

Migration, Ethnicity, and Inequality: Homeownership in Israel

NOAH LEWIN-EPSTEIN, *Tel-Aviv University*

MOSHE SEMYONOV, *Tel-Aviv University*

The present study addresses the issue of ethnic inequality in homeownership. We start out by addressing the social significance of homeownership as it relates to material wellbeing, sense of security, perceived "stake in the system," and social assimilation. The empirical analysis focuses on immigrants to Israel and examines the extent to which length of residence in the host society, as well as the period of migration, affect ethnic inequality in homeownership. In order to separate the effects of specific period of migration from duration of residence, we pooled data from three household expenditure-surveys carried out between 1975 and 1993. The findings confirmed the positive effect of length of residence in the host society on homeownership, but also revealed unique period effects. These are linked to the political economy of Israel and to the role played by the state in shaping housing opportunities. The findings also revealed substantial ethnic group differences in homeownership. The source of these disparities and their consequences highlight stratification processes that are independent of labor market achievements.

In the past two decades, sociological research has produced a copious literature on ethnic inequality, in general, and the economic attainment of immigrants, in particular. With few exceptions, these studies focused on labor market activities and the extent to which immigrants are incorporated into the labor market of the receiving society (for a general discussion, see Borjas and Tienda 1993; Poston 1994; for the Israeli case, see Rajzman and Semyonov 1995; Semyonov 1997). While this literature invariably underscores the hardship experienced by immigrants upon arrival at the host society, studies have also found that the hardship in the labor market is often alleviated with the passage of time. Immigrants become assimilated as they gain proficiency in language and acquire job-related information and relevant skills (Chiswick 1979; Neidert and Farley 1985; Poston 1988). Critics of this linear view of assimilation point to the diversity of modes of incorporation into the labor market. In particular, they call attention to the importance of the specific period of migration (Bloom and Gunderson 1990; Borjas 1995). In addition, researchers underscore the importance of country of origin, as well as the social organization and cultural orientation of immigrant groups, in determining success in the labor market of the host society (Portes and Rumbaut 1990; Portes and Stepick 1985).

Regardless of the perspective adopted concerning the social processes governing immigrant assimilation, for most students of immigration, the labor market remains the exclusive domain for evaluating ethnic stratification and disparities in economic wellbeing. The focus on the system of production, useful as it is, provides only a partial picture of inequality among immigrant groups. Recently, several studies call attention to the phenomenon of ethnic inequality among immigrant groups in the housing market. These studies emphasized the

This study was funded by grant 852\97-1 from the Israel Science Foundation. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Horowitz Institute and Academia Sinica Workshop on social issues, held at Ma'aleh Ha'Hamisha, Israel, July 7-8, 1999. The authors wish to thank Eldad Davidov for his competent assistance in preparing and analyzing the data for this study. Direct correspondence to: Noah Lewin-Epstein, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tel-Aviv University, Tel-Aviv 69978, Israel.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS, Vol. 47, No. 3, pages 425-444. ISSN: 0037-7791

© 2000 by Society for the Study of Social Problems, Inc. All rights reserved.

Send requests for permission to reprint to: Rights and Permissions, University of California Press,
Journals Division, 2000 Center St., Ste. 303, Berkeley, CA 94704-1223.

importance of homeownership as indication of immigrants' differential success in the host society (Alba and Logan 1992; Krivo 1995; Myers and Lee 1998).

In the present study, we contribute to the literature on immigration and social stratification by examining ethnic inequality in homeownership among immigrants to Israel. Israel provides an interesting case for the study of immigrant integration in general, and with respect to homeownership, in particular. First, Israeli society was constituted by successive waves of migration that arrived throughout the twentieth century. Even today, over one-third of the Jewish population of Israel is foreign-born and the majority of the remaining two-thirds are first generation Israeli born. Second, migration to Israel can be thought of in terms of a returning Diaspora. The immigrants feel affinity with the destination society even prior to migration and the receiving society grants them immediate and unconditional acceptance. As a consequence of these understandings, immigrants receive full citizenship benefits upon arrival, as well as generous financial aid to assist in their resettlement. Third, until recently, the political economy of Israel was highly centralized and was characterized by a weak market economy, which was dominated by national and political interests. Hence, the Israeli case provides an opportunity to examine ethnic inequality in housing in a context that contrasts with the market economies of other immigrant societies such as the United States, Canada, and Australia.

The empirical analysis that will be carried out addresses the following three questions: Does homeownership rise with length of residence in the receiving society? Is the rate of homeownership affected by the specific period of migration, net of length of residence? Can period of migration and length of residence account for ethnic disparities in homeownership?

Theoretical Considerations

The Significance of Housing

From the perspective of stratification and social inequality, homeownership has clear substantive importance since it is a manifestation of wealth accumulation and improved material wellbeing. Homeownership is often viewed as an important determinant of perceived "stake in the system" (Blum and Kingston 1984; Kemeny 1980) and, therefore, a stabilizing force in the polity. For immigrants, homeownership represents an important step in the settlement process and a degree of permanency in the host society. Indeed, students of immigration typically regard homeownership as an indicator of assimilation into the receiving society (Alba and Logan 1992; Balakrishnan and Wu 1992).

For most families, and especially for immigrant families, equity accumulated in housing is the single most important form of wealth (Lewin-Epstein, et al. 1997; Munro 1988; Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Thorns 1981). In fact, housing can be enjoyed without being consumed. Hence, homeownership often provides economic security as a hedge against inflation and is particularly beneficial in situations of strong inflationary trends (Baldassare 1986; Forest, et al. 1990; Saunders 1978; Thorns 1981). Furthermore, wealth accumulated in family housing has substantial implications for inheritance and the intergenerational persistence of inequality (Hamnett, et al. 1991; Saunders 1990).¹ To the extent, then, that rates of homeownership differ from one immigrant group to another reflects, not only current ethnic disparities, but the potential for substantial inequality of life chances over the generations as well. In this respect, homeownership, like the ownership of other assets, maps the hierarchical order of groups in the stratification system (Alba and Logan 1992; Saunders 1978).

1. In the United States, for example, housing assets accounted for 43 percent of the total net worth of all households in 1988 and the figures were higher for all but the poorest and the wealthiest families (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1992). Studies of household wealth and inheritance in Britain revealed that residential housing constituted between 40 and 50 percent of the value of all estates.

Immigration and Housing

Past research on homeownership revealed substantial ethnic disparities (Krivo 1986; Lewin-Epstein, et al. 1997; Oliver and Shapiro 1995). These differences stem from the complex interplay of several factors that can be grouped into three broad categories: financial and socio-economic resources, cultural orientation, and systemic effects. Financial resources for housing may be raised by immigrants through labor market activity in the host society or brought with them from country of origin. Most immigrants typically arrive with very little economic assets and their ability to accumulate the necessary funds for housing depends, to a great extent, on labor market outcomes. Hence, human capital in the form of education and skills, employment stability, and position in the occupational system affect the likelihood of homeownership. Since funds needed for housing are substantial, the accumulation of the necessary capital requires some time in the host country. As a result, rates of homeownership are likely to rise with passage of time.² Research on immigrant groups in Australia (Bourassa 1994) and the United States (Alba and Logan 1992; Krivo 1995) found, for example, that the rates of homeownership increased monotonously with the length of residence. Time, then, is an important factor that may account for the large portion of the variation in homeownership among immigrant groups.

Unequal homeownership rates among immigrant groups are also associated with differential acculturation. The purchase of housing requires familiarity with the host culture and with social policies relevant to housing, as well as knowledge of the housing market. Familiarity with these spheres is dependent on knowledge of the host society's culture and social institutions, which usually increases with the passage of time. Indeed, Alba and Logan (1992) found that variation in homeownership among immigrant groups to the United States is positively associated with English proficiency—a principal indicator of acculturation.

In addition to its obvious material significance, homeownership also has symbolic meaning. Hence, the extent of homeownership among immigrants may reflect particular cultural preferences and orientations toward the host society. Balakrishnan and Wu (1992), for example, interpreted the unequal rates of homeownership among immigrants to Canada as representing differences in motivational dispositions. They proposed that high rates of homeownership characterized immigrant groups (such as Asians) with a stronger need for acceptance by the dominant group. Alba and Logan (1992) proposed that the rates of homeownership among immigrants to the United States signified the intention to remain in the host society.

Although the proportion of homeowners among immigrants tends to increase with the passage of time, the rate of homeownership is also determined by systemic factors that influence the opportunities for housing. These often vary from one period to another. Hence, the particular timing of migration may coincide with distinct market situations and with social policies initiated by the state which constrain or enhance opportunities in the housing market. It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish immigrant groups according to the circumstances of migration as well as country of origin. Immigrant groups may be "launched" into different trajectories due to the social and economic conditions in the host society at the time of their arrival, and as a result of differences in ethnic group attributes. Recently, Myers and Lee (1998) reported an impressive degree of advancement of immigrant groups into homeownership over the decade of the 1980s among immigrants to Southern California. At the same time, they observed lower starting points (in terms of homeownership) for the more recent immigrants as increasing housing prices rendered the purchase of a home more difficult.

2. Some immigrant groups may possess financial resources upon arrival and, thus, are in a better position to purchase housing early on. For example, Meyers and Lee (1998) observed that Asian immigrants to Southern California achieved a high level of homeownership soon after arrival. By contrast, Latino immigrants started out with low rates of homeownership.

The impact of state policies on housing inequality is clear from past research carried out in various social contexts (e.g., Forrest, et al. 1990; Lu-Yon and Kalush 1994; Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Saunders 1990). Furthermore, previous studies revealed that policies are often implemented unequally across immigrant and ethnic groups. For example, research in Britain found that immigrants from the colonies of the past were not given the same access to public housing as were native-born whites (Holmans 1987; Malpass and Murie 1987).³ Similar findings emerged from one of the earlier studies of the mass immigration to Israel (Inbar and Adler 1977). In interviews with immigrants who had been in transition camps, the researchers found that immigrants of European origin were often given preferential treatment by the state settlement authorities when compared to North-African immigrants. They were given a wider range of choices for permanent housing and were assisted more readily. As a result, European immigrants spent a shorter period in the transition camps and ended up with more adequate housing.

The importance of time—as it related to period of migration, as well as duration in the host society—notwithstanding, ethnic differences in homeownership may arise as a result of other causes as well. A comprehensive examination of ethnic differences in homeownership must consider, therefore, the opportunity structure faced by immigrants at the time of their arrival, as well as their socioeconomic characteristics. This, we argue, is particularly important in the case of the Israeli society where period of immigration coincided with diverse social and housing policies (Elmelech and Lewin-Epstein 1998), and where the timing of migration differed for groups that came from various points of origins.

Patterns of Immigration to Israel

Jewish migration to Palestine began at the turn of the 20th century and consisted mostly of East Europeans. Mass migration, however, unfolded only after the Second World War and the establishment of the state of Israel. The large wave of immigration that entered Israel following independence was comprised mostly of refugees from the Moslem countries in the Middle East and survivors of the Holocaust in Europe. To appreciate the extraordinary circumstances of this migration, it should be noted that during the years 1947–1952, the Jewish population of Israel more than doubled, from approximately 600,000 to over 1.5 million. In the following years, immigration to Israel declined somewhat and was characterized by an uneven flow. The flow reached a low point in the 1980s, but then peaked once again in the early 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union, when over 850,000 immigrants sought refuge in Israel.

As revealed in Table 1, migration not only fluctuated over time, but it took on different patterns for immigrant groups from various origins. The immigration from the Middle East (consisting mostly of the Jewish community in Iraq) took place over a very short period of time. Almost sixty percent of the group arrived within several years following the announcement of Israel's independence. Less than 10 percent of the Jews of Middle East origin arrived prior to 1947. Following the large wave of migration in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the streak of migration persisted at a declining rate with only 11 percent arriving between 1953–1960 and a slightly larger proportion arriving in the 1960s. Even smaller numbers arrived in Israel after 1970 since, by then, all members of entire Jewish communities who once resided in the Arab countries of the Middle East, had already left.

The immigration pattern of European Jews was somewhat different. Almost one-fifth of the Jewish immigration originating in Europe arrived prior to Israel's independence. European Jews not only constituted a majority of the pre-state Jewish community in Palestine, but

3. Some researchers (Oliver and Shapiro 1995; Parcel 1982) have used the racial discrimination framework to address Black/White disparities in homeownership in the United States. Such a conceptualization of the problem, however, is not applicable in the case of immigrants to Israel, all of whom are Jewish or related by marriage to Jews.

Table 1 • Distribution of Period of Immigration by Ethnicity (percent)

<i>Migration Period</i>	<i>Immigrants from Africa</i>	<i>Immigrants from the Middle East</i>	<i>Immigrants from Europe</i>
Before 1947	0.3	9.4	18.6
1947–1952	24.8	57.8	26.7
1953–1960	29.0	11.0	7.9
1961–1970	40.1	12.7	14.1
1971–1975	2.7	3.5	13.5
1976–1980	1.3	2.2	7.4
1981–1985	1.5	1.9	2.7
After 1985	0.3	1.5	9.1
N	859	1,005	3,389

also dominated its institutions. Slightly over one-quarter of the European Jews immigrated between 1947–1952. Most of these immigrants were Holocaust survivors. After the early 1950s, immigration from Europe was largely dependent on the migration policies in the East European Socialist countries where most Jews resided (e.g., Poland, Romania, and The Soviet Union). In any event, one-third of European Jews arrived during the latter part of the 1950s through the early 1970s. Following these waves, there was a sharp decline of immigration from Europe until the second half of the 1980s.⁴

Immigrants from North African countries followed yet another pattern. North African Jews were generally latecomers to Israel. Practically no members of this origin group (less than one percent) resided in Palestine prior to Israel's independence, and only one-quarter of the group arrived between 1947–1952. In fact, very few were in Israel before 1950. The height of migration of North African Jews was in the 1960s when 40 percent of the group entered Israel. At this time, both Middle Eastern and European Jews were already fairly established. It is also noteworthy that the migration of the North African Jewish communities ended all at once in the late 1960s. As in the case of Jews from the Middle East, entire North African Jewish communities were uprooted within a very short period of time. These groups were often aided by overt and covert Israeli assistance and hence, the pattern of peaks were followed by an abrupt ending of the migration wave (a comprehensive discussion of migration patterns to Israel may be found in Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein 2000).

While Jewish ancestry is the defining characteristic of practically all immigrants to Israel, immigrant groups who came from distinct regions of the world differed from one another in many respects. Immigrants from Europe were mostly Ashkenazi Jews, whereas those from North Africa and the Middle East were Sephardi. In general, the immigrants from Europe (especially those from Russian, Polish, or West European origin) were more likely than other immigrant groups to have some secular education, to have attained post-secondary schooling, and to have originated from more developed countries. The family structure of European immigrants was more likely to be based on the nuclear family, and their fertility was lower than that of Jews who came from the Moslem countries. The latter were also not a homogeneous population (Semyonov and Lerenthal 1991). Immigrants from Iraq, for example, were heavily concentrated in cities and high proportions were employed in professional and especially clerical occupations, while Jews who came from Yemen (also classified as Middle East

4. In the 1990s, a change in the exit policies of the former Soviet Union led to a dramatic influx of immigrants. In the 9 years between 1990 and 1998, about 850,000 new immigrants entered Israel—85 percent of them were from the former Soviet Union. Since our most recent data are from 1993, only a small portion of this wave of migration is included in the present analysis.

origin) were typically artisans and laborers who had very low levels of formal schooling. In general, Jewish immigrants from North Africa were less likely than other immigrants to have had universal schooling prior to migration, and less than 10 percent held professional, semi-professional, or clerical occupations in their country of origin (Khazzoom 1998).

Compatriots who arrived in earlier migration waves often welcomed immigrants from Europe who arrived after the establishment of the state. Immigrants from Moslem countries, by way of contrast, rarely had compatriots who were already established in the new country and they had little in common with many of the concepts and beliefs of the more veteran population (Spiegel 1966). New arrivals of European origin, for example, could get along quite well without knowledge of the Hebrew language using European languages or Yiddish to communicate with the more veteran (mostly European) population, many of whom held official positions in the state. By way of contrast, immigrants from North Africa or the Middle East often encountered great language difficulties upon arrival. Indeed, the late arrival of North African immigrants, coupled with their socio-demographic characteristics and the fact that they had no predecessors to assist them, put them at the greatest disadvantage (Khazzoom 1998).

State Policies and Housing Opportunities

One of the central objectives of government policy in Israel has been to provide housing to the Jewish population. In this regard, Israel's housing policy was viewed as the means for rapid absorption of immigrants and for increasing their commitment to the country (Kirshenbaum 1982; Lu-Yon and Kalush 1994). At the same time, however, housing policy also served to further national and political goals at the expense of economic expediency and efficiency. In particular, housing policy was closely linked to the national goal of consolidating control over Palestinian land seized during Israel's war of independence (Carmon and Czamanski 1992; Rosenhek 1996), and to the goal of securing Israel's borders by means of population dispersion (Kirshenbaum 1982; Lu-Yon and Kalush 1994). Hence, state involvement in the housing market and the changing opportunities over time for the purchase of housing are significant for understanding ethnic difference in homeownership, particularly in view of the immigration patterns described earlier.

In 1948 Israel had just emerged from a war for its independence. New immigrants, who arrived during or directly following the war, were temporarily accommodated in transition camps, but many flocked to the larger cities in the center of the country where job opportunities were more abundant. During the period of the war, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled or were evacuated leaving behind thousands of vacant housing units. The state served as public guardian for the "abandoned" property left behind by the Palestinians, but as Jewish immigration increased, pressure mounted to use this state-controlled property. Under a makeshift settlement program haphazardly put together by the government (and at times in violation of the rules of the program), these housing units, most of which were in the large, more centrally located cities, were used to resettle newly arrived immigrants (Golan 1993). Tenants rented the apartments, often paying rent that was below market rates. With the passage of time, the state sought to divest itself from the management of large quantities of public housing and offered the tenants the opportunity to purchase their dwellings at attractive prices. Most tenants in the large central cities did so and became owners of valuable housing property, which they originally had access to as a result of the timing of their migration.

Once the dwellings in the larger, more central, cities were occupied, immigrants were directed to more distant (formerly Arab) towns, all of which were in or near the coastal plains (Golan 1993; Morris 1990). As the flow of migration continued in the early 1950s and most vacated Arab dwellings were occupied, ". . . new immigrants were placed in temporary tent cities—and these in turn were located near existing [Jewish] cities and towns, so that it would be possible to provide employment and basic health and educational services" (Matras 1973:6).

By the mid-1950s, the government of Israel had implemented a comprehensive and far reaching settlement program designed to alter the geographic distribution of the population. The policy of "population dispersion" set out to establish new communities in the hinterland and to encourage the population to move away from the center and the coastal plain. The most pliable objects of this policy were immigrants who arrived during this period. Most of the immigrants that arrived during this period were directed to peripheral towns that were generally less attractive and where employment opportunities were scarce (Golan 1993; Gonen 1975; Matras 1973).

All housing in the peripheral communities was public; that is, apartment buildings were constructed on public land at the initiation of the government with public funds. Immigrants were settled in these newly constructed apartments as renters (public housing occupants) with the expectation that they would eventually purchase their dwellings (Carmon 1999). To this end, attractive (subsidized) mortgages were offered to the immigrants who arrived with little or no assets. Since these dwellings were of rather poor quality and located in the periphery, there was not a strong incentive to purchase. When the low rent that took into account the poor economic standing of the renters is considered, the fact that a substantial share of the population did not purchase their housing is not surprising (Spiegel 1966).

During the first 20 years of Israel's independence, up to the late 1960s, decision making regarding housing (as with other areas) was highly centralized, with intense state involvement in all spheres of construction. Housing policies were subordinated to national goals and were achieved primarily by means of supply-side actions. From the mid-1960s, state involvement in housing construction declined and became "normalized" (Carmon 1999) as the government slowly withdrew from public housing construction. By the 1980s, government involvement in housing shifted from supply-side intervention (initiating construction) to the demand side of the housing market. During this period, state intervention was realized primarily through the provision of subsidized mortgages to specific population groups.⁵ Recent policy emphasized direct absorption. According to this policy, each immigrant household received a lump-sum of cash and services (an "absorption basket") to cover living expenses during the first six months in Israel. These funds could be used at the immigrants' discretion (Doron and Kargar 1993). They were expected to make their own decisions regarding location of residence and the purchase of housing. At the same time, they were not shielded by state agencies from the market forces, as were their predecessors.

The discussion, thus far, leads to the proposition that time of migration does not merely reflect tenure in the country. Rather, its significance derives, in large part, from its correspondence with the process of crystallization and institutionalization of the housing market in the newly formed state of Israel. This proposition, then, leads to the following hypotheses: 1) The rate of homeownership will rise with the passage of time in the host society. This pattern will hold true regardless of ethnic background and period of immigration. 2) The positive relationship between time since migration and homeownership will have a decreasing slope. This derives from the fact that throughout most of Israel's history, housing prices have risen more rapidly than wages and most investments. Hence, the later an immigrant enters the housing market, the more difficult it is to purchase housing and to accumulate wealth. 3) Although a positive relationship between years since migration and homeownership is expected for all immigrant groups, the magnitude of the relationship will differ by ethnic origin and period of immigration. The logic embodied in this hypothesis is that immigrant groups vary in their ability to accumulate resources and in their ability to take advantage of opportunities in the housing market. 4) Period of migration is expected to affect the odds of homeownership, even

5. This changed, once again, for a short period between 1990-1994, when the government tried to meet the extraordinary demand for housing created by the large influx of immigrants from the former Soviet Union by public construction, much of it in peripheral communities. By then, absorption policies had changed and most immigrants preferred to reside closer to the center of the country, leaving many of the newly constructed units vacant.

after taking into account years since migration. This expectation is based on the fact that housing policies and opportunities in Israel varied considerably in the decades since the establishment of the state.

Data and Variables

Data for the present analysis were obtained from three waves of the Family Expenditure Survey (FES) carried out in 1975–1976, 1986–1987, and 1992–1993 by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics. These surveys provide information on adult household members, as well as household characteristics such as family income and homeownership. The sampling frame for these surveys includes all households residing in urban localities and is representative of approximately 90 percent of all families in Israel. For the purpose of the following analysis, we restricted the data to include only Jewish households whose heads resided in Israel for at least one year.⁶ The unit of analysis in this study is the household since we are interested in the patterns of homeownership, an asset shared by all household members. The total sample includes 5,253 immigrant households⁷ and 5,710 households whose head was Israeli-born.

Variables

The dependent variable of interest in this study is *homeownership*—whether or not the household has ownership of the housing unit (home or apartment) in which it resides.⁸ Five independent variables are central to the study. They include *immigration status*, *period of migration*, *years since migration*, *ethnic origin*, and *community of residence*. Immigration status distinguishes immigrants (coded 1) from Israeli-born (coded 0). Period of migration is defined by a set of dummy variables that distinguish among six historical periods: prior to 1947, 1947–1952, 1953–1960, 1961–1970, 1971–1980, and after 1980. The first period, “Before 1947,” captures migration prior to Israel’s independence. The second period, “1947–1952,” includes the years of mass-migration following the establishment of the state. The third period, “1953–1960,” is characterized by immigration absorption policies that directed the population to the periphery. The years 1961–1970 was a period of both gradual decline of immigration and the beginning of state withdrawal from direct intervention in the housing market. The 1970s witnessed a major shift in state policy. Intervention in the housing market shifted from the supply-side to the demand-side (subsidized mortgage loans). At the same time, immigrant absorption policies had changed, giving the immigrants greater freedom to choose their place of residence and to use the re-settlement funds they received. Since our latest data are from 1992, we combine all the years following 1981 into one period. This was a period of greater market orientation in both the immigrant absorption and the housing arenas. Yet, the sheer size of immigration (especially after 1989) posed substantial challenges to both the immigrants and the receiving society.

Years since migration is the number of years the head of household had resided in Israel at the time of the survey. Using a quasi-panel design, we are also able to combine the three

6. This study is concerned with the relationship between immigration and homeownership. Since the Arab residents of Israel (with few exceptions) are native-born, they are not included in the analysis. It should also be noted that in recent years a growing number of non-Jews have entered Israel. Some are guest workers and others are family members of Jewish immigrants from the Former Soviet Union. The formers were excluded because of their temporary status. The latter were included if the head of household was Jewish.

7. This refers to households whose head was not native-born and who immigrated to Israel at age 15 or older.

8. Available data provide information on homeownership at the time of the survey. Unfortunately, there is no information on the year of purchase. Hence, we cannot estimate a time-sensitive model such as the hazard function for homeownership. Our model will, however, measure the effects of various factors on the likelihood of owning a home at a given point in time. This model is likely to underestimate group differences in the speed of attaining homeownership.

surveys in order to separate the effects of duration in the country from the effects of the specific period of immigration. Ethnic origin identifies three groups according to fathers' continent of birth: Jews of European (mostly Ashkenazi) origin, Jews of Middle East origin, and Jews of North African descent (the latter groups are mostly Sephardi Jews). Community of residence distinguishes between peripheral localities such as development towns, and other urban centers.

A number of additional variables are also included in the study as controls. These are household income, size of the household, age, education, employment status, and marital status of the head of the household. Household income is measured in constant Israeli Shekels and includes income from all sources. The number of adults and children residing in the household measures the household size. Age (in years) and education (the number of school years completed) are provided for the head of household. Employment status distinguishes between heads of households that are gainfully employed (coded 1) and those with no labor market income at the time of the survey (coded 0).⁹ Lastly, marital status is defined by two dummy variables which contrast households with unmarried male heads and female heads, separately, with married couples.

Findings

Descriptive Overview

Table 2 provides descriptive statistics for immigrant groups by continent of migration and for native-born Israelis. Two aspects of homeownership are noteworthy. First, the rates are rather high, reaching 80 percent among native-born Israelis and just somewhat lower for most immigrants. Second, North African immigrants have substantially lower rates of homeownership than immigrants from Europe and the Middle East (55 percent as compared to 76 percent).

Immigrants from Middle Eastern countries arrived earlier, on average, than other immigrant groups. This is evident from the mean values of years since migration (31 years for the former and 26 years for the latter).¹⁰ Immigrants from North Africa and The Middle East have fewer years of formal schooling than do European immigrants, and they have a lower family income. Additionally, North African immigrants are much more likely to reside in peripheral communities, when compared to each of the other groups (over half of the immigrants from North African countries reside in peripheral communities, compared to less than one quarter of Middle East and European immigrants). As noted earlier, this residential segregation is due primarily to the confluence of the timing of immigration of North African Jews and the population dispersion policy enacted at the time. The fact that these immigrants had less opportunity to leave these peripheral communities due to their meager resources and lack of social or political ties, further reinforced segregation patterns. In order to disentangle the complex relationships of migration period, residential location, and market position, we will use multivariate models to evaluate the separate effects of socioeconomic characteristics, time of immigration, and place of residence on differential rates of homeownership.

Determinants of Homeownership

We estimated a number of models using logistic regression techniques. This examination was repeated for each of the survey years separately and for the three surveys combined. Each

9. We introduce this variable along with household income and age since, in some cases, current income may be a poor proxy for life-long earnings (as in the case of retired persons).

10. The lower mean value for European immigrants reflects the extraordinarily large wave of migration that arrived from the Former Soviet Union in the 1990s.

Table 2 • Descriptive Statistics of Major Attributes by Ethnicity

Variables	Immigrants from Africa	Immigrants from the Middle East	Immigrants from Europe	Israeli Born
Owner (%)	55	76	76	80
YSM ^a	26.6	31.0	26.0	—
Periphery (%)	53.0	24.5	19.6	19.5
Family size	4.1	3.4	2.6	4.1
Family income	818.1	740.5	832.7	1,502.7
Education	7.5	7.4	11.9	12.0
Age	55.9	59.8	59.5	40.0
Married (%)	72.1	68.8	68.2	81.2
N	859	1,005	3,389	5,710

^a Years since migration.

model was estimated twice: Once (model 1) for the immigrant population, and a second time (model 2) for the entire population. In the models for the immigrant population (model 1), homeownership is taken as a function of the number of years since migration (YSM), ethnic origin, family size, family income, employment status and place of residence, as well as age, education, and marital status of the head of household. In the models for the entire population (model 2), we added to the equation a dummy variable that distinguishes between immigrants (coded 1) and Israeli-born (coded 0). The general form of the estimation model is:

$$\ln\left(\frac{p}{1-p}\right) = a + \sum b_i X_i + \sum c_i D_i$$

where p is the probability of homeownership, X are covariates such as years since migration, years of schooling and age, D represents dichotomous variables such ethnic origin, marital status, and migration status. a is the intercept and b and c are the coefficient estimates representing the effects of the covariates and the dichotomous variables, respectively, on the outcome variable.

The results of these analyses are presented in Table 3. Turning first to the models estimated for the immigrant population (model 1), the findings presented in Table 3 reveal a positive and significant effect of YSM on the likelihood of homeownership in all equations. Every year of residence in the host society increases the likelihood of homeownership by a factor of 1.06 (exponent of $b = 0.06$) in the first two survey periods, and by a slightly larger factor in the last survey period ($b = 0.08$). On the average, then, the homeownership rate for immigrants residing in Israel 10 years is likely to be 34 percent higher than for those who arrived five years later.

The findings also indicate that ethnicity is consequential for homeownership irrespective of the time of migration. Other things being equal, the likelihood of homeownership is lower for immigrants who arrived from North African countries when compared to immigrants from the Middle East or from European countries. No differences are evident, however, between the latter groups when evaluated at conventional level of statistical significance.¹¹ Although the differences between North Africans and other immigrant groups are still significant, they are reduced when the socioeconomic variables and years since migration are taken into account. For example, the odds-ratio of homeownership for immigrants from the Middle East vs. North African immigrants is 2.7:1 when calculated from Table 2, and less than 2:1 after controlling for socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. These results suggest that part

11. This is true for all but equation 1 for 1986–1987.

Table 3 • Unstandardized Regression Coefficients from Logit Models Predicting Homeownership (1, Immigrants; 2, Total Population)^a

Variables	Survey Year							
	1975-1976		1986-1987		1992-1993		All	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Origin group								
North Africa ^b	-.93**	-.90**	-.73**	-.91**	-.52*	-.52**	-.72**	-.81**
	(.23)	(.18)	(.17)	(.11)	(.21)	(.12)	(.11)	(.07)
Europe ^b	-.22	-.12	.39*	.13	.33	.14	.21	.10
	(.20)	(.15)	(.16)	(.10)	(.19)	(.11)	(.10)	(.07)
Immigration status								
YSM ^c	.06**	.05**	.06**	.02**	.08**	.03**	.07**	.03**
	(.01)	(.005)	(.01)	(.003)	(.01)	(.003)	(.003)	(.002)
Immigrant		-.46**		-.78**		-1.21**		-.94**
		(.16)		(.11)		(.11)		(.07)
Socioeconomic status								
Family income × 10 ^{3c}	1.00**	1.4**	.50**	.30**	.50**	.30**	.40**	.30**
	(.30)	(.20)	(.10)	(.06)	(.08)	(.04)	(.06)	(.03)
Working	-.15	.36*	-.08	.19	-.20	.11	.01	.17*
	(.21)	(.17)	(.17)	(.12)	(.19)	(.13)	(.10)	(.08)
Education	.07**	.06**	.04**	.018	.026	.007	.04**	.02**
	(.017)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.014)	(.01)	(.008)	(.006)
Demographic attributes								
Periphery ^d	-.58**	-.55**	-.69**	-.56**	-.12	-.16	-.49**	-.44**
	(.17)	(.14)	(.12)	(.09)	(.13)	(.09)	(.08)	(.06)
Family size	-.13*	-.03	-.06	.10**	.05	.09**	-.03	.09**
	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)	(.02)	(.05)	(.03)	(.02)	(.016)
Age	-.01	.009	-.01**	.02*	.013*	.04**	-.005	.02**
	(.007)	(.005)	(.006)	(.004)	(.006)	(.004)	(.003)	(.002)
Unmarried male ^f	-.44	-.76**	-1.04**	-1.31**	-.81**	-.78**	-.52**	-.80**
	(.34)	(.27)	(.22)	(.15)	(.25)	(.16)	(.11)	(.08)
Unmarried female ^f	-.17	.03	-.38**	-.47**	-.65**	-.70**	-.41**	-.48**
	(.36)	(.28)	(.15)	(.11)	(.17)	(.12)	(.09)	(.07)
Constant	.31	-.15	-.004	-.19	-2.23	-1.29	-.73	-.53
	(.56)	(.38)	(.47)	(.27)	(.50)	(.30)	(.28)	(.17)
-2 log likelihood	1,579	2,396	1,966	5,045	2,190	4,486	6,160	11,928
N	1,281	1,996	2,072	4,765	1,900	4,154	5,253	10,915

^a Standard errors are in parentheses.^b Contrasted with immigrants from the Middle East.^c Years since migration.^d Development towns in the North and South.^e Total earnings from work (December 1992 Israeli Shekels).^f Contrasted with married persons.

*p < 0.05 **p < 0.01

of the observed disadvantage of immigrants from North Africa (relative to other immigrant groups) is due to the time of their arrival and their socioeconomic characteristics. These, however, do not account for the entire gap, and ethnic disparities still remain.

The equations for the entire population (model 2) estimate the extent to which immigrants and native-born Israelis differ in the rates of homeownership. The negative coefficient of the immigrant variable indicates that immigrants are less likely than native-born to own their home. The findings also suggest that the disparity in the rates of homeownership between immigrants and native-born Israelis is more pronounced in the recent surveys as compared to the earlier ones. More specifically, in 1975–1976, the odds of immigrants' owning a housing unit relative to the odds of the average native-born Israeli, were 0.63 (exponent $b = -0.46$). In 1992–1993, the odds ratio was only 0.30 (exponent of $b = -1.21$). The difference between the coefficients for "immigrant" in the first two periods ($b = -.46$ and $b = -.78$, respectively) is not statistically significant, whereas the coefficient estimate in 1992–1993 is significantly lower than in the previous periods. This indicates that the odds of immigrants' owning their homes compared to native-born Israelis were worse in the later period. This is not surprising in view of the massive immigration wave from the former Soviet Union beginning in the late 1980s.

The analyses presented in Table 3 further reveals a relationship between homeownership and a number of social and demographic characteristics. Most notably, the likelihood of homeownership tends to increase with family income. Residence in peripheral communities was negatively associated with homeownership in 1975 and 1986 (but not in 1992).¹² Marital status has a positive effect on homeownership in that married couples are more likely to own a housing unit than non-married men or women. Finally, the effects of family size, age, and education on homeownership do not appear to be consistent.

Testing for Period Effects

The results presented thus far show that both ethnicity and years since migration exert a significant effect on the likelihood of homeownership. Estimates based on cross-sectional data from single surveys, however, do not permit one to separate the effect of duration in the host society from the period effect; that is the "vintage" effect associated with the specific arrival time. By combining the data from the three surveys, we are able to construct a synthetic cohort analysis in which period of migration is distinct from the years of residence in Israeli society and their separate effects on the likelihood of homeownership may be estimated. In order to disentangle these effects, a number of equations were estimated using the combined data set. These analyses were performed for immigrants only, since the issue of concern is the unique effect of period of migration and tenure in the host society on homeownership. The form of this estimation model is similar to the previous one except that a set of dummy variables is added to represent the various periods of migration.¹³

The coefficient estimates from these analyses are presented in Table 4. In Model 1, we consider the effects of migration during various periods on the likelihood of homeownership, controlling for the number of years that passed from time of migration to the survey year. Also included in the model are ethnic origin, place of residence, and socio-demographic characteristics. The period of migration has a distinctive effect on homeownership irrespective of the number of years since migration.¹⁴ Some periods were clearly more advantageous than

12. This difference in the effect of peripheral residence is probably due to the recent wave of migration from the former Soviet Union. The immigrants were recent arrivals in the survey of 1992–1993 and, thus, were unlikely to own a housing unit at the time. They also tended to shy away from peripheral communities.

13. For a similar application of this estimation procedure, see Bloom and Gunderson (1990), who used it to study labor market assimilation of immigrants to Canada.

14. Time of migration was divided into 6 distinct periods. The period of 1961–1970 was used as the comparison category. Hence, each period coefficient indicates the difference in homeownership between immigrants who arrived at a particular time and those who arrived between 1960–1970.

Table 4 • Unstandardized Regression Coefficients from Logit Models Predicting Homeownership among Immigrants^a

Variables	1	2	3
Origin group ^b			
North Africa	-.71** (.12)	-.73** (.12)	-.92** (.32)
Europe	.29** (.11)	.30** (.11)	-.23 (.23)
Immigration status ^c			
YSM	.06** (.012)	.12** (.014)	.05** (.01)
YSMSQ		-.0011** (.0002)	
North Africa * YSM			.007 (.01)
Europe * YSM			.02** (.007)
Migration period			
Before 1947	-.47* (.20)	-.19 (.22)	-.53* (.21)
1947-1952	.36** (.13)	.33* (.14)	.38** (.13)
1953-1960	.21 (.13)	.15 (.13)	.23 (.13)
1961-1970			
1971-1980	.32* (.13)	.49** (.13)	.38** (.13)
After 1980	-.96** (.16)	-.45* (.20)	-.83** (.17)
Socioeconomic status			
Family income × 10 ^{3d}	.20** (.02)	.20** (.02)	.20** (.02)
Working	-.13 (.11)	-.13 (.11)	-.13 (.11)
Education	.05** (.009)	.05** (.009)	.05** (.009)
Demographic attributes			
Periphery ^e	-.48** (.08)	-.50** (.08)	-.48** (.08)
Family size	-.03 (.025)	-.04 (.025)	-.04 (.025)
Age	-.005 (.003)	-.005 (.003)	-.005 (.003)
Unmarried male ^f	-.52** (.12)	-.52** (.12)	-.53** (.12)
Unmarried female ^f	-.38** (.09)	-.40** (.10)	-.37** (.09)
Constant	-.78** (.30)	-1.44** (.33)	-.41 (.35)
-2 log likelihood	4,898.58	4,875.11	4,881.55
N	5,253	5,253	5,253

^a Standard errors are in parentheses.

^b Contrasted with immigrants from Asia.

^c Years since migration.

^d Total earnings from work, (December 1992 Israeli Shekels).

^e Development towns in the North and South peripheries.

^f Contrasted with married persons.

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$

others. Specifically, immigrants who arrived immediately after the establishment of the state (1947-1952) and those who immigrated in the 1970s are more likely than other immigrants to own their homes. The period prior to Israel's independence was less advantageous and the most recent period (after 1980) even more so.

Other things being equal, the odds of owning a home for recent immigrants compared to immigrants who arrived between 1961-1970, are almost one to three (exponent of -0.96 is 0.37). It is somewhat premature, however, to reach firm conclusions from this finding since our data are "right-hand" censored. The majority of the immigrant population that arrived in the late 1980s and early 1990s were in Israel less than three years at the time of the most recent survey. It is not surprising, then, that only a fraction of this population would own their housing unit so soon after arrival.

Some caution is also required in interpreting the situation of early arrivals (prior to 1947). When homeownership is modeled as a linear function of years since migration, the net effect of earliest period is negative. This does not mean that the rate of ownership in this group is lower than that of other groups, but rather that it is lower than expected given the duration of their residence in Israel. The early period effect is not significant, however, when homeownership is predicted as a curve-linear function of years since migration (model 2). In any event, it can be concluded that immigrants who arrived prior to statehood (before implementation of state-sponsored housing policies) were not unduly advantaged when compared with later arrivals.

Turning to social and demographic characteristics, ethnicity exerts a significant effect on homeownership, independent of period of arrival. Other things being equal, immigrants from North African countries are less likely to own a housing unit than immigrants from other geo-cultural areas, while immigrants from Europe have the highest likelihood of homeownership. Immigrants from the Middle East are in between the two groups. As in the cross-sectional models presented in Table 3, residence in peripheral communities reduces the likelihood of homeownership. After controlling for ethnicity and period of migration, residents of peripheral communities exhibit lower rates of homeownership than residents of more centrally located communities. This is probably a reflection of the fact that peripheral communities have proportionately more public housing to serve weaker segments of the population. The weak labor market of these communities limited the ability of large segments of the population to accumulate funds sufficient for the purchase their own housing.

Years of schooling and family earnings are positively related to homeownership. Better educated immigrants and those with high earnings are more likely than others to own their home as do married couples. The findings further reveal that the likelihood of homeownership increases with the passage of time. This is evident from the positive and significant effect of YSM ($b = 0.06$). Net of other variables, every year of residence in the host society increases the odds of homeownership among immigrants by a factor of 1.06 (exponent of 0.06).

In order to address the hypothesis that the positive effect of years since migration on homeownership is curve-linear (i.e., a positive, monotonous effect with a decreasing slope), we estimated a polynomial term in Model 2. The significant negative coefficient for the squared term of years since migration ($b = -0.0011$), along with the positive coefficient for years since migration ($b = 0.12$), indicates that the effect of time in the host society diminishes over the years. The slope declines, however, at a very moderate rate so the (theoretical) parabola reaches its peak only after 100 years. Effectively, then, for all immigrants, the likelihood of homeownership is enhanced with the passage of time since arrival.

The evidence of disparities in homeownership among immigrant groups from diverse origins, irrespective of period of migration, raises the question regarding the rate of increase in homeownership and whether the gaps disappear with the passage of time. In order to examine the proposition that immigrants from different ethnic origins were launched into different trajectories *vis-à-vis* the probability of homeownership, we added interaction terms of ethnicity and years since migration to Model 3.¹⁵

The coefficient estimates in Model 3 reveal no significant interaction effect for North African origin (contrasted with the Middle East), but a positive and significant interaction effect of European origin with years since arrival. Hence, the impact of every year of residence in Israel on the (log) odds of homeownership for European immigrants is 0.07 ($0.05 + 0.02$) compared to 0.05 for immigrants from the Middle East. This suggests that European and Middle East immigrants have different trajectories, resulting in an increasing gap in homeownership in favor of the former group over time. In order to illustrate the relationship between ethnicity years since migration and homeownership, we calculated the expected probability of owning a home as a function of years since migration for immigrants with mean socioeconomic char-

15. The Chi-square test for the difference between model 3 and model 1 yielded a result of $\chi^2 = 11.65$, with 2 degrees of freedom. This is statistically significant at $\alpha = 0.01$.

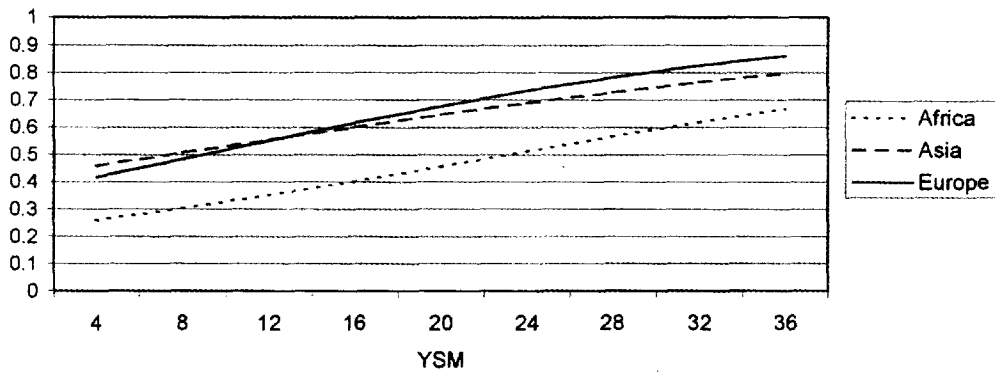


Figure 1 • Probability of Homeownership by Years Since Migration

acteristics (based on the estimates for Model 3 in Table 4). The results of this estimation procedure are presented in Figure 1. The curves provide a visual illustration of the expected growth of homeownership, taking into account the different starting points and different trajectories that characterize the three ethnic groups.

The figure reveals that while European and Middle Eastern immigrants have similar expected rates of homeownership upon arrival, European ownership increases more rapidly, resulting in a growing gap. Homeownership upon arrival is considerably lower among North African immigrants and, even after 35 years of residence, they are unable to close the gap with other immigrant groups (although the disparity vis-à-vis immigrants from the Middle East narrowed somewhat). It should be emphasized that these estimates are for immigrants with similar age, education, earnings, and family size. Hence, the disparities cannot be explained by dissimilar positions of the ethnic groups in the labor market, and they pose a quandary concerning the social mechanisms at work. We will address this issue and elaborate on several possible explanations in the discussion that follows.

Discussion

The objective of this study was to examine the social factors associated with differential success of immigrant groups in the Israeli housing market. Four important conclusions concerning the process of migration and homeownership emerged from the findings. The first conclusion is that one's position in the housing market is strongly linked to the duration of residence in the host society. In line with studies of the labor market assimilation of immigrants, it appears that time plays an important role in the housing market as well. That is, the likelihood of homeownership increases with the passage of time. This represents improved knowledge of the housing market, as well as a growing commitment to the host society. The purchase of housing, however, also requires some amount of capital, the accumulation of which requires a certain period of activity in the labor market. Hence, the longer the immigrant has been in the host society, the more likely it is that some capital for housing was accumulated.

A second finding is that the likelihood of homeownership is affected by the specific period of migration (independent of length of time since migration). In Israel, the most advantageous period of migration from this standpoint, was immediately following the establishment of the

state. By way of contrast, the period since the mid-1980s has been the least advantageous to immigrants. These period effects are closely associated with different housing and immigration policies. Although economic conditions in Israel during and immediately following the war for its independence were dismal and labor market opportunities were scarce, housing opportunities were available as a result of the large number of vacated housing units following the flight of Palestinians from urban and village communities. Furthermore, during this period, the State took it upon itself to construct housing units for the immigrants. Since housing construction during this phase was concentrated in and near the urban centers, they attracted many of the immigrants who sought proximity to the central labor market. By the mid-1950s, however, a new policy emerged. The state, still intensively involved in land allocation and the actual construction of housing, focused its efforts on developing the peripheral regions and to dispersion of the population away from the center. Immigrants who arrived in the late 1950s and the 1960s were overwhelmingly directed to the peripheral communities where they were offered low quality, unattractive, housing which many rented from the state. In the 1970s, government policy changed once again. The housing market was liberalized, somewhat, and immigrants were able to purchase housing in the private market and to choose their place of residence. At the same time, the government-sponsored home mortgage program expanded markedly, providing generous loans to immigrants and native-born young couples. The combination of these two factors rendered this period considerably more advantageous than most other periods of migration to Israel.

The third noteworthy point is that residence in small peripheral communities was associated with lower rates of homeownership, even after controlling for period of migration and individual characteristics. This may stand for some unobserved traits of the residents, but also may be a genuine effect of the community type. The labor market in peripheral communities provided limited opportunities, most of which generated meager earnings. As a result, it was extremely difficult to accumulate resources for a down payment on housing, or to repay a mortgage. Thus, many residents in these communities opted for low quality rental public housing. While this arrangement generally provided adequate housing, it precluded the accumulation of wealth associated with homeownership.

The fourth conclusion emerging from the study underscores the significant relationship between ethnic origin and the likelihood of homeownership. Our findings revealed a strong relationship between homeownership and ethnicity, net of time, and period effects. No claim is made here concerning intrinsic differences among immigrant groups regarding their motivation for housing or other cultural preferences. Hence, we are left with residual interpretations as to what factors may have been omitted from the models might account for the observed patterns. A number of explanations are possible and most likely, several factors operated in conjunction. An important factor is ethnic differences in wealth at the time of arrival in the host society (Krivov 1995). Immigration to Israel was largely a refugee migration so that most arrivals brought very little or no assets. Nonetheless, differences among groups did exist. Immigrants from Europe, especially those that arrived right after Israel's independence, were survivors of the Holocaust. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, many of them received considerable sums as reparations from Germany. Past studies have shown that part of the reparations were used by European immigrants for the purchase of housing (Landsberger 1967). Indeed, these resources set the European immigrants (as a group) apart from immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa.

As to the disparity between immigrants groups from the Middle East and North Africa: here, too, family assets (of which we had no measure) may provide part of the explanation. Although the information is mostly anecdotal and, to our knowledge, there is no systematic data on the issue, it seems that immigrants from the Middle East (coming mostly from Iraq) were able to transfer part of their wealth to Israel before their arrival. Gat (1989) noted that large sums were smuggled out of Iraq during the second half of 1950, just before Jewish assets were frozen. Similarly, Hillel (1985) reported various plans that were examined to facilitate

the transfer of Jewish assets out of Iraq. Although a direct connection cannot be drawn, it is quite possible that this capital provided many immigrants from the Middle East with an advantage in the housing market.

It is also possible that the disadvantage of immigrants from North Africa resulted from institutional discrimination. Since housing construction and allocation was highly centralized, certain biases or outright prejudice on the part of bureaucrats could lead to such results. Indeed, we noted earlier in the paper, some research results that pointed in that direction. Yet it is difficult to assess how widespread this phenomenon was. We would argue that this accounts for part of the disadvantageous position of North African Jews in the housing market. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that it accounts for most of the observed gap.

Addressing broader implications of our study, several points are noteworthy. The general pattern of the findings reported is consistent with results from studies in other immigrant societies. Ethnic disparities in homeownership exist in Israel, as in other immigrant societies (Alba and Logan 1992; Balakrishnan and Wu 1992). Only part of these differences can be explained by unequal socioeconomic attributes. While the rate of homeownership tends to rise with duration in the host society, ethnic disparities do not totally disappear. Nevertheless, when comparing the rates of homeownership and the patterns of ethnic inequality, it is apparent that the findings must be understood within the unique context of Israel's political economy.

Two features of Israeli society are particularly relevant: first, immigration to Israel is limited to Jews, who are viewed as a returning Diaspora. The receiving society is highly committed to their successful integration. Not only do they gain Israeli citizenship rights upon arrival, but they also receive generous financial support to aid in their resettlement. In this regard, Jewish immigrants to Israel are privileged compared to immigrants in most other societies. Most likely, the Israeli case provides a view of the upper bound on immigrants' success in the housing market. Indeed, homeownership rates among immigrants in Israel are considerably higher, and disparities among Jews from different geo-cultural origins are narrower, than ethnic gaps in other immigrant societies (Balakrishnan and Wu 1992; Bourassa 1994; Krivo 1995).

Lastly, it should be noted that unlike other immigrant societies (e.g., Australia, Canada, the United States) that are dominated by market economies, decision making in Israel is more centralized and the state is a major actor with regard to immigrant absorption, in general, and housing policy, in particular. Our findings revealed the differential constraints and opportunities structured by state policies and their effect on immigrants' life chances. This was manifest in meaningful period effects on immigrants' rate of homeownership. Importantly, these effects held true even after controlling for length of residence in the host society. We may further conclude from our study that in economies such as Israel's, where political considerations supercede economic efficiency, position in the labor market is less useful in explaining disparities in homeownership. That is, differences in homeownership among immigrant groups, as well as between immigrants and native-born, can be better understood as a result of social and political factors than by market processes.

Since homeownership represents the major form of household wealth, inequality in homeownership is consequential, not only for first generation immigrants, but for inequality in future generations as well.

References

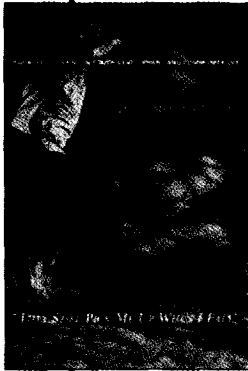
- Alba, Richard D. and John R. Logan
1992 "Assimilation and stratification in the homeownership patterns of racial and ethnic groups." *International Migration Review* 26:1314-1341.

- Balakrishnan, T. R. and Zheng Wu
1992 "Home ownership patterns and ethnicity in selected Canadian cities." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 17:389-403.
- Baldassare, Mark
1986 "Timing and position in the housing market." *Sociology and Social Research* 70:279-280.
- Blau, Francine D. and J. W. Graham
1990 "Black and white differences in wealth and asset composition." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 105:321-340.
- Bloom, David E. and Morley Gunderson
1990 "An analysis of the earning of Canadian immigrants." In *Immigration, Trade, and Labor Market*, ed. Richard Freeman and John M. Abowd. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Blum, Terry and Paul Kingston
1984 "Homeownership and social attachment." *Sociological Perspectives* 27:159-180.
- Borjas, G.
1995 "Assimilation and changes in cohort quality revisited: What happened to immigrant earnings in the 1980s?" *Journal of Labor Economics* 13:201-245.
- Borjas, G. and Marta Tienda
1993 "The employment and wages of legalized immigrants." *International Migration Review* 27:712-748.
- Bourassa, S. C.
1994 "Immigration and housing tenure choice in Australia." *Journal of Housing Research* 5:117-137.
- Carmon, Naomi and Daniel Czamanski
1992 "Housing in Israel, 1948-1988, from planned economy to semi-free market management." *Housing Science* 16:32-55.
- Carmon, Naomi
1999 "Housing policy in Israel: The first 50 years." In *Public Policy in Israel*, ed. David Nachmias and Gila Menahem. Jerusalem: Israel Institute of Democracy (Hebrew), 381-436.
- Chiswick, Barry
1979 "The economic progress of immigrants: Some apparently universal patterns." In *Contemporary Economic Problems*, ed. W. Feller. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 357-399.
- Doran, A. and H. Kargar
1993 "The politics of immigration policy in Israel." *International Migration* 31:497-512.
- Dreier, P.
1982 "The status of tenants in the United States." *Social Problems* 30:179-198.
- Elmelech, Yuval and Noah Lewin-Epstein
1998 "Immigration and housing in Israel: Another look at ethnic inequality." *Megamot* (Hebrew) 39:243-269.
- Forrest, Ray, Alan Murie, and P. Williams
1990 *Home Ownership*. London: Unwin.
- Gat, Moshe
1989 *A Jewish Community in Crisis: Exodus from Iraq, 1948-1951*. Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center (Hebrew).
- Golan, A.
1993 Changing the Settlement Map in Areas Vacated by the Arab Population as a Result of the War of Independence, in the Territory Where the State of Israel was Established, 1948-1950. Ph.D. Dissertation, The Hebrew University Jerusalem (Hebrew).
- Gonen, Amiram
1975 "Locational and ecological aspects of urban public sector housing: The Israeli case." In *The Social Economy of Cities*, ed. G. Gappert and H. M. Rose, 275-297. Berkeley: Sage.
- Hamnett, Chris
1991 "A nation of inheritors? Housing inheritance, wealth and inequality in Britain." *Journal of Social Policy* 20:509-536.
- Hillel, Shlomo
1985 *Easterly Wind: In the Service of the Underground to the Arab Countries*. Tel Aviv: Adanim (Hebrew).
- Holmans, A. E.
1987 *Housing Policy in Britain: A History*. London: Croom Helm.

- Inbar, Michael and Chaim Adler
 1977 *Ethnic Integration in Israel: A Comparative Case Study of Moroccan Brothers who Settled in France and in Israel*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.
- Khazzoom, Aziza
 1998 *The Origins of Ethnic Inequality among Jews in Israel*. PhD Dissertation. University of California at Berkeley.
- Kemeny, Jim
 1980 "Homeownership and privatization." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 4:372-387.
- Kirschenbaum, A.
 1982 "The impact of new towns in rural communities in rural regions on population redistribution in Israel." *Rural Sociology* 47:692-704.
- Krivo, Lauren J.
 1986 "Home ownership differences between Hispanics and Anglos in the United States." *Social Problems* 33:319-333.
 1995 "Immigrant characteristics and Hispanic-Anglo housing inequality." *Demography*. 32:599-615.
- Landsberger, Michael
 1967 "The distribution of assets in Israel, 1963/64." *Bank of Israel Review* 28:3-14.
- Lewin-Epstein, Noah, Yuval Elmelech and Moshe Semyonov
 1997 "Ethnic inequality in home-ownership and the value of housing: The case of immigrants in Israel." *Social Forces* 75(4):1439-1462.
- Lu-Yon, Hubert and Rachel Kalush
 1994 *Housing in Israel: Policy and Inequality*. Tel Aviv: Adva Center (Hebrew).
- Malpass, P. and A. Murie
 1987 *Housing Policy and Practice*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Matras, Judah
 1973 "Israel's new frontiers: The urban periphery." In *Israel: Social Structure and Social Change*, ed. M. Curtis and M. S. Chertoff, 3-14. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.
- Morris, Benny
 1990 *1948 and After: Israel and the Palestinians*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Munro, Moira
 1988 "Housing wealth and inheritance." *Journal of Social Policy* 17:417-436.
- Myers, Dowell and Seong Woo Lee
 1998 "Immigrant trajectories into homeownership: A temporal analysis of residential assimilation." *International Migration Review* 32:593-625.
- Neidert, L. J. and R. Farley
 1985 "Assimilation in the United States: An analysis of ethnic and generation differences in status and achievement." *American Sociological Review* 50:840-850.
- Oliver, Melvin L. and Thomas M. Shapiro
 1995 *Black Wealth/White Wealth*. New York: Routledge.
- Parcel, Toby L.
 1982 "Wealth accumulation of black and white men: The case of housing equity." *Social Problems* 30:199-211.
- Portes, Alejandro and R. Rumbaut
 1990 *Immigrant America: A portrait*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Portes, Alejandro and A. Stepick
 1985 "Unwelcome immigrants: The labor market experiences of 1980 (Mariel) Cuban and Haitian refugees in South Florida." *American Sociological Review* 50:493-514.
- Poston, Dudley L., Jr.
 1988 "The socioeconomic attainment patterns of Asian Americans." *Journal of Sociology* 19:213-234.
 1994 "Patterns of economic attainment of foreign-born male workers in the United States." *International Migration Review* 28:478-500.
- Raijman, Rebeca and Moshe Semyonov
 1995 "Modes of labor market incorporation and occupational cost among new immigrants to Israel." *International Migration Review* 29:375-393.

- Rosenhak, Ze'ev
1996 *Housing Policy and the Arabs in Israel, 1948-1977*. Jerusalem: Florsheimer Institute for Policy Research (Hebrew).
- Saunders, P.
1978 "Domestic property and social class." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 2:233-251.
1990 *A Nation of Home Owners*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Semyonov, M. and N. Lewin-Epstein
2000 "Immigration and ethnicity in Israel: Returning diaspora and nation building." In *Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants in 20th Century Europe*, ed. Rainer Muentz. London: Frank Cass.
- Semyonov, Moshe
1997 "On the cost of being an immigrant in Israeli: The effects of tenure, origin and gender." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 15:115-131.
- Semyonov, Moshe and Tamar Lerenthal
1991 "Country of origin, gender, and the attainment of socioeconomic status: A study of stratification in the Jewish population of Israel." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 10:327-345.
- Spiegel, Erika
1966 *New Towns in Israel*. Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag.
- Thorns, David C.
1981 "Owner occupation: Its significance for wealth transfer and class formation." *Sociological Review* 29:705-729.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census
1992 *Income, Poverty and wealth in the United States: A Chart Book*. Current Population Report, series P-60, no. 179. Government Printing Office.

Who cares?



"They Still Pick Me Up When I Fall"

The Role of Caring in Youth Development and Community Life
Diana Mendley Rauner

Rauner demonstrates a direct connection between caring in face-to-face interactions and caring organizations and a caring society, arguing that such a connection is central to our teaching of and expectations for youth. She also posits caring as a way to conceptualize social justice and recognize the connection between public and private morality. Each chapter opens with an overview of a youth-serving organization and includes at least one case study.

224 pages • \$21.50 paper

Parenting in Public

Family Shelter and Public Assistance
Donna Haig Friedman

Friedman takes as her central assumption the idea that a family's quality of life is greatly impacted by the quality of the organizational climate and of their help-receiving encounters within the shelter setting. She also proposes a revolutionary reassessment of the ways we as a national community act toward these families.

"A landmark book—it will help us to understand how children grow up (and parents do their family work) under the most difficult of circumstances."

—Robert Coles, Harvard University

286 pages • \$22.50 paper

Sign up for bulletins of new books in your field at
www.columbia.edu/cu/cup/catalog

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

columbia.edu/cu/cup 800-944-8648