Patterns and Selectivities of Urban/Rural Migration in Israel

Abstract

Background: *Migration across internal boundaries is important because it involves different determinants and relations. Movement from one type of area to another attests to processes of distance, socio-economic barriers, and heterogeneity. Movement between two localities of one type entails fewer and different types of changes than migration between structurally diverse areas.* ***Objective:*** *In this paper we examine urban-rural migration in Israel. Despite being a small country, Israel has experienced extensive development outside of its major cities, accompanied by a population dispersion that has been constant although implemented in varying ways.* ***Methods:*** *We first describe and compare urban and rural migration patterns of Jews and non-Jews. However, due to the small number of non-Jewish migrants in the Census data set, the explanatory analysis focuses solely on Jews, probing the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of migrants and non-migrants and differentiating among the former by whether migration is between urban and rural places, or among urban or rural areas.* ***Results:*** *Examination of five-year migration from the 2008 Israeli census points to a strong tendency to change residence, often involving a change of residence type. These patterns of urban-rural migration emphasize the importance of specific individual characteristics and reflect the impact on such movements of life course stage and socio-demographic characteristics. We found a sociodemographic favorable profile of persons who leave the city in for rural places, and a somewhat less well-off profile of people who are likely to move in the opposite direction. Migrants who move within settlement types are also somewhat more highly selected than persons moving toward cities.* ***Conclusions:*** *Urban-Rural population exchanges among Jews Israel, while generally in accord with previous*

studies of the phenomena in other countries, tend to be less definite with respect to educational attainment and age. Perhaps this is because many urban and rural moves in Israel are of relatively short distance and either originate or end in lower density, peripheral, parts of large urban agglomerations. ***Comments:*** *Regardless of these differences, it is clear that urban-rural exchanges of Jewish population in Israel are not a random process.*

1. Introduction

Israel, like other more developed nations, is highly urbanized. In fact, as early as 1955, some eight out of every ten people had been concentrated in places with 2,000 or more persons.[1] The urban share has risen to nine of every ten today. Hence, one might ask, why study urban-rural migration if only 10% of the nation's population lives in rural areas? The reason is because even with such high rate of urban population concentration, people still move in and out of such places, and the selectivities of these migration streams can change the composition of urban and rural populations, even if they have little effect on the sizes of urban and rural places or the overall level of urbanization.

Older persons are less likely to move, for example, but among those who do move they are highly likely to seek rural destinations, thereby aging the rural population (Brown and Glasgow 2008). By contrast, people with advanced education and high professional qualifications are more likely to move from rural areas to cities, which offer better economic opportunities, higher returns on human capital, and cultural activities (Anderson, 2011; Lichter and Brown, 2011). Other research shows that some persons in later middle age, especially those with intact marriages and relatively high incomes, tend to move from cities to rural areas largely for lifestyle reasons (Champion and Sheppard 2006). Such selectivities alter the socio-economic profile of rural localities, given their smaller relative size.

A focus on rural areas in metropolitan society is justified for many reasons regardless of such areas small share of a nation's overall population. As Kulcsar and Curtis (2012a) indicate in the *International Handbook of Rural Demography,* rural

[1] The definition of urban in Israel is places with 2,000 or more persons.

areas, and their populations, continue to matter in more developed and highly urbanized countries because while only containing a minority of the population, they often account for a majority of a nation's land, water, minerals, energy and other natural resources, as well as large parts of a nation's infrastructure such as roads, bridges, pipelines, and of course most of its domestic food production. (Brown and Schafft, 2011).

In this paper, we examine internal population mobility in Israel between urban and rural areas as well as movement among places within the respective categories. We are interested in learning if migrants with certain social and economic characteristics are more likely to move from urban to rural locations, rural to urban locations, or to circulate within the urban and rural categories themselves. Not surprisingly, the migration selectivity of the Jewish and non-Jewish populations is of interest in Israel, hence, the first part of our analysis examines differences in migration propensity and rural/urban direction of migration between Jews and non-Jews. Thereafter, because of a lack of data on non-Jews, we narrow the focus to Jews alone examining the determinants of internal migration, and how such determinants might differ between rural-urban vs. urban-rural streams and between rural-urban and within category moves. In our analysis we examine the impact of individual demographic and socioeconomic characteristics on the direction of migration. Despite being a small country with relatively short distances between places, Israel has experienced extensive development outside of its major cities. This has been accompanied by continuous population dispersion. Insight into the Israeli case, which to the best of our knowledge has not been investigated over the last several years, contributes to the empirical and theoretical literature on urban and rural migration and population redistribution in contemporary industrial countries.

2. Background

Since its establishment in 1948, Israel's governments have viewed population as instrument for spatial planning and resettlement (Eisenstadt, 1973; Newman, 2000). In a country where agricultural workers account for only a small fraction of the labor force and the location of industries is not affected by the dispersion of natural resources, social, economic and geopolitical considerations as well as environmental preferences become major determinants of the desired pattern of population distribution (Brotskos, 1973). The government offers meaningful economic incentives, especially in housing, job opportunities, and tax breaks, to influence the spatial distribution of population and these factors, together with variability in individual and family resources (money, education, and social networks) have shaped the country's settlement structure and its internal migration patterns (Goldscheider, 2002).

From an ideological perspective, Jewish nationalism emphasized the nation's "return to the land" and promoted the de-urbanization of the Jewish population (Goldscheider, 2002). Complemented by security considerations and utopian economic and social visions, a major guiding principle of governmental policy and planning has been the deconcentration of the Jewish population to the national periphery (Cohen, 1970; Kirschenbaum, 1982). Special governmental preference was, and is still, given to increasing the share of Jews in the North and South of the country, largely comprising the Galilee and the Negev. This involves strengthening "development towns," urban localities specially established to receive population and anchor regional development, in these areas; and the consolidation of geopolitically important areas such as Jerusalem (Choshen, 2008). Another governmental aim in distributing the Jewish population is to reinforce the nation's geopolitical borders. Also, since the ascent to power of the political right in the second half of the 1970s,

increasing attempts have been made to intensify Jewish control over the disputed territories.

Clauses pertaining to population dispersion appear in the founding principles and platforms of all Israeli governments. Practical-quantitative expressions of these intentions surface in programs prepared by governmental authorities especially the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Finance, and in several master plans that forecast the size and spatial distribution of the nation's population. Some of these plans describe anticipated development without governmental intervention or a continuation of existing trends. Others introduce policy goals that take processes elsewhere in the country into account, for example decline of the proportion of population along the sea shore (Sicron, 2004). The Government continues to attach great importance to the development of national peripheries as was made evident in 2005 by the establishment of the Ministry for the Development of the Negev and Galilee.

Given the country's small size (some 21,000 square kilometers)[2], some of the peripheries may be regarded as middle or outer rings of metropolitan areas, hence, while officially rural, they are located within easy access of urban places and labor markets. Moreover, the Israeli government has put substantial effort and money into improving the nation's road and public transportation systems that allow easy and convenient commuting from peripheral to central locations. This improved accessibility is meant to diminish the often-clashing considerations between dwelling security and economic opportunities. Moreover, as is true of many modern societies (Frey, 1988), Israel has been experiencing regional restructuring where new firms and economic centers, especially of high technology, are being established in intermediate hinterland areas that are growing faster than their metropolitan

[2] Approximately half of the land is under military control, hence off-limits for dwelling (Sicron 2004: 203).

counterparts (Cromartie and Parker, 2014; Champion and Sheppard, 2006; Kandel and Brown, 2006; Shefer, Frenkel and Roper, 2001).

What differentiates Israel from most other highly developed countries is that Israel has a formal spatial policy of population deconcentration which in combination with its physical characteristics tends to enhance the likelihood of movement of people from urban localities to rural areas. Today's desire among young families for private houses and improved quality of life also strengthens the allure of rural localities (Newman, 2000). Consider the case of the kibbutz. This settlement type was originally based on ideological and practical egalitarianism; collective ownership of property, economic cooperation, and the production of agricultural and heavy industrial products. Today, however, the kibbutz is undergoing intensive privatization and attracting new members or non-member residents who seek to reside in an established rural environment with intimate social and cultural relationships (Ben-Rafael and Topel, 2004).

In contrast to Jews, Arab Israelis are severely limited in internal migration due to informal constraints including lack of accessible housing, limited economic networks, and discrimination (Goldschieder, 2002). Indeed, to the extent that the Arab population is growing in peripheral areas, this is largely attributable to natural increase not net internal migration. Hence, this significantly limits the regional redistribution of the Arab population (Sicron, 2004). Moreover, the dwelling needs of the growing non-Jewish population originating in natural increase are hindered at the local level by intergenerational residential sharing, additions to existing houses, and the expansion of villages (Khamaisi, 2005).

3. Data, Definitions, and Research Strategy

3.1. Data

The data utilized in this study are derived from the 2008 Israel Population Census. The census used the innovative integrated census method, which combined data from administrative sources (mainly a population register) with sample data gathered in surveys, i.e., in census field work. The field work included two surveys: the first was conducted from December 2008 to February 2009, and included approximately 400,000 households; the second was a telephone survey carried out during March to July, 2009 to complete census information and comprised of some 250,000 people. The data file that was made available for this study included information from both parts of the census.

To assess the determinants, rather than the consequences, of migration with the greatest possible adequacy, we inserted information for beginning-of-migration period (2003) into our census file in regard to two major achieved (changing) characteristics: employment status and income. These data, obtained from National Insurance institute (the Israel Social Security) were attributed to respondents in accordance with their ID number.

Our sample is restricted to Jewish and non-Jewish (e.g., Muslims, Christians, Druze) respondents aged 18 and over. Jews and non-Jews may exhibit unique patterns of migration due to different exposures to modernization, specific occupational structure that may be suited to urban or rural areas, and social discrimination that limits non-Jews' ability to purchase dwellings and settle in localities that have a strong Jewish presence. A further criterion for inclusion in the analysis was residence in Israel for five years prior to the census. We focus on one adult (aged 18 and over) from each household, rather than multiple adults, in order to eliminate the potential bias of interdependence in migration behavior (Kritz and Nogle, 1994). This adult, the

person with whom the census interview was conducted, is a member of the household and was at home when an enumerator visited the dwelling. If multiple members were at home, they were asked to choose one of their members whom they preferred as the interviewee. The application of these criteria yielded a sample of 291,322 respondents: 241,868 Jews (83.0%), and 49,454 Non-Jews (20.0%).

3.2 Census Divisions and Definitions

Localities in Israel are distinguished between rural and urban; the cutoff point is 2,000 in population. The type of locality is not dependent on its economic nature (agricultural or not) or other attributes. In fact, the rural category is quite diverse. It includes different types of organization and status. A main dimension of difference is between localities (moshavim, collective moshavim, and kibbutzim) that exhibit a particular kind of economic cooperation among inhabitants in production, marketing, or consumption, and institutional localities or community localities where such economic cooperation does not exist. To a large extent, localities that are characterized by economic cooperation are populated by Jews while institutional and community localities may be populated by Jews or non-Jews.

In the non-Jewish segment of Israel's population, mainly that of Muslims, many urban localities maintain traditional-rural land use and economic patterns. Even if they undergo a process of population concentration this has not resulted in their urbanization in a social and economic sense. Though the population of these villages may be increasing, density may be on the rise, and there has been a beginning of residential construction using modern technology, these localities have not experienced developmental processes of industrialization and modernization which are typically associated with urbanization and urbanism. These localities lack industrial-economic base and/or services. In fact, the economic dependence of these

non-Jewish localities on Jewish localities for work and consumption and in governmental budgets has strengthened over time (Khamaisi, 2005).

According to the 2008 Census, Israel had 1,178 localities, 229 urban and 949 rural. Each of the country's six official districts (see Map 1) was comprised of both urban and rural localities.[3] The respective types of localities, however, are not evenly spread among the districts. Rural localities are disproportionately located in peripheral areas: the Northern District (332 localities) and the Southern District (209 localities). Nevertheless, a substantial number of rural localities—187—may be found in the Central District. Tel Aviv is the only district that has more urban localities than rural localities.

The total number of localities also includes Jewish settlements in the disputed territories. During the period of our research, Israel withdrew unilaterally from the Gaza Strip and parts of the northern Samaria, removing twenty-one localities, most of which were rural. At the beginning of 2008, there were 119 Jewish settlements in the disputed territories—twenty-seven urban and ninety-two rural. These 119 settlements are included in our study.

(Map 1, about here)

4. Urban/Rural Distribution and Mobility

Israel's population is significantly urban and this characteristic has been gathering strength, though not consistently, over time. In 1955, shortly after statehood was attained, 83% of Israelis lived in localities of 2,000 inhabitants or more. By 2008, the proportion increased to 91.7% (Figure 1).

(Figure 1, about here)

[3] "Districts" are regional agglomerations in Israel.

The Jewish community that was present upon statehood was already urban. Indeed, during its formative years even as substantial numbers of the massive influx of foreign-born Jewish immigrants were directed to small settlements, many of these settlements quickly passed the 2,000 inhabitants threshold, hence becoming statistically, if not perceptually, "urban". Many other Jewish immigrants settled in major cities such as Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and Haifa. While in 1955 84.9% of Jews lived in urban localities by the early 1970s it has increased to 90.3% and further to 90.8% today. In the meantime, the urbanized Jewish population has experienced suburbanization, with substantial movement from large urban cores to dormitory suburbs around major metropolitan areas (Goldscheider, 1992). The Non-Jewish population, in turn, has undergone rapid urbanization. The share of this population dwelling in localities with more than 2,000 inhabitants climbed from 63.5% in 1961 to 94.4% in 2008. Thus, the non-Jewish population today is slightly more urban than its Jewish counterpart.

The nation's increasing percent urban is attributed to natural increase rather than to internal migration (and also possibly to international migration). Nevertheless, during the last two intercensal periods (1983-1995, and 1995-2008), there was a significant tendency of Jews to move from urban localities to agricultural and non-agricultural rural settlements. The annual population exchange by type of locality resulted in a net gain for rural localities during the twenty-five years between 1983 and 2008 (Figure 2). Within the fluctuation of this net gain, one interval is especially salient: the early 1990s, with its high migration surplus for rural areas. Accordingly, although the proportion of rural residents among Jews diminished (because urban areas grew more rapidly), the absolute number of Jewish rural residents increased impressively by more than 50% (from 325,000 in 1983 to 508,000 in 2008) (Statistical Abstract of Israel, various years). Notably, some of this internal migration

from city to rural locality, especially in northern Israel, is a "ruralization" process of sorts in which population leaps over major cities' suburbs into their more rural hinterland (Kirschenbaum 1992: 85). Overall, it can be observed that since 1978, Israel has experienced net urban to rural migration i.e., net rural gain.

(Figure 2, about here)

Among non-Jews, the data in Figures 1 and 2 show an increasing urban concentration even though net exchanges between urban and rural areas have been small since 1983 (with the exception of two years with rather large net rural loss - 1991 and 2001 - the latter year resulting in a net rural loss for the total Israeli population) (Figure 2). Thus, the almost 10 percentage point increase in the level of urbanization experienced by non-Jews since 1983 is associated mainly with natural increase and also, consequently, with changes in the status of localities from rural to urban even as the localities retain a population that is geographically quite stable.

Table 1 shows levels of migration for Jews and non-Jews using a fixed migration interval of five years. According to these data, between 2003 and 2008 some 14% of Israelis changed their locality of residence but the tendency to relocate to another locality was six times greater among Jews (16.2%) than among non-Jews (2.8%).

(Table 1, about here)

Data from Table 1 also show streams of internal migration in Israel. Among persons who moved between 2003 and 2008, 7.9% moved from rural to urban areas, contributing to the country's further urbanization. In contrast, 17.1% moved from urban to rural areas contributing to population deconcentration. The remaining 75% of migrants moved within the urban and rural sectors; mostly among urban places. Jewish patterns of migration are reflected in these overall trends, while non-Jews are shown to be more likely to move from rural to urban areas, less likely to move from

urban to rural and slightly less likely to move within the urban or rural sectors. While migrants were changing their place of residence, and could possibly affect social relationships in the origin and destination communities, their migration did not significantly affect the nation's pattern of population distribution.

5. Selectivities in Rural/Urban Migration

In this section we examine socioeconomic differences among migrants and non-migrants and among the latter by different types of migration. Given our focus on internal migration, the relative scarcity of non-Jewish migrants severely reduces the amount of data available on this population. Accordingly, in examining migration selectivity, we limit our attention to the Jewish population from this point forward. Our analysis seeks to evaluate social and economic correlates of migration between different types of localities as well as within similar categories of localities.

Migration across internal boundaries affects the relative sizes of places, and perhaps more importantly, their respective socioeconomic compositions. The long research tradition on urban-rural migration has emphasized differences between urban and rural communities, yet such socio-demographic and economic differences have substantially narrowed over time in highly developed and urbanized nations (Fuguitt, Brown, and Beale, 1989; Fulton et al., 1997; Lacour and Puissant 2007; Warren, 1987). For example, with the decline of employment in agriculture and other extractive industries, the economic activities of rural inhabitants and their urban counterparts have largely converged (Brown and Schafft 2011; Castle, 1998), and new information and transport technologies have linked rural and urban people, communities, and economies ever more closely. The weakening of the urban-rural dichotomy is especially salient when levels of migration between these two types of localities are high (Champion and Hugo, 2003). Hence, contemporary research on

urban-rural migration in more developed nations such as Israel tends to emphasize the spatial integration that results from population mobility rather than spatial differentiation (Lichter and Brown 2011; 2014).

Many residents of rural localities commute to work in the city and, by doing so, maintain rural and urban orientations simultaneously (Brown et al., 1997). In fact, research indicates that urban to rural migrants are likely to retain their urban workplace at least for some time after moving (Champion et al., 2009). Concurrently, rural areas have become places that city dwellers visit for recreation and to consume products and services (Green, 2001). Even though the strengthening of interdependency and the convergence of different types of localities is likely to moderate the social and economic impacts of urban-rural migration (Brown et al., 1997), researchers still report that urban versus rural place of residence remains associated with persisting, albeit smaller, differences in people's socio-demographic attributes, behaviors and attitudes (Brown and Schafft, 2011; Lichter and Brown, 2011). Accordingly, we expect Israelis who move from urban to rural areas, the most likely inter-category migration stream, to differ in such characteristics compared with non-movers and with migrants who move from rural to urban areas. The data in Table 2 show this to be the case.

(Table 2, about here)

These data postulate that migrants are younger, more likely to be male, and much more likely to be single than are non-migrants. Similarly, migrants are much more likely to be native born of Israeli fathers. With respect to socioeconomic status, migrants exceed non-migrants in educational attainment, and are also more likely to be employed, but they are more concentrated in the lower income quintiles.

Migrants, of course, are not all cut from one cloth. There are often meaningful differences between migrants who move between urban and rural areas and those who

move within the same residential classification. Comparing rural to urban migrants with their counterparts who move from urban to rural areas shows that the former are somewhat younger, slightly less likely to be female, much less likely to be married and more likely to be single or divorced, less likely to have a college education, to be employed, and to have slightly lower income prior to moving in 2003. In contrast, urban-rural migrants are more likely to be of foreign parentage and to work for others (Table 2).

Comparing within category migrants to rural-urban migrants indicates that persons who move within rural are more likely to be middle age and married and less likely to be either young adults or elderly. Rural to rural migrants are less likely to be of Israeli parentage, and more likely to be self-employed. Data on educational attainment show few systematic differences between these two groups, but rural to rural migrants have somewhat higher incomes. Turning to persons who moved among urban places in comparison with rural to urban migrants shows them to less likely be young adults or early middle age and more likely to be elderly; more likely to be married, foreign born of European/American parentage, and to have graduate education. In addition, they had slightly higher income prior to moving in 2003. In contrast, they are less likely to be young adults, single, of Israeli parentage, and they are more likely to have the lowest levels of educational attainment.

It is difficult to summarize these differences in characteristics across the four migrant streams, although rural-urban migrants seem to be at an earlier stage of their life course and of somewhat lower socioeconomic status compared with urban persons who move to rural areas. Compared with urban-rural migrants people who moved from one rural place to another are middle aged, not married, and somewhat less off with respect to income prior to moving. Compared with urban-rural migrants people who moved from one urban place to another are more likely to be elders, not married,

foreign born, to have either the lowest or highest levels of educational attainment, and to have slightly higher income. These comparisons, and previous research on internal migration selectivities in more developed nations, lead us to focus our analysis on factors that affect the likelihood of migration in particular directions rather than others on three domains of individual-level variables: (a) demographic characteristics, (b) life course status, and (c) socioeconomic attainments.

6. Factors Associated with Internal Migration in Israel

6.1 Informed "Guesses" for Urban/Rural Migration in Israel

The differences in characteristics across the various migration streams shown in Table 2 are simply bivariate comparisons. Will these differences between migration streams persist in a multivariate analysis? Our overall expectation, based on the internal migration literature and the foregoing descriptive comparisons, is that rural to urban migrants will be overrepresented by single persons in the young adult ages and will have generally lower socioeconomic status than persons who move in the opposite direction. We also expect persons who circulate among urban or rural places to be more similar to urban-rural migrants than to persons moving up the settlement structure from rural areas to cities. It would seem that persons are moving to urban areas for economic opportunity. In contrast, rural in-migration will be among more martially settled and better-off persons who appear to be moving to enhance their amenities and quality of life. This would be consistent with research in other highly developed countries showing that even in today's less spatially differentiated societies, people continue to relocate from urban to rural or from rural to urban areas because of economic incentives and non-labor-market preferences associated with cultural patterns and amenities (Brown et.al., 1997; Greenwood, 1985; Zuiches, 1980). The preference for small or isolated residence over one's current urban location

persists even if it results in some loss of income (Fuguitt and Brown, 1990), attesting to a broader change: growing prioritization of consumption preferences over economic gains (the "clean break" theory - Vining and Straus, 1977). Moving farther from work places is facilitated by a trend toward longer distance commuting among rural persons, especially those who are recent migrants from urban areas (Champion et. al., 2009). Likewise, Israel's small national geography would seem to facilitate migration without job transfer, and subsequent longer distance commuting.

The amenities and quality-of-life factors that attract mature people with somewhat higher socioeconomic status to rural areas include low density (Wardwell, 1980), relatively affordable private houses (Vining et al., 1982), and a search for community of shared values and activities (Anderson, 2011; Castle, 1998). Migrants are also attracted to rural areas that have economies of their own, such as recreation and tourism. Moreover, some rural communities have become established as destinations for retirement-age migrants (Brown et. al., 2011; Brown and Glasgow, 2008).

Aside from socioeconomic status, the literature indicates that migration is associated with a person's progression through the life course, and different types of moves are more probable at different life course stages. Life course stages are reflected in age and educational attainment, and where urban to rural migration is amenity motivated as we believe it is in Israel, we expect such moves to be undertaken by middle aged employed persons who have completed their education. In contrast, motives of income enhancement would be expected of young adults who have not completed their higher education and who are more likely to be single.

Age would seem to have a clear association with the direction of migration--younger migrants are expected to be more likely to move from rural to urban areas for both economic, amenity, and cultural reasons. Typically, young adults prefer urban

areas where high costs of living are countered by abundant educational cultural, and employment opportunities. As people age, marry, and have children, their needs and preferences may change. Now they can be expected to ascribe greater importance to residential amenities, greater public safety, and schools which are often perceived to be superior in rural locations.

Retirees, typified by fixed pension and more leisure time "become increasingly interested in places where costs of living are low and amenities are high" (Domina, 2006: 377). Those who have good pensions on top of Social Security may move to high-amenity rural communities (Glasgow, 1995; Johnson and Stewart, 2011). However, migration rates are typically low at older ages. And in Israel, most homes for the elderly are located in major cities rather than in rural communities. Hence, while little geographic mobility is expected at older ages, to the extent that older persons move, we expect such migration to be from rural to urban or from urban to urban.

The direction of Jewish internal migration in Israel is also expected to be associated with immigration and ethnicity. Immigrants typically live in large cities where co-ethnic enclaves are located. In the US, there is evidence that some immigrants move beyond “gateway cities” to other urban and rural destinations (Kritz et al. 2011). In addition, some immigrants move directly to rural communities (Crowley and Ebert 2014; Jensen, 2006). New rural immigration in the US is linked to specific economic opportunities in food processing, agriculture, certain kinds of manufacturing, and service jobs (Jensen, 2006; Kandel and Parrado, 2005). As interesting as this may be, it is not directly relevant to the Israeli case. Israel lacks similar opportunities for immigrants in rural areas, hence, migration from gateways to rural areas is not anticipated. To the extent that immigrants resettle internally, intra-urban moves would be expected.

This expectation is further supported by the urban origin of most immigrants to Israel. Most recent immigrant to Israel originated in the former Soviet Union; smaller numbers came from North America, Western Europe, and South Africa (Statistical Abstract of Israel, 2008). Like the overall Jewish population in these areas (DellaPergola, 2008), the immigrants are significantly of urban background, from cities such as Moscow, Kiev, St. Petersburg, New York, London or Johannesburg. According to the last Soviet census of (1989), for example, 98.7 percent of Soviet Jews were urbanites. Thus, we may be sure that the overwhelming majority of Soviet immigrants to Israel originated in cities and urban areas and not in rural localities.[4] Similarly, the 2007 Pew Religious Landscape Survey revealed that, as of the enumeration date, 97.1 percent of American Jews resided in urban and suburban communities and only 2.9 percent in rural localities.[5] At their time of arrival, these immigrants had human capital indicative of higher educational attainment than that of the nonimmigrant Israeli Jewish population, with large proportions concentrated in scientific, academic, and other white-collar occupations (Sicron, 1998; Rebhun and Waxman, 2000). Notably, when the mass influx of Soviet Jews started in the early 1990s, and due to housing shortages, the government established mobile-home camps, most of which were located in open spaces of rural jurisdictions. Those who tenanted these dwellings, however, left them upon the completion of many new apartments that were initiated and encouraged by the government in urban areas, whether in the center or in the peripheries of the country.

[4] The authors are grateful to Dr. Mark Tolts for providing us with these data, based on his own computation of the Statkomitet SNG, Itogi Vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1989 goda (Results of the All-Union 1989 Census]. Minneapolis: East View Publications, 1993, Vol. 7, Part 1, table 2.

[5] Authors' analysis of data from the 2007 Pew Religious landscape Survey.

In addition, in the past three decades Israel has absorbed some 100,000 immigrants from Ethiopia. This group is significantly different from those who arrived from North America and Europe in their low levels of education, their widespread lack of professional qualifications, and their destitution (Kaplan and Salomon, 2004). After initially settling them in special integration centers, mobile homes, hotels, and empty apartment blocks, the government initiated a special mortgage program for Ethiopian immigrants aiming to encourage them to purchase apartments and establish permanent residence in relatively strong settlements in the center of the country. Even if some of them ended up in poor towns, nevertheless they settled in urban localities (Kaplan and Salomon, 2004).

Hence, it came as something of a surprise to discover that 12 percent of the immigrants who arrived in 2002-2006 initially settled in rural localities (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2009). Some of them probably came from North America and, due to their strong religious identification, chose to reside in small Jewish settlements in the disputed territories of the West Bank. A few others are Soviet immigrants of low economic status who could find cheap housing there (Gonen, 1998). However, some three-fourths of immigrants who moved directly to rural localities first settled in Kibbutzim and moshavim (cooperative settlements) within the recognized borders of the country. Most are young, in their twenties and thirties. An inquiry with the major organization responsible for immigrant absorption made it clear that most of them spend only five months on the kibbutzim, during which they attended an "Ulpan" (a Hebrew-language program), meaning that they stayed there only temporarily.

Given that most immigrants came from cities and urban areas, they prefer similar types of localities in Israel. If they settle in places populated by non-immigrants while lacking command of the new language (Hebrew) and acquaintance with the local culture, immigrants would find their social adjustment somewhat

difficult. Furthermore, permanent membership in rural localities, both veteran and new, involves an admission process that may be sticky and complicated for recent immigrants. Hence, the foreign-born are less inclined than the native-born to move from urban to rural localities. Although the strength of this relation weakens as time in Israel elapses, it remains negative

As our literature review indicates, internal migration can be motivated by a variety of both economic and non-economic reasons. In this section we examine the social and economic characteristics of movers to, from and within rural (and urban) Israel. We conduct a multivariate analysis to examine the impact of social and economic factors shown to be associated with migration in previous research on the likelihood of migration between urban and rural Israel, as well as migration within these residential categories.

We use multinomial logistic regression to compare the relative effect of various demographic and socioeconomic characteristics on the likelihood of being in particular migration streams relative to others. This will permit us to examine whether the comparisons shown in Table 2 persist when all of the attributes are considered together. We use the rural to urban migration stream as the reference because of its central role in urbanization, and we compare it to urban to rural migration, a principal demographic determinant of counterurbanization, and with migration among similar type places which has little or no impact on population distribution or on the composition of the urban or rural sector (although it can affect individual origin and destination places).

6.2 Model Specification

To evaluate the robustness of the above "guesses", we applied a multinomial logistic regression. We organize the analysis into two models, each examining factors

associated with being in a particular migration stream – urban-to-rural or among similar type localities - in comparison with being a rural-to-urban migrant. The first model includes all of the demographic, life-course, and SES predictors other than income. It also includes a measure of migration distance, e.g., whether the migrant moved from one district to another. Model 2 includes all of these variables plus income.[6]

The explanatory variables follow those examined in the descriptive analysis as displayed in Table 2. Summary statistics of the dependent variables and explanatory variables are presented in Appendix A1. The basic migration model may be formulated as follows:

$$M\text{i} = a_0 + a_1 Ai + a_2 Gi + a_3 Si + a_4 Yi + a_5 Ei + a_6 Di + a_7 Wi + a_8 Li + a_9 I\text{i} + e_i$$

where M_i, the dependent variable, is the log odds of making an urban-to-rural vs. rural-to-urban move/ between same type of localities vs. rural-to-urban move, during the 2003-2008 period, *i.e., log (*M_i*/1-*M_i*)*, a_0 is the general mean, $a_1 \ldots a_9$ are the estimated coefficients for the independent variables, and e_i is the residual, or predicted error, term.

The relationships between the independent variables and migration are presented as odds ratios (exp[b]) that expresses the relative odds of the occurrence of the event (migration) with a particular variable. Odds ratios less than 1.0 indicate that an explanatory variable is negatively associated with being an urban-to-rural migrant/within same type of locality rather than a rural-to-urban migrant, while an

[6] Information on income for beginning-of-migration period (i.e., 2003) was available only for those who worked at that time. Accordingly, the multivariate analysis focuses solely on such people distinguishing them between the employed and the self-employed.

odds ratio of 1.0 or higher indicates the opposite (in a separate column we show probabilities that are easier to judge and interpret for readers who wish to compare the relative strength/importance of associations). Goodness of fit of the model is assessed through the likelihood of the observed results (translated into -2 log likelihood [-2LL]). 'Pseudo R2 (Nagelkereke R2) is a measure of the model's overall explanatory power.

6.3 Results of the Analysis

The first analysis in Table 3 (column A) shows that compared with rural-urban migrants, Israelis who move from urban to rural areas are more likely to be married (compared with being single or divorced) and more likely to be born in Israel (especially in comparison with foreign-born of short duration in their new country). In addition, urban-rural migrants are more likely to be of European-America or Asia-African extraction (first or second generation in the country).

When income is added in model 2 (column C), the odds ratios suggest that urban to rural migrants have slightly higher incomes than persons who move from rural to urban areas, e.g., they are more likely to be in income quintiles II and III compared with the lowest quintile, but not more likely to be in the two highest income quintiles. The associations of marital status, nativity, and ethnicity remain unchanged. In contrast, age, educational attainment, migration distance, and employment status are not associated with being an urban-rural migrant rather than moving in the opposite direction.

Next we examine factors associated with migration among similar residence categories (urban-urban and rural-rural) vis-a-vis moving from a rural to an urban area. Compared with persons who arrived in urban destinations from rural origins, intra-category migrants are less likely to be younger than 65 years, and also less likely

to be divorced rather than married (Table 3, column B). Within category movers are more likely to be foreign born having arrived either recently or a decade ago, and of non-Israeli ethnicity. In addition, intra-category migrants are less educated.

When income is added in model 2 (column D), it can be seen that intra-category migrants have notably higher incomes than persons who move from rural to urban areas, although most of the difference is in the middle of the income distribution. The impacts of age, marital status, nativity, ethnicity, educational attainment and employment status are unchanged when income is accounted for. Similarly, gender and migration distance remain unassociated with the likelihood of moving within the same residential categories in comparison with moving from rural to urban.

Comparing model with no variables (intercept only) with model with the independent variables (final) we reveal find that the measure of error, -2LL, was reduced: from 9702.925 to 8824.854 in model 1 and from 17110.925 to 16211.107 in model 2.

7. Discussion and Conclusions

This study examined the levels, directions, and determinants of urban-rural migration in Israel during 2003-2008. The paper first examined the prevalence urban-rural migration patterns among Jews and non-Jews, showing that Jews have been much more geographically mobile during 2003-08. Thereafter, due to a small number of non-Jewish migrants, we focused solely on Jews comparing the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of internal migrants vs. non-migrants, and among the latter according to various migration streams. The final part of the analysis used multivariate analysis to determine whether compositional differences shown in the comparative profile of various migration streams are associated with the likelihood of

moving between and among various residence categories. In general, we find the bivariate comparisons to persist in the multivariate analysis. Persons who move to less urbanized settings tend to be married and of somewhat higher income compared with those who move in the opposite direction. Hence, moving to the countryside in Israel seems consistent with the amenity and life style migration process that is common elsewhere in post-industrial societies. As we indicated earlier in the paper, this is facilitated by the relatively short distances between rural residences and urban employment sites in Israel.

It stands to reason that some Israelis who have already attained high socio-economic status as indicated by income may move from urban to rural localities to seek private houses in quiet and open surroundings. This is especially true given the short distances between Israel's rural localities and its urban labor centers where highly educated people lean toward rural localities that offer amenities and high quality-of-life. In contrast, migrants in the opposite (rural-to-urban) direction are expected to be less well off than persons moving to rural communities. For example, they may include former members of kibbutzim, whose cooperative socialist ideology prevented them from owning properties and amassing personal savings. Even though many kibbutzim have undergone privatization and some of their members have joined the public sector as salaried workers, many lack the job longevity and official training that they need to compete with their urban counterparts, resulting in lower earnings. Others may be people of Asian/African background who upon their arrival in Israel shortly after the foundation of the state, were settled in agrarian rural localities. Typically, they belong to the low-middle economic stratum, as do their adult offspring.

There are other incentives for moving to rural (or between) rural areas in Israel. In addition to notably lower average dwelling prices in rural localities

(Calcalist, 2010), the Israeli government offers significant economic incentives including convenient housing loans, discounts on land for homebuilding, and lower taxes to encourage people to settle in peripheral areas. However, with the exception of guest rooms or bed-and-breakfast for side income, rural areas in Israel lack developed economic enterprises of their own. Indeed, most rural workers commute to urban workplaces. The mainstay of the Israeli rural economy, agriculture, is also diminishing over time. Accordingly, rural places are less attractive to younger, unmarried persons who are in their prime working ages.

However, while the residential preference vs. economic opportunity explanation is consistent with research conducted in the UK and elsewhere (Champion et al., 2009) it is somewhat speculative and should be examined through longitudinal analysis of the commuting behavior of urban-rural migrants. The availability of survey data on residential preferences and migration intentions would also contribute to a stronger case for the implied motivations of urban-rural migrants. In contrast to urban-rural migrants, persons who moved from rural to urban areas tend to have somewhat lower incomes and appear to be moving to cities in search of enhanced economic opportunities. Rural destinations also seem to be receiving migrants who while Israeli natives were born to non-Israeli parents. Hence, rural living may be an aspect of the assimilation process experienced by Israel's second generation. The internal migration processes shown in this research demonstrated while not contributing much to population redistribution do affect the relative socio-demographic composition of rural and urban Israel.

Within-category movers, e.g., persons who move from one urban place to another or from one rural area to another, are also somewhat compositionally distinct from rural-urban migrants. Similar to persons who decentralized their residences from urban to rural places, intra-category movers are somewhat higher socioeconomic

status compared with persons who made city-ward moves. Moreover, they are less likely to be age 65+ since most elder housing in Israel is concentrated in cities. Intra-urban and intra-rural migrants also differ in nativity and ethnicity compared with city-ward migrants who are less likely to be both foreign born and more likely to identify as having Israeli parentage.

Despite being a highly urban society, Israelis exhibit relatively strong tendency to change type of residence from urban to rural as well as in the reverse direction. In fact, almost one in five Israeli Jews changed residence during 2003-2008 which is quite high compared with other highly developed nations (Molloy et. al., 2011). Many of these movements are relatively short distance, but a substantial number are longer distance involving a change of district of residence. These patterns of urban/rural migration are not spread evenly among the population; rather certain socio-demographic characteristics differentiate among persons engaged in various streams of rural-urban movement.

Our analysis illuminated major aspects of the demographic interplay between urban and rural areas in Israel. We portray a socio-demographic favorable profile of persons who leave the city in favor of rural places, and a somewhat less well-off profile of people who are likely to move in the opposite direction. Moreover, in addition to migration between urban and rural areas, our data show that migrants who move within settlement types, e.g., urban-to-urban or rural-to-rural, are also somewhat more highly selected than persons moving toward cities. Accordingly, while internal migration is no longer contributing much to population redistribution in Israel because of its already high level of urbanization, it does have the ability of altering the compositions of populations living in various types of places. The general picture that is suggested in this analysis is of better off persons with intact families moving to rural areas for amenity and lifestyle reasons, while less well-off persons tend to look

for better economic opportunities in cities. While elders have relatively low migration rates, those who do tend to move to cities where elder housing opportunities are more available. This is in contrast to the older migration process in the US and other highly developed nations.

Research on urban-rural migration outside of Israel often shows well established selectivities with migration to urban areas being comprised of younger, better educated persons who are either single or newly married. Persons who move from urban to rural are also positively selected in terms of socio-economic factors such as income and education, but they also tend to be older than persons who move to rural retirement destinations (Kulcsar and Curtis, 2012). Urban-rural population exchanges among Jews in Israel while generally in accord with previous studies of the phenomena in other countries, especially with respect to income selectivity, tend to be less definite with respect to educational attainment and age. Perhaps this is because many of the rural-urban moves in Israel are of relatively short distance and either originate or end in lower density, peripheral, e.g., rural, parts of large urban agglomerations. Regardless of these differences, it is clear that rural-urban exchanges of Jewish population in Israel are not a random process. Persons who move within and between the rural and urban settlement categories are socioeconomically differentiated from each other, and among longer distance movers, economic opportunities of the destination also affect migration probabilities. Accordingly, while research on rural-urban migration elsewhere is a guide for such research in Israel, the Israeli situation tells its own story which helps to elucidate the diversity of internal migration processes experienced by more developed nations.

Future research should re-analyze these models for the non-Jewish population. As indicated above, this was not possible with the census data due to the small number of migrants. Such an investigation will allow us to assess the effect of being

part of the majority population (Jews) vs. minority (non-Jews) when all other things being equal. This could shed light on processes of integration vs. separation thus expanding the contribution of this study beyond the demographic-geographic realm to better understand the spatial dimension of group belonging in contemporary Israel.

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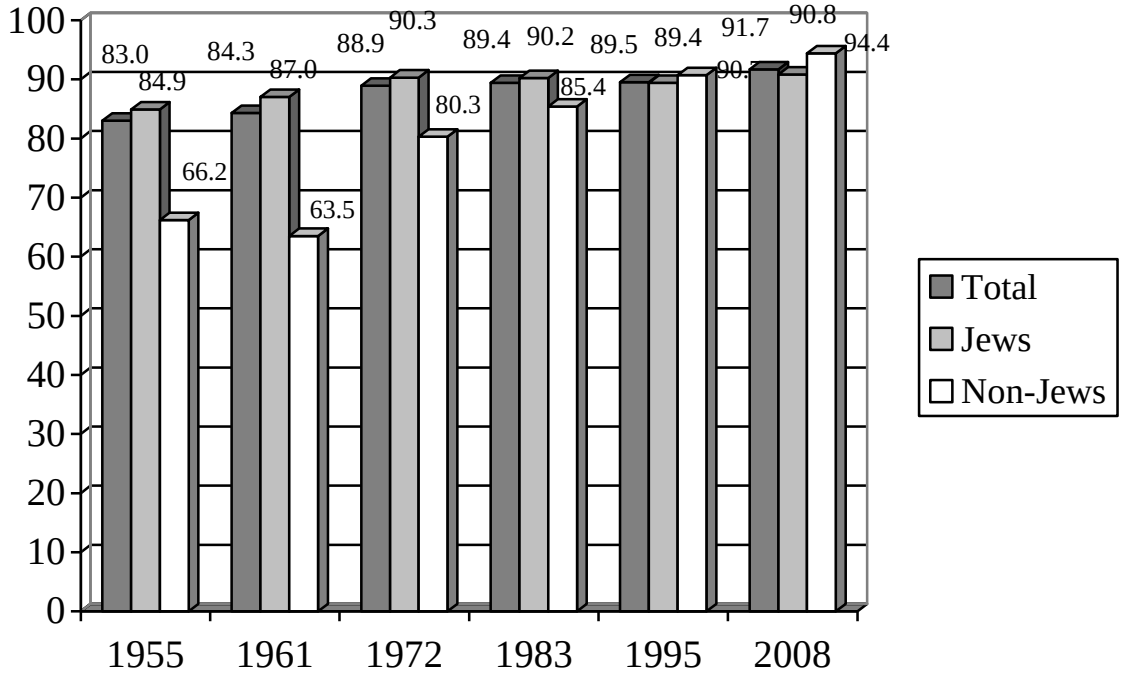
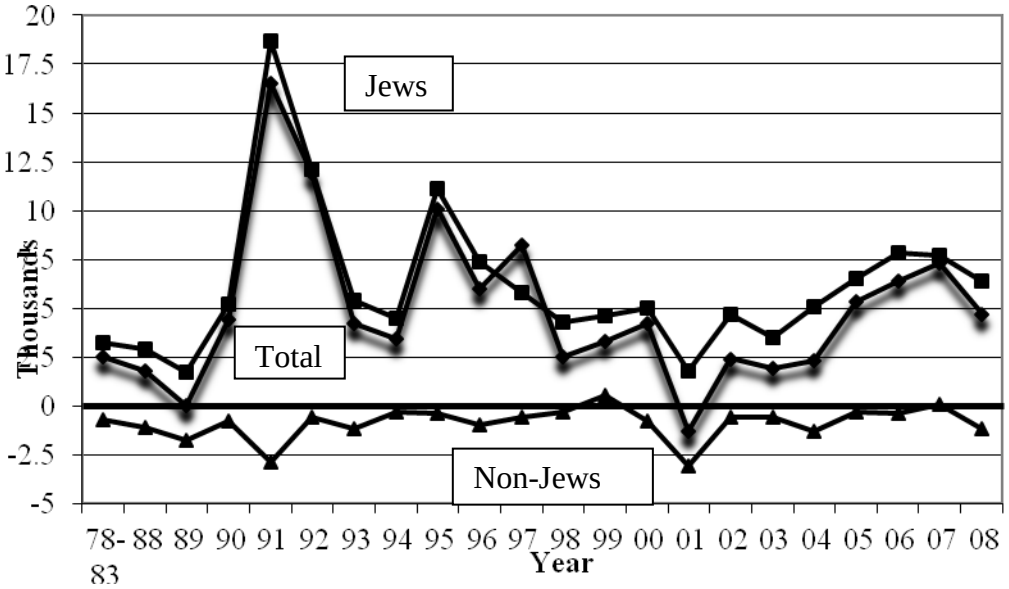
Figure 1. Percentage of Population in Localities of 2,000 Inhabitants or More For Selected Years and by Group Affiliation



Source: CBS, Statistical Abstracts, various years.

Figure 2. Net Rural Gain or Loss from Internal Migration: Total Population, Jews, and Non-Jews, 1978-2008



Sources: For 1978-1983: CBS, Internal migration, 1988; for 1988-2008: Statistical Abstracts, various years.

Table 1. Five-Year Migration Status among Jews and Non-Jews, 2003-2008: 2008 Israel Census of Housing and Population (Percentages)

Religion	Total	(N)	Migration Status							
			Same Locality[a]	Different Locality	Thereof:	(N)	Urban-Urban	Rural-Rural	Urban-Rural	Rural-Urban
Total	100.0	(291,322)	86.1	13.9	100.0	(40,417)	67.4	7.6	17.1	7.9
Jews	100.0	(241,868)	83.8	16.2	100.0	(39,048)	67.4	7.7	17.6	7.3
Non-Jews	100.0	(49,454)	97.2	2.8	100.0	(1,369)	69.2	1.9	4.6	24.3

a) Including same address, different address in the same locality, and unknown address in same locality.

b) Including different locality in same natural area, different natural area in same sub-district, and different sub-district.

Table 2: Comparative Profile of Non-Movers and Movers: Israeli Jews, 2003-2008 (Percentages)

	Total	Same Locality	Different Locality				
			Total	Urban-Urban	Rural-Rural	Urban-Rural	Rural-Urban
(N)	(241,868)	(202,820)	(39,048)	(26,304)	(3,021)	(6,866)	(2,857)
Age	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Age 25-34	19.7	13.2	53.2	54.2	44.6	51.2	58.7
Age 35-44	20.2	19.6	23.2	20.6	30.4	30.1	22.6
Age 45-64	37.9	42.1	16.3	16.1	22.7	14.7	14.7
Age 65+	22.2	25.1	7.3	9.1	2.3	4.0	4.0
Gender	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Male	46.2	45.4	50.3	50.9	48.7	48.6	50.8
Female	53.8	54.6	49.7	49.1	51.3	51.4	49.2
Marital Status	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Single	10.6	7.9	24.7	25.6	20.7	20.2	31.8
Married	66.4	67.7	59.7	57.5	66.3	68.2	52.7
Divorced/Separated	12.4	12.6	11.8	12.4	11.3	9.2	13.2
Widowed	10.6	11.9	3.7	4.5	1.8	2.4	2.4
Nativity	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Native-born	56.2	52.5	75.2	70.7	84.2	84.8	83.7
Foreign born 0-5	2.8	2.7	3.1	3.8	1.6	0.9	2.5
Foreign-born 6-10	6.2	6.6	4.5	5.7	2.3	1.8	2.7
Foreign-born 11+	34.8	38.2	17.2	19.8	11.8	12.5	11.0
Ethnicity	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Israeli	15.2	12.4	30.0	27.5	34.3	33.7	39.0
Europe-America	44.8	46.4	36.4	39.6	29.2	30.1	29.6
Asia-Africa	40.0	41.3	33.6	32.9	36.5	36.2	31.4
Education	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
1-8 Years	17.5	19.3	7.6	9.1	5.0	4.4	4.9
High school no matriculation	18.1	19.0	13.2	13.0	14.9	13.6	12.6
High school with matriculation	16.5	15.5	21.5	20.6	23.8	21.2	27.4
Vocational	15.9	16.3	14.1	13.6	17.6	14.7	14.0
Baccalaureate degree	19.5	17.4	30.4	30.0	28.2	32.6	31.1
M.A. degree or higher	12.6	12.5	13.1	13.7	10.5	13.4	10.0
Employment Status (in 2003)	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Employee	57.8	55.8	68.0	67.5	66.6	71.5	66.0
Self-employed	8.5	8.9	6.7	5.5	12.4	8.5	6.9
Don't work	33.7	35.3	25.3	27.0	21.0	20.0	27.1
Income(in 2003)	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Income quintile I	20.0	18.3	27.6	27.9	26.4	25.5	31.2
Income quintile II	20.0	19.3	23.0	23.0	24.1	23.0	21.8
Income quintile III	20.0	20.1	19.4	19.1	20.8	20.4	18.0
Income quintile IV	20.0	20.9	15.8	15.4	15.8	16.9	16.3
Income quintile V	20.0	21.2	14.2	14.6	12.9	14.2	12.7

Table 3. Multinomial Logistic Regression (Odds Ratios) and Probabilities (B) of Five-Year Migration from Urban Locality to Rural Locality and Migration within Similar Types of Localities (Urban-to-Urban and Rural-to-Rural) vs. Migration from Rural Locality to Urban Locality on Individual Characteristics: Israeli Jews 2003-2008[a]

	Model 1				Model 2			
Independent Variables[b]	Urban-Rural/ Rural-Urban *(A)*		Same Locality/ Rural-Urban *(B)*		Urban-Rural/ Rural-Urban *(C)*		Same Locality/ Rural-Urban *(D)*	
	Odds Ratios (S.E.)	B	Odds Ratios (S.E.)	B	Odds Ratios (S.E.)	B	Odds Ratios (S.E.)	B
Age 25-34	0.816 (.225)	-.204	0.663* (.199)	-.411	0.791 (.226)	-.235	0.661* (.200)	-.413
Age 35-44	1.130 (.225)	.122	0.665* (.199)	-.409	1.114 (.225)	.108	0.653* (.200)	-.426
Age 45-64	0.858 (.223)	-.153	0.659* (.197)	-.418	0.857 (.224)	-.155	0.646* (.198)	-.437
Gender	1.028 (.053)	.028	0.958 (.048)	-.043	1.011 (.055)	.011	0.965 (.049)	-.035
Marital status single	0.621*** (.064)	-.477	0.923 (.056)	-.080	0.624*** (.065)	-.471	0.937 (.057)	-.065
Marital status divorced/ separated	0.522*** (.086)	-.650	0.737*** (.074)	-.306	0.522*** (.086)	-.649	0.740*** (.074)	-.301
Marital status widowed	0.748 (.264)	-.291	0.935 (.231)	-.067	0.753 (.264)	-.284	0.946 (.231)	-.056
Foreign born 0-5	0.415*** (.224)	-.879	1.451* (.172)	.372	0.413*** (.225)	-.885	1.480* (.173)	.392
Foreign-born 6-10	0.585** (.185)	-.536	1.848*** (.151)	.614	0.578** (.185)	-.548	1.856*** (.152)	.618
Foreign-born 11+	0.997 (.097)	-.003	1.598*** (.086)	.469	0.997 (.097)	-.003	1.603*** (.086)	.472
Ethnicity Europe-America	1.164* (.064)	.152	1.257*** (.058)	.229	1.157* (.064)	.146	1.250*** (.058)	.223
Ethnicity Asia-Africa	1.206* (.074)	.187	1.408*** (.066)	.342	1.204* (.074)	.186	1.403*** (.066)	.339
High school no matriculation	0.878 (.166)	-.130	0.684** (.146)	-.380	0.879 (.166)	-.130	0.678* (.146)	-.389
High school with matriculation	0.924 (.162)	-.080	0.672** (.142)	-.398	0.932 (.162)	-.070	0.665** (.143)	-.407
Vocational	0.912 (.164)	-.092	0.649** (.145)	-.433	0.922 (.624)	-.081	0.643** (.145)	-.442
Baccalaureate degree	0.972 (.158)	-.029	0.689** (.140)	-.372	0.993 (.159)	-.007	0.682** (.141)	-.383
M.A. degree or higher	1.167 (.168)	.154	0.855 (.149)	-.122	1.204 (.170)	.185	0.872 (.151)	-.137
Employment status- Self-employed	1.063 (.091)	.062	0.875 (.083)	-.133	1.045 (.091)	.044	0.868 (.083)	-.141
Migration status- Different district	0.951 (.053)	-.050	0.946 (.047)	-.055	0.953 (.053)	-.048	0.952 (.047)	-.049
Income quintile II	-	-	-	-	1.202*	.184	1.193**	.176

					(.073)		(.065)	
Income quintile III	-	-	-	-	1.197* -(.097)	.180	1.199** (.070)	.182
Income quintile IV	-	-	-	-	1.007 (.085)	.007	1.033 (.076)	.032
Income quintile V	-	-	-	-	1.005 (.099)	.005	1.172 (.088)	.159
Constant		1.215		2.927		1.154		2.837
(N)	28,807				28,807			
-2LL: Intercept only Final	9702.925 8824.854				17110.925 16211.107			
Pseudo R^2 (Nagelkerke)	3.9%				4.0%			

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

a) Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.

b) Reference categories are as follows: age – 65 years and over; gender – male; marital status-married; nativity – native-born Israelis; ethnicity – Israeli; education – less than high school graduation; employment status – employee; migration status-same district; income – lowest quintile (0-19.9%).

Appendix A.
Definitions and Summary Statistics for Analysis Variables

Variable	Definition	Mean
Dependent Variables		
Migration Status (*M*)		
Urban-Rural	=1 for five-year migration from urban locality to rural locality	.188
Rural-Urban	=0 for five-year migration from rural locality to urban locality (reference)	.071
Between Similar Types	=1 for five-year migration from urban-to-urban or from rural-to-rural localities	.741
Individual Characteristics		
Age (*A*)		
25-34	=1 for 25-34 years old	.534
35-44	=1 for 35-44 years old	.265
45-64	=1 for 45-64 years old	.172
65 and over	=0 for 65 years old+ (reference)	.003
Gender (*G*)		
Female	=1 for female	.515
Male	=0 for male (reference)	.485
Marital Status (*S*)		
Single	=1 for single persons	.241
Divorced/Separated	=1 for divorced or separated persons	.120
Widowed	=1 for widowed	.017
Married	=0 for married persons (reference)	.622
Years in Israel (*Y*)		
Foreign born 0-5 years in Israel	=1 for foreign-born with 5 or less years of residence in 2003	.025
Foreign-born 6-10 years in Israel	=1 for foreign-born with 6 to 10 years of residence in 2003	.041
Foreign-born 11+ years in Israel	=1 for foreign-born with 11+ years of residence in 2003	.149
Native-born Israelis	=0 for persons born in Israel (reference)	.785
Ethnicity (*E*)		
Ethnicity Europe-America	=1 for persons of European-American background	.349
Ethnicity Asia-Africa	=1 for persons of Asia-Africa background	.346
Ethnicity Israel-Israel	=0 for persons born in Israel whose fathers were also born in Israel (reference)	.305
Education (*D*)		
Less than high-school	=0 for less than high school (reference)	.042
High school no Matriculation	=1 for high school Graduation with no matriculation	.127

High school with matriculation	=1 for high school with matriculation exams	.195
Vocational	=1 for vocational studies	.146
Baccalaureate degree	=1 for B.A. diploma	.340
M.A. degree or higher	=1 for M.A. or higher diploma	.150
Working Status (*W*)		
Employee	=0 for employee (reference)	.911
Self-employed	=1 for self-employed	.089
Migration Distance (L)		
Intra-district migration	=0 for migration within same districts	.437
Inter-district migration	=1 for migration between districts	.563
Income (*I*)		
Income quintile I	=0 for lowest quintile (0-19.9%) (reference)	.276
Income quintile II	=1 for second quintile of income (20-39.9%)	.230
Income quintile III	=1 for third quintile of income (40-59.9%)	.194
Income quintile IV	=1 for forth quintile Of income (60-79.9%)	.158
Income quintile V	=1 for fifth quintile Of income (80-100%)	.142