short, durations of stay. Bilocal residence may derive from labour needs, marriage dissolution and movement of children between the different homes of two separated parents, seasonal migration such as that of retired people between the northeast and sunbelt areas ('snowbirds'), and annual vacations to their homeland by immigrants and their descendants. Hence, 'second homes' can be in different places of the country or even overseas (Roseman, 1985). For Jews, bilocal residence may raise serious dilemmas regarding location-specific connections, loyalties, and involvement in a given Jewish community. At the same time, institutions and communal

services must periodically adjust their activities to a changing number of constituents.

In 1990, approximately 12 percent of all Jewish respondents reported bilocal residence that is, being away from their current residence for more than two months of the year (Table 2.11). The highest percentage of bilocal residence was found among the youngest age group, which comprises a large number of students, first-career seekers, and recently married persons, who all may reside part-time in two or more communities. The group with the lowest rates of bilocal residence was that aged 30 to 44 which is typically at a critical stage of career and family development, limiting (both financially and socially), movements between localities. As these younger cohorts move to the next stage of their life-cycle, which is likely to involve more stable employment, higher income, and the 'empty nest' resulting from the departure of children from their homes, their level of bilocal residence increases. The higher rate of bilocal residence among Jews aged 45-64 resembles the tendency among the total United States population among whom 'the 35 to 64 age group owns by far the greatest number of second homes' (Roseman, 1985:2). For Jews in 1990, the propensity for bilocal residence slightly declined after age 64, probably owing to the preference of elderly Jews for permanent relocation upon retirement rather than seasonal migration.

By 2000, the proportion of total bilocal residents remained fairly unchanged at 12 percent.[9] This overall stability, however, does not reflect stability in levels between 1990 and 2000 among the various age groups. Both the youngest and the oldest populations experienced an increase in bilocal residence, while the rates of the two intermediate groups in 2000 were lower than in 1990. For young Jews this might reflect more prolonged academic education, caused by a desire to acquire advanced degrees and perhaps also by the difficulties graduates faced in finding suitable jobs. Economic considerations of different types, such as diminished assets, might explain the decline in the level of bilocal residence among the 30-44 and 45-64 age groups. The higher levels among the elderly may result from greater concerns about environmental amenities in retirement and also perhaps their desire to spend more time with children and grandchildren who reside far away from them.

Table 2.11

Dimensions of Bilocal Residence: American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(percentage)*

	Percent Bilocal Residents	
	1990	2000
Age		
18-29	15.9	21.2
30-44	7.0	5.6
45-64	15.1	9.2
65 +	13.9	16.4
Total	11.9	12.1
Five-Year Migration Status		
Nonmigrant	13.0	12.9
Intrastate	10.2	10.1
Interstate	11.6	11.6

Consistently, in both 1990 and 2000, those who had not moved in the preceding five years had the highest rates of bilocal residence (bottom panel, Table 2.11). These people presumably are satisfied with their current location, have deep social relationships, and enjoy economic well being, but also spend at least two months of the year in another place. It may also reflect short-term moves back to place of origin to be with old friends and relatives. A somewhat lesser tendency toward temporary movement characterizes recent interstate migrants, and the least inclined to bilocality are people who migrated from one area to another within the same state; recent permanent moves diminish the likelihood for prolonged absence and temporary residence elsewhere.

In 1990, a majority of the bilocal residents in each region spent most of their time away from home within their region of permanent residence (diagonal in Table 2.12). The highest retention rate characterized the South (70.7) while the lowest rate was found in the Midwest (54.7). For the country as a whole, the South was the main destination for temporary movers. While only 27.3 percent

Table 2.12

Region Where Bilocals Spent Most Time When Away from Home, by Region of Current Residence: American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(percentages)*

Region of Current Residence	Northeast	Midwest	South	West	Total Percent	Total Number in the Sample	Distribution of Residents at time of Survey
1990							
Northeast	63.2	1.3	32.9	2.6	100.0	(76)	41.5
Midwest	5.3	54.7	12.3	27.8	100.0	(17)	9.3
South	16.0	8.0	70.7	6.0	100.0	(50)	27.3
West	15.7	1.8	17.9	64.7	100.0	(40)	21.9
Total U.S.	34.6	8.3	37.9	19.2	100.0	(183)	100.0
2000							
Northeast	59.1	1.7	27.8	11.3	100.0	(239)	39.4
Midwest	2.9	37.1	20.0	40.0	100.0	(40)	12.0
South	20.2	7.1	57.1	15.5	100.0	(125)	28.8
West	22.4	10.3	5.2	62.1	100.0	(76)	19.9
Total U.S.	33.9	9.2	30.8	26.0	100.0	(480)	100.0

of the bilocal residents resided in this region, as many as 37.9 percent reported spending most of their absence from home in this region. Each of the other three regions was 'home base' to a larger proportion of bilocal residents than it was a temporary residence. For Northeastern Jews who moved temporarily from their region of residence to another region, the preferred destination was the South, attracting one-third of the bilocals. For Jews in the Midwest, however, the West was the most popular destination outside their own region. Southerners who moved away from their own region mainly favoured the Northeast over the West and Midwest;

Westerners, by contrast, were almost equally attracted to the South and the Northeast.

Interestingly, by 2000 the Northeast, not the South, was the destination of more bilocal movers (33.9 percent) than any other region, a percentage only a little lower than the Northeast's share of the total Jewish population. The South and West had higher shares of temporary movers coming to the region than they had permanent residents who lived within the region, attesting to the strong attraction of the two regions to people spending two or more months away from home. But the South lost some of its holding power; the proportion of southern Jewish bilocals who chose to spend most of their time away from their permanent homes in their own region declined from 70.7 percent in 1990 to 57.1 percent in 2000. Similarly, by 2000 more of the bilocals who resided in the Midwest reported spending most of their absences from home in a different region, with the West being by far the favored destination. Another change has been the increase in the proportion of Westerners who travel to the Northeast and the Midwest, which accounts for the largest components among those who temporarily migrated outside the region. While these shifts require deeper examination, we speculate that to some extent they reflect cumulative permanent migration to the respective regions, so that in recent years more are returning to their places of origin for temporary stays.

8. Summary

This comparative analysis of the internal migration patterns among Jewish Americans suggests both continuity and new directions. At the end of the twentieth century American Jews were still on the move, presumably reflecting their high socio-economic status concomitant with their cultural preferences and life-styles. The high rates of internal mobility in 1995-2000 coincide with a large influx of international migrants, each of these groups having needs and expectations somewhat different from those of the organized Jewish community. Immigration was not as salient in the late 1980s.

The continuing redistribution of American Jews points to an increasing share of Jews living in the Midwest and a decreasing share in the West. At the same time, internal migration continued

to draw heavily from the Northeast and the Midwest towards the South and the West. This apparent inconsistency between the changing regional distribution of the Jewish population and the migration flows is due to at least one of two reasons: 1) regional redistribution refers to the entire period 1990-2000, while the migration patterns refer only to the second half of the decade, the five-year period between 1995 and 2000 covered by the survey; or 2) demographic determinants other than internal migration shape the geographic distribution of the Jewish population, including fertility, assimilation, and settlement of new immigrants; and the impact of these factors varies across the different regions of the United States.

In 2000, a higher percentage of Jews had remained geographically stable over the preceding five years than was true in 1990. Those who did migrate tended to move greater distances to other states or other regions. From the perspective of lifetime mobility, in 2000 compared to 1990, fewer Jews were repeat migrants while more had recently returned to their state of birth. Compared with the Jewish population of 1990, fewer Jews in 2000 had over their lifetimes ever moved between regions, and within this overall trend, the South and West experienced an increase in the proportion of Jews who were lifetime residents.

Migration is, inter alia, associated with metropolitan/non-metropolitan residence. In 2000, non-metropolitan residents had been more mobile over the previous five years than people living in metropolitan areas. Over time, the relationship between long- and short-distance moves and metropolitan versus non-metropolitan living has strengthened somewhat. A growing number of the people who moved to non-metropolitan areas come from different states, suggesting that the overall observed increase in metropolitan residents disproportionately derives from long-distance migration.

The findings revealed that in both 1990 and 2000, bilocal residence was most characteristic of the geographically stable Jews, namely those who had not moved over the preceding five years. The stable group was followed by the recent interstate migrants, and the least inclined to bilocality were intrastate migrants. In 2000, a larger proportion of the bilocal residents spent their time away from their usual homes living in the region of permanent residence than was

the case in 1990. While in 1990 the South was the most preferred region of destination for bilocal movers, by 2000 it was replaced by the Northeast. We speculate that this is partly explained by people who migrated earlier to the South and established permanent residence and are now visiting their former homes.

Chapter Three

Migration and Socioeconomic Characteristics

1. Overview

Migration is not uniformly characteristic of the various demographic and socioeconomic segments of the population. Rather it is selective, with different people responding differently to incentives of migration and to push and pull factors in different areas (Lee, 1966; Long, 1988; Michalos, 1997; Ritchey, 1976). Many demographic characteristics and human capital assets shape an individual's decision on whether to migrate. The role of these factors in determining the tendency and types of individuals who move may change over time, partly because of social and cultural-value alterations in the society at large.

In an earlier study I examined the determinants of interstate migration among Jews in the United States and how these changed between 1965-1970 and 1985-1990 (Rebhun, 2003). The characteristics most associated with interstate migration in 1965-1970 were young age, advanced education, being married, and previous experience in migration. Migrants living at the beginning of the observation period in a state other than their state of birth were three times as likely to make another move over state boundaries during the next 5 years as were those who had not migrated between birth and the 5 years preceding the surveys. Furthermore, self-employment reduced the probability of migration. Structural variables of per capita income, unemployment rate, and climate had no significant effects on migration. All else being equal, the concentration of a large number of ethno-religious compatriots restrained out-migration to another state.

The most meaningful change between 1960 and 1980 was the substantial decline in the ability of the demographic and socioeconomic variables to explain variations in interstate

migration. For each set of independent variables, or combination of sets, the power to explain interstate migration was significantly reduced between 1965-1970 and 1985-1990. Education and marital status totally lost their role as determinants of interstate migration. Yet, among the individual characteristics, age remained a useful predictor of migration (see also: Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996), as did early migration, though with a somewhat weaker effect than in the past. Ethnic concentration continued to deter the tendency to migrate. Many of the above conclusions were also found valid in an analysis of longer distance migration as measured by movements between the nine divisions of the country (Rebhun, 2002). The rise in the level of Jewish internal mobility was accompanied by a reduction in socio-demographic selectivity.

Several community studies also directed attention to the relationships between socio-demographic characteristics and migration. Due to their local focus the data were limited to in-migrants (while national surveys cover also out-migration). The findings that emerged from different local studies were not always consistent across communities. Cohen (1983) and Goldscheider (1986) showed that people living in Greater Boston who were born outside of it, and especially recent migrants (shortly before 1975), were young and had a high proportion of singles or families with no children; these in-migrants were also highly educated and, on the average, their income was lower than that of the more veteran Jewish inhabitants. A later study of the same community from 1985 indicated a very similar socio-demographic selectivity of migrants as compared to local-born Jews, which was further reflected in the larger concentration of the former in professional occupations (Rebhun, 1991). Jewish in-migrants to Greater Philadelphia were also found to be disproportionately young, single and college-educated (Rebhun, 1991). Goldstein (1993) showed that recent migrants to Rhode Island in 1987, both men and women, had the highest levels of education of those living in the state; these gradually declined with longer duration of residence, and the lowest rates were found among those who had always lived in Rhode Island. Among most age groups, recent male migrants were found disproportionately to be professionals, whereas the findings for women were less clear. A large number of professionals was found among the group of intermediate duration in Rhode Island while the most recent

arrivals had a considerably higher proportion of managers. Areas relatively new to massive Jewish settlement, such as Los Angeles, have attracted less selective migrants with their social and economic characteristics being largely similar to those who were born in the area (Rebhun, 1991). Many of the Jewish migrants to Southern Florida, being relatively elderly, were motivated by climate and health considerations while others, with slightly different age and other socioeconomic characteristics, were attracted by work-related factors and the desire to be near a large Jewish community.

This chapter examines the social characteristics of Jewish internal migrants in the United States and the changes in the selectivity of migrants over the course of the past decade. I apply descriptive analysis of the relationships between migration status and individual social affinities as well as an advanced quantitative technique which enables us to evaluate the net effect of individual demographic and socioeconomic factors, as well as structural factors, to the likelihood of moving geographically. Continuity in the decline of the sociodemographic exclusivity of migrants will imply intensification of the assimilation of different types of people in processes of geographic mobility; by contrast, a return to substantial selectivity would point to a shift to stronger social-spatial polarization and the dispersion of potential trajectories of personal integration and inter-group relationships.

2. *Theoretical Perspectives*

Among the demographic characteristics and human capital assets of individuals, age plays a paramount role in the tendency of people to migrate. As early as 1958, Thomas concluded that "there is an excess of adolescents and young adults among migrants…compared with the non-migrating or the general population" (Thomas, 1958). Later empirical and theoretical work on the subject of migration has also identified age as the best predictor of who is likely to move and who is not (Bogue, 1959; Lee, 1966; Long, 1988; Plane and Heins, 2003).

Nor do migrants constitute a representative sample of the population on a host of other characteristics, whether at origin or at destination (Goldscheider, 1971; Shryock and Siegel, 1973). Persons with high educational attainment and more generally, those at the higher end of the socioeconomic scale, are more aware

of opportunities in other places, and this enhances their likelihood to migrate (Wolpert, 1965). Level of education increases the ability to compete in the labor market which for highly qualified workers, as compared with those with less education, is nationwide (Bogue, 1969; Long, 1973; 1988; Ritchey, 1976). Likewise, the marginal returns for people with high educational and occupational qualifications are large; substantial regional variations in return for human capital motivate such people to move. It has been noted, however, that economic returns on education in the United States have fallen, and "college graduates became less likely to 'invest' in interstate migration" (Long, 1988). As suggested earlier, technological innovation for its part, including transportation and communication, has diminished the travel time between geographic points and made it easier to connect ("friction of distance"). This, in turn, can moderate the need to migrate.

Migration selectivity is 'positive' for people with high qualifications who respond to perceived incentives at new destinations. Such people generally live in conditions that do not ordinarily push or force them to leave, yet they will move once they have identified better opportunities and advantages in another area. "Negative" selective migration, by contrast, is a response to constraints or depressive developments at place of origin; such circumstances will mainly affect people in social or economic difficulties. The decision to migrate, or alternatively to stay in the area of residence, takes into account the equilibrium between positive and negative factors operating in the areas of origin and destination, as well as the abilities to overcome various intervening obstacles.

Migration is also associated with stages in the life-cycle. From this perspective, migration may be seen as a rite-of-passage event associated with such transitions as enrollment in academic education; entrance to the job market; retirement; and change in family and household status, including the growth or decline of household size. Each of these changes results in needs and preferences for a different house or environment, thus propelling geographic mobility (Lee, 1966; Shryock and Siegel, 1973).

Nevertheless, the differences between migrants and non-migrants are not always clear and consistent and almost every typical difference has important exceptions (Bogue, 1959;

Goldscheider, 1971). It is common to attach high rates of geographic mobility to professional workers, yet persons in medicine and law are less likely to migrate. Similarly, high wage earners may be seen as geographically stable if they hold local business capital or other jobs that tie them to a given locality (Bogue, 1959; Long, 1988). By contrast, in many developed countries, including the United States, the last few decades have witnessed a decline in the demand for unskilled workers; both unstable employment and a high frequency of unemployment enhance geographic mobility (Bogue, 1959; Long, 1988). More generally, industrialization and development increase the economic advantages of specific areas over other areas thus enhancing the tendencies for geographic mobility, which, in turn, becomes less selective. As the uncertainty regarding opportunities and conditions in other places lessens and information becomes more readily available, a wider range of people will move from one place to another, including people with low social and economic status and weak personal contacts and networking, thereby diminishing the selectivity of migration (Long, 1988).

Likewise, people are dispersed throughout the country and they are thus exposed to different social and economic contexts in their area of residence. Spatial inequalities in employment opportunities and income, as well as in non-monetary conditions such as crime rate and climate, accumulate to shape the individual's quality of life. As in other voluntary processes involving social and economic change, these macro economic and social factors determine the necessary threshold of desirability and feasibility of migration (Cadwallader, 1992; Clark and Hunter, 1992; Heaton, Clifford and Fuguitt, 1981; Michalos, 1997).

3. Educational Attainment and Spatial Behavior

The extraordinary social and economic mobility of the Jews has been abetted by the fact that achieved, rather than ascribed, characteristics generally determine the status of the individual in modern American society. Moreover, the recognition of education as a central social value has furthered the successful incorporation of Jews into the larger population (Goldstein, 1992). This positive attitude toward learning is associated with Jewish tradition, which highly values not only religious studies but also knowledge of general secular topics

(Hartman and Hartman, 1996). Perhaps more than any other ethnic or religious group in the United States, the Jews have exploited

Table 3.1

Five-Year Migration Status by Level of Education and Gender: American Jews Aged 25 and Over in 1990 and 2000 *(percentages)*

	Males		Females	
	% Intrastate Migrants	% Interstate Migrants	% Intrastate Migrants	% Interstate Migrants
		Total — 1990		
High School or Less	6.1	5.5	4.7	6.3
Some College	8.1	10.6	18.4	6.6
Complete College	13.0	12.6	21.0	14.6
Graduate School	7.9	14.0	10.0	15.2
		Total — 2000[a]		
High School or Less	8.9	8.2	8.7	4.5
Some College	11.9	13.2	11.9	6.5
Complete College	16.4	16.2	17.5	15.7
Graduate School	12.1	19.3	15.6	16.8
		Age 25-34 — 1990		
High School or Less	10.2	20.2	22.2	17.8
Some College	6.0	25.3	38.0	8.2
Complete College	23.5	23.7	30.3	22.3
Graduate School	14.9	29.2	12.7	31.3
		Age 25-34 — 2000		
High School or Less	16.0	11.2	15.7	2.5
Some College	23.8	25.5	20.6	4.8
Complete College	26.6	27.1	24.4	27.0
Graduate School	13.6	42.0	27.0	33.4

a) Since age is a paramount factor in determining migration, I standardizedthe age distribution of the 2000 Jewish population to that of the 1990 Jewish population.

their civil freedom and opportunities to concentrate at the upper rungs of the educational ladder (Lipset and Raab, 1995). Reflecting this, the Jews as a group have the highest educational level in the United States today (Pyle, 2006), and are among the outstanding populations in the history of the world (Kosmin, 1988).

This unique concentration of Jews in the higher educational strata and the documented positive relations between education and migration can in large part explain the overall higher rates of Jewish migration relative to that of the general population (Rebhun, 1997a). Opportunities associated with advanced education are often located far from areas of traditional Jewish settlement (e.g., California [Silicon Valley], Washington [Seattle]; Texas [Dallas]), increasing the incentives to migrate. Under such conditions, individuals may choose adequate matching of their education with occupation and professional career over proximity to family and home community, and the salience of this choice has increased with each generation. At the same time, the great value attached by Jewish tradition and religion to family values may somewhat moderate the process of geographic relocation.

Analysis of NJPS-1990 shows that recent interstate migration varied directly with education (Table 3.1). Two and a half times as many Jewish males with graduate schooling migrated across state lines than did those with high school education or less — 14 percent and 5.5 percent, respectively. Intrastate migration between cities or towns within a given state was also positively related to education, although it was not as completely linear. Jewish males in the college-educated group were the most mobile, with one-quarter having changed their city or state of residence between 1985 and 1990.

Comparing the 1990 data with those from 2000 suggests that for males the relationship between education and migration both between and within states remains strong. Moreover, at each level of education the proportion of recent migrants in 2000 was higher than ten years earlier. At the same time, the differentials in interstate migration between those with high school education or less and each advanced level of education have slightly diminished. Thus, although the ranking of migration rates by education remains unchanged, more recently migration across states has also turned into more salient behavior among less-educated American Jews.

Although migration rates among women differ somewhat by education, nevertheless the overall relationship between education and migration among Jewish women is very similar to that observed for males, including the changes over time (Table 3.1). Among the more salient gender differences are the decline in rates of intrastate migration among women with some college or completed college; and the relative stability in interstate migration among Jewish women across educational categories. Overall, these trends suggest that the dynamics of the relationship between education and consequent economic opportunities on the one hand, and geographic mobility on the other, is somewhat more moderate among women than among men. For women, other factors, most likely familial considerations, also play an important intervening role in the decision to migrate.

In light of this, but also because the control for education blurs specific levels of mobility that characterize selected age categories of the population, as well as those with high educational attainment, we have focused separately on the group aged 25-34. This group is comprised of people who are at a very high risk of migration associated with completion of graduate studies, entrance into the labor force, and family formation. The percentage of Jewish males aged 25-34 who made an interstate move over the period 1985-1990 was two to four times higher than among all Jewish males in the corresponding educational category, with the largest differentials being with the two groups who had lower levels of education (Table 3.1). Higher levels of interstate migration also characterized each educational category of men aged 25-34 in 2000 compared to their total male counterparts; the sharpest difference, however, was for those with graduate training. Thus, contrary to our conclusion that, for total Jewish males, over time the gap in interstate migration between the two educational groups (of high school or under and graduate studies) has narrowed, for the 25-34 age group, this gap has significantly increased. The same pattern characterized Jewish women aged 25-34 even more strongly (Table 3.1), coinciding with the tendency found among all Jewish women. Since people aged 25-34 are at stages of life most vulnerable to the incentives and opportunities of migration, the general economic and socio-cultural developments of the 1990s seem to have affected them disproportionately.

The higher interstate migration levels of the 25-34 age group of males and females compared to total Jewish males and females holds also for intrastate migration. The earlier observation concerning the decline from 1990 to 2000 in the rates of intrastate mobility of women at the intermediate levels of education has now been extended to include also those with high school education or less. Overall, taking together migration across and within states, the differential in (recent) migration rates between the group with the highest and that with the lowest level of education increased in the 1990-2000 interval. This is true for the total Jewish population and the 25-34 age group as well as for both gender groups (with the exception of intrastate migration of males aged 25-34). Hence, recent patterns point generally to the strengthening selectivity of Jewish internal migration in the United States.

4. Occupational Hierarchy and Migration

Education is closely related to occupation. Thus, it is not surprising that a considerable proportion of Jews are concentrated in the upper strata of the employment hierarchy. Already in the late 1950s slightly more than three-quarters (77.5 percent) of Jewish men worked in white-collar jobs (including professional, managerial, clerical and sales positions), while the corresponding percentage among all American males was only 35.5 percent (Goldstein, 1969). By 1970, these proportions among both sub-groups had increased to 89.2 percent and 42 percent, respectively (Goldstein, 1981). Since then the differential has narrowed as the proportion of white-collar workers among Jewish males remained stable, while it continued to rise among all employed white males to slightly more than half in 2000 (Chiswick, 2007).

Among other things, the upward mobility of the non-Jewish population is a response both to changes in their educational levels, and to changing opportunities and labor force needs in the American economy. On the other hand, the slight increase of Jews in lower-status occupations is probably associated with changes in value systems and life-styles that involve a disproportional number of secular Jews and Jews by choice (Goldstein, 1992). Whatever the reason, the recent occupational distribution of Jews and of the total population shows a narrowing of the long-standing differences;

Jews no longer seem as occupationally advantaged and may find greater competition for employment. Most relevant to this discussion is whether and how the relationships between occupation and migration, which embody different types of incentives and economic mobility, have changed over time.

One possibility is that under conditions of increasing competition, especially in occupations that are sensitive to migration (i.e. the professions), the economic opportunities will be distributed across a larger number of people, thereby diminishing rates of Jewish migration in pursuit of job opportunities. It might also be speculated that alternatively, Jews may migrate to new areas of economic development which might not be socially or culturally very attractive but can provide better economic opportunities, especially for young people seeking to initiate their careers. That people at this stage of the life-cycle are strongly inclined to move is indirectly evident in such data as the American Housing Surveys, according to which one-quarter of household interstate relocation was more associated with one of two reasons — taking a new job or looking for work — than with any other main reason for migration (Long, 1988). Blue-collar occupations have recently been attracting more secular Jews since they are less affiliated with local Jewish institutions and networks (Goldstein, 1992), and can relocate more easily. Moreover, many Jews live in states with large inflows of minority immigrants (e.g., California, New York, Illinois); Jews with low socio-economic status, who face increasing job competition from the new arrivals who are likely to accept low remuneration (Chiswick, 1978), may follow the patterns exhibited by total whites to move to other, often nearby, states with better employment opportunities (Frey, 1995b). To some extent, this immigration-internal migration dynamic may also reflect a wish to avoid the social and financial costs involved in the absorption of large numbers of new immigrants (Frey, 1995b).

The analysis of NJPS-1990 was restricted to those in the labor force at the time of the survey and showed only moderate differences for men in the proportion of migrants by type of occupation (Table 3.2). However, professionals migrated between states somewhat more than any other occupational group, whereas managers were the least likely to move across state boundaries. Moves by the latter to another city or town within the same state attest to the importance

intrastate movement has for maintaining employment or for promotion in local/state companies.

By 2000, the patterns had shifted. Blue-collar workers were distinctive among occupational categories as the most residentially stable and showed an especially weak inclination to move between states. Their opportunities in the national labor market may have diminished; under such conditions their familiarity with their current state of residence served as a means for ensuring employment continuity. Interestingly, by 2000, managers had become the most mobile occupational group, especially among interstate migrants. This change over time may possibly reflect either the increasing penetration of Jewish males into managerial positions in national companies which encourage, and sometimes even require, job mobility, or a more even dispersion of management opportunities throughout the country.

The patterns differ for Jewish women. Substantial differences in levels of migration by occupational categories were already found in 1990 (Table 3.2). Women in the professions were the most geographically mobile, with slightly more than 30 percent residing in a place other than where they resided in 1985 (14.4 percent moved interstate and about 15.7 percent intrastate). Managerial women were the most residentially stable, with only 16.5 percent moving over the preceding five years, and most of these (11.6 percent) moved within the same state. The overall rates of migration among clerical/sales and blue-collar workers were quite similar to each other (at approximately one-quarter); nevertheless the distribution by type of move indicates a much stronger tendency of the former to engage in long distance moves and of blue-collar workers to move mainly within their state.

By 2000, migration rates among both professional and managerial women had increased. As with men, this process was accompanied by greater similarity in rates of interstate migration of the two occupational groups (15.8 percent and 11.9 percent, respectively). Female blue-collar workers had become the most mobile group, with 37 percent migrating between 1995 and 2000. While they already had high levels of mobility in 1990, a shift seems to have occurred from intrastate to interstate migration by 2000. Furthermore, because of the aggregate nature of the blue-collar occupational category, the high level of migration may reflect only a specific occupational

Five-Year Migration Status by Major Occupation and Gender:

	Males		Females	
	% Intrastate Migrants	% Interstate Migrants	% Intrastate Migrants	% Interstate Migrants
		Total — 1990		
Professional	10.1	13.3	15.7	14.4
Manager	14.4	8.4	11.6	4.9
Clerical/Sales	9.6	11.4	13.5	11.0
Blue Collar[b]	10.0	11.2	23.5	5.0
		Total — 2000[a]		
Professional	12.7	17.6	17.7	15.8
Manager	17.8	18.1	14.6	11.9
Clerical/Sales	18.1	16.0	19.0	6.3
Blue Collar[b]	12.4	8.0	11.3	25.7
		Age 25-34 — 1990		
Professional	17.5	24.8	23.0	21.5
Manager	20.3	15.6	30.4	9.2
Clerical/Sales	17.9	20.3	28.8	18.3
Blue Collar[b]	16.6	13.7	16.1	11.5

a) See footnote (a) to Table 3.1.

b) Blue collar includes crafts, operatives and service.

group of women in craft, skilled labor, or service work. Overall, the patterns by gender suggest that mobility may result from different needs and constraints for men and women.

In order to obtain a more in-depth understanding of the occupation-migration relationships, I separately examine the patterns for men and women aged 25-34 and 35-44; these age groups are strongly associated with critical stages of the life cycle, such as

Table 3.2

American Jews Aged 25 and Over in 1990 and 2000 *(percentages)*

	Males		Females	
	% Intrastate Migrants	% Interstate Migrants	% Intrastate Migrants	% Interstate Migrants
		Age 25-34 — 2000		
Professional	18.7	31.4	26.6	30.3
Manager	22.0	28.7	24.0	12.1
Clerical/Sales	31.7	24.7	29.7	11.9
Blue Collar[b]	19.5	15.9	14.2	28.9
		Age 35-44 — 1990		
Professional	10.2	10.7	14.4	13.6
Manager	14.1	3.6	6.3	6.7
Clerical/Sales	15.8	8.1	5.6	10.5
Blue Collar[b]	5.7	8.5	7.0	3.8
		Age 35-44 — 2000		
Professional	13.9	20.1	16.7	10.7
Manager	22.9	16.6	19.7	14.7
Clerical/Sales	9.7	16.7	17.7	1.3
Blue Collar[b]	9.6	2.4	16.3	22.8

beginning a career and family formation. For both men and women, migration levels are considerably higher at younger ages for most occupational categories (Table 3.2). Moreover, among men aged 25-34, in 1990 migration levels already varied directly by status of occupation. For example, whereas 42.3 percent of professionals were identified as migrants, the rate fluctuated to as low as 30.3 percent among blue-collar males. Concurrently, professional men aged

25-34 had the highest percentage of interstate migration — one in four (24.8 percent), compared to only 13.7 percent of the blue-collar workers. Together with a general tendency over the next decade of increasing levels of internal migration among all occupational groups, professional and blue-collar workers remained, respectively, the most and least interstate mobile populations.

Jewish women replicated the patterns observed for Jewish men aged 25-34, although at a slightly difference pace, including the distribution between intra- and interstate migration. But, unlike men, only women professionals and blue-collar workers experienced growth in rates of migration. By 2000 these two occupational groups had very similar levels of interstate migration. Thus, our earlier findings for Jewish women of all ages, which indicated that blue-collar workers have a higher percentage of interstate migrants, is attributable mainly to the migration patterns of older women.

In contrast to the men and to women aged 25-34, the female 35-44 age cohorts were geographically quite stable (Table 3.2). Nonetheless, between 1990 and 2000, the rates of migration increased. Despite some mixed relationships between occupation and mobility, in both 1990 and 2000 professional workers had the highest rates of interstate migration (with the exception of Jewish women in 2000).

Overall, the data show that migration differentials by occupation have changed over the period 1990 to 2000. For both men and women, generally and by specific age groups, levels of interstate migration among managers have largely converged with those of professionals. Blue-collar men and women proceeded in opposite trajectories, with women becoming substantially more mobile, especially at the interstate level, while men's patterns were much more stable over time, with a decrease in interstate movement. Finally, we found that by 2000, total Jewish males, as well as specific age groups, exhibited a direct relation between occupation and migration, from professionals, who have the highest levels of migration, to blue-collar workers with the lowest levels. The irregular relation among Jewish women suggests that their migration behavior may be largely dependent on other members of the household or other family considerations. In other words, they can be thought of as tied migrants.

5. Marital Status Differentials

The last few decades have witnessed some unprecedented structural alterations in the American Jewish family (DellaPergola, 2000; Fishman, 1991; Goldscheider, 2004). The traditional patterns, which reflected the importance of the family as an institution for reproduction and socialization, including the transmission of group values and attitudes, gave way to new marriage and family paradigms. Among other changes, this has included delayed marriage, a rise in the rate of marital dissolution, less likelihood of re-marriage, the more widespread practice of cohabitation, declining fertility, and more single-parent families. These trends are not unique to Jews. Rather, they are symptomatic, albeit in a different rhythm, of changes in family patterns in American society at large (Cherlin, 1992; McLanahan and Casper, 1995; Lichter and Qian, 2005).

Family status is associated with particular living arrangements, such as size and type of house, area of residence,and proximity to relatives (parents, ex-spouse, children), as well as access to different municipal and communal services. Whether a person lives alone or in some kind of family unit determines the autonomy with which he or she can make decisions, including those that involve place of residence. Thus, family characteristics are important determinants of migration behavior. The recent trends in the Jewish family, which have resulted in less dependence on a partner, and in fewer couples with children at home, may facilitate different types of geographic movement. On the other hand, changes in the "economic exigencies of modern American life" involving job dislocation and geographic mobility (Lichter and Qian, 2005) may also affect family patterns. Thus, marital status and migration are mutually related either as cause or consequence.

Analysis of NJPS-1990 indicates that among men, singles were significantly more migratory than were married men (Table 3.3). Divorced men were the least stable group; however, much of their migration was local, the result of leaving their spouses but perhaps still wanting to remain close to their children, avoid the need to change workplace, and avoid disruption of ties with familiar social networks. The widowed, by contrast, were geographically very stable.

Five-Year Migration Status by Marital Status and Gender:

	Males			Females		
	% Different House, Same Locality	% Intrastate Migrants	% Interstate Migrants	% Different House, Same Locality	% Intrastate Migrants	% Interstate Migrants
			Total — 1990			
Never Married	24.8	12.8	16.1	30.8	17.7	15.2
Married	23.7	7.8	9.5	19.9	14.6	9.7
Divorced/Separated	35.3	10.1	12.2	36.1	9.1	9.3
Widowed	5.6	13.2	7.7	10.3	4.8	7.0
			Total — 2000[a]			
Never Married	17.0	16.8	21.6	20.9	17.6	21.4
Married	12.1	11.6	14.8	16.7	14.6	9.9
Divorced/Separated	25.2	14.4	12.7	33.7	13.3	9.0
Widowed	13.8	6.8	5.3	9.0	6.8	6.7
			Age 18-24 — 1990			
Never Married	23.3	14.7	11.3	19.8	22.5	8.3
			Age 18-24 — 2000			
Never Married	16.4	18.6	22.2	20.2	20.2	17.9
			Age 25-34 — 1990			
Never Married	24.6	15.3	28.5	37.8	21.1	29.3
Married	48.6	17.9	22.2	33.8	31.0	17.4

a) See footnote (a) to Table 3.1

By 2000, single Jewish men had become even less stable, having increased their levels of long-distance mobility both intra- and interstate (to 16.8 percent and 21.6 percent, respectively).[10] Interestingly, no meaningful change characterized the percentage of married men who remained living in the same house; nevertheless, more of the movement that did take place involved another city (11.6 percent) or a move to a different state (14.8 percent), reducing

Table 3.3

American Jews Aged 25 and Over in 1990 and 2000 *(percentages)*

	Males			Females		
	% Different House, Same Locality	% Intrastate Migrants	% Interstate Migrants	% Different House, Same Locality	% Intrastate Migrants	% Interstate Migrants
			Age 25-34 — 2000			
Never Married	17.0	18.9	29.7	25.4	18.6	27.5
Married	27.6	24.0	30.9	26.1	28.3	20.4
			Age 35-44 — 1990			
Never Married	35.8	10.2	3.7	44.3	2.3	6.7
Married	31.4	10.8	9.1	22.7	14.3	11.9
Divorced/Separated	37.2	13.8	18.9	28.6	16.5	10.3
			Age 35-44 — 2000			
Never Married	24.3	13.1	10.5	15.4	13.4	22.8
Married	11.5	13.9	20.0	19.5	15.4	8.3
Divorced/Separated	15.9	27.1	15.5	34.4	22.6	11.2
			Age 65 and over — 1990			
Married	10.5	3.4	4.6	8.8	2.4	2.1
Widowed	2.6	6.1	9.8	8.2	4.5	6.2
			Age 65 and over — 2000			
Married	9.6	4.8	7.2	7.6	6.7	3.7
Widowed	17.1	4.9	6.7	8.2	7.7	6.2

the proportion of local movement. The decline in the percentage of divorced men living in a house different from that of five years earlier (from 35.3 percent in 1990 to 25.2 percent in 2000) may be due to interesting social changes. One explanation might be changes in custodian arrangements as more fathers are granted custody of children or participate in joint-custody arrangements. Another explanation suggests that over time fewer divorced men

leave their homes, and it is rather the divorced women who relocate in response to the new familial circumstances.

Like single men, single Jewish women in 1990 also had the highest proportion living in a different place over the last five years, with their rate being somewhat higher than that of the men (Table 3.3). The relocation was mainly within the same locality, but large proportions also moved to another locality (17.7 percent) or another state (15.2 percent). Slightly more than half of the married women in 1990 had remained stable over the preceding five years. Compared to married men, more married women moved intrastate. In 1990, divorced women were somewhat more stable geographically than divorced Jewish men, and even when they did migrate, both men and women preferred to remain in the same locality. Similarly, widowed women were more stable than widowed men, and, if they moved, the women tended to relocate within the same locality, rather than to move longer distances, possibly as a strategy to reduce house size.

Over the next decade the extent of women's residential stability remained fairly unchanged in all marital categories. However, because of the increased level of interstate rather than intrastate migration among single women, the migration patterns of single Jewish men and women have largely converged. The tendency of divorced women to remain in the same house has somewhat weakened, and they were more likely to move to another city. This complements and coincides with our interpretation of the greater tendency of divorced men to remain in the same house. While these changes over time in the migration patterns of divorced Jewish men and women warrant an in-depth investigation, they likely reflect such social processes as the increased responsibility of fathers for their children after marital dissolution, moves by women after divorce to gain greater independence, or conversely to be nearer their parental homes, as well as economic considerations.

A more comprehensive insight into the relations between marital status and migration can be provided by examining age-specific data (Table 3.3).[11] Jewish single men under age 25 experienced a substantial increase in intrastate migration (from 14.7 percent in 1990 to 18.6 percent in 2000) or to another state (from 11.3 percent to 22.2 percent, respectively). This change suggests several social developments: a stronger inclination of young Jewish men to enroll

in schools far from families; a tendency to re-migrate for advanced studies; or, for those who completed their studies, movement to join the labor market.

A similar tendency, though more moderate, was observed among single men in the next age group, of 25-34. For this age group, married men are often more mobile than singles, probably because of new family formation. Between 1990 and 2000, married men in this age group became more mobile both within and between states. The greater mobility of married men across state boundaries may be related to changing economic situations and the resultant moves to states with better employment opportunities; this, in turn, may delay childbearing until greater economic security is attained.

Data on the 35-44 age group show that, like the younger age groups, for all categories of marital status, long distance migration increased, both intra- and interstate. The exception was the decline of divorced or separated Jewish men who moved to other states; nevertheless, they did tend to move away from their previous cities of residence. That in 2000, one-fifth of all married Jewish men aged 35-44 had changed their states of residence over the previous five years hints at the weakening of familial and social considerations in deciding where to live in favor of economic advantages and style of living.

In the 65 and over age group, no significant changes in levels of migration between 1990 and 2000 appear. The tendency of married Jews to move to another state increased slightly. Long-distance migration may be becoming more popular among people in the later stages of their life cycles as they seek better living conditions, including a warm climate and more appropriate medical care. The greater propensity of the widowed to move within the same locality may be associated with relocation to a different type of residence, such as a home for the elderly, while maintaining proximity to a familiar area encompassing relatives and known communal services.

The data for Jewish women (Table 3.3) indicate that in both 1990 and 2000, single Jewish women under the age of 25 were slightly more mobile than their male counterparts. This is mainly attributable to the stronger tendency of women to migrate intrastate. Like men, Jewish women, with few exceptions, became more mobile over time

with respect to both intra- and interstate migration. At the same time, local movement declined for most groups of women.

In sum, the findings reveal the strengthening over time of long-distance migration among single men and women in ages typical of this marital status, i.e. 20s and early 30s; and of married men and women in the critical ages of family formation. The trends in migration patterns of the divorced and separated, and the differences by gender, suggest stronger geographic stability, especially among men, which we assume reflects economic considerations but also changes in the relationships between spouses after marital dissolution and the subsequent shifting in responsibility. Widowed women are more stable than widowed men, possibly because men are more likely to engage in local mobility so that they can take advantage of assisted living facilities; women may be more able to continue living independently in their own homes.

When the patterns of Jewish men and women in the different age/marital status groups are compared, no clear and consistent trend emerges. In some cases (single Jews aged 25-34), intra- and interstate mobility levels have narrowed; in other cases (those aged 35-44) gender differences have widened. These various trajectories suggest a wide range of underlying factors that prompt the decision to stay or to move.

6. Determinants of Five-Year Intra- and Interstate Migration

Until now we have seen the relationships between each of the social variables and patterns of internal migration. These various characteristics do not, however, operate independently; rather, they are often related to one another embodying, at least partly, the effect of the other characteristics. This calls for an in-depth complementary investigation of all the variables jointly (called multivariate analysis) in order to determine the net effect of each variable on migration when all other variables are kept constant.

As noted earlier, our analysis is restricted to native-born men and women aged 18 and over who resided in the United States five years prior to the specific survey. A further criterion for inclusion in the analysis below was being in the labor force at the time of the survey, since earlier examination has shown that those no longer in the labor force have distinctively different patterns from

persons who are employed. The variable which stands at the center of this analysis (dependent variable) is the respondent's five-year migration status during the five years preceding the respective surveys (1985-1990 and 1995-2000), defined in three alternative ways 1) non-migrants: persons who did not move at all or moved within the same city/town in the respective five-year interval; 2) intrastate migrants: those who moved to another city/town within their state of residence; and 3) interstate migrants. Explanatory individual characteristics included in the analysis are age, gender, marital status, education, and occupation.[12]

Among the 1990 Jewish population, younger age increased the likelihood of migration (Table 3.4). For example, compared to those aged 65 and over, Jews aged 18-24 were 10 times as likely to migrate to another state, and those aged 25-44 were 7 times as likely to do so. Similar tendencies were observed for intrastate migration, at a slightly lower magnitude. Jewish women in the United States were slightly less inclined to relocate over, as well as within, state boundaries than Jewish men. The findings also indicate that persons who were currently married were less likely to move both intra- and interstate. Overall, whether enhancing or deterring migration, individual characteristics of age, gender and marital status play a much stronger role in determining migration between states than migration within states.

With all other variables controlled, educational attainment has a mixed and inconsistent effect on migration. As expected, higher education enhances the probability of making an interstate move. For moves within the same state, only persons with college degrees or with some post-high school education were more likely to move than were those with less schooling; having an M.A. or higher degree deterred intrastate migration (although these relationships were weak, i.e. statistically insignificant). This suggests that people with advanced education, some of whom are presumably in private practices or businesses, are strongly attached to a given place; if they decide to move, it will be encouraged mainly by incentives, whether economic or other, that are available in another state. People in all occupational categories higher than blue-collar workers are less likely to move within their state of residence. Different relationships exist for interstate migration; professionals and people in clerical and sales jobs have the highest odds of migration. Taken together,

Table 3.4

Direction (> 1 positive, < 1 negative) and Magnitude of the Effects of Individual Characteristics on Five-Year Migration Status for American Jews, 1990 and 2000[ab]

Independent variables	1990		2000		Integrated Sample	
	Intrastate/ no migration	Interstate/ no-migration	Intrastate/ no migration	Interstate/ no-migration	Intrastate/ no migration	Interstate/ no-migration
Individual characteristics						
Age 18-24	5.047***	9.988***	8.979***	8.083***	8.265***	8.206***
Age 25-44	4.169***	7.416***	6.563***	7.266***	6.203***	7.286***
Age 45-64	1.382***	2.640***	1.979***	1.703***	1.879***	1.782***
Female	0.950**	0.822***	0.762***	0.685***	0.794***	0.697***
Married	0.903***	0.753***	0.778***	0.822***	0.807***	0.809***
Some college	1.723***	0.974	1.101***	1.413***	1.187***	1.336***
B.A. Degree	1.778***	1.809***	1.932***	1.936***	1.906***	1.856***
M.A. degree or higher	0.880	1.752***	1.515***	2.259***	1.387***	2.116***
Clerical/sales	0.690***	1.693***	2.040***	0.794***	1.592***	0.901***
Managerial	0.814***	0.791***	1.917***	1.488***	1.518***	1.388***
Professional	0.868***	1.512***	1.333***	1.052***	1.146***	1.116***
Employee	1.619***	1.047**	1.816***	1.380***	1.739***	1.346***

Interaction						
Female*Married	1.692***	1.319***	1.500***	0.639***	1.507***	0.725***
Time						
Year-2000	-	-	-	-	1.264***	1.514***
Total number in the sample	1,278		2,176		3,454	
% Variance explained (R^2)	11.1%		16.2%		14.7%	

*P<.05; **P<.01; ***P<.001

a) Numbers are odds ratios from Multinomial Logistic Regression.

b) Reference categories are as follow: for age-65 years and over; for gender-male; for marital status-married persons; for education-through high school graduation; for occupation-blue collar.

the individual characteristics were helpful in explaining 11.1% of the variation in internal migration between 1985 and 1990.

For the 2000 Jewish population, as for the 1990 population, age was a stronger predictor of mobility than any other variable considered. Over time, age has substantially strengthened its effect on intrastate migration with the magnitude exceeding that of interstate migration. Being a woman diminished the likelihood of interstate migration. This might reflect an increase in dual-career couples for whom relocation is difficult (Lichter, 1982; Sayer, Cohen and Casper, 2005). It may also be due in part to some increase in the importance of family ties in the form of assistance to elderly parents, with daughters typically taking more responsibility than do sons.

Another noteworthy change is the development of a clear and positive relationship between educational attainment and mobility, with advanced degrees of M.A. and higher more recently also encouraging migration within states. In 2000, occupational level was inversely related to the likelihood of intrastate migration but for each occupational category, the likelihood of migrating was higher than in 1990. For interstate migration, the pattern in 2000 already showed positive relationships with managerial and professional occupations. Major conclusions from this comparative examination include the weakening tendency of women to relocate (both short and long distances); the somewhat growing likelihood of the married to move between states; and the strengthening ties between academic education and migration. We further note the turn of managerial positions into jobs that involve spatial movement usually of employed persons in large corporations. In fact, the explanatory power of this model has improved by about one-third as compared to the earlier model, reaching a level of 16.2 percent in 2000.

I have combined the two data sets of 1990 and 2000 into a single file and introduced "time" as an additional explanatory variable. The multivariate analysis of the combined file (Table 3.4, last two columns) reveals that, all else being equal, time — 2000 vs. 1990 — had a strong and statistically significant effect on Jewish internal migration. For both intra- and interstate migration, time enhanced the likelihood of migration by 26 percent and 51 percent respectively. The analytical indicator of "time" reflects macro changes on the

general American scene in which migration has become a cultural phenomenon encouraged by an ideology of individualism and self-fulfillment, and has penetrated into sub-groups such as the Jews, as they attempt to integrate into the societal mainstream.

7. Individual and Area Context Determinants of Interstate Migration

The effects on migration of education, economic opportunities, and non-monetary incentives that are distributed unevenly across the country are evaluated by introducing models with area context measures added. For Jews, as for other minority groups, ethnic bonds can also be important in the consideration of whether or not to move. Taking into account individual characteristics, area context variables, and ethnic bonds will allow us to assess more precisely the contribution of "time" as an independent determinant of migration.

Table 3.5 evaluates the effect of these different sets of factors on interstate migration, relative to non-migration, for the 1990 and the 2000 Jewish populations, as well as for a combined sample of the two populations. For each point of time, the first model assesses how the individual characteristics shape migration. Model 2 adds the migration status of the individual at the beginning of the respective period; Model 3 incorporates state socioeconomic and climate context; and Model 4 retains all the independent variables including ethnic (Jewish) concentration, with this characteristic reflecting the importance of living in close proximity to co-religionists, which is assumed to provide social networks, developed religious infrastructure, and a sense of community, as well as electoral power. Results for 1990 on the effects of individual socio-demographic characteristics (Model 1) are largely in accordance with the evidence from the previous table (3.4) on interstate migration versus non-migration. Past experience of interstate migration (Model 2) more than doubled the likelihood for another interstate move over the next 5 years as compared with those who were still living in their state of birth at the beginning of the period. Remember from previous chapters that most of the onward movements of the early migrants constitute a secondary relocation; only a small proportion returned to their home state.

Direction (> 1 positive, < 1 negative) and Magnitude of Effects of Residence and Ethnic Bonds on Five-Year Interstate

Independent variables	1990			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Individual characteristics				
Age 18-24	8.228***	9.048***	9.418***	9.065***
Age 25-44	6.459***	6.410***	6.917***	6.720***
Age 45-64	2.611***	2.508***	2.838***	2.799***
Female	0.829***	0.786***	0.792***	0.786***
Married	0.762***	0.725***	0.699***	0.696***
Some college	0.883***	0.849***	0.932**	0.974
B.A. degree	1.621***	1.694***	1.800***	1.813***
M.A. degree or higher	1.773***	1.654***	1.686***	1.704***
Clerical/sales	1.807***	1.820***	1.951***	2.042***
Managerial	0.822***	0.798***	0.840***	0.876***
Professional	1.545***	1.548***	1.657***	1.726***
Employee	0.976	1.038*	1.050**	1.057**
Female*Married	1.203***	1.272***	1.310***	1.300***
Migration status				
Early migrant		2.110***	2.072***	1.865***
State context of residence				
Per capita income			1.000***	1.000
Unemployment rate			1.054***	1.107***
Climate			0.984***	0.993***
Ethnic bonds				
Ethnic concentration				0.860***
Time				
Year-2000				
Total number in the sample	1,232	1,232	1,232	1,232
% Variance explained (R^2)	6.9%	9.2%	10.5%	11.0%

*P<.05; **P<.01; ***P<.001 a) Numbers are odds ratios from Logistic Regression.

Table 3.5

of Individual Characteristics, Migration Status, State Context Migration for American Jews, 1990 and 2000[ab]

2000				Integrated sample
Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	
5.896***	6.361***	6.353***	6.126***	6.312***
5.770***	5.563***	5.532***	5.399***	5.562***
1.639***	1.593***	1.582***	1.526***	1.616***
0.728***	0.740***	0.751***	0.756***	0.757***
0.867***	0.910***	0.888***	0.879***	0.852***
1.374***	1.230***	1.281***	1.282***	1.221***
1.657***	1.558***	1.644***	1.658***	1.619***
2.057***	1.824***	1.880***	1.885***	1.812***
0.678***	0.606***	0.637***	0.632***	0.782***
1.306***	1.178***	1.159***	1.153***	1.147***
0.994	0.965***	0.999	0.992	1.100***
1.245***	1.232***	1.240***	1.231***	1.229***
0.588***	0.600***	0.595***	0.600***	0.682***
	1.735***	1.604***	1.548***	1.593***
		1.000***	1.000	1.000***
		0.923***	0.958***	0.990***
		0.971***	0.976***	0.979***
			0.929***	0.905***
				1.405***
1,931	1,911	1,911	1,911	3,152
12.2%	13.1%	14.7%	14.8%	13.6%

b) See footnote (b) of Table 3.4

Table 3.6

Summary of Major Changes (1985–1990 to 1995–2000) in the Effects of Independent Variables on Five-Year Interstate Migration

Variable	Persistence of effect over time[a]
Age (all ages)	Weakened (yet remained positive and statistically significant with especially high odds among young age groups)
Gender (female)	Persisted (negative)
Marital status (married)	Intensified (remained negative)
Education: some college	Intensified (turned statistically significant and positive)
B. A. degree	Weakened (remained positive)
M.A. degree or higher	Intensified (positive)
Occupation: clerical/sales	Weakened (from positive to negative)
Managerial	Intensified (from negative to positive)
Professional	Weakened (from positive to not significant)
Employment status (employee)	Intensified (positive)
Gender (female)* Marital status (married)	Weakened (from positive to negative)
Migration status (early migrant)	Weakened (yet remained positive)
Per capita income	Persisted (not significant)
Unemployment rate	Weakened (from positive to negative)
Climate	Persisted (negative)
Ethnic concentration	Intensified (yet remained negative)

a) Intensified: if effect (odds ratios) greater than 1 in first period have increased over time; or if effect (odds ratios) smaller than 1 in first period moved closer to the 1 or above the threshold.

Weakened: if effect (odds ratios) greater than 1 in the first period have declined; or if effect (odds ratios) smaller than 1 in the first period have further declined.

Persisted: if effect (odds ratios) did not change by more than .05

Model 3, which introduced the contextual variables, shows statistically significant yet relatively small positive effects. The effects of per capita income suggest that a large change in this independent variable did not lead to a change in the probability of moving between states. In the late 1980s, unemployment increased the likelihood of migration, and with each point increase in the unemployment rate the odds of migration were 5.4 percent higher. By contrast, it appears that the Jews prefer areas with a warm climate; nevertheless, a large change in the average number of days of sunshine produced only a small change in the likelihood of undertaking an interstate move.

All else being equal, ethnic concentration has a negative relationship with migration (Model 4). Jews who in 1985 resided in a state with a higher percentage of their compatriots were less likely to move to another state than those living in states with smaller concentrations of Jews. For each point increase in ethnic concentration, the odds of migrating were 14 percent less.

Over the next ten years most of the individual variables remained meaningful predictors of migration (Table 3.5 second panel). Those variables which changed their relationships with migration very much resemble earlier observations from Table 3.4. Somewhat surprisingly, by the late 1990s unemployment had become negatively associated with migration, although the magnitude of the effect was rather small (Model 3). One possible explanation is the diminished difference between states in unemployment rates: from a difference of 8.1 in 1990 between states with the highest and lowest unemployment rate to only 5.3 in 2000. The smaller the difference, the less attractive is the move from one place to another. Further, a more homogeneous national economic structure may increase anticipation for economic improvement and new opportunities in one's own area of residence.

Warm climate continued to deter migration to another state. Similarly, Jews continue to attach significant importance to the spatial proximity of people from their religio-ethnic group. Nevertheless, with each point increase in ethnic concentration, the odds of migration decline by only 8 percent. This change differs from the observations from 1965-1970 to 1985-1990 which showed an increase in the importance of critical mass of compatriots at the state level. Since Jews tend to concentrate in a limited, though

increasing, number of urban and metropolitan areas (Newman and Halvorson, 1979; Ritterband, 1986), these new results may suggest that Jews today attach less importance to living in spatial proximity to their religious compatriots, a tendency leading to erosion of group cohesion and networks, and possibly reflecting increased assimilation. Less spatial proximity may further weaken the political power of Jews on the state level, the mass of people required for communal infrastructure and services, as well as the necessary population to ensure high rates of endogamous marriage. For a summary of the major changes in the effect of the independent variables on 5-year interstate migration, see Table 3.6.

For each point in time, the full model explained more of the variance in interstate migration than the partial models. More important, over time the explanatory power of the parallel models for 2000 is greater than for 1990, suggesting that the independent variables play a greater role in helping us understand why some people move and others do not within the broader individual, macro-economic, environmental, and ethnic contexts. Finally, the integrated sample clearly shows that, regardless of individual characteristics, migration status, contextual determinants, and ethnic concentration, the passing of time per se had an independent effect on increasing Jewish interstate migration (Table 3.5 last column). Jews in 2000 were 40 percent more likely to have made an interstate move over the last 5 years than were their counterparts in 1990.

8. Summary

This chapter described and attempted to account for the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of Jewish internal migration in the United States and changes in the selectivity of migrants during the last decade of the twentieth century. The findings show that Jewish migration is largely selective and is disproportionately characterized by young people of middle to upper socio-economic status who are as yet unmarried. This selectivity became somewhat stronger in the 1990s, especially for migrants who crossed state boundaries. At the same time, the effect of group affinity, as expressed by ethnic concentration, on the internal migration of Jews has weakened over time (for a comprehensive examination of the relationships between group identification and migration, see: Chapter 4). Concurrently, the exposure of Jews to America's social and cultural processes, reflected through the analytical variable "time," accelerated their inclination to move; hence, they are likely to lose their initial segregated spatial dispersion.

Chapter Four

Migration and Jewish Identification

1. Overview

Theoretical as well as empirical literature clearly attests to relationships between demographic and social characteristics and religioethnic identification (Christiano, Swatos, and Kivisto, 2007; Demerath, 1965; McCloud, 2007). The literature treats sociodemographic characteristics as alternately the consequence or the cause of religious behaviors and attitudes. Among other factors, such as stages in the life-cycle, social stratification, or gender, geographic mobility is an important individual attribute associated with group behaviors (Jitodai, 1964; Smith, et al., 1998; Stump, 1984; Wuthnow and Christiano, 1979). More specifically, the migration decisions of members of religious groups and other minorities transcend the classical explanations of human-capital assets and area-context conditions. Rather, they involve ethnoreligious considerations on the private sphere as well as physical proximity to group peers and to parochial institutions (Lieberson and Waters, 1988; Ritchey, 1976). People's tendency to move is likewise affected by factors that control any group belonging to a socioeconomic and political source that offers better opportunities than those available in the general market (Kobrin and Speare, 1983). In the case of American Jews, we have seen that their geographic patterns of migration attest to their successful integration into, and acceptance by, the social mainstream and are a major component of their structural assimilation. Hence, a complementary step is to examine how and to what extent their migration is associated with their religioethnic identification and whether it weakens their group commitment, thus expanding the structural assimilation to identificational assimilation, or rather strengthens it.

2. Theories and Existing Evidences

The approach I adopted toward the study of relationships between migration and religioethnic identification relies heavily on three competing explanatory perspectives. These perspectives have been in regard to different types of mobility, including rural-urban, residential, and regional or interstate migration within the same country. These perspectives are defined as "selection," "disruption," and "heightening."

The first perspective proposes that migrants are less affiliated with their communities and generally less religiously observant than non-migrants. These weaker ties remove major obstacles and may even motivate such individuals to relocate elsewhere. Migrants' religioethnic identification remains low even after their unique demographic characteristics, such as being young and having small families, are controlled for (Cohen, 1983; Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996; Jitodai, 1964). The "disruption" model describes the experience of migration as distancing the individual from the control of family and long involvement in parochial institutions. Migrants' limited acquaintance with resources at the destination and lack of loyalty to the new location are likely to result in the weakening of religious participation and unstable ties with the community. This model also postulates a negative influence of geographic mobility on social integration (Finke, 1989; Welch and Baltzell, 1984). The "heightening" model takes a contrasting view, defining the place of worship as an important vehicle for migrants to meet people and make new friends as they advance toward insider status in the local community. Assuming that people are interested in forming social relations in their new places of residence, this model suggests the possibility of a positive linkage between mobility and religious attendance (Hadaway and Roof, 1979).

Overall, while the "selection" model points to migrants' characteristics as key factors in shaping their new identification, the "disruption" and "heightening" models attribute decisive importance to the migration process itself.[13]

As far back as the middle of the twentieth century, Gans (1958) suggested that the newly arrived Jewish migrants in Park Forest, Illinois, interacted with other Jews in informal circles. The latent cohesion of Jewish neighborhoods was altered because social

activities moved from relatively anonymous frameworks to formal public institutions, especially the synagogue. This should not be interpreted as a heightening of Jewish identity; rather, it reflected a transition from the traditional patterns of intra-group ties among informal sects, as were characteristic of the city, to the formal and salient systems that typify the suburbs and involve an increase in organized activities. Lebowitz (1975), too, showed that in-migrants to a small city (Portland, Oregon) were more involved in local Jewish community life than the native-born Portlanders, bridging traditional affiliation cleavages and often providing the "social glue" that held the community together. Jaret (1978) suggested that the effect of geographic mobility to Metropolitan Chicago depends on the migrants' affiliation with a particular branch of Judaism: mobility strengthened the Jewishness of those who had strong religious commitment, namely Orthodox/Conservative individuals, and weakened that of the less traditional, who identified themselves as Reform or as lacking any ideological preference.

In Boston, Cohen (1983) found lower levels of group identification among new arrivals than among veteran migrants and locally-born Jews. He associated these differences with three complementary explanations: 1) some extent of sociodemographic selectivity among migrants (i.e., young, single, and well-educated) which associates with low levels of ritual practice and communal affiliation; 2) the act of migration, which, after major individual assets are controlled for, had a disruptive effect on Jewish identification; and 3) the contextual effects of the level of development of communal institutions in some towns and remote suburbs of greater Boston. Goldscheider (1986), who also investigated Jews in Boston, argued that the various types of mobility did not constitute a threat to Jewish continuity because attachment to the formal community was being replaced by other forms of ethnic and social cohesion. According to Goldstein (1993), recent migrants to Rhode Island exhibited the lowest rates of identification and, although their participation increased over time, they never converged with the patterns of locally-born Jews. Rebhun (1995), who merged data from three surveys of large Jewish communities that were conducted in proximity of time (greater Boston [1985], Philadelphia [1983], and Los Angeles [1979]), found that geographic mobility

had a negative effect on a Jewishness index that he devised, although the magnitude of the effect was smaller than that of other sociodemographic variables.

Insight into the national Jewish population of 1990 revealed that Jews of traditional orientation, mainly Orthodox, are less inclined to move geographically (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996). Geographic mobility, especially long-distance migration between states and regions, is associated with changes in ideological identification in favor of the more religiously pluralistic and compromising denominations, low levels of ritual observance, and weakened communal involvement and informal social ties with other Jews. Although these findings accord with the disruption hypothesis, this nature of relationship is inconsistent among different expressions of Jewish identification, not to mention differences in stages of the life-cycle.

3. The Multifaceted Nature of Jewish Identification

Identification is the expression of one's emotional, ideological, or practical relation to an ethnic or religious group belonging (Erikson, 1963; Herman, 1977). This expression is carried through an extensive set of particularistic group beliefs, values, commandments, and behavior patterns, as well as attitudes. Hence, identification is multidimensional. The gradual merging of various identifications shapes the individual's personal identity, i.e., the way one views oneself and is viewed by others (Erikson, 1963; Herman, 1977; Miller, 1963).

The multifaceted nature of identification stands out boldly among Jews in general, Diaspora Jews in particular, and American Jews above all. Jewish identification in the United States may be diagnosed as religious and ethnic at one and the same time (Herman, 1977; Phillips, 1991; Winter, 1992). A second distinction is between the private and public spheres of Jewish identification (Hartman, 2001). Likewise, we can distinguish between regular and frequent behaviors that permeate the individual's daily life and intermittent behaviors at specific isolated points in time across the Jewish calendar or the personal life cycle (Gans, 1994; Rebhun, 2004). Each of these facets includes unique manifestations of commitment that should relate clearly and exclusively to the Jewish-belonging group

and correspond to the reality of local Jewish existence; thus, the facets jointly reflect different aspects of Jewish strategies of survival and continuity (Himmelfarb, 1982; Horowitz, 2003).

The various indicators of Jewish identification do not exist in isolation; rather, they are mutually related and influence each other. Manifestations of Jewish identification may be specific to time and place, influenced by the demographic and socioeconomic composition of the local Jewish population and the general social and economic environment of the place of residence. Furthermore, various scholars use different indicators and consider their effect on group commitment and continuity differently (Cohen, 2009). The evaluation of Jewish identification does not always focus on the respondent's own patterns; sometimes it focuses on the patterns of all members of the household or those of specific family members, whom the respondent influences or by whom s/he is influenced.

Here I distinguish among several areas of Jewish identification. Each area includes one indicator or several different indicators of behaviors or attitudes. The areas span a broad and comprehensive spectrum of manifestations of Jewish identification in the United States. They may be defined as follows: Jewish background, rituals, communal involvement, and informal social cohesion.

Jewish background includes three variables, namely denomination of upbringing, Jewish education, and Bar/t Mitzvah. Denominational preference is one way, if not the main way, in which the American Jewish community identifies itself. Such affiliation reflects how people define themselves (or their families) in terms of religious identity, which is mainly self-definition and not necessarily an official denominational designation, and it reflects attitudes toward major religious and ethnic issues (Lazerwitz, et al., 1998). It is customary to classify American Jews by assigning them to one of three large denominational streams — Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform — or by noting the lack of identification with any of them. Jewish education in the United States is likely to strengthen group commitment in the longer run (Fishman and Goldstein, 1993). There are three major types of Jewish education, namely Sunday school, supplementary school and day school; others have not been exposed at all to Jewish parochial education. Bar/t Mitzvah is a religious rite-of-passage ceremony celebrated by boys at the age of 13 and by girls at the age of 12.

Table 4.1

Five-Year Migration Status by Jewish Upbringing: American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(percentages)*

	1990			2000		
	Same Locality	Intrastate Migrants	Interstate Migrants	Same Locality	Intrastate Migrants	Interstate Migrants
Jewish Upbringing						
None / Other	73.8	20.2	5.9	74.9	13.6	11.5
Reform	68.8	14.3	16.9	66.5	16.7	16.7
Conservative	78.5	8.8	12.6	74.5	11.3	14.2
Orthodox	87.3	8.0	4.7	82.5	8.1	9.4
Jewish Education						
None	76.2	16.3	7.6	73.5	14.4	12.0
Sunday	75.1	11.2	13.7	74.6	12.5	12.9
Supplementary	76.8	11.1	12.1	70.5	14.0	15.5
Day	85.7	5.7	8.6	74.3	11.2	14.4
Bar/t Mitzvah						
No	77.7	14.2	8.1	73.9	13.5	12.6
Yes	75.3	10.4	14.4	69.0	13.6	17.3

The observance of religious rituals and holidays comprises prescriptive and proscriptive imperatives relating to observance of the Shabbat and main Jewish festivals. Most of these imperatives are undertaken in the private domain. Some are regular behaviors; others occur infrequently or once a year. Here we focus on five rituals: abstention from handling or spending money on the Shabbat, lighting Shabbat candles, fasting on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), lighting Chanukkah candles, and participating in a Passover Seder (ritual meal).

Community involvement is a behavior that belongs to the public sphere and often entails a financial expense. Here we focus on synagogue/temple membership, Jewish organizational membership,

philanthropy (Jewish charitable giving), and volunteer work for Jewish organizations. Informal social cohesion is measured by a single variable of the proportion of closest friends who are Jewish.

4. Description of Jewish Background and Migration

Who is the wandering Jew? How does the Jewish background of migrants differ from that of those who are geographically stable? And how have the differences between migrants and non-migrants changed over time and among the former by type of migration? Table 4.1 presents the relationships between three Jewish background variables, namely denominational upbringing, Jewish education, and Bar/t Mitzvah, and five-year migration status in an attempt to provide descriptive insights into the identificational selectivity of the Jewish migrants. Ideally, I would have evaluated the selectivity hypothesis through a rich set of longitudinal data of religioethnic patterns before and after migration. The possibilities allowed by the data are more limited. Still, I make use of Jewish background characteristics that, with a high degree of certainty, were acquired before migration. These background characteristics are good proxies for group commitment in later stages of life (Lipset, 1997); hence, they reflect variation in Jewish identification at times close to migration.

In 1990, Jews who were raised Orthodox were the most geographically stable group. About nine in every ten of them resided in the same home, or at least in the same city, as five years earlier, namely in 1985. The rate of non-migration declined to less than eight out of every ten among people of Conservative background and further to slightly less than seven of every ten among people of Reform background. Respectively, the rate of migrants, whether intra- or interstate, increases gradually as we move along the denominational spectrum from the most rigorous branch of Judaism to the most liberal one. Those who were raised with no identification with any of the three major denominations of American Judaism exhibit somewhat complex patterns of a relatively high level of stability on the one hand, and a strong tendency for intrastate mobility on the other. To a large extent, these relationships remained unchanged over the next decade.

Many of those who were raised Orthodox received intensive parochial education in all-day Jewish schools. Indeed, in 1990 this type of education was associated with geographic stability. Those who received only supplementary or one-day (Sunday) Jewish education were more inclined to move both within and between states with no significant differences between the two types of Jewish education. Jews who were not exposed at all to parochial education had high rates of intrastate migration but low rates of migration across state boundaries. Over the next decade the relationships between Jewish education and migration blurred. Most interesting is the high rate of interstate migration among those who received full-time Jewish education. The rate of migrants within and between states among those who attended Jewish day school is very similar to the rate among their counterparts who received no Jewish education at all.

The Jewish background-migration relationships reverse themselves in regard to Bar/t Mitzvah. Those who celebrated this ceremony in their childhood exhibit slightly lower levels of geographic stability as compared to those who did not celebrate. Most salient is the high rate of interstate migration among those who had Bar/t Mitzvah. These relationships were found for both periods of time. Overall, all the sub-groups experienced either a decline in the proportion of people who remained geographically stable or an increase in the proportion of those who moved according to their respective levels of Jewish background.

5. The Selectivity Perspective

Advanced (multivariate) analysis, which controls for the mutual effect of the different factors of Jewish background, as well as for other demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, may shed a brighter light on the validity of the selectivity perspective in regard to both intra- and interstate migration. Separate models were examined for each of the periods, 1985-1990 and 1995-2000. A third model integrates the two data sets for 1990 and 2000, adding "time" and its interactions with major Jewish background, as explanatory factors (Table 4.2).

Among the Jewish population in 1990, exposure to an intensive Jewish environment in childhood deterred migration within the

Table 4.2

Direction (> 1 positive, < 1 negative) and magnitude of the effect of Jewish background, Sociodemographic Characteristics and Early Migration on Five-Year Migration Status for American Jews, 1990 and 2000[ab]

Independent Variables
Jewish Background
Denominational upbringing-Orthodox
Denominational upbringing-Conservative
Denominational upbringing-Reform
Day school
Supplementary school
Sunday school
Bar/t Mitzvah
Sociodemographic Characteristics
Age 18-24
Age 25-44
Age 45-64
Female
Married
Some college
Baccalaureate degree
M. A. degree or higher
Clerical/sales
Managerial
Professional
Employee
Migration Status
Early migrant
Time
Year-2000
Interactions: Time*
Denominational upbringing-Orthodox
Denominational upbringing-Conservative
Denominational upbringing-Reform
% Variance explained (R^2)

Notes to Table 4.2

* p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

a) Numbers are odds ratios from Multinomial Logistic Regression.

b) Reference categories are as follow: denominational upbringing-no denomination; for Jewish education-no Jewish education at all; for Bar/t Mitzvah-no Bar/t Mitzvah. For migration status - lived five years prior to the survey (1985/1995) in state of birth. For the sociodemographic variables, see: Table 3.4.

1990		2000	
Intrastate/ no migration	**Interstate/ no migration**	**Intrastate/ no migration**	**Interstate/ no migration**
0.819	1.418	0.471*	0.609
0.469**	2.087*	0.789	0.964
0.732	2.530**	1.164	1.254
0.332*	0.857	0.860	0.826
0.943	0.745	1.177	1.086
0.675	0.978	1.030	0.989
1.210	1.792*	0.987	1.085
8.890***	5.705***	7.206***	9.460***
6.972***	7.314***	4.503***	5.725***
1.865	2.201	1.425	1.385
1.496*	1.303	1.121	0.697*
1.178	0.848	1.025	0.796
1.601	0.834	1.050	1.158
1.650*	1.606	1.667*	1.685
0.905	1.176	1.204	1.492
0.574*	1.781	1.345	0.941
0.691	0.907	1.224	1.278
0.750	1.443	1.028	1.276
1.500*	1.407	1.793**	1.637*
0.941	2.488***	1.121	1.859***
-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-
21.1%		18.4%	

Table 4.2 (continuation)

Independent Variables	Integrated Sample	
	Intrastate/ no migration	Interstate/ no migration
Jewish Background		
Denominational upbringing-Orthodox	0.792	1.452
Denominational upbringing-Conservative	0.463***	2.130*
Denominational upbringing-Reform	0.719	2.592**
Day school	0.530*	0.797
Supplementary school	0.913	0.844
Sunday school	0.748	0.985
Bar/t Mitzvah	1.156	1.434*
Sociodemographic Characteristics		
Age 18-24	10.515***	7.596***
Age 25-44	6.893***	6.020***
Age 45-64	1.946*	1.543
Female	1.315*	0.912
Married	1.124	0.827
Some college	1.416	1.067
Baccalaureate degree	1.927***	1.576*
M. A. degree or higher	1.163	1.325
Clerical/sales	0.820	1.352
Managerial	0.809	1.159
Professional	0.815	1.467
Employee	1.598**	1.557**
Migration Status		
Early migrant	0.968	2.207***
Time		
Year-2000	1.016	2.651**
Interactions: Time*		
Denominational upbringing-Orthodox	0.727	0.429
Denominational upbringing-Conservative	1.752	0.490
Denominational upbringing-Reform	1.761	0.517
% Variance explained (R^2)	20.1%	

same state. People raised in Conservative homes (as against those who were raised in homes that had no ideological preference), and people who attended Jewish day schools (as against counterparts who received no Jewish education of any kind), were less likely to move intrastate. Interestingly, Jewish background in Conservative or Reform homes, and having had a Bar/t Mitzvah, enhanced the likelihood of migration to another state. Insofar as Jewish background reflects differences in religioethnic identification at older ages, it has a diffusive effect on the tendency to move. For some, a strong identification enhanced the desire to remain in a place of residence that was already proven to offer opportunities for the practice of a Jewish life-style and the maintenance of ties with other Jews and parochial institutions. For others of non-Orthodox Jewish background, attending a Jewish day school (which is both a private institution and, presumably, one of high educational prestige), is associated with broad general horizons and a balance between group concessions and a desire for social and cultural integration into the population at large, and, more generally, with factors that encourage socioeconomic attainment and, ipso facto, the likelihood for long-distance migration.

By 2000, these somewhat complex and confusing relationships had disappeared and religioethnic background had almost totally lost its role in determining Jewish internal migration. With the exception of an Orthodox upbringing, which diminishes the likelihood of intrastate migration, the effect of all other Jewish background variables on both intra- and interstate migration are weak (statistically insignificant). My interpretation is that religioethnic identification is no longer an important consideration in Jews' decisions to migrate, especially when a meaningful interstate move is in the offing, reflecting the evolution of migration into a widespread and common form of behavior among different segments of American Jews.

These tendencies may attest to changes in Jews' priorities, i.e., the subsuming of the particular needs of religious distinctiveness and group cohesion to material success and life-styles that enhance the potential of assimilation into the host population. Alternatively, the inclusion of people with strong identification among those engaging in intensive spatial movement may reflect the expansion of Jewish infrastructures and services to new areas of Jewish settlement and

of the opportunities that the new locations offer for religious and ethnic continuity. The effect of migration on Jewish identification is examined in the next section. Meanwhile, the findings in Table 4.2 provide very weak validation of the selection hypothesis;

Table 4.3

Five-Year Migration Status by Selected Indicators of Jewish Identification: American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(percentages)*

Jewish Identification	1990			2000		
	Same Locality	Intrastate Migrants	Interstate Migrants	Same Locality	Intrastate Migrants	Interstate Migrants
Refrain From Handling Money on Shabbat						
No	88.2	91.3	95.1	89.3	92.0	90.3
Yes	11.8	8.7	4.9	10.7	8.0	9.7
Lighting Shabbat Candles						
Never	62.3	73.7	70.1	52.8	62.5	58.3
Sometimes	22.5	15.4	16.7	25.5	24.5	21.7
Usually / Always	15.2	11.0	13.2	21.6	13.0	20.0
Fast on Yom Kippur						
No	49.1	61.7	48.0	42.6	49.4	41.3
Yes	50.9	38.3	52.0	57.4	50.6	58.7
Lighting Chanukka Candles						
Never	24.3	36.7	28.1	20.7	21.0	20.6
Sometimes	15.3	13.1	11.8	15.5	21.0	18.6
Usually / Always	60.4	50.2	60.1	63.8	58.0	60.8
Attend Passover Seder						
No	38.9	43.7	38.1	24.3	31.6	24.1
Yes	61.1	56.3	61.9	75.7	68.4	75.9

if the hypothesis obtains at all, it is only for intrastate migration and excludes migration across state boundaries. Additionally, and more generally, internal Jewish migration has become less selective, as evidenced in the change over time in the explanatory power of the models for 1985-1990 (21.1%) and for 1995-2000 (18.4%).

I combined the two data sets, for 1990 and 2000, into a single file and introduced "time" as an independent variable. Analysis of the combined data file (Table 4.2, last two columns) reveals that, everything else being equal, including Jewish background, time — 2000 vs. 1990 — had a strong and meaningful effect on Jewish migration across state boundaries. Time enhanced the likelihood of interstate migration by more than two and a half times. That the interaction terms of time by denominational upbringing are statistically insignificant indicates that, as far as migration is concerned, time has a similar effect among different sub-groups of the Jewish population. This strengthens my suggestion above on the weakening selectivity of migration by group commitment. Jews with different group commitments today move more freely, either reflecting confidence in their ability to maintain their way of Jewish life in a new area of residence, or because they are less concerned about Jewish opportunities in different places. This should be clarified by testing (below) the disruption and the heightening hypotheses.

6. Description of Migration and Jewish Identification

Attention is now directed to examining the relationships between migration status and Jewish identification. I analyze these relationships for each variable of Jewish identification and separately for 1990 and 2000. This descriptive analysis is aimed at providing preliminary insights into the differences in ethno-religious commitment between migrants and non-migrants, and among the former according to type of mobility, whether intra- or interstate.

In 1990, there were many positive relationships between geographic stability and high levels of Shabbat observance, namely, refraining from handling money on this day and the lighting of candles (Table 4.3). Among those who did not move over the

Table 4.4

Five-Year Migration Status by Selected Indicators of Communal Involvement: American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(percentages)*

Communal Involvement	1990			2000		
	Same Locality	Intrastate Migrants	Interstate Migrants	Same Locality	Intrastate Migrants	Interstate Migrants
Synagogue Membership						
No	63.8	75.4	76.5	56.0	68.7	67.6
Yes	36.2	24.6	23.5	44.0	31.3	32.4
Membership in Jewish Organizations						
No	70.5	81.6	83.3	64.0	78.2	76.9
Yes	29.5	18.4	16.7	36.0	21.8	23.1
Jewish Philanthropy						
No	41.9	61.2	58.0	45.0	62.6	60.1
Yes	58.1	38.8	42.0	55.0	37.4	29.9
Jewish Voluntarism						
No	81.6	89.5	90.7	75.4	81.0	78.3
Yes	18.4	10.5	9.3	24.6	19.0	21.7

preceding five years, 11.8 percent avoided handling money on Shabbat, and this was true for slightly less than nine percent among intrastate migrants and below five percent among interstate migrants. The highest rate of usually or always lighting Shabbat candles was found among non-migrants and the lowest rate among migrants within state boundaries. In the three other rituals of fasting on Yom Kippur, lighting Chanukkah candles, and attending Passover Seder, the interstate migrants exhibited a slightly higher, or at least similar, rate of commitment as compared with non-

Table 4.5

Five-Year Migration Status by Proportion of Jewish Friends: American Jews in 1990 and 2000 *(percentages)*

Jewish Friends	1990			2000		
	Same Locality	Intrastate Migrants	Interstate Migrants	Same Locality	Intrastate Migrants	Interstate Migrants
None	8.3	10.0	10.3	8.7	10.6	10.0
Some	51.5	69.9	67.5	57.2	67.8	63.0
Most	28.6	15.3	18.2	26.4	16.5	21.8
All	11.6	4.8	3.9	7.6	5.0	5.2

migrants. To a large extent, similar patterns of the relationships between migration status and ritual observances were revealed in the later survey of 2000.

Clearer relationships were found for communal involvement (Table 4.4). The rates of synagogue membership, Jewish organizational membership, Jewish charitable giving, and volunteering for Jewish causes were higher among non-migrants than among their migrant counterparts. Moreover, the differentials between non-migrants and migrants were substantial. For example, while 36.2 percent of non-migrants were synagogue members, this rate among those who moved between states over the 1985-1990 period was only 23.5 percent; the rate of non-migrants who volunteered to work in Jewish organizations was twice that of interstate migrants — 18.4 percent and 9.3 percent, respectively. I did not find large differences among migrants according to type of mobility whether within or between states. The differences in communal involvement by migration status, although diminished somewhat, nevertheless remained substantial for 2000. Very similar relationships were observed for another aspect of "localism," namely belonging to informal social networks which are composed mainly of religio-ethnic peers (Table 4.5).

7. The Disruption vs. Heightening Perspectives

A more thorough and in-depth evaluation of the migration-Jewish identification relationship is carried out here through advanced (multivariate) analysis. To that end, I used the various Jewish identificational variables to establish three measures as dependent variables. Each measure represents a different domain of Jewish religioethnic identification: "ritual-religious index," composed of abstention from handling money on the Shabbat, lighting of Shabbat candles, fasting on Yom Kippur, lighting Chanukkah candles, and Passover Seder attendance;[14] a "communal-ethnic index," which reflects affiliation with communal institutions and activities and accordingly is composed of synagogue/temple membership, Jewish organizational membership, philanthropy and volunteer work for Jewish organizations;[15] and "informal social cohesion" which is measured by a single variable of the proportion of closest friends who are Jewish.

The results, presented in Table 4.6, are standardized coefficients that indicate the direction and strength of the association between an individual independent variable and the measure of identification, all other independent variables held constant. Here, as in an earlier section, I present separate models for the 1990 and 2000 Jewish populations and a combined model for the two samples with the latter including also time and its interactions with migration status.

Among the Jewish population in 1990, internal migration, both intra- and interstate, inhibited the performance of religious rituals. The results show that the magnitude of the effect was much the same in both types of migration with respective standardized coefficients of -0.049 and -0.046. By 2000, migration no longer played a role in determining Jewish religious behaviors, as seen by the coefficients for intra- and interstate mobility, which had become statistically insignificant. Concurrently, the variance in the ritual-religious index that is explained by the model increased from 14.8% in 1990 to 24.1% in 2000. Moreover, combining the two data sets (1990 and 2000) into a single file "time" — 2000 vs. 1990 — had a strong and statistically significant effect: time enhanced the level of the religious-ritual index, which includes different behaviors in the private and family sphere. The effects of time on religious observance do not vary

among people according to their migration status, as evidenced by the lack of statistical significance of the interaction terms.

Public affiliation is strongly influenced by the depth of roots and tenure in one's place of residence. People who changed places of residence relative to their situation five years earlier scored lower on the communal-ethnic index than those who had not moved. In 1990, the negative effect of intrastate migration (-0.072) and interstate migration (-0.097) on the communal-ethnic index were higher than the respective coefficients for the ritual-religious index. The findings also attest to the importance of distance (within or between states) in determining the effect of migration on communal affiliation and involvement. Although the effects remained meaningful (statistically significant), by 2000 their magnitude had declined, as the size of the effects shows. Since the decline was especially salient in interstate migration, the effects of the two types of migration have largely converged. The entire set of independent variables did not improve its power to explain variation in the level of the communal-ethnic index. Regardless of these individual characteristics, the passage of time per se had the independent effect of strengthening Jews' ties to communal institutions and activities. The role of time was largely uniform among migrants and non-migrants, and among the former by type of migration, as seen in the insignificance of the interaction terms.

Localism is the actual focus of activity in an ethno-religious community. Alternatively expressed, the combination of historical, structural, and institutional variables that jointly create ethno-religious communities includes what may be defined as a local factor (Lazerwitz, 1977). People who share religious and normative views, communal institutions with long-tenured members, and the fundamental cohesive presence of family and friends, create together a convenient environment and meaningful local characteristics that can not be transferred from origin areas to new destinations. In other words, the individual's religious and ethnic behavior is strongly anchored in experiences within his/her immediate environment, with local people, and in defined contexts. The signs of migration may outlast the initial period of adjustment and remain in effect among short- and long-distance migrants. It is possible that over time, with the increasing tendency of Jews to become affiliated with the organized community, migrants will follow suit and the

TABLE 4.6

Direction (+ positive, - negative) and Magnitude of the Effects of Jewish Background, Socio-demographic Characteristics and Five-Year Migration Status on Jewishness Scores for American Jews, 1990 and 2000[ab]

Independent Variables	Ritual Religious Index		
	1990	2000	Integrated Sample
Jewish Background			
Denominational upbringing-Orthodox	0.250***	0.290***	0.248***
Denominational upbringing-Conservative	0.170***	0.128***	0.128***
Denominational upbringing-Reform	0.022	0.034	0.006
Day school	0.194***	0.230***	0.228***
Supplementary school	0.153***	0.074*	0.105***
Sunday school	0.168***	0.061	0.112***
Bar/t Mitzvah	0.073*	0.098***	0.087***
Sociodemographic Characteristics			
Age 18-24	0.046	0.110***	0.099***
Age 25-44	0.023	0.082	0.063*
Age 45-64	-0.013	0.059	0.015
Female	0.140***	0.144***	0.141***
Married	0.021	0.178***	0.105***

Some college	0.039	-0.004	0.016
Baccalaureate degree	0.056	-0.072*	-0.003
M. A. degree or higher	0.043	-0.011	0.028
Clerical/sales	0.096**	0.050	0.076**
Managerial	0.091**	0.074*	0.089***
Professional	0.071	0.120**	0.092**
Employee	-0.014	0.012	-0.004
Migration Status			
5-year intrastate migrant	-0.049*	-0.036	-0.057*
5-year interstate migrant	-0.046*	0.006	-0.042
Time			
Year-2000	-	-	0.114***
Interactions: Time*			
5-year intrastate migrant	-	-	0.001
5-year interstate migrant	-	-	0.023
% Variance explained (R^2–adj)	14.8%	24.1%	18.9%

Notes to Table 4.6

* p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001

a) Numbers are standardized coefficients [Beta]) from OLS Regression.

b) For reference categories, see: Table 4.2. Reference category for migration status - no migration.

Table 4.6 (continuation)

Independent Variables	Communal Ethnic Index			Informal Social Cohesion		
	1990	2000	Integrated Sample	1990	2000	Integrated Sample
Jewish Background						
Denominational upbringing-Orthodox	0.168***	0.226***	0.185***	0.136***	0.170***	0.145***
Denominational upbringing-Conservative	0.072*	0.150***	0.105***	0.114***	0.063	0.077**
Denominational upbringing-Reform	-0.072*	0.034	-0.025	0.003	0.035	0.004
Day school	0.136***	0.121***	0.150***	0.079**	0.175***	0.137***
Supplementary school	0.187***	0.063	0.130***	0.119***	0.038	0.083**
Sunday school	0.166***	0.028	0.110***	0.088**	-0.061	0.021
Bar/t Mitzvah	0.066*	0.072*	0.068**	-0.023	0.027	0.008
Sociodemographic Characteristics						
Age 18-24	-0.081**	-0.026	-0.047*	-0.128***	-0.172***	-0.127***
Age 25-44	-0.210***	-0.144***	-0.194***	-0.278***	-0.274***	-0.260***
Age 45-64	-0.106***	-0.064	-0.102***	-0.108***	-0.163***	-0.138***
Female	0.173***	0.077**	0.134***	0.076**	0.053*	0.074***

Married	0.019	0.193***	0.116***	0.036	0.137***	0.085***
Some college	0.080**	0.034	0.068**	0.052	0.004	0.037
Baccalaureate degree	0.172***	0.007	0.109***	0.106***	0.005	0.071**
M. A. degree or higher	0.150***	0.110**	0.165***	0.066	0.026	0.065*
Clerical/sales	0.045	0.037	0.042	0.070	0.148***	0.108***
Managerial	0.075*	0.102**	0.085***	0.054	0.052	0.053*
Professional	0.080*	0.114**	0.091**	0.098*	0.172***	0.127***
Employee	-0.029	-0.047*	-0.042*	-0.024	-0.044	-0.034*
Migration Status						
5-year intrastate migrant	-0.072**	-0.060**	-0.065**	-0.059*	0.007	-0.068**
5-year interstate migrant	-0.097***	-0.056*	-0.093***	-0.076***	0.028	-0.087***
Time						
Year-2000	-	-	0.040*	-	-	-0.115***
Interactions: Time*				-	-	
5-year intrastate migrant	-	-	-0.006			0.046
5-year interstate migrant	-	-	0.024			0.080**
% Variance explained (R^2–adj)	19.1%	19.7%	18.0%	12.8%	15.7%	13.0%

effect of their geographic mobility on membership and communal involvement will diminish. One may also assume that with the expanded usage of high technology and its possibilities, potential migrants can easily gain information about religioethnic services and other parochial activities before leaving their areas of origin and can establish contacts beforehand that may be transformed into formal membership once they reach the new area. More generally, as Jews increasingly disperse across the continent, so do their communal infrastructures and institutions, increasing the opportunities for formal affiliation and different types of volunteer activities in new areas of Jewish settlement.

Moreover, the increased rhythm and broadened direction of Jewish migration have enhanced dispersion to different parts of the country and created substantial masses of co-religionists in new areas (Newman and Halvorson, 1979). Due to their high socioeconomic stratification, in each area Jews settle in a limited number of suburbs or neighborhoods in which physical segregation, while possibly lower than at origin, is relatively high. These geographic aspects may help to explain the changes in the effect of Jewish internal migration on informal social networks. While in 1985-1990 intra- as well as interstate migration diminished the proportion of close friends who were Jews, in 1995-2000 the coefficients of these relationships were no longer statistically significant. Notably, the effect of time, 2000 vs. 1990, points to a weakening of social ties within the Jewish community. This is especially salient among long-distance migrants with the interaction effect of time by interstate migration being statistically significant. In other words, the inhibited effect of time on belonging to informal social networks of religio-ethnic peers is exaggerated under conditions of spatial mobility across state boundaries. I found a slight increase in the effectiveness of the overall model in explaining variation in informal Jewish cohesion (from 12.8% in the earlier period to 15.7% in the later period).

The direction of the effects of Jewish background are consistent with my working assumptions and prevailing conceptualization. Denominational upbringing, especially Orthodox and Conservative, has a strong and positive effect on current Jewish identification. Similarly, intensive parochial education enhances Jewish identification in the long run. Over time only all-day Jewish education and, for ritual observance, supplementary Jewish

education as well, sustained these positive relationships. Both in 1990 and 2000, having had a Bar/t Mitzvah was positively associated with religious rituals and communal affiliation but had no significant effect on informal Jewish cohesion. Among the sociodemographic characteristics, young age is often associated with a low level of Jewish identification, as mainly seen in communal involvement and informal ties with other Jews. In both 1990 and 2000, female gender had a positive net effect on the dimensions of Jewish identification examined in this study. Over time, being married also had a significant and positive effect on Jewish identification. As for socioeconomic stratification, the positive effect of higher education on Jewish identification has largely disappeared. High-ranking occupations enhance religioethnic identification, these connections having reflected mainly in positive and consistent relationships over time and identificational dimensions of people in the professions. Being an employee has no important independent effect on shaping the religioethnic identification of American Jews.

8. Summary

This chapter explores the relationship between internal migration and religioethnic identification among American Jews and examines from a comparative perspective changes that occurred during the 1990-2000 period. It offers a simultaneous assessment of three competitive perspectives — "selectivity," "disruption," and "heightening."

The findings clearly indicate that the role of religioethnic identification in the multi-dimensional system of Jewish internal migration weakened during the time studied. Migration, both intra- and interstate, became less selective, comprising segments of the Jewish population that were differentiated by religious and ethnic commitment. Migration, for its part, no longer presents a serious threat to group continuity and past negative effects in some religious and social respects have disappeared.

As Jews have advanced socially and economically in the United States, they have also attained high spatial mobility across the American continent. In many places, the emerging geographic dispersion has generated a critical mass of settlers for the establishment or expansion of the institutions and services

necessary for religious life and vital community activities and for the provision of opportunities to observe major holidays and observances on the Jewish calendar. Just the same, the provision of parochial services does not develop in a cultural vacuum; it attests to increasing demand for such activities on the part of potential constituencies. Migration and its associated identificational factors are evidence of important trends in the status of the Jewish minority, showing that under the macro circumstances of early twenty-first century America, social and economic success does not necessarily lead to the weakening of group exceptionalism.

Chapter Five

The Challenge of Mobility

1. Overview of Main Findings

Many American Jews have recently been on the move. This is evident in different types of migration within and among the fifty states. As Jews have advanced socially and economically, and become exposed to America's social and cultural processes, they have also attained high spatial mobility. Their inclination to move is unprecedented as compared to that of other religious or ethnic groups (Rebhun, 1997a). This results in ongoing diminution of the differentials in geographic distribution between Jews and the total American population.

Jewish migrants are selective. Their distinguished profile, as compared to that of their geographically stable Jewish counterparts, has strengthened over time. Given the increase in the association between socioeconomic advancement on the one hand, which reflects aspiration for achievement as "a variable of key importance within the mainstream American culture" (Berry, 1973: 50) and determines an individual's status in the society and, on the other hand, spatial mobility, I propose that American Jews are progressing toward spatial integration, which is a major component of a wider process of structural assimilation.

In many places, the emerging geographic dispersion has generated a critical mass of Jewish settlers. This encourages the establishment or expansion of institutions and services necessary for religious life and vital community activities and for the provision of opportunities to observe major holidays and rituals on the Jewish calendar. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, American Jews have reached a high level of both individual and institutional spatial dispersion, which largely weakens the significance of geography for determining group identification.

Just the same, the provision of parochial services does not develop in a cultural vacuum; it attests to increasing demand for such activities on the part of potential constituencies. Indeed, recent migration has not been accompanied by cultural assimilation. That migrants in their new areas of settlement attempt to practice particular patterns of identification coincides with the general increase, at least among the Jewish mainstream who unequivocally identify themselves with Judaism, in Jewish religious and ethnic identification, which I attach to their strengthened feelings of security and equality within the host population and the changing emphasis in America toward multiculturalism (Glazer, 1997).

While second generation Jews thought to achieve social and economic success through distancing from particularistic group behavior and dense communities, their offspring understand that these two paths are not contradictory; rather, they can be complementary and socioeconomic integration can be accompanied by spiritual and ethnoreligious patterns which coincide with the strengthening of cultural heritages and diversity in America. What older generations sought to forget, the younger generations wish to remember, while adjusting their behavior to the contemporary circumstances and styles. This is perhaps enhanced since many areas of massive Jewish settlement in the South and West are also preferred destinations for newcomers from Latin America and Asia. Compared with Jews who settled in the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who had much in common with their immigrant counterparts from nearby countries in Europe, the Jewish internal migrants share little with today's new immigrants. Likewise, the latter tend to concentrate in social and economic niches and isolate themselves from mainstream society. This might strengthen more generally ethnic consciousness in these areas, including among Jews. Thus, migration and its associated identificational factors are evidence of important trends in the status of the Jewish minority, showing that under the macro circumstances of early twenty-first century America, social and economic success does not necessarily lead to the blurring of group exceptionalism.

Over time, migration in the United States turned into a widespread social and cultural behavior. During the past several decades their status in the country has been strengthened tremendously, placing the Jews as equal, acceptable and highly influential

individuals in American society. As such, they feel complete confidence in participating in social processes including migration. For the overwhelming majority of them (some 80 percent), religion has little or no influence on the choice of where to live (Emerson and Sikkint, 2006). Given their unique social and economic affinities, they have even higher rates of migration than the general (white) population. Consequently, Jews are becoming a nation-wide society whose population and institutions are more or less evenly dispersed across the country.

2. Theoretical Insights

Sub-groups with advanced social and economic affinities, which facilitate incentives in different areas across the continent, will find migration to be an important social phenomenon. Obviously, migration within the fixed time of half a decade is limited in its volume. Under conditions of free migration, such a glass ceiling reflects differences that always exist between people, with some responding easily to pull factors in another area and others finding migration to be a difficult and complicated act. The limited level of migration further derives from economic powers and structural balances which exist between different parts of the country, preventing a drastic and rapid disturbance of the regional equilibrium which is followed by massive movement to another place. Even if there is a strong attraction to new areas of settlement for the general population but also for the highly qualified, employers and policy makers have the means to develop the holding factors in old areas. Furthermore, any residential movement involves not only the incorporation of the migrant into a new place of work; migration can be carried out if there is an inventory of housing at destination, and since often he or she is accompanied by other family members, there should be appropriate institutions and services such as education and health care.

Further, migration should be meaningful enough for people to carry it out. Over time, we have seen that on the one hand there was an increase in the rate of interstate migration but a gradual and substantial decline in intrastate migration and an overall growth in the proportion of those who remained in the same home. A large number of people from the middle class have already adopted

a suburban style of life and, at a relatively early stage — compared to their older peers — managed to purchase spacious homes. Hence, they do not need to relocate to improve their housing conditions; given that they are concentrated in large metropolitan areas which have many economic and cultural opportunities, to the extent that there are still factors which can push them to migrate these will increasingly be in another state. It can also be that there is still a great importance to localism, namely a desire to remain in an area with relatives and familiar parochial institutions. The economic or non-monetary benefits of intrastate migration are not great enough to compensate for the social loss involved in moving within the same city or state; for an increasing number of people, only the benefits of a long-distance move to another state are great enough to justify migration.

These benefits are likely to be most available for people with high qualifications. Hence, the social and economic selectivity of migrants has increased over time. Accordingly, recent trends in the association between sociodemographic characteristics and Jewish internal migration correspond more closely with migration theories. This points to the "Americanization" of Jews and their normal behavior when confronted with various economic and cultural opportunities. Nevertheless, this positive selection of migrants may enhance the processes of "balkanization," that is, spatial diffusion between areas of high concentration of members of the Jewish group with high socioeconomic status and other areas with salient concentrations of other Jews from lower socioeconomic strata.

Mobility in major characteristics such as migration, which is a frequent existential need today, as well as in educational attainment and high-status occupations, which jointly pertain to successful integration into the host society, does not necessarily involve identificational or cultural change of religious or ethnic processes. Using Milton Gordon's (1964) definitions, structural assimilation, defined here in terms of social and economic achievements, is not a keystone in the shaping of other aspects of assimilation. The socioeconomic success of members of a religious minority is not necessarily achieved at the expense of distinctive values and beliefs. Insofar as the upward mobility of a minority eventually emerges in the form of socioeconomic distinctiveness, as in the case of American Jews (Pyle, 2006), it results in the sharing of values, lifestyles,

economic networks, ethnic institutions, and political interests. Changes in social class may serve as sources for the continuity, not necessarily the assimilation, of the group. Thus, social class and ethnicity do not always overlap negatively; they may provide appropriate contexts for group vitality (Goldscheider, 1986).

Social and cultural behaviors, such as migration or group identification, do not operate only in the immediate environment of individual preferences and area-context characteristics. Rather, they are influenced also by wide political and social processes. These processes are led by political parties and organizations, economic corporations, and different cultural agencies. Some may have been imported from other countries around the globe. These processes eventually penetrate into the individuals' consciousness and influence the behavioral preferences of people. It is not always possible to decompose these processes into identifiable and clear components or to assess their importance through measurable factors. Yet, to a large extent they are embodied in the variable that distinguishes between different points of time, attesting to the dynamic nature of American society and to the effect of this dynamic on members of minority groups such as the Jews. This dimension of time is crucial for understanding social behavior, since it is not under the control of the individual or that of local or parochial institutions. A major social transformation in this regard is the changing nature of ethnicity in the United States from an ideal type of "conformity," or its somewhat gentler version of "melting pot" until the mid-twentieth century, to increasing emphasis on multiculturalism over the last three decades.

3. Implication for Policy

The high levels of migration emphasize the challenges, at both the local and national levels, of finding appropriate means for outreach to newcomers in order to ensure their integration into Jewish social networks and activities in their communities of destination. These must include, among other things, the strengthening of mutual ties between local communities, the exchange of information on people who leave one area to settle in another, the adjustment of existing programs and the development of new ones to integrate the different types of internal migrants into their communities of destination

and finding additional financial resources, or re-allocating fixed budgets, to cope with both the absorption of internal migrants and the increasing share of arrivals from abroad.

In this regard, high-speed communication, especially the internet, is a major venue for information on religious and ethnic resources at the place of destination. Indeed, Jewish migrants are strongly inclined to use the internet to gain material about Jewish topics (Groeneman and Smith, 2009). Individual communities should pay careful attention to make this resource rich in information including a FAQ (Frequently Asked Questions) box and application forms for various memberships and activities; it should provide a quick response to applicants as well as a framework for establishing a more personal contact to accompany the potential migrants in the early stage of uncertainty and through their hesitations of preparing to move to the new locality.

Perhaps we also need to recognize that the national community should take some responsibility for the integration of mobile Jews at their new places of destination. Among other things, it can help sending and receiving communities to share information about movers. A step in this direction has recently been taken with the establishment of the "New Moves Project" of the Jewish Federations of North America which disseminates names of mobile donors among federations (Groeneman and Smith, 2009). Our findings also point to new opportunities in areas which, while they are comparatively new to Jewish settlement, do already have the prerequisite critical mass of lifetime residents and other veteran members to establish the strong infrastructure and services necessary to embrace newcomers into the Jewish community.

We are often concerned about the migrants and their destination communities. Yet migration, especially if it originated in large numbers from a specific area, has profound implications for the origin communities. High levels of out-migration create instability and uncertainty about the future demographic composition of the local Jewish population. Since different sub-groups, defined mainly by age but also by other characteristics such as marital status, consume different educational, cultural and welfare programs, frequent or sizeable changes in the profile of the population make it difficult to plan for future institutional infrastructure and communal

activities. These difficulties are caused by both intra- and interstate migration.

Positive selective migration from veteran communities leaves behind the elderly population and people of relatively low social and economic status. This may diminish the pool of community members who are willing to take on organizational duties and leadership as well as the number of potential participants in certain organized Jewish activities. At the same time it increases the demand on the part of the elderly whose children might have left the area; they will now be in greater need of various social and even welfare services from the community. Furthermore, since the economic resources of people with such demographic and social characteristics are by definition limited, the number of participants in activities involving yearly membership dues or nonrecurrent activity charges, or philanthropic contributions for community needs, will probably be adversely affected. Overall, changes in the size and composition of the population which result from the out-migration from the community by veteran members require ongoing adjustments of the amount and types of communal activities and modification of the allocation of manpower.

4. Directions for Future Research

The study of internal migration should ideally be based on national data. The nature of this empirical basis would provide insights on both in- and out-migration involving the various areas of the country. Given the prevention of asking into matters of religious identity in official data collection in the United States, any investigation of the internal migration of Jews needs to rely on alternative sources, whether these be general surveys or others specifically aimed at Jews.

An ongoing data collection, on a yearly basis, which includes a question on religion is the General Social Survey (GSS) conducted by NORC. This survey is comprised of a representative sample of the American adult population, hence it includes only a few dozen Jews. The merger of several consecutive surveys over several years may yield, despite some obstacles, a more appropriate quantity of Jewish respondents. Yet, the questions introduced in the GSS allow measurement of lifetime mobility but not recent migration

and also not different types of migration along the individual's life course. Furthermore, the GSS includes only a limited number of questions on religious identification which are mainly concerned with those issues shared by different religious groups, such as worship attendance or temple membership, but not specific Jewish behaviors. Still, the organized American Jewish community may take advantage of the GSS to initiate and finance, on an occasional basis, enlargement of the Jewish sample to several hundred respondents, and add questions on migration history and Jewish religio-ethnic patterns. It would be useful if the new questions on migration would apply to the entire GSS sample; this would enable comparisons between the migration of Jews and that of other religious populations in America.

Occasional studies, such as the Pew Forum's United States Religious Landscape Survey, is indeed comprehensive in size and includes several hundred respondents who identified as Jews. This survey includes several questions on religious identification. Nevertheless, the investigation into migration is very limited and focuses on nativity status, namely the country of birth, whether the United States or abroad, and place of current residence. Hence, this survey does not enable classification of the population according to internal migration status.

National Jewish surveys should continue to be a major source for studying the demographic characteristics, including migration, of American Jews and their ethno-religious identification. These studies, like the 1990 and 2000 NJPS, are random samples, hence at the screening stage they reach tens of thousands of people in order to ascertain their religious identity. These respondents, even if they do not meet the criteria of belonging to the Jewish population, are asked several questions on basic demographic and social characteristics. This stage should include a set of questions on migration similar to that of the complete questionnaire (used for the interview with the Jewish sample) to enable comparisons between Jews and non-Jews.

Further, the complete questionnaire should be revised to expand the investigation on geographic mobility. Besides the questions on place of birth, place of residence five years before the survey and current residence, it would be useful to collect information on migration during the intervals between birth and five years ago, and between the latter and the time of the survey, and perhaps an

entire biography of all places of residence across the individual's life course. Likewise, attempts should be made to incorporate new questions on Jewish behavior in previous areas of residence. Information on patterns of religioethnic identification both before and after migration would enable more accurate evaluation of the migration-identification relationships.

Ideally, a future study should attempt to collect longitudinal data. Such an approach would trace people over time, documenting their religio-ethnic behavior in different times and different places. Such an investigation should incorporate questions on reasons for staying or for moving to a new locality. Finally, it is important to expand the examination of the competing migration-identification models to other religious groups. Such an investigation would shed light on similarities and dissimilarities among different religioethnic groups and, in turn, on more general social and cultural issues which lie at the heart of the ongoing scholarly discourse that focuses on religious and ethnic diversity in the United States.

5. Epilogue

In today's modern and open America, as elsewhere, the ethno-religious identification of minorities or sub-populations is shaped mainly by two social contexts: individual sociodemographic characteristics and the social and cultural nature of the majority environment. These two frameworks are closely interrelated. The shaping and influencing processes that take place in a given population are an inseparable part of any human society, which naturally responds to internal structural patterns, and these in turn influence the characteristics of social life (Goldscheider, 1971). High levels of social mobility as manifested in spatial mobility, and the tendency of groups or social stratifications to participate in the mainstream that shapes social and political order, should be seen as typical reactions to the situation of modernity. The power of these changes is immense, as is its focus (Eisenstadt, 1968). Likewise, the individual characteristics and the general social models are very dynamic, depending heavily on the unique value system of each religioethnic group, their demographic share in the total population, and the extent of inter-group tensions — whether ethnic, religious, or racial — at a given time. Hence, the geographic patterns of Jews

attest to their successful integration into American society. It stands to reason that most American Jews behave, first and foremost, in accordance with the influence of the general American social system and that sensitivity toward the Jewish social sub-system is only secondary. This presents a major social and cultural challenge but also offers opportunities for small centers of Jewish concentration, new Jewish communities, and the individual "wandering Jew" in the new and more tolerant multi-cultural and individualistic contemporary America.

Notes

1 For criticism on the methodology of NJPS-2000 see Saxe, 2005.

2 This analysis focuses on respondents who identified themselves as Jews by religion or ethnicity. I applied these criteria to both the 1990 and 2000 NJPS, thus ensuring maximum comparability between the two samples. By so doing, I followed previous comparative investigations of these two studies (Rebhun and Goldstein 2009; Rebhun and Levy 2006). Notably, however, NJPS-2000 revealed a third group of people who profess no religion, or a religion theologically compatible with Judaism, who did not consider themselves Jewish but have a Jewish mother and/or father (hereinafter PJB). They are often counted as part of the 'core' Jewish population (Kotler-Berkowitz, et al., 2003). Yet, they had no parallel in 1990, were not asked key demographic and Jewish behavioral questions, and hence are excluded from my analysis. PJB are a peripheral segment of people; in light of previous evidences on persons of Jewish background (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996), this group is likely to have relatively high rates of migration and low levels of Jewish identification. I believe that a follow-up of a sub-population over time should maintain a consistent set of criteria for inclusion of people in the target population.

3 Data in this section refer to the entire 'core' Jewish population in each of the decennial points in time, including Jewish-connected for 2000.

4 As the title of Table 2.3 indicates, the data refer only to those living in a given region in 1990 or 2000, and not to those who lived there earlier and moved by the end of the respective decade.

5 Some caution is called for since the nature of NJPS migration data does not allow us to distinguish between movers from abroad and secondary migration of immigrants, that is persons who immigrated over the past five years but first settled in one place and then moved to another

location during the five-year period. For a more general discussion on this issue see Schachter, 2004 p.4.

6 It should be emphasized that such a classification, based on three reference points, does not cover the entire migration history of the individuals whose movements might have taken place during the intervals between birth and five years before the survey, and between the latter and the time of the survey; 'to the extent, however, that most persons do not reside in more than three states over the course of their lifetime, the coverage is relatively complete' (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996:114).

7 For example, an individual who was born in Mississippi but lived in New York five years before the survey and at the time of the survey is found in Alabama will be classified as a repeat migrant if the defining unit is state but as a return migrant if the defining unit is region since both Mississippi and Alabama belong to the same region (South). The rates of primary and repeat migration decrease with the expansion of the geographic units, while rates of return migration increase.

8 Immigrants in the United States are more likely to live in metropolitan areas and in the central city in metropolitan areas. See Chiswick and Miller, 2004.

9 It is possible, however, that in the findings for 2000 bilocal residents are somewhat over-represented since previous evidence suggests that peripheral Jews have a somewhat lower level of bilocal residence (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1996:64-65).

10 It should be noted that the 1990 study, although it followed the approach of the United States Census and counted students living in dormitories at colleges and universities as residents of their current areas, because the survey was conducted in May-July most students were likely found in their parents' households and were thus defined as non-migrants. By contrast, NJPS-2000 was conducted throughout the entire year (August 2000 to August 2001), including periods when most students are in school, and most college students were therefore classified as living in a different place than five-years earlier, when they were still at home.

11 For each age group, namely 18-24, 25-34, 35-44 and 65 and over, we focus only on those marital status categories with adequate numbers of respondents.

12 The categorical character of the dependent variable is appropriate for multinomial logistic regression. Separate equations were calculated for each of the two periods introducing all independent variables together. The relationships between the independent variables and migration are presented as odds ratios (exp [b]) which express the relative odds of the occurrence of the event (migration). A measure of the explanatory power is illustrated by means of a Pseudo R2.

13 The literature on relationships between migration and religioethnic identification proposes a fourth perspective, one of "adaptation" (Stump, 1984) (also known as the "contextual" effect; Cohen, 1983). This model asserts that newcomers conform to the host population's norms of religious behavior and are affected by the availability and maturity of major communal institutions as well as networks of family and friends that typically help to maintain religioethnic identification. Obviously, the amassing of detailed information, at the level of towns or areas of residence, on a population as highly dispersed as Jews would entail unprecedented efforts. As Cohen suggests, "…only a prodigious research effort with detailed historical and contemporary data on dozens of Jewish communities across the United States could even hope to tackle the task properly" (1983: 109). Regrettably, thus, the available data preclude a thorough analysis of the "adaptation" model. I shall, however, incorporate this perspective into the Discussion.

14 Since these practices reflect different intensities of religious life, from weekly observance to once a year, I weighted them differently in the construction of the ritual-religious index: abstention from handling/spending money on Shabbat was weighted 4 and 0 if not; lighting Shabbat candles in the home was weighted 3 for always/usually, 2 for sometimes, and 0 for never; lighting Chanukkah candles received a weight of 2 if performed always or usually, 1 if performed sometimes, and 0 if never performed; Seder attendance was given a weight of 1 if the respondent reported usually or always and 0 if sometimes or never; and fasting on Yom Kippur received a weight of 1 if yes and 0 if no. Thus, the index has a range of 0 to 11.

15 Respondents received 1 point for participation in each of the above and 0 for non-participation. Accordingly, the index varies from 0 to 4.

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INDEX

* Numbers followed by the letter *t* indicate table.