
NEIGHBORHOODS & MOBILITY:
THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF DETROIT

The Detroit Area Jewish Population Study
Interim Report #4

Co-Principal Investigators:

Steven M. Cohen
Professor of Sociology, Queens College, CUNY

Jacob B. Ukeles
President, Ukeles Associates, Inc.
Adjunct Professor, Columbia University

Ukeles Associates Inc.

New York, NY

January 1991

PREFACE

This is one of a series of reports on the Jewish population of the Detroit area drawn from the findings of the Detroit Area Jewish Population Study. The analysis is based on data collected in the geographic core of the Jewish community, which includes 75,000 Jews living in 12 Oakland County suburbs. The total Jewish population within the tri-county area is an estimated 96,000. This report was prepared by Ukeles Associates Inc.

The Study, commissioned by the Jewish Welfare Federation of Detroit, was co-directed by Dr. Steven M. Cohen, Professor of Sociology at Queens College and Dr. Jacob B. Ukeles, President of Ukeles Associates, Inc. and Adjunct Professor of Public Affairs at Columbia University. The random sample survey of 1,100 interviews was conducted by the Market Opinion Research Corporation in late 1989.

The Demographic Study Committee of the Detroit Jewish Welfare Federation is chaired by Stuart E. Hertzberg. Lawrence M. Ziffer, Director of Planning and Agency Relations, and Patricia C. Becker, Technical Consultant, are the Federation professional staff.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

WHERE THE JEWS LIVE 2

WHAT TYPES OF JEWS LIVE WHERE? 10

WHICH FAMILIES HAVE MOVED 28

WHO IS LIKELY TO MOVE? 38

RESIDENTS' VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS . . . 42

CONCLUSIONS: POLICY IMPLICATIONS 46

APPENDIX A 50

APPENDIX B 51

APPENDIX C 52

LIST OF EXHIBITS

Exhibit 1:	The Location of the Jewish Community in the Tri-county Area	3
Exhibit 2:	Jewish Households and Jewish Population, in the core and outside the core the Periphery, 1989	4
Exhibit 3:	Location of Jewish Households, By Census Tract	6
Exhibit 4:	Number of Jewish Households, by Area	7
Exhibit 5:	Areas with the Largest Numbers of Jewish Households	8
Exhibit 6:	Jewish Households per Square Mile, by Census Tract	9
Exhibit 7:	Type of Family by Area	11
Exhibit 8:	Age of Jewish Individuals by Area	15
Exhibit 9:	Proportion of Individuals Age 50 and over, by area	16
Exhibit 10:	Household Income by Area	17
Exhibit 11:	Median Income by Area and Home Ownership	18
Exhibit 12:	Employment Status of Men and Women by Area	20
Exhibit 13:	Educational Attainment of Men and Women by Area	21
Exhibit 14:	Proportion with a College Degree, by Sex and Area	22
Exhibit 15:	Denomination by Area	24
Exhibit 16:	Home Ownership by Area	26
Exhibit 17:	Estimated Home Value by Area	27
Exhibit 18:	Years in Detroit and at Same Address by Area	29
Exhibit 19:	Movers* and Their Destination by Last Area of Residence, 4 or Fewer Years Ago	31
Exhibit 20:	Current Area by Last Area of Residence, 4 or Fewer Years Ago	32

Exhibit 21:	Sources of In-migration: Area of Residence 4 Years Ago for Movers* by Current Area . . .	34
Exhibit 22:	Relative Proportions in Area, 1985 and 1989	35
Exhibit 23:	Who Might Move: % Likely to Move by Selected Characteristics by Current Area	39
Exhibit 24:	Proportion Likely to Move, by Area	40
Exhibit 25:	Expectations of Neighborhood Change by Area	44
Exhibit 26:	Proportion Expecting Same Number or More Jewish Neighbors	45

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report examines the residence and mobility patterns of Jews in the Detroit area.

In 1990, the "core" of the community lies northwest of Detroit in the southern part of Oakland County. The core contains about 80% of the Jewish population of the Detroit area. While this reflects a substantial degree of concentration, more Jews live outside the core Jewish community than had been suspected.

By far, the largest number of Jewish households -- over 12,000 -- live in Southfield. West Bloomfield has more than 6,000 households; Oak Park about 5,000 Jewish households. The highest Jewish density is in Oak Park, with more than 1,000 Jewish households per square mile; in most of Bloomfield Township there are fewer than 250 Jewish households per square mile.

The balance of the discussion of findings includes a comparative analysis of the three largest areas of Jewish settlement: Southfield; Oak Park; and the outer suburbs -- West Bloomfield, Farmington Hills, Bloomfield Township, and Huntington Woods (15,000 households).

The outer suburbs are home to many more young families. Southfield contains many households beyond child-rearing years. Oak Park is home to rather large numbers of aging families and parents of school age children. The Jews of Southfield are the oldest, those in the outer suburbs the youngest, and those of Oak Park are split between relatively large number of younger and older adults.

The outer suburbs have the highest incomes, highest levels of educational attainment and greatest proportion of people working relative to the other two areas. Incomes are lower in Oak Park than in Southfield Both areas have many retirees.S.

Although most Orthodox Jews in Metropolitan Detroit live in Oak Park, Conservative Jews outnumber the Orthodox in Oak Park, and many Jews in Oak Park are "just Jewish." In Southfield, there are somewhat more Conservative Jews than Reform Jews. The outer suburbs are home to about as many Conservative as Reform Jewish families.

There are many renters in Southfield, some in Oak Park, and few in the outer suburbs. Home values in Southfield are somewhat higher than those in Oak Park, but the values in the outer suburbs are substantially higher than those in the two inner suburbs.

Based on the responses of people about where they lived four years ago compared with distribution shows some stability and some change. About one Jewish household in six lived in Oak Park four years ago -- the same proportion as now. Two out of five lived in the outer suburbs four years ago -- today, about half of the Jewish households do.

Although some Jewish households have continued to move into Southfield, many more have moved out. The net loss to Southfield totals about 1300 Jewish families per year, with a commensurate gain to the Jewish population in the outer suburbs.

Younger adults move more often than middle-aged or older adults. In Southfield and Oak Park the likelihood of moving falls off dramatically among those in their forties. In the outer suburbs, what may be called the "stability threshold" emerges ten years earlier, that is, among those in their mid-thirties.

Mobility rates are also highest among two youthful stages in the family life cycle: younger couples with no children and married couples whose oldest children are of pre-school age. Once children are in school, mobility rates drop considerably. Despite some movement to the sunbelt, overall, empty nest couples and the aging report the lowest rates of mobility.

Many more residents of Southfield say they will move than do residents of Oak Park or the outer suburbs.

On most measures for all three areas, most residents are optimistic about the future of their neighborhoods. On a relative basis, however, residents of the inner suburbs are less optimistic than those in the outer suburbs. Except for perceptions of the public schools, Southfield respondents are less optimistic than their Oak Park counterparts.

Those who think that their neighborhood will have fewer Jews in the future are more likely to be thinking of moving. Home owners are less likely to be thinking of moving than renters. This pattern is important for Southfield with its large numbers of renters. About half of the residents of Southfield do not expect the number of Jews to grow or hold steady -- compared with about one in three of the residents in Oak Park.

The substantial stakes of the community in Southfield argue for maintaining the communal commitment to the area, as well as that of Oak Park.

Community policy makers frequently divide the Jewish residential world into two categories, distinguishing the inner suburbs from the outer suburbs and thereby classifying Southfield and Oak Park together. We propose that for policy purposes,

leaders ought to begin to divide the core area of Jewish settlement into three distinct units, separating Southfield from Oak Park. The Jews of Oak Park and Southfield are different in many ways and the challenges to stability and continuity are sharply distinguished as well.

In the case of Oak Park, it would appear that the combination of natural forces and the Federation stabilization effort under the Neighborhood Project is bearing fruit. The continuation of the current program with careful monitoring of trends and results should be sufficient to maintain the quality of Jewish life.

One inference one can draw from the findings in this report is that the Jewish community of Southfield is at greater risk than that in Oak Park. This suggests that the policies and programs appropriate for Oak Park may not be appropriate for Southfield.

Stabilizing Southfield will require special efforts responsive in kind and scale to the specific situation. It probably will require a more ambitious program. It may require targeting efforts at particular neighborhoods within Southfield.

Before embarking on a more ambitious program, Jewish communal leadership needs to be clear in its own mind about the rationale for a greater commitment and the probability of success. With 12,000 Jewish households, the stakes are high; and the community needs to think long and hard before it decides not to make the effort.

INTRODUCTION

This report examines the Jewish community of Detroit in its spatial or geographic dimension. Its purpose is to present information likely to help the community plan for the future. The report focuses on the residence and mobility patterns of Jews in the heartland of the Jewish community -- south central Oakland County.

The analysis below explores how many Jews live in each geographic area, who lives in particular areas, their recent mobility patterns, and their intentions for the near future.

Are Oak Park and Southfield likely to remain large Jewish population centers in the foreseeable future? Alternatively, will the Jewish population dwindle in the coming years owing to migration from these two older suburbs to newer areas of Jewish settlement in West Bloomfield, Farmington Hills, Bloomfield Township and other "outer" suburbs? Is it wise and prudent for the Jewish Welfare Federation to invest communal funds in efforts to attract Jewish home buyers to Oak Park and Southfield?

These are some of the critical policy questions we shall seek to illuminate in this report. To be sure, we will not and cannot provide answers to policy questions. However, the analysis can enlighten the deliberations of Metropolitan Detroit's Jewish communal leaders regarding the potential impact of programs and policies designed to preserve the Jewish character of Oak Park and Southfield.

The presentation of the findings begins with a brief overview of the distribution of the Jews in the Detroit metropolitan area. This is followed by a description of the distribution of Jewish population within the "core". From a consideration of the numbers of Jews, the discussion moves to an analysis of their characteristics.

After presenting the characteristics of the current population in the three key regions of the core, we examine recent patterns of residential mobility, focusing on the number of recent movers, their origins, their destination, and their character. In other words, we ask: who has moved, from where, and to where? Next, we examine attitudes toward the neighborhoods and, specifically, concerns for different aspects of the quality of life in the future.

Then we examine the extent to which Jews say they are likely to move in the next few years. Here we also want to know the location of these Jews and their principal social characteristics; that is, we ask: who is likely to move.

Finally, we synthesize this information and address two

critical policy issues: First, to what extent are the Jewish communities of Oak Park and Southfield at risk? Second, are efforts to encourage and retain Jewish residence in these areas feasible, and if so, how might they be best conducted?

WHERE THE JEWS LIVE

From its very inception, the Jewish community of Detroit has been relatively concentrated. At any point in time, one could distinguish between the "core" of the community -- a relatively small area within which many Jews live; and the relatively large area within which relatively few Jews live. In 1990, the "core" of the community lies northwest of Detroit in the southern part of Oakland County. A map of the Detroit Area positioning the core is presented in Exhibit 1. The area outside of the "core" includes the remainder of the tri-county area -- relatively few Jews live here, and there are fewer Jewish institutions and activities.

The core contains about 80% of the Jewish population of the Detroit area (See Exhibit 2).* While this reflects a substantial degree of concentration, more Jews live outside the core Jewish community than had been suspected -- about 10,000 households.

The census tract is an area defined by the United States Census Bureau for the collection and analysis of population data. In defining these areas of contiguous blocks, the Census takes into account natural and manmade barriers. There are 55 census tracts within the core area.

The geographic distribution of Jews by census tract is shown in the map in Exhibit 3. The darker the shading, the greater the number of Jews in the tract. An examination of the map reveals that even within the core, there are some areas that are heavily Jewish and others that are not. Eleven tracts contain more than 1,000 Jewish households; thirteen tracts contain 500 to 1,000 Jewish households. These 24 tracts include 24,600 households or over 70% of the Jewish households in the core area.

* Our Estimate of the number of Jews living in the "core" is equivalent to that derived for the random sample survey's "dialing region" (see the report on "Methods"). In point of fact, the dialing region closely approximates but is not identical to the geographic core.

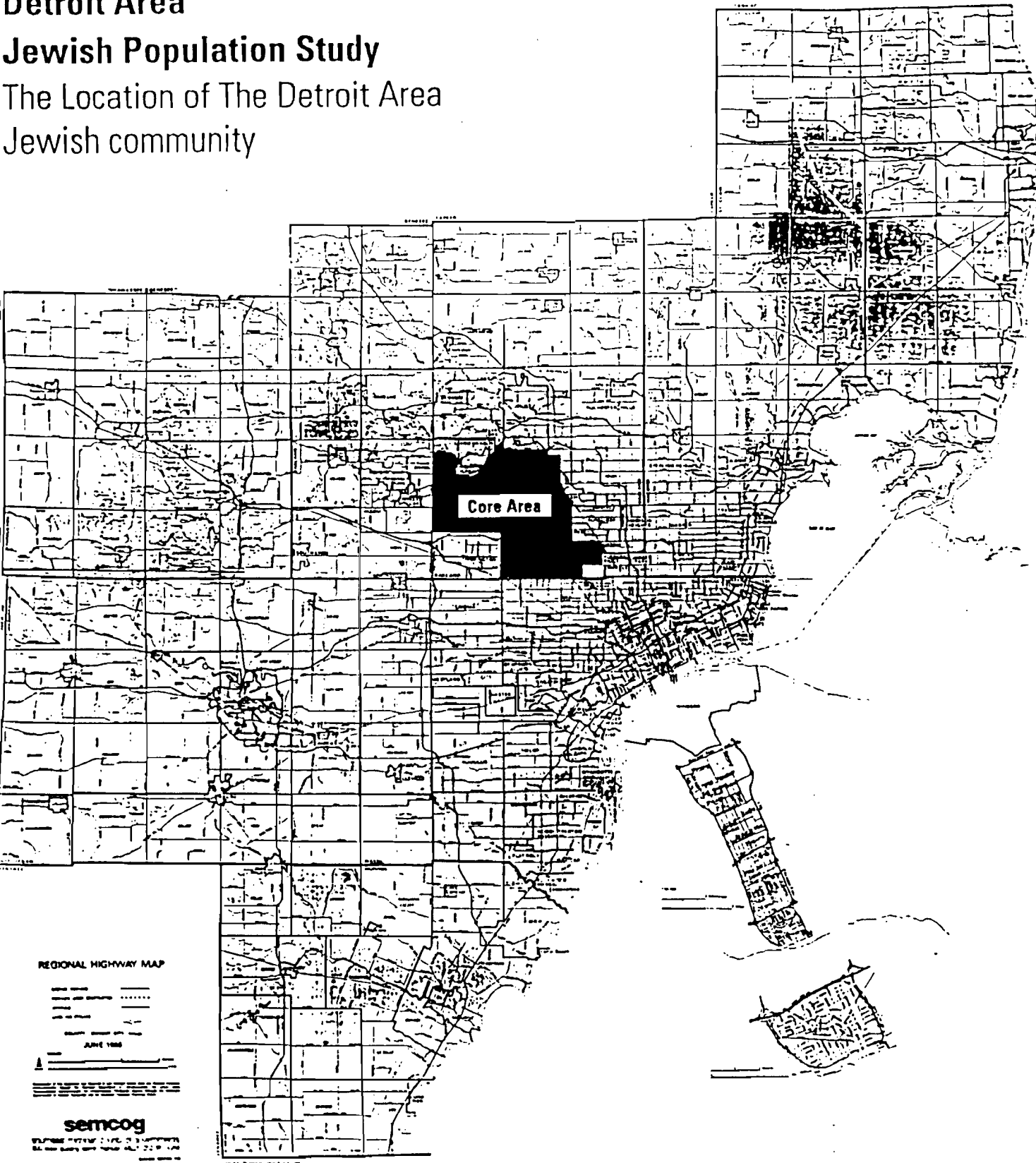
Tri-County Map

Detroit Area

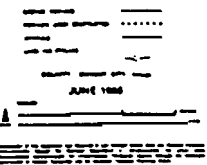
Jewish Population Study

The Location of The Detroit Area

Jewish community



REGIONAL HIGHWAY MAP



semcog

SEMI-PUBLIC EMPLOYERS' MUTUAL COOPERATIVE
15000 WOODLAND AVENUE, DETROIT, MI 48204

Exhibit 2: Jewish Households and Jewish Population, in the core and outside the core the Periphery, 1989

	TOTAL		IN THE CORE		ON THE PERIPHERY	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS	42,502	100%	34,533	81%	7,969	19%
JEWISH POPULATION	95,966	100%	80,254	84%	15,712	16%

In general, these tracts, containing most of the Jewish households, create a "spine" of the Jewish community running in a northwesterly direction from Oak Park, through Southfield to West Bloomfield.

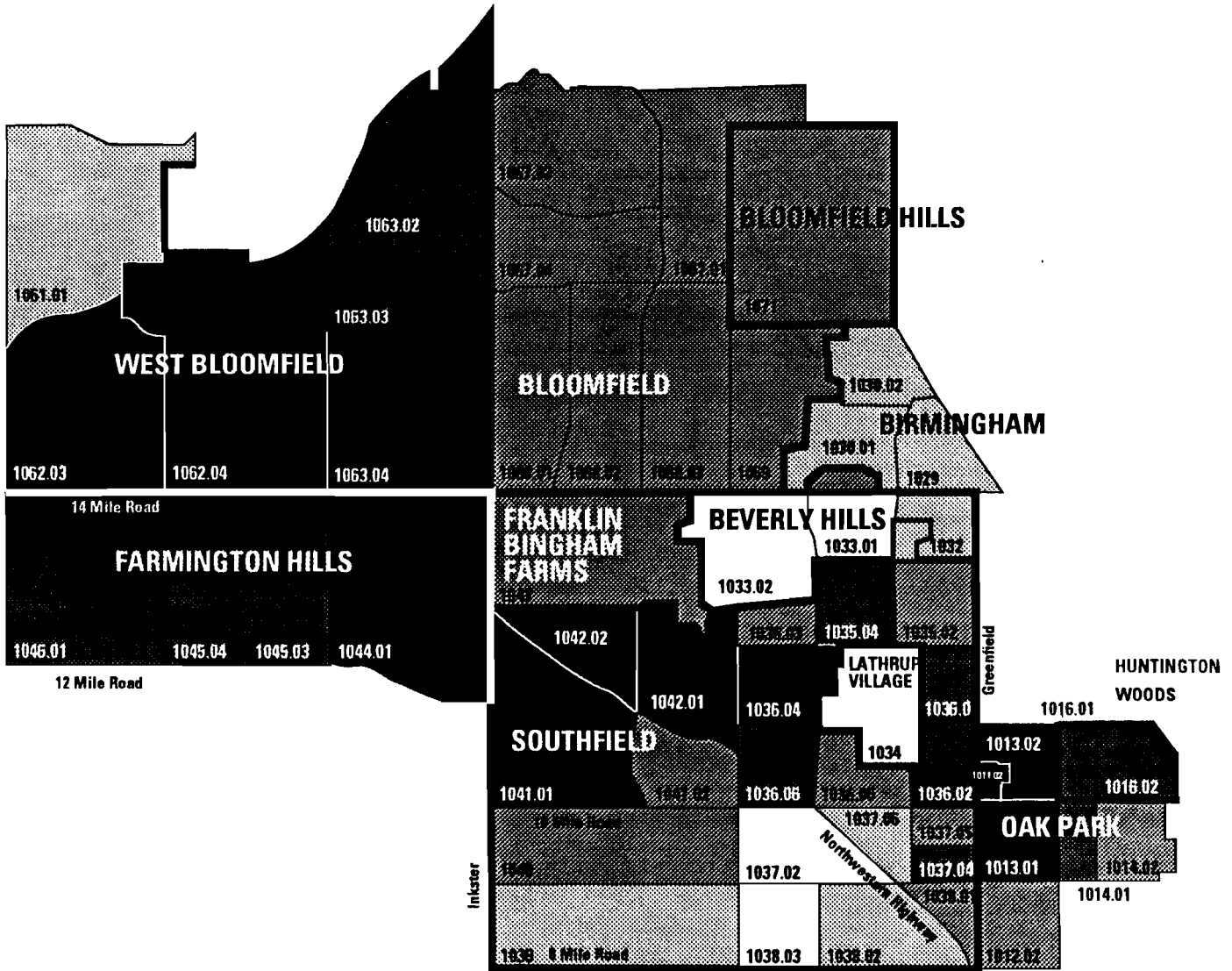
While the census tract is a useful geographic unit for analysis purposes, it is too small a unit for planning purposes; nor is the tract particularly meaningful to residents or community leaders. Almost no one knows their census tract the way they know their neighborhood or town. The table in Exhibit 4 combines the census tract information by larger areas. By far, the largest number of Jewish households -- 12,600 -- live in Southfield. West Bloomfield has about 6,400 households; Oak Park about 5,000 Jewish households.

Another way to look at the core area is in terms of population density, or, in other words, the number of Jewish households per square mile. The Census Bureau tries to draw census tracts so that they are roughly equal in population. Thus higher density, older areas have smaller tracts, newer areas with fewer houses per acre have larger tracts. Density is important in planning facilities that have a relatively small service area -- such as day care or orthodox synagogues. Exhibit 6 is a map of Jewish density. This map too shows that Jewish density varies a great deal within the core. In most of Oak Park there are more than 1,000 Jewish households per square mile; in most of Bloomfield Township there are fewer than 250 Jewish households per square mile.

In summary, from the point of view of numbers, Southfield is by far the most important Jewish area in the Detroit Jewish community in 1990; from the point of view of density, Oak Park is. But for planning purposes, much more needs to be known about the community than sheer numbers at one point in time. The next part of this report focuses on the differences and similarities among the people who live in these different localities.

Detroit Area Jewish Population Study

The Core: Number of Jewish Households



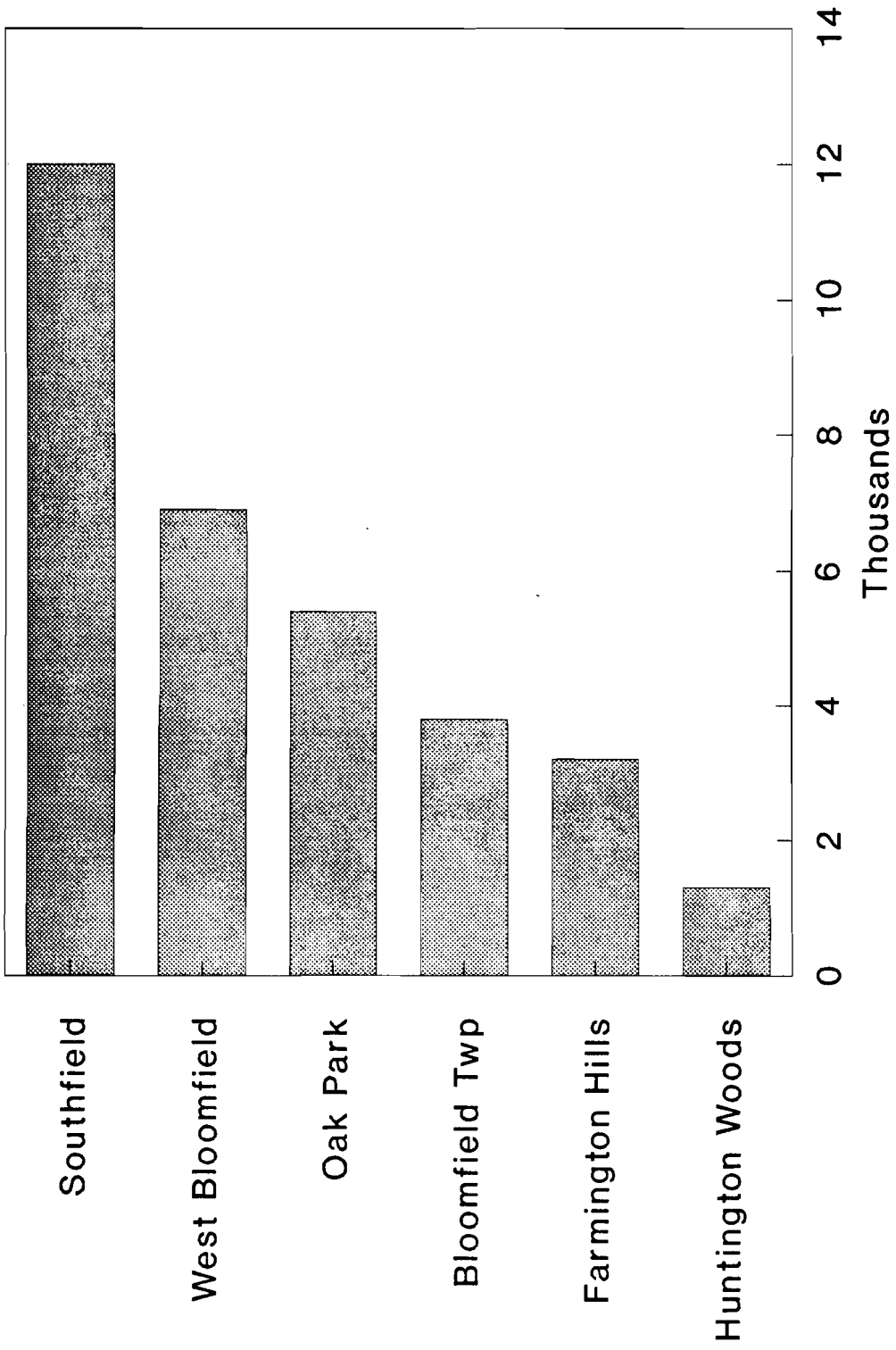
Fewer than 100 households per census tract
 100 to 240 households per census tract
 250 to 490 households per census tract
 500 to 990 households per census tract
 More than 1000 households per census tract

JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION OF DETROIT
 Prepared by Ukeles Associates Inc.

Exhibit 4: Number of Jewish Households, by Area

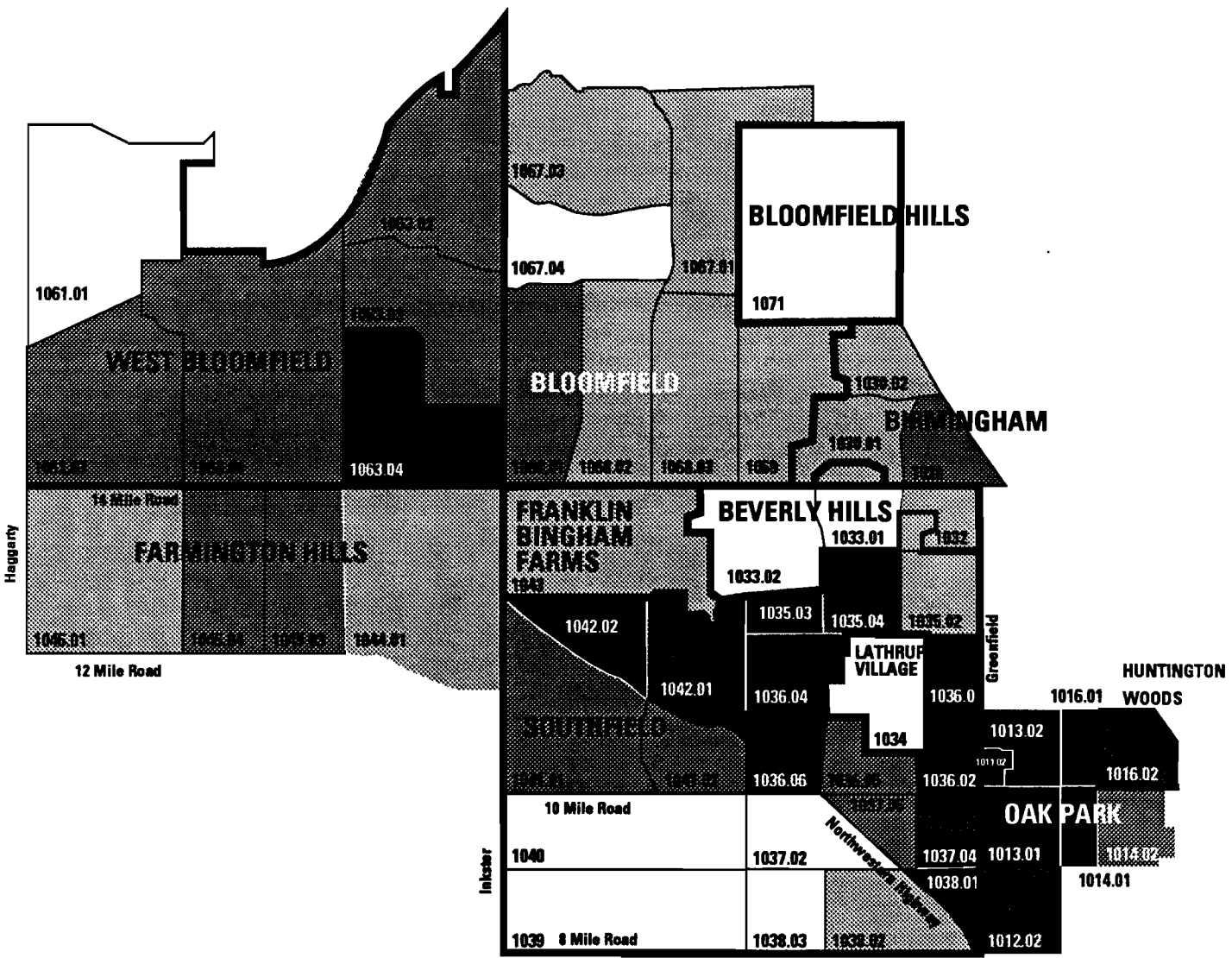
AREA	HOUSEHOLDS
Southfield	12,600
West Bloomfield	6,400
Oak Park	5,000
Bloomfield Township	3,900
Farmington Hills	3,200
Huntington Woods	1,500
Other Areas of the core	1,900
Total	34,500

Exhibit 5: Areas with the Largest Numbers of Jewish Households



Detroit Area Jewish Population Study

The Core: Number of Jewish Households Per Square Mile



Fewer than 100 households per square mile in a census tract
 100 to 240 households per square mile in a census tract
 250 to 490 households per square mile in a census tract
 500 to 990 households per square mile in a census tract
 More than 1000 households per square mile in a census tract

JEWISH WELFARE FEDERATION OF DETROIT
 Prepared by Ukeles Associates Inc.

WHAT TYPES OF JEWS LIVE WHERE?

The balance of the discussion of findings includes a comparative analysis of the three largest areas of Jewish settlement: Southfield (12,600 households), Oak Park (5,000 households) and the outer suburbs -- West Bloomfield, Farmington Hills, Bloomfield Township, and Huntington Woods (15,000 households).¹

The characteristics of the population in each of these areas ought to give us some inkling as to its stability and to the particular area's potential for retaining long-term residents and attracting newcomers.

Southfield -- Home to Many Empty Nesters and Aging Families.

The different suburban areas are home to very different sorts of families. This point is amply demonstrated in Exhibit 7, where households are classified into six categories, as defined below:

Definitions of Household Types

Young, no children: young households, with the older head of household being under 45, married or single, no children in the household.

Two parents: households with two parents and children.

Single Parent: Households with a single parent with one child of any age.

Empty Nest: Households where the head of household is 45 to 64 and there are no children in the household. A few of the people in this group have never married. Most are people whose children have grown and left the nest, hence the name.

Older Persons: Households with persons 65 years and older.²

¹Throughout our analysis we classify Huntington Woods with the "outer suburbs." Although this neighborhood borders Oak Park and is quite distant from West Bloomfield, the center of the outer suburbs' Jewish population, the income, housing, and life style of Jews of Huntington Woods resembles that of Jews in the outer suburbs far more than that of the Jews of Oak Park or Southfield.

²In the report on Jewish Communal Services, 70 years of age was used as the more appropriate definition of "older persons"; in this report, 65 years is used to define "older persons", because a retirement decision is sometimes linked with a mobility decision.

Exhibit 7: Type of Family by Area

TYPE	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OUTER SUBURBS
OLDER PERSONS	31	28	14
EMPTY NEST	19	27	25
SINGLE PARENT	5	7	5
SCHOOL-AGE PARENTS	30	22	31
PARENTS OF PRE-SCHOOL	6	5	9
NO YOUNG CHILDREN	9	12	17
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Note: Figures represent percent of households, not individuals.

Both Southfield and Oak Park have proportionally twice as many older households as do the outer suburbs. Empty nest families are most frequent in Southfield, almost as frequent in the outer suburbs, and least frequent in Oak Park.

The proportion of families comprised of parents with school-age children is lowest in Southfield. The distribution of pre-school parent families even more clearly points to the youthfulness of the outer suburbs. Proportionally, twice as many households in the outer suburbs are pre-school parents as are those in Oak Park or Southfield. Moreover, the two older communities also trail the outer suburbs in the fraction of households classified as "Young, No Children."

Taken together, these distributions suggest distinct patterns to each of the three areas. The outer suburbs are home to many more young families. Southfield contains many households beyond child-rearing years. Oak Park is home to rather large numbers of aging families and parents of school age children.

An Older Population in Southfield, and Younger in the Outer Suburbs.

The age distribution of a particular area's Jewish population is critical to understanding and predicting its stability. As we demonstrate in greater detail later in this report, the likelihood of moving varies dramatically by age. Like younger Americans generally, younger Jewish adults in the Detroit area are especially likely to move. Couples with school-age children are generally more reluctant than others to uproot their families -- fearing the disruption of their children's ties to schools and friends.

The age distributions of Oak Park, Southfield and the outer suburbs vary considerably (Exhibit 8). The Jews of Southfield are the oldest, those in the outer suburbs the youngest, and those of Oak Park are intermediate. The contrasts between Southfield and the outer suburbs are most striking. Whereas almost a quarter of Southfield Jews are 65 or over, just 11% of those living in the outer suburbs are as old. Whereas just 19% of Southfield Jews are children and teenagers (under age 18), as many as 28% of the Jews in the outer suburbs are as young. The contrast in the proportion of adults in the key parenting years (age 35-49) is also striking: just 19% in Southfield versus 30% in the outer suburbs. Overall, the median age in Southfield is

46 as compared with 38 in the outer suburbs. In short, Southfield is home to a relatively aging population while the outer suburbs contain a large number of children and their parents.

The age distribution in the outer suburbs is weighted at the younger end of the spectrum, and that in Southfield shades toward the older end. The age range in Oak Park is more diverse and heterogeneous. Like the outer suburbs, Oak Park has a large number of children and a younger median age (38). But not only is there a relatively large proportion of children in Oak Park (as in the outer suburbs), there is also a large number of older individuals (as in Southfield). A fifth of Oak Park Jews are age 65 and over. Compared with the other two regions, Oak Park is home to few middle-age Jews. In short, in comparative terms, Jews in the outer suburbs are younger, those in Southfield are older, and those in Oak Park are split between relatively large number of younger and older adults.

When residents of the three geographic areas are further sub-divided into home owners and renters, certain important differences emerge. In the outer suburbs, the age profiles of owners and renters largely resemble one another. In Oak Park, renters are significantly more likely than owners to exceed 65 years of age. In Southfield, the age differences between owners and renters are the sharpest. While only a fifth of the owners are 65 or over, over half the renters are as old. At the other end of the age spectrum, of those living in homes they own, over a fifth are children; of the renters, hardly any (6%) are children. Clearly, rental units in Southfield contain a large number of elderly and very few children.

One reason the renters of Southfield are, as a group, less likely to move than would otherwise be anticipated is that so many of them are elderly. However, the age of this population also increases the likelihood that natural mortality will diminish the number of Jewish renters in Southfield in the coming decade.

Larger Household Size in the Outer Suburbs.

Jewish households in the outer suburbs contain an average of 2.4 Jews, as opposed to 2.3 in Oak Park and 2.2 in Southfield -- consistent with the age and life cycle comparisons reported previously. Total household size (a figure that includes both Jews and non-Jews) ranges from 2.7 in the outer suburbs to 2.35

in Southfield, owing to the higher rates of mixed marriage in the outer suburbs. Only 8% of the individuals living in Jewish households in Oak Park or 7% of those in Southfield households are Gentiles; compared with 11% in the outer suburbs.

Higher Incomes in the Outer Suburbs, Lower in Oak Park, and in the Middle in Southfield.

The survey asked respondents to report their annual household income. Over three quarters responded. We estimated incomes of the non-respondents using an equation that factored in reports of home value, age, and education.

Jews in the outer suburbs have far higher incomes than those elsewhere; those in Oak Park report lower incomes; and those in Southfield tend to have incomes in the intermediate range (Exhibit 10). Almost half of the Oak Park Jewish households have lower incomes (under \$30,000), as compared with a third of those in Southfield and just 11% in the outer suburbs. Only 4% of Oak Park families have higher incomes (\$80,000 and over), as compared with 45% in the outer suburbs.

As we shall see, the current income distributions are particularly important because they help determine the socio-economic status of each area. The outer suburbs are particularly attractive to higher-income families, while Oak Park is the frequent destination of lower income families.

Exhibit 8: Age of Jewish Individuals by Area

AGE	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OUTER SUBURBS
65+	22	31	12
50 - 64	14	23	20
35 - 49	21	16	28
18 - 34	15	13	12
0 - 17	28	16	28
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

	OAK PARK		SOUTHFIELD		OUTER SUBURBS	
	OWNER	RENTER	OWNER	RENTER	OWNER	RENTER
65+	20	31	20	55	29	26
50 - 64	16	3	26	17	11	20
35 - 49	20	25	18	13	29	14
18 - 34	15	16	15	11	20	30
0 - 17	29	25	21	6	11	10
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Exhibit 9: Proportion of Individuals Age 50 and over by Area

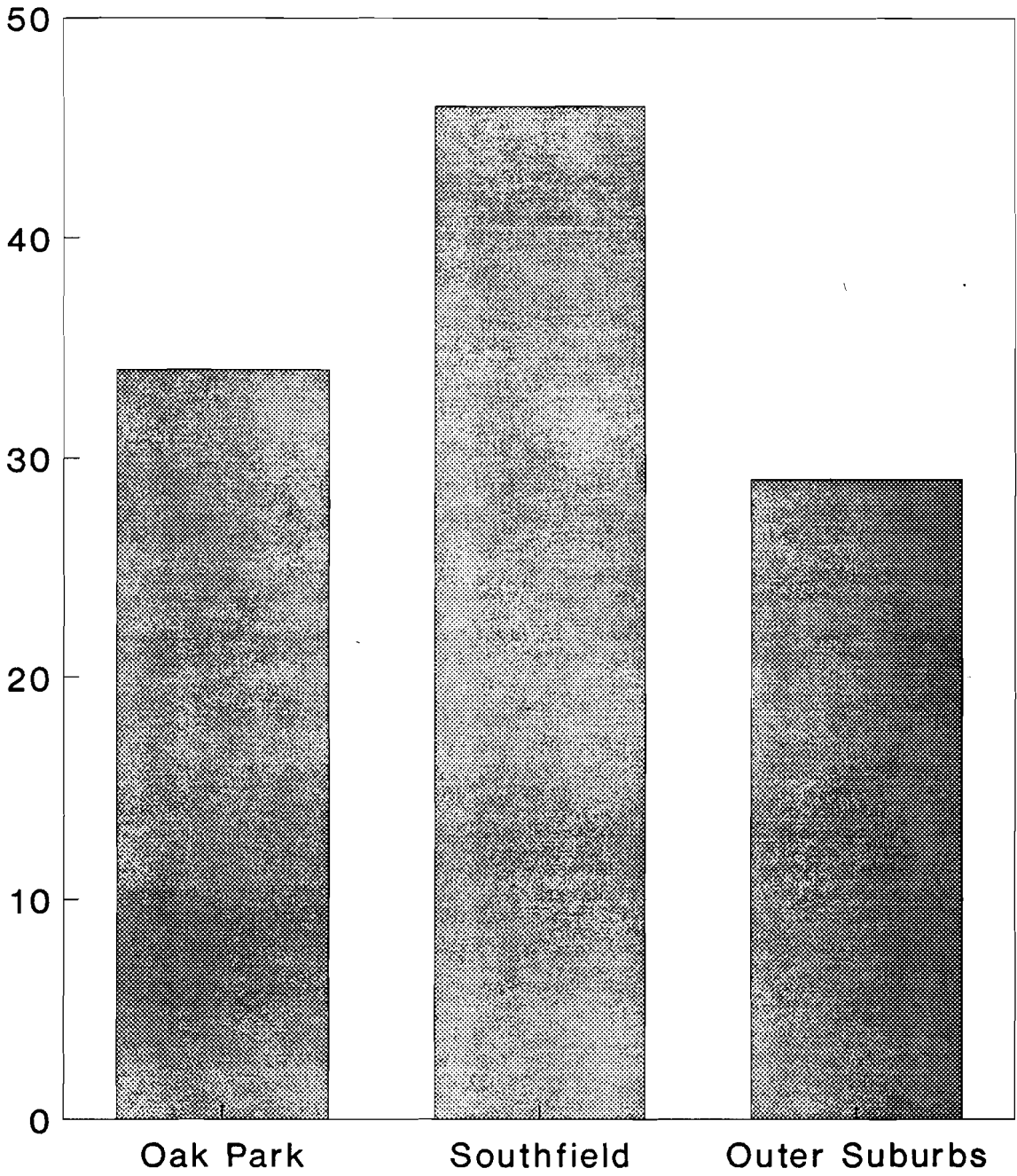
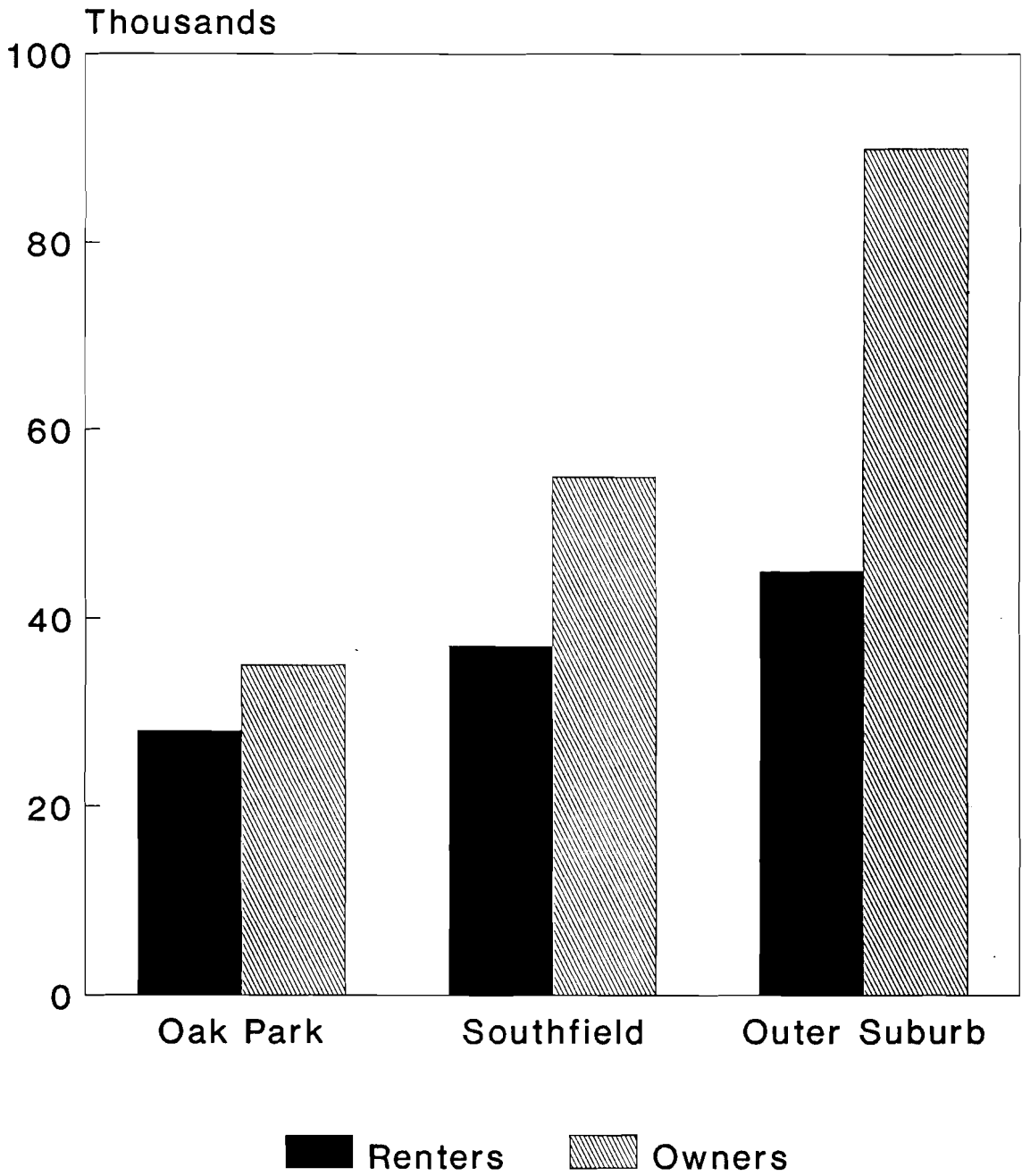


Exhibit 10: Household Income by Area

INCOME	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD		OUTER SUBURBS
		RENTERS	OWNERS	
\$80,000 +	4	4	28	45
\$50-79,999	17	24	31	26
\$30-49,999	34	33	24	18
LESS THAN \$30,000	45	40	17	11
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Exhibit 11: Median Income by Area and Home Ownership



More Retirees in Southfield and Oak Park.

Consistent with the larger number of older individuals and lower-income families in the inner suburbs, the proportions of retired men and women are higher in Oak Park and Southfield than the outer suburbs (Exhibit 11). In the outer suburbs, few men and women are retired. More men and women are retired in Oak Park, and even more in Southfield. In contrast, more men are employed full-time in the outer suburbs than each of the inner suburbs.

More women living in the outer suburbs are employed full-time or part-time than those living in Oak Park or Southfield.

The differences in retirement rates and employment rates are consistent with the higher incomes found in the outer suburbs compared with Oak Park and Southfield.

Higher Educational Attainment in the Outer Suburbs.

Higher income in the population of the outer suburban is associated with higher levels of secular education (Exhibit 11). Be it among men or women, Jews living in the outer suburbs report higher levels of education than those in Southfield who in turn have more secular education than those in Oak Park. More men and women who live in the outer suburbs have a college degree than do those who live in Southfield; more Southfield residents have a college degree than those who live in Oak Park.

Education is one of the determinants of life-style. More than income, education influences the many features of a neighborhood and its residents that determine to whom it will be attractive. These include tastes in clothes, food, architecture, and furniture; political attitudes; sexual mores; approaches to child-rearing; and leisure time activities.

Denominational Distributions -- Three Distinct Patterns.

The survey contained a rich array of questions on Jewish identification and involvement.³ In this report, we use

³For a full analysis of these data, see From Outreach to Enrichment: Jewish Identity and Affiliation in Metropolitan Detroit.

Exhibit 12: Employment Status of Men and Women by Area

STATUS	MEN			WOMEN		
	OAK PARK	SOUTH FIELD	OUTER SUBURB	OAK PARK	SOUTH FIELD	OUTER SUBURB
FULL-TIME	66	69	85	33	32	39
PART-TIME	7	5	3	18	14	23
RETIRED	20	25	10	17	27	10
OTHER	7	2	2	33	26	29
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

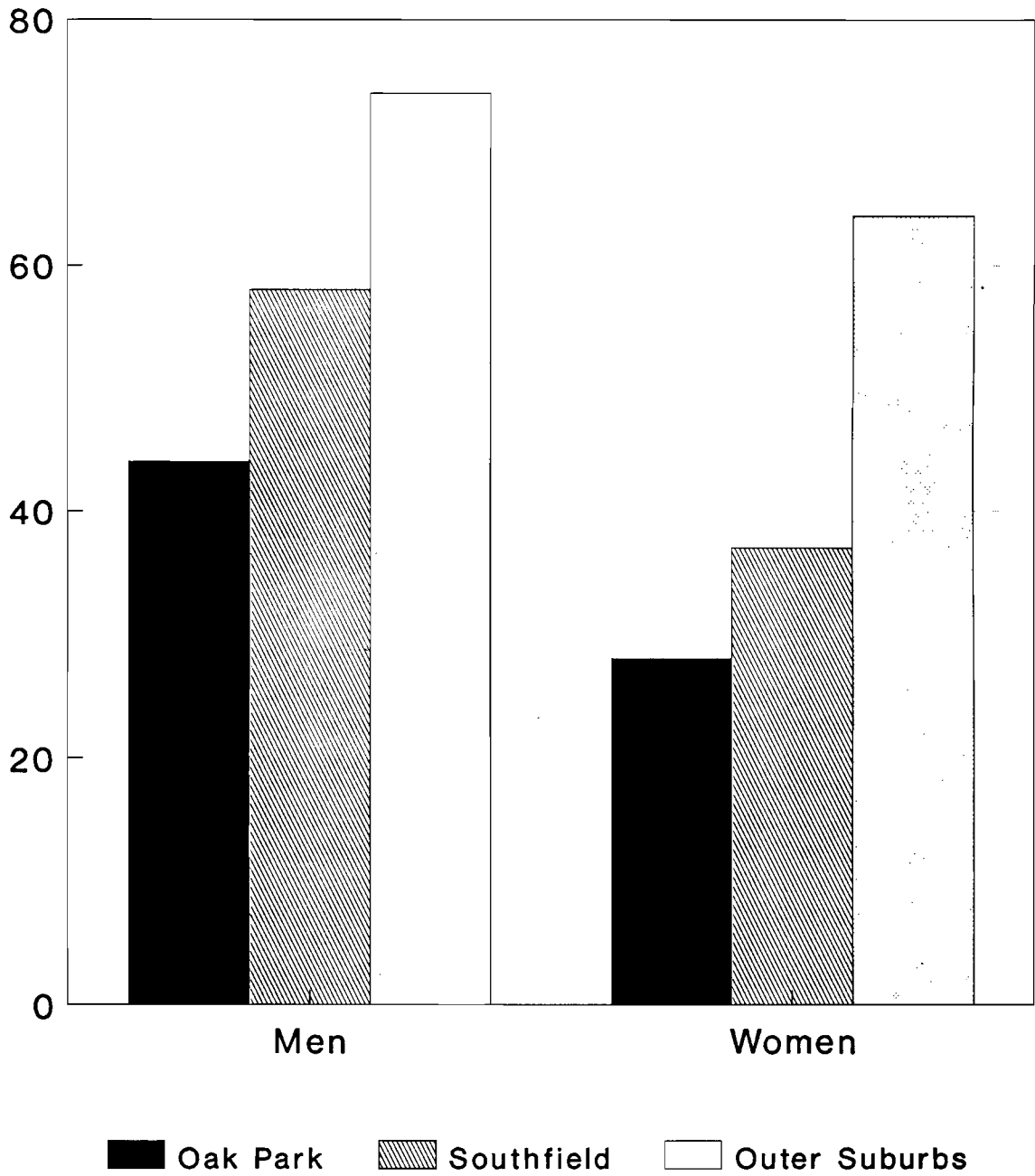
Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Exhibit 13: Educational Attainment of Men and Women by Area

STATUS	MEN			WOMEN		
	OAK PARK	SOUTH FIELD	OUTER SUBURB	OAK PARK	SOUTH FIELD	OUTER SUBURB
GRAD DEGREE	26	32	41	5	12	28
B.A.	18	26	33	23	25	36
SOME COLLEGE	20	21	14	24	24	18
HIGH SCHOOL	36	21	13	45	39	18
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Exhibit 14: Proportion with a College Degree, by Sex and Area



denominational affiliation to characterize the three regions in very broad terms. Knowing whether people identify themselves as Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Humanist or Just Jewish is helpful in predicting other features of their Jewish identity.

We asked respondents to name the denomination with which they identify. Since only about half the respondents claim membership in a temple or synagogue, and since almost all identify with a denomination, it is clear that denominational identification is not always a matter of institutional affiliation.⁴

Although each suburban area is dominated by two of the denominations, the balance between denominations shifts markedly from one area to another (Exhibit 13). Oak Park is largely Conservative with a sizable Orthodox contingent; Southfield has more Conservative Jews than Reform; the outer suburbs are almost evenly split between Reform and Conservative households.

These population patterns may be compared with the location of synagogues and temples. Most Orthodox synagogues in the Detroit area are located in Oak Park; the Conservative congregations are about evenly divided between the outer and inner suburbs; and all the Reform temples except one (Temple Emanu-El in Oak Park) are found in the outer suburbs. At the same time, the distribution of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform families is more widespread than the congregational map would seem to indicate.

In particular, there are far more Reform Jews in Southfield and more Conservative Jews in Oak Park than an observer might suspect based on the location of synagogues and temples. The large number of Orthodox institutions in Oak Park may lead many to picture the community's Jewish population as largely Orthodox. Although most Orthodox Jews in Metropolitan Detroit live in Oak Park, Conservative Jews outnumber the Orthodox in Oak Park, and many Jews in Oak Park are "just Jewish." Similarly, the absence of any Reform temple in Southfield may serve to diminish the visibility of the strikingly large Reform population in Southfield. Finally, since so many Reform temples are found in Farmington Hills, West Bloomfield, and Bloomfield Township, many observers may lose sight of the fact that these outer suburbs are home to about as many Conservative as Reform Jewish families.

⁴We re-categorized such infrequent responses as Reconstructionist, Traditional, Reform-Conservative, replacing them, where possible, with the denomination of the respondent's synagogue or temple.

Exhibit 15: Denomination by Area

DENOMINATION	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OUTER SUBURBS
ORTHODOX	24	6	2
CONSERVATIVE	44	45	38
REFORM	12	36	39
SECULAR OR HUMANIST	3	4	8
JUST JEWISH	17	9	12
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Many Renters in Southfield, Some in Oak Park, Few Elsewhere.

As we document in the next major section of this report, renters are far more likely to move than homeowners. As a consequence, the geographic distribution of owners and renters is important in assessing the potential stability of the population in different areas.

Among households in the outer suburbs, 16% are renters; in Oak Park, many more (28%) rent their homes or apartments; in Southfield, the figure is even higher (Exhibit 14). There, as many as 42% rent, while just 50% own homes and 8% own condominiums.

Higher Property Values in the Outer Suburbs, Lowest in Oak Park.

The distribution of home values in a particular area is significant in several respects. High values indicate that an area is particularly appealing to recent movers at the upper end of the income scale. On the other hand, high values serve as a barrier to those with limited financial means. Obviously, only the presence of affordable, moderately priced housing can attract the less affluent.

We asked respondents who are homeowners to estimate the value of their homes. In Exhibit 15, renters are grouped with those living in homes whose estimated values are \$100,000 or less. The results indicate that home values in Southfield are somewhat higher than those in Oak Park, but that the values in the outer suburbs are substantially higher than those in the two inner suburbs. Thus, in Oak Park, almost all of the Jewish families are renters or living in homes valued at under \$100,000. Southfield contains a small number of somewhat more valuable homes; most residents are renters or live in homes valued at less than \$100,000. Only about a third of the Jewish households in the outer suburbs live in such homes. In fact, the median value of Jews' homes in the outer suburbs (assigning a value of less than \$100,000 to renters) is about \$140,000. Whereas none of the Oak Park or Southfield residents valued their homes in excess of \$200,000, over a quarter of the Jewish families in the outer suburbs believe their homes are that valuable.

Exhibit 16: Home Ownership by Area

	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OUTER SUBURBS
OWN HOME	74	50	68
OWN CONDO	2	8	15
RENT	24	42	17
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Exhibit 17: Estimated Home Value by Area

	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OUTER SUBURBS
\$200,000+	*	*	33
\$150,000 - \$199,000	*	3	19
\$100,000 - \$149,999	2	16	18
\$0 - \$99,000	74	34	10
RENT	25	47	20
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

NOTE: * 1% or less

WHICH FAMILIES HAVE MOVED

In this section we examine which Jewish families have moved in the last few years. We ask how many have moved, from where did they come, and where did they go. We also examine the socio-demographic character of movers generally and of movers from one area to another. We want to learn which type of people move, and more specifically, which type of people move from one area to another. One reason this information is useful is that recent patterns of mobility probably resemble mobility patterns in the near future.

More Life-long Residents in Oak Park and Southfield.

Most respondents in the study region have lived in the Detroit area all their lives (or at least 30 years); about a fifth of the families have come to the region in the last 20 years (Exhibit 17). The extent to which the heads of families (i.e., the respondents) have been living in Metropolitan Detroit varies only a little by area. Oak Park, Southfield, and the outer suburbs each contain large proportions of long-term or life-long residents. The great stability of the Jewish community of the Detroit area is an important building block for the future.

Although most Jewish families now in the tri-county area have been in the region for most, if not all, of their lives, about half have changed addresses within the last ten years. Moreover, the extent to which recent movers (those who have moved within the last four years) have taken up residence in the different suburbs varies appreciably. A third of Oak Park residents have lived at the same address for twenty years or more, as compared with less than a quarter of Southfield Jewish adults, and just 11% of those in the outer suburbs. On the other hand, Oak Park and Southfield have a smaller number of recent movers than the outer suburbs.

The outer suburbs are certainly attracting a greater share of movers in recent years. However, this observation should not obscure the fact that large number of movers still make their homes in Oak Park and Southfield. As many as one out of four Jewish families in Oak Park and three out of ten of those in Southfield have lived in their homes less than five years. These figures indicate that both areas -- Oak Park and Southfield -- currently attract sizable numbers of Jews looking for a new place to live.

Exhibit 18: Years in Detroit and at Same Address by Area

IN DETROIT	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OUTER SUBURBS
ALWAYS OR 30+ YEARS	55	56	62
20-29 YEARS	29	26	17
LESS THAN 20 YEARS	16	19	22
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%
AT ADDRESS			
20+ YEARS	33	23	11
10-19 YEARS	27	31	26
5-9 YEARS	15	16	19
LESS THAN 5 YEARS	26	30	44
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Southfield Produces More Movers; Most Movers Choose the Outer Suburbs.

In recent years, more Jews who have been living in Southfield have decided to move than those living elsewhere (Exhibit 18). Of those whose prior address was in Southfield four or fewer years ago, over a third have moved in the last four years. In contrast, only about one fifth of those whose last address was in the outer suburbs or Oak Park have moved in the last four years. Clearly, Southfield has been generating a large amount of movers, proportionally almost twice as much per capita as other areas in the region.

Where do movers go? Almost all those who live in the outer suburbs remain in one of the outer suburbs. Movers with origins in Southfield divide almost equally between Southfield and the outer suburbs. Recent movers from Oak Park divided into three streams. Almost half have moved to the outer suburbs; about a third have remained in Oak Park; and almost a quarter moved to nearby Southfield. Of those who have come to the region in the last four years from outside Metropolitan Detroit, nearly two thirds have come to the outer suburbs, just a quarter have settled in Southfield, and a very small number (11%) moved to Oak Park.

To put matters simply: almost all movers who start in the outer suburbs remain in the outer suburbs, almost half the movers who start in the inner suburbs move to the outer suburbs.

By cross-classifying current area of residence by last area of residence, as of four or fewer years ago, we can examine the net impact of recent mobility patterns (see Exhibit 19). Almost everyone who was living in the outer suburbs approximately four years ago continues to do so. In contrast, 86% of the Oak Park residents remain in their community, and 80% of the Southfield families continue to live within Southfield.⁵

⁵All three retention rates -- the extent to which communities retain residents over time -- are artificially high. We have no direct information on those who have departed the metropolitan area entirely; we can trace the movement of only those who have remained within the core area of Jewish settlement. Thus, when we say that 80% of Southfield residents four years ago remain in Southfield, we are referring only to those who have stayed within the survey region, and not to those who may have left the area for the Sunbelt and elsewhere.

Exhibit 19: Movers* and Their Destination by Last Area of Residence, 4 or Fewer Years Ago

	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OUTER SUBURBS	OTHER**
% OF MOVERS	20	35	18	100
DESTINATION OF MOVERS				
OAK PARK	32	11	0	11
SOUTHFIELD	23	41	14	25
OUTER SUBURBS	46	48	86	64
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

NOTES: * Movers have been at this address less than 5 years

** Other movers have come from outside the core area.

Exhibit 20: Current Area by Last Area of Residence, 4 or Fewer Years Ago

CURRENT AREA	LAST AREA			
	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OUTER SUBURBS	OTHER*
OAK PARK	86	4	**	11
SOUTHFIELD	5	80	2	25
OTHER	9	17	98	64
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

NOTES: * Others have come from outside the core area.
 ** 1% or less

Sources of Migration.

Substantial numbers of movers continue to take up residence in these areas. Understanding who moves to each of the areas may well be vital to developing a strategy to attract residents to the two inner suburbs.

Exhibit 20 reports the origins of those who have moved within the last four years. Among the recent movers who now live in Oak Park, about a quarter last lived at an Oak Park address; about four in ten came from Southfield; and about a third came from other locations including Detroit and elsewhere in Michigan. Most recent movers who now live in Southfield last lived in Southfield. About a quarter came from outside the Detroit metropolitan area and very few came from nearby communities. Recent movers now residing in the outer suburbs came in almost equal numbers from three sources: Southfield, the outer suburbs themselves, and parts of Michigan outside the core area of Jewish settlement.

Net Shrinkage in Southfield, Expansion in Outer Suburbs.

About four years ago, 17% of the Jewish families in the survey region lived in Oak Park, 44% lived in Southfield, and 39% lived in the outer suburbs (Exhibit 21). Comparing these figures with the current population distribution shows some marked changes. Oak Park's share of the core area's Jewish population is about the same (16%). Southfield now accounts for 35% of the population (a drop of nine points), and the outer suburbs includes 49% (growth of ten percentage points). These are signs of a significant population transfer from Southfield to the outer suburbs.

Although some Jewish households have continued to move into Southfield, many more have moved out. The net loss to Southfield totals about 1300 Jewish families per year, with a commensurate gain to the Jewish population in the outer suburbs. Previous behavior is no guarantee of future mobility; but the data indicate that the migration from Southfield to areas to the north, west, and northwest appears to be continuing.

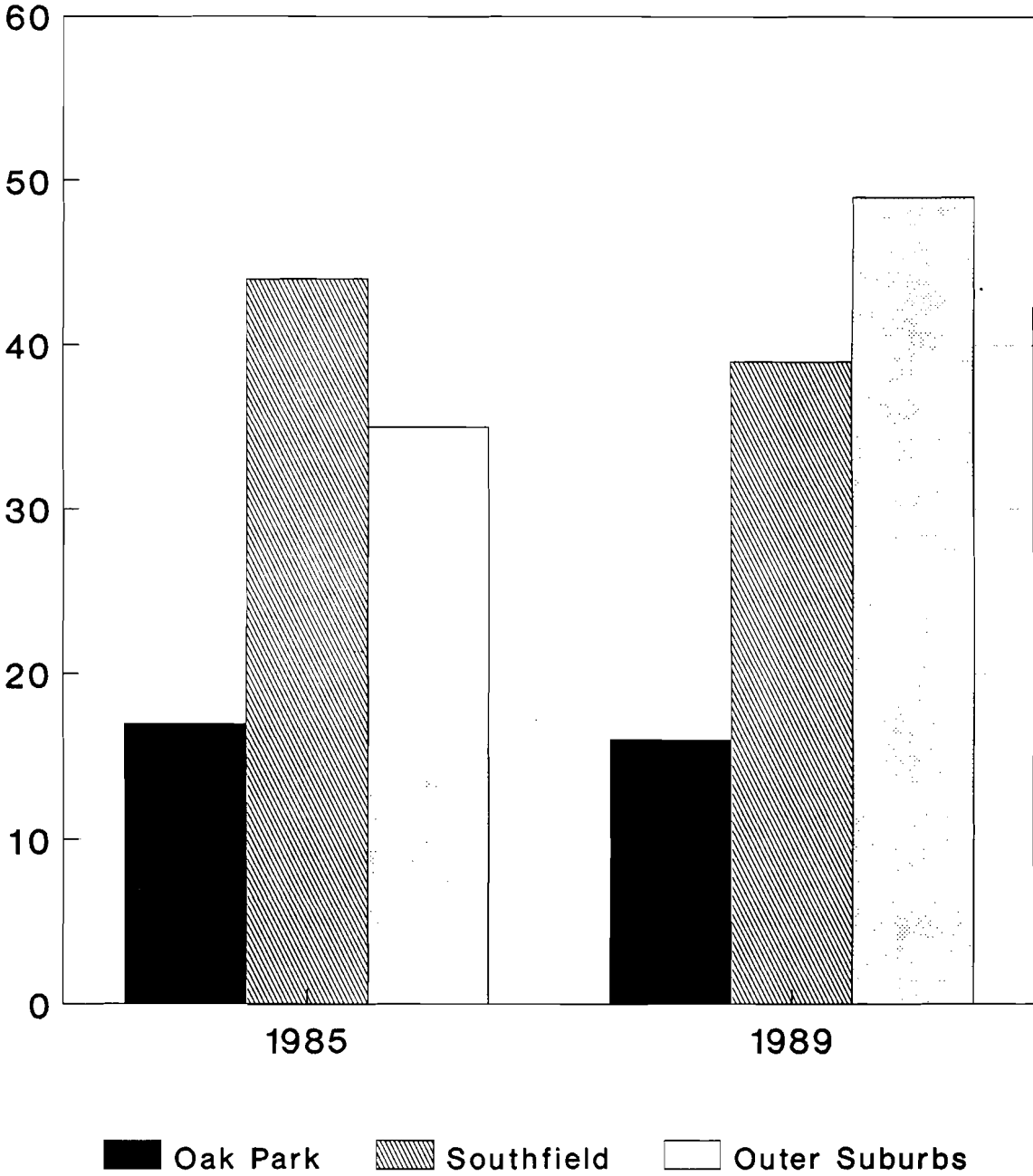
Exhibit 21: Sources of In-migration: Area of Residence 4 Years Ago for Movers* by Current Area

4 YEARS AGO	CURRENT AREA		
	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OUTER SUBURBS
OAK PARK	26	7	7
SOUTHFIELD	42	56	32
OUTER SUBURBS	**	8	26
DETROIT	13	6	3
OUTER MICHIGAN	8	11	25
OTHER	11	12	7
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

NOTES: * Movers have been at this address less than 5 years
 ** 1% or less

Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding.

Exhibit 22: Relative Proportions in Area, 1985 and 1989



Prime Movers -- Younger Adults, the Non-Poor, and Southfield Residents.

Not all people are equally likely to move. In fact, as several studies of American mobility patterns have demonstrated, movers are more likely to be younger adults and those without school-age children (the two groups overlap). In addition, renters are more likely to move than are homeowners.

The survey data allow us to examine whether certain characteristics are associated with moving among Jews in the Detroit Area and to examine whether the relationships vary across the different suburban areas.

For purposes of this analysis, we define "movers" as those who have lived at their current address less than five years. We examine whether age, family life cycle, denomination, income, and last area of residence (four or fewer years ago) affects the propensity to move. Strictly speaking, with the exception of last area of residence, these variables are measured currently, rather than when the move was undertaken, up to four years ago. However, we will make the reasonable assumption that the current characteristics approximate those that were influencing the decision to move a few years in the past.

Younger adults, indeed, move more often than middle-aged or older adults. Overall, about half of those now under 35 have moved in the last four years, as have a third of those 35-44, and less than a fifth of those 45 and over.

There are some interesting differences among the three suburban areas. Very few of those 35-44 year olds whose previous address within the last four years was in the outer suburbs have moved as contrasted with almost half of those 35-44 year olds in Southfield or Oak Park. As we move up the age ladder, in Southfield and Oak Park the likelihood of moving falls off dramatically among those in their forties. In the outer suburbs, what may be called the "stability threshold" emerges ten years earlier, that is, among those in their mid-thirties.

Southfield is distinguished by its high rate of mobility at all age levels. In every age group, those who last lived in Southfield were more apt to move in the last four years than those who lived either in Oak Park or the outer suburbs.

Consistent with the higher rates of mobility among youthful respondents, mobility rates are also highest among two youthful stages in the family life cycle: younger couples with no children and married couples whose oldest children are of pre-school age. Once children are in school, mobility rates drop considerably. Despite some movement to the sunbelt, overall, empty nest couples and the aging report the lowest rates of mobility.

In the outer suburbs and in Southfield, no clear patterns link Jewish denomination with mobility. In Oak Park, though, we find some evidence that the Orthodox and the Conservative families are more stable than the Reform.

Finally, the effects of income are not clear,;except that the data do suggest that \$30,000 constitutes a threshold of sorts. Those earning below this figure may find it difficult to re-locate, and few in fact do so.

WHO IS LIKELY TO MOVE?

The analysis of prior mobility plans above identified several factors linked with the likelihood of moving: location, youthfulness, and adequate income. Whereas that analysis focused on prior behavior, the survey also permits us to explore future intentions. Our interviewers asked respondents, "How likely do you think it will be that you will move out of your home in the next three years? Would you say it is very likely, somewhat likely, or not likely that you'll move then?" Understanding what kinds of people are thinking of moving is critical for predicting mobility trends and for undertaking programs aimed at affecting residential choice.

For purposes of this analysis, we assigned respondents who said they were "very likely" to move a score of 1.00, those who said they were "somewhat likely" a score of 0.50, and those "not likely" a score of 0.00. Thus, the entries in the adjoining table are equivalent to the sum of the percentage who are "very likely" to move plus half the percentage who are "somewhat likely" to move.

The results (Exhibit 22) both confirm and extend the understanding of what kinds of people move gleaned from the earlier analysis of actual behavior. Many more residents of Southfield say they will move than do residents of Oak Park or the outer suburbs.

Consistent with the evidence presented earlier of more frequent mobility among younger families, many more younger adults than their elders say they are likely to move. For example, of younger households without children, 60% are likely to move, as compared with 40% of parents of pre-school youngsters and just 24% of parents with school-age children.

In most age and family status categories, Southfield residents display a greater readiness to move than do those elsewhere. This discrepancy is especially large among empty nest households. Over 50% of these families in Southfield are likely to move, as compared with only about a third as many (or fewer) in Oak Park and the outer suburbs.

Aside from the younger adults everywhere and the middle-age/empty nest couples in Southfield, the single parents in the outer suburbs are the only other type of family to report a great likelihood of moving.

Exhibit 23: Who Might Move: % Likely to Move by Selected Characteristics by Current Area

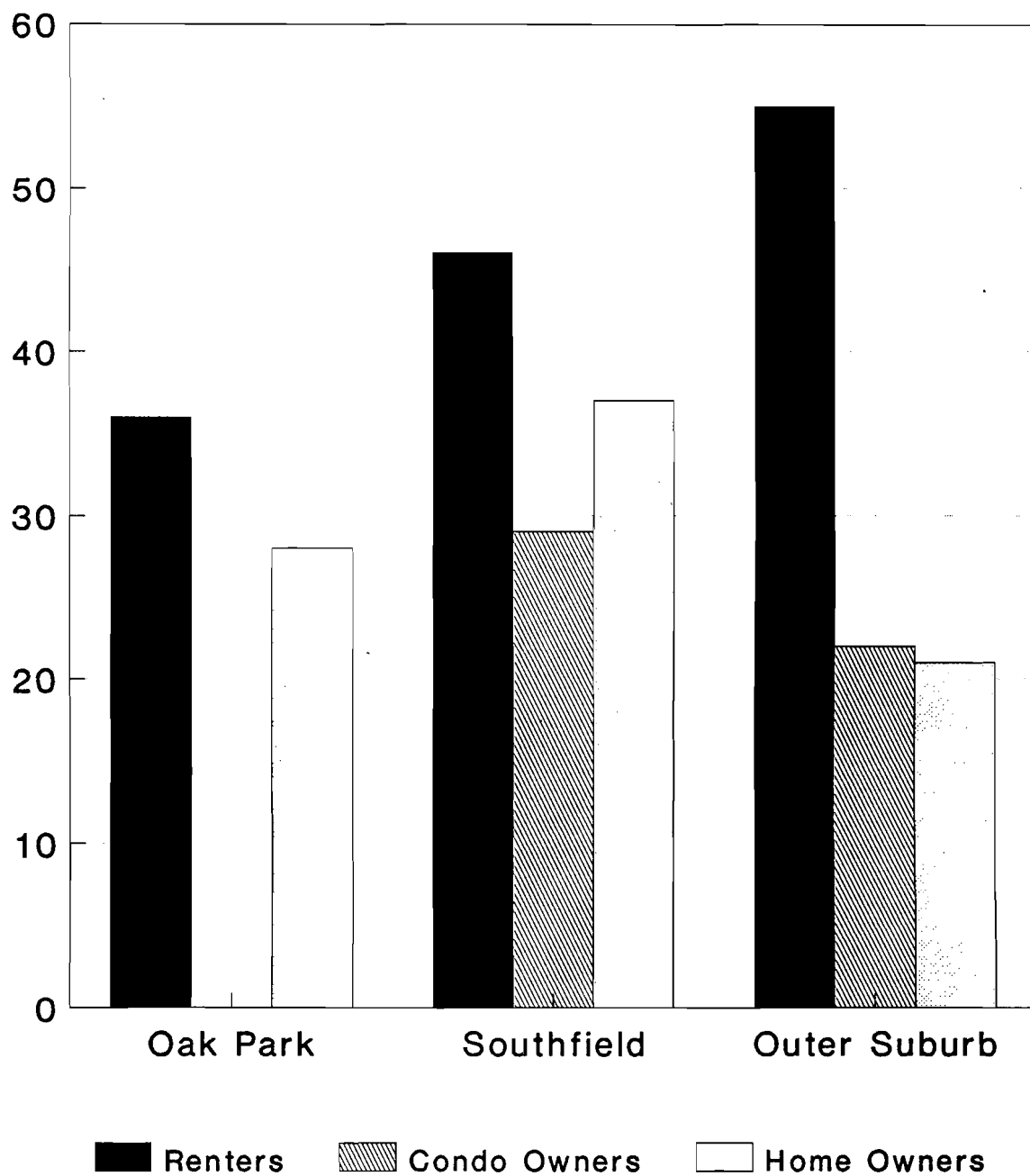
	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OUTER SUBURBS	ALL
TOTAL	29	40	24	32
FAMILY TYPE				
AGING	27	20	8	18
EMPTY NEST	14	54	18	31
SINGLE PARENT	37	25	55	37
PARENTS	33	32	19	24
PRE-SCHOOL	*	50	36	40
YOUNGER ADULT	*	69	56	60

M, COMBINE THESE TWO INTO ONE TABLE

	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OUTER SUBURBS	ALL
HOME OWNER	28	37	21	27
CONDO OWNER	--	29	22	26
RENTER	36	46	55	47
# JEWISH NEIGHBORS				
GREATER	--	--	27	29
SAME	24	30	21	24
LESS	55	47	62	51

NOTE: * 1% or less

Exhibit 24: Proportion Likely to Move, by Area



For some reason, aging individuals in Oak Park report a substantially greater likelihood of moving than do those elsewhere. Although we can only speculate on the reason for this result, we can suggest that the presence of Federation housing for the aging in Oak Park may have produced a greater expectation to move within Oak Park among that group.

The literature on metropolitan mobility demonstrates that home ownership is a critical inhibitor of mobility. All other things being equal, renters find it easier to pull up stakes than home owners. The results here are consistent with this national finding. Generally, renters are almost twice as likely as owners (of homes or condominiums) to say they are likely to move. The gap between renters and owners is especially large in the outer suburbs, and somewhat smaller in Oak Park and Southfield. That is, in the latter two communities, renters are only somewhat more likely to say they are planning to move than are owners.

RESIDENTS' VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS

For obvious reasons, perceptions of the character of one's neighborhood influence both the chances that current residents will leave and the likelihood that movers will migrate into the area. Previous research (the 1981 New York Jewish Population Study) demonstrated that views of the neighborhood's future more reliably predict whether people plan to leave or stay than do perceptions of an area's current character. In other words, knowing whether respondents think that their area will improve, hold steady, or decline is more important for our purposes than knowing whether they think it is currently an attractive or unattractive place to live.

In light of these considerations, we asked our respondents to reflect on different aspects of the future of their residential areas. Exhibit 16 reports the percentages who think that their neighborhood, safety from crime, and schools will improve or stay the same; the percentage of those who do not think that the number of Jewish neighbors will decline, or those who believe that their property values will appreciate.

Caution in Oak Park and Concern in Southfield.

On most measures for all three areas, most residents are optimistic about the future of their neighborhoods. On a relative basis, however, residents of the inner suburbs are less optimistic than those in the outer suburbs. The greatest difference occurs with regard to expectations of property value appreciation. Only a third of Southfield Jews and two fifths of Oak Park respondent think their areas' property values will appreciate. In contrast, more than two thirds of the Jewish residents in the outer suburbs believe that their property values will appreciate.

Although the sharpest contrast is between the inner and outer suburbs, the feelings of Southfield and Oak Park residents differ as well. Except for perceptions of the public schools, Southfield respondents are less optimistic than their Oak Park counterparts. The contrast is most vivid with respect to predictions about the number of Jewish neighbors. Whereas a third (35%) of Oak Park respondents think their neighborhood will have fewer Jews shortly, a majority (52%) of Southfield respondents feel this way.

Using multivariate analysis, we examined which perceptions affected the readiness to move. Of all six questions, just one exerted a strong net impact upon the likelihood of moving. Specifically, perception of decline in the "number of Jews in the neighborhood" is most closely associated with the answers to the

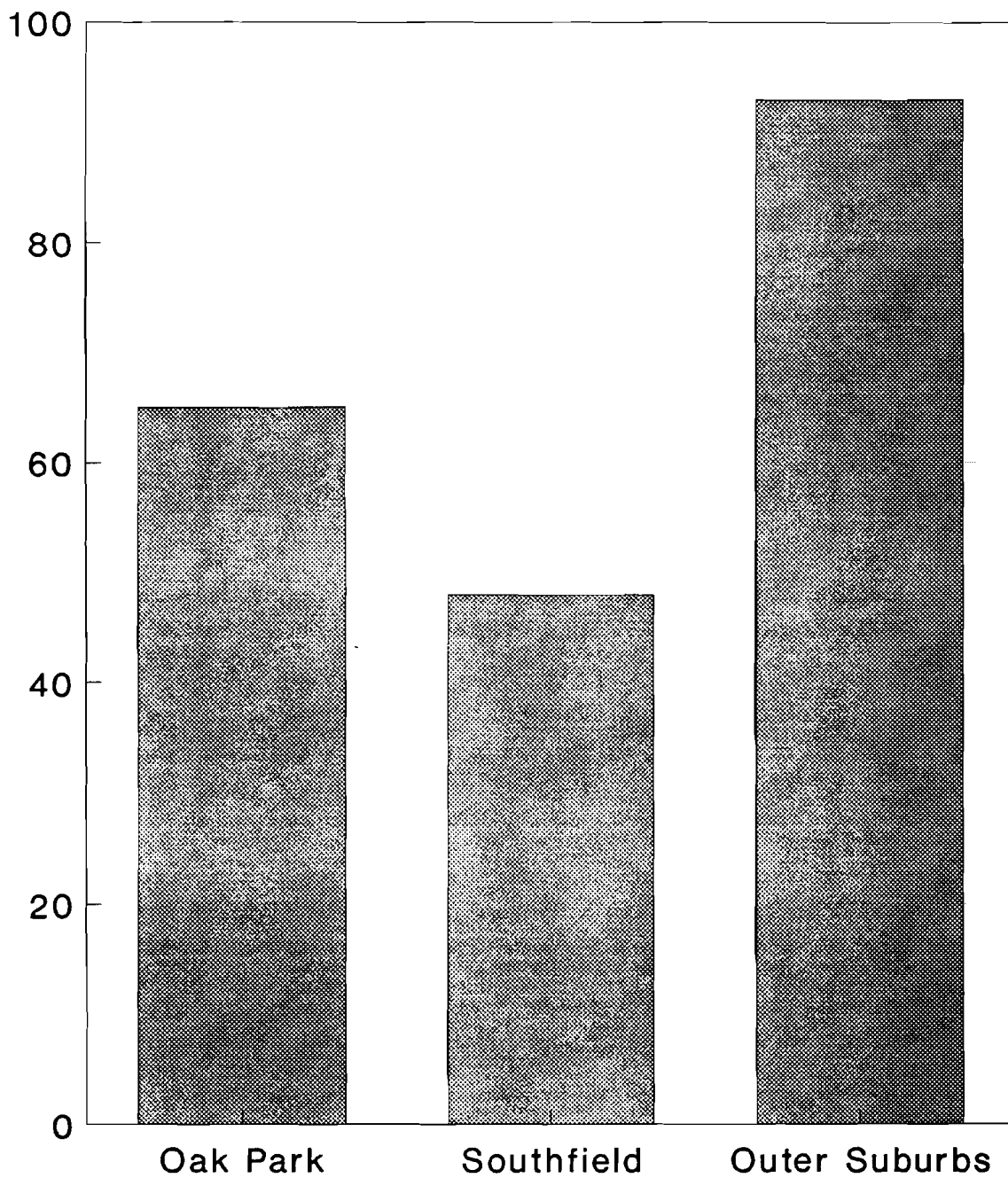
question on likelihood of moving. Those who think the number will be less are about twice as likely to move as those who think the number of Jews will grow or hold steady. These results suggest that one reason that people leave an area is that they think other Jews are also planning to leave.

Perceptions of Jewish neighbors' mobility is so important that, along with home ownership, it is one of the two key factors that explains variation between the areas in readiness to move. That is, as was noted earlier, many more Jews in Southfield say they are likely to move in the next three years than respondents elsewhere. We conducted a multivariate analysis to learn which of several possible factors explain this discrepancy. Just two reasons emerge as crucial: one is that Southfield contains an unusually large number of renters; the other is that Southfield residents do not expect the number of Jews to grow or hold steady.

Exhibit 25: Expectations of Neighborhood Change by Area

	OAK PARK	SOUTHFIELD	OUTER SUBURBS
NEIGHBORHOOD (same/better)	81	76	96
CRIME (same/better)	81	72	91
SCHOOL (same/better)	67	67	92
JEWISH NEIGHBORS (same/more)	65	48	93
PROP. VALUES (better)	43	33	71

Exhibit 26: Proportion Expecting Same Number or More Jewish Neighbors, by Area



CONCLUSIONS: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The results portray three rather different areas of Jewish settlement. Not only are the current characteristics of Jews in the outer suburbs, Oak Park, and Southfield quite different, so too are the prospects for the future of Jewish residence in these three areas.

The survey findings we have reported can help us understand the prospects for the continuation of large Jewish communities in Oak Park and Southfield; but, recognizing the inherent unpredictability of human behavior and of population trends and other major developments, the data offer no sure guide to the future.

Prior to the 1960's, the region's Jewish population was heavily concentrated within the Detroit city limits. With the urban unrest of the late 1960's, the migration of Jews out of Detroit grew enormously. Since that period, large numbers of Jews have moved from the older, inner suburbs of Oak Park and Southfield to the new outer suburbs of West Bloomfield, Farmington Hills, and several jurisdictions in Bloomfield Township.

The migration in a northwestern wedge-shaped pattern continues. Jews continue to re-constitute new communities but the newer areas are less densely Jewish and the population grows more dispersed. Today, about 80% of the region's Jewish population occupies about 80 square miles as compared with just 10 square miles or so a generation ago.

This migration history has helped shaped an image of Detroit area Jewry as a highly mobile population, one prepared to pick up and move when their neighborhoods seem threatened with population change and deterioration in the quality of life.

The Jews who left Detroit in the 1960's and 1970's behaved much like other whites did in Detroit and other major cities. They were fleeing urban violence and the problems associated with poverty. Moreover, Jews were especially capable of moving. Throughout the middle of the twentieth century Jews experienced unparalleled upward social mobility. If the mobility behavior of Jews continues to resemble that of other whites, then their tendency to move further away from the metropolitan centers can no longer be taken for granted. Whites have greatly slowed their outward movement away from center cities and, indeed, some cities have experienced a gentrification movement wherein some middle class residents move to center city neighborhoods.

Of course, unanticipated developments and events can and will affect the extent and direction of Jews' migration into and out of the inner suburbs. The impact of the recent completion of I-696 -- a major interstate highway that cuts through the inner suburbs -- upon migration plans is not all that clear. On the one hand, the new road may serve as a psychological divider that may hasten the departure of Jews from areas in Oak Park and Southfield that lie south of the highway. On the other hand, it may provide a sense of security and stability to the region to its north.

It is beyond the scope of this report to project specific policies and program. But the data do have implications for thinking about future neighborhood policy. In thinking about the implications of these findings for future policy, four points surface:

1. The Jewish Communal Stakes in Southfield as well as in Oak Park are Substantial.

The substantial stakes of the community in Southfield argue for maintaining the communal commitment to the area, as well as that of Oak Park.

Southfield is home to 26,000 Jews living in 12,000 households, and Oak Park contains over 12,000 Jews who comprise almost 5,400 households. Huntington Woods, which borders Oak Park, contains another 3,400 Jews living in 1,300 households. Of the 76,000 Jews who live in the core area of Jewish settlement in south-central Oakland County, more than half (41,000 or 54%) live in Southfield, Oak Park, and Huntington Woods.

Not only are there considerable numbers of Jews living in the inner suburban communities, they are highly concentrated as well. Parts of Oak Park and Southfield contain the densest areas of Jewish settlement in the Detroit metropolitan area. Far more than Jews living elsewhere in the tri-county region, many of the Jews in Oak Park and in Southfield are in very close proximity to one another. Jewish residential density enhances so many aspects of Jewish communal life. Dense Jewish neighborhoods facilitate such diverse programs and institutions as synagogues, schools, Jewish youth groups, kosher butchers and restaurants, and services for the aging. For these reasons and more, the concentration of Jewish families in the two suburbs represents a vital communal resource.

The communal stake in Oak Park and in Southfield extends, of course, beyond the people living there and their geographic concentration. Over the years, the Jewish community has invested

millions of dollars in the construction of various sorts of institutions. These institutions, in turn, employ hundreds of communal servants (e.g., rabbis, teachers, administrators, social workers, maintenance staff, etc.) and serve thousands of members, clients, residents, and participants. Relocating and re-establishing these institutions elsewhere is expensive not only in terms of moving, renovation, and capital replacement costs. Relocation is also costly in terms of the inevitable short-term damage to the fabric of relations among all the personnel connected with these institutions.⁶

The number and variety of Jewish communal institutions in Oak Park and in Southfield are quite impressive. A move of large numbers of Jews out of Southfield (and Oak Park) would threaten the vitality, if not the existence, of many of these institutions.

2. Southfield and Oak Park are Different.

Community policy makers frequently divide the Jewish residential world into two categories, distinguishing the inner suburbs from the outer suburbs and thereby classifying Southfield and Oak Park together. We propose that for policy purposes, leaders ought to begin to divide the core area of Jewish settlement into three distinct units, separating Southfield from Oak Park. As we have demonstrated above, the Jews of Oak Park and Southfield are different in many ways and the challenges to stability and continuity are sharply distinguished as well.

3. The Neighborhood Project seems to be working in Oak Park.

The Jewish Welfare Federation of Detroit has undertaken programs designed to promote the desirability of Jewish living in Oak Park and in Southfield. The heart of this effort is The Neighborhood Project. Established with an initial revolving loan fund of \$1 million, the Project extends interest-free loans to Jewish families buying homes in designated areas of Oak Park or in Southfield. As of June 1990, the Project had made loans to 343 home purchasers for a total amount of \$1,622,000.

⁶The Appendix contains a list of Jewish communal institutions by area.

Some Jewish communal policy makers have had serious questions about the wisdom of the existing program. They have argued that the Jewish populations of Oak Park and Southfield are almost inevitably destined to contract. They have argued that the Federation investment in the Neighborhood Project constitutes the diversion of precious resources that could be more effectively spent in other ways.

In the case of Oak Park, it would appear that the combination of natural forces and the Federation stabilization effort under the Neighborhood Project is bearing fruit. The continuation of the current program with careful monitoring of trends and results should be sufficient to maintain the quality of Jewish life.

The apparent success of The Neighborhood Project, especially in Oak Park, suggests that the historical mobility patterns of Detroit Jews may be changing.

4. The Community Needs to Manage the Risks in Southfield.

One inference one can draw from the findings in this report is that the Jewish community of Southfield is at greater risk than that in Oak Park. This suggests that the policies and programs appropriate for Oak Park may not be appropriate for Southfield.

Stabilizing Southfield will require special efforts responsive in kind and scale to the specific situation. It probably will require a more ambitious program. It may require targeting efforts at particular neighborhoods within Southfield.

Before embarking on a more ambitious program, Jewish communal leadership needs to be clear in its own mind about the rationale for a greater commitment and the probability of success. With 12,000 Jewish households, the stakes are high; and the community needs to think long and hard before it decides not to make the effort.

APPENDIX A

Jewish Organizations and Institutions in Southfield

B'nai B'rith Building:

1. B'nai B'rith Metropolitan Council
2. Covenant Credit Union
3. B'nai B'rith Women's Council

United Hebrew Schools Building:

4. Jewish Welfare Federation
5. Agency for Jewish Education/Community Jewish High School/
Nursery School
6. Midrasha College for Jewish Studies
7. Hebrew Free Loan
8. Jewish Community Council
9. American Jewish Congress
10. Detroit Zionist Federation
11. Dorohei Day School (lower elementary -- Orthodox)

Synagogues/Day Schools:

12. Akiva Day School
13. Congregation Beth Achim
14. Beth Jacob-Mogain Abraham
15. Beth Tefilo Emanuel Tikvah
16. B'nai David
17. Shomrey Emunah
18. Shaarey Zedek
19. Sephardic Community of Greater Detroit
20. Yeshivath Beth Yehudah
21. Young Israel of Southfield

Other Institutions, Organizations:

22. American Friends of Hebrew University, Michigan Chapter
23. American Technion Society
24. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
25. Israel Bonds
26. JARC
27. Jewish Family Service
28. Resettlement Service
29. Jewish Home for the Aged - Prentis Manor
30. Jewish National Fund
31. Jewish War Veterans
32. Council of Orthodox Rabbis
33. Friends of Bar-Ilan University
34. Yad Ezra
35. Zionist Cultural Center
36. Jewish Vocational Service

APPENDIX B
Jewish Organizations and Institutions in Oak Park

Synagogues / Temples:

Bnai Jacob - Kolloel
Dovid Ben Nochum
Beth Shalom
Bnai Israel
Young Israel of Greenfield
Temple Emanuel
Machon L'Torah
Young Israel of Oak Woods
Bnai Zion
Mishkan Israel
Nusach H'ari

Schools:

Yeshiva Gedolah
Sally Allen Alexander Beth Jacob

Agencies, Organizations, and Facilities:

Hebrew Memorial Chapel
Workmen's Circle
Mikvah Israel
Jimmy Prentis Morris Branch, Jewish Community Center
Jewish Federation Apartments

APPENDIX C

Jewish Organizations and Institutions in the Outer Suburbs

Congregations:

Adat Shalom Synagogue
Birmingham Temple
Congregation Bais Chabad of Farmington Hills
Congregation Bais Chabad of West Bloomfield
Congregation Beth Abraham Hillel-Moses
Congregation Bnai Israel
Congregation Bnai Moshe (as of 1990)
Temple Beth El
Temple Israel
Temple Kol Ami
Temple Shir Shalom

Other:

American Committee for the Weitzman Institute of Science
Bnai Brith Youth Organization
City of Hope, Greater Detroit Chapter
Fresh Air Society
Fleischman Residence, Jewish Home for Aged
Hadassah, Greater Detroit Chapter
Hechtman Federation Apartments
Hillel Day School
Jewish Community Center (Maple-Drake Campus)
Jewish Parents Institute
Knollwood Country Club
Sholem Aleichem Institute
United Synagogue of America, Michigan Region
Yavneh Academy
Israel Resource Center

Criteria for listing: "Affiliated Organization" with Jewish Community Council and listed in the telephone book; or on JWF Local Agencies list

Following are listings meeting these criteria which are located outside the core:

Congregation Beth Issac (Trenton)
Congregation T'Chiyah (downtown Detroit)
Downtown Synagogue (downtown Detroit)
Livonia Jewish Congregation (Livonia)
Congregation Shir Tikvah (Troy)

American Jewish Committee, Detroit Chapter (Butzel Bldg)
Jewish Home for Aged (northwest Detroit)
Jewish Labor Committee (Butzel Bldg)
Jewish Community Council (Butzel Bldg)
Jewish Welfare Federation (Butzel Bldg)
United Jewish Charities (Butzel Bldg)
Sinai Hospital (northwest Detroit)
Jewish Vocational Service Detroit facility