

IMMIGRANTS E. B.
LIABILITY
OR ASSET ?

INNOVATIVE
RESEARCH
AND POLICY
IMPLICATIONS

EDITED BY
NAOMI CARMON

CONTENTS

Introduction
Naomi Carmon

Schedule of the Workshop

Biographical Sketches of Contributors to this collection and Active Participants in the Workshop

PART ONE: OVERVIEWS OF MIGRATION AND ABSORPTION PROCESSES 1

International Migration in Europe: Critical Factors of Absorption in the Receiving Countries 3
Peter Nijkamp and Katharina Spiess

Immigration and Integration: Lessons from Southern California 41
William A.V. Clark

Rethinking Migration: Having Roots in Two Worlds 69
Janet Scheff and David Hernandez

American Migration to Israel and Australia 93
Bernard M. Lazerwitz and Ephraim Tabori

Earlier Immigration to the United States: Historical Clues for Current Issues of Absorption 135
Stanley Lieberman

The Politics of Immigrant Absorption: A Comparative Perspective 153
Myron Weiner

PART TWO: EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS 177

Immigration Impacts on Local Employment and Ethnic Minorities 179
Maria E. Enchautegui

Chinese Immigrant and African-American-Owned Small Business:
A Comparative Analysis in Denver 203
Yuk Lee, Peter V. Schaeffer, Theresa Cameron and Charles G. Schmidt

Social Values and Health Policy: Immigrant Physicians in the Israeli Health Care System 247
Judith Shoval and Judith Bernstein

Absorption of Soviet Immigrants into the Israeli Labor Market:
Occupational Substitution and Retention 279
Karnit Flug, Nitsa Kasir and Gur Ofer

Immigration and Capital Mobility: The Case of Israel 379
Zvi Hercowitz and Leora Rubin-Meridor

PART THREE: INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS 417

Theory and Practice of Immigration and Race-Relations Policy: 419
Some Thoughts on British and French Experience
John Crowley

Immigration and Settlement in Australia: An Overview of Recent Policies 451
D.L. Jayasuriya

PART FOUR: HOUSING AND URBAN PROCESSES 487

The Settlement Process of Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union 489
Shlomo Hasson

Large Immigration Waves: The Impacts on Housing Provisions and Housing Policy 525
Hugo Priemus

NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTING INSTITUTIONS

The Technion - Israel Institute of Technology

The S. Neaman Institute for Advanced Studies in Science and Technology

The Klutznick Center for Urban and Regional Studies

INTRODUCTION

Naomi Carmon

The tendency to migrate is a basic human characteristic. The origin of *homo sapiens* has not been ascertained beyond all doubt, but the experts seem to agree that our species first appeared on the African continent, and that it has ever since spread out over the planet. The current spatial distribution of people in the world has been created through various kinds of small- and large-scale migration movements - raids, invasions, conquests, slave trade and colonization, as well as pilgrimages and settlement beyond the frontier areas. As a consequence, there are virtually no nations in our world which are ethnically homogeneous.

While Migrating is human, seeing migrants as non-welcome invaders is human as well. The German writer and essayist Hans Magnus Enzensberger illustrates this by a story of two passengers in a railway compartment, who have made themselves at home, their clothes hung up, their luggage stowed away, and the remaining empty seats next to them covered with their newspapers, coats and bags. Suddenly the door opens and two new passengers enter. Their arrival is not welcome. There is a feeling of reluctance when it comes to clearing the vacant seats and making room for the new arrivals. There is an air of solidarity between the first two passengers, even though they are not acquainted. They confront the newcomers as a group. It is their territory which is at stake. They behave as if they were natives who lay claim to the entire space for themselves. Any new arrival is treated as an intruder. Enzensberger's conclusion is that group egoism and xenophobia are anthropological constants, preceding reason. The fact that these traits are universally present shows that they are older than most known forms of social order. *Prima facie* it means that immigration, whatever its motive or extent, will always lead to conflict.

Europeans of these very days tend to behave in accordance with this pessimistic theory. Following the collapse of the Communist regimes in the East, Western European experts predicted the arrival of large waves of Eastern immigrants. Their predictions seem to frighten their publics and their political leaders. Last year (March 1992) I attended the Mass Migration Conference in Vienna, Austria, and heard the local Minister of Finance, the Minister of Education and Science from the Netherlands, and the Minister for Family Affairs from Germany, all struggling with words to describe the disadvantages related to the expected waves. An Austrian colleague told me that there had been deeds, not only words; the frightening watch-dogs^{once} stationed on the ^EWestern side of the border were moved to its Western side and continue to perform their old job: preventing potential migrants from crossing the border from East to West.

The urban civilization (in contrast to ancient nomadic social orders) and the development of the nation states (first in Europe and later in other parts of the world) reduced the extent of migration. In recent years, however, migration to the developed countries is increasing, due to processes of

restructuring of the economy and society in the post-industrial and post-communist states. A meeting of experts held at MIT examined the demographic and economic changes that will shape the urban centers of the industrialized world in the twenty-first century. One of their main conclusions was, that large-scale immigration into the mature industrialized countries seemed destined to occur during the coming decades (*Journal of the American Planning Association*, Winter 1991). TV sets brought to most places on earth the vision of better life, and developed transportation modes made it much easier to reach the better places. Nothing can stop the wish of people to improve their life, and it seems that a significant number of them will choose to do it by way of migrating into the richer countries. "Liberal" politicians in these countries have recently raised the idea of "preventive migration policy", of trying to remove the causes of emigration by evening-out (or at least reducing substantially) the disparities between rich and poor states. In the light of past experience, this task seems beyond the capacity of the industrialized world, not to mention the fact that the political will to do so is nowhere evident.

Do the unavoidable large waves of immigrants also mean unavoidable social conflicts, as Enzensberger's theory argues? In order to answer this crucial question for the fate of the developed world, the absorption processes in the countries of destination should be investigated. This was what our International Workshop on Immigrant Absorption was set up to do.

The workshop is held in Israel, a living laboratory of immigrant absorption. Israel is one of the modern states - like USA, Canada and Australia, all of which outside Europe - which owe their very existence to large-scale immigration. The stories of absorption in these countries, several of which are presented in this volume, give hope to the human race. They teach us that large immigration waves may be an asset rather than a liability. Moreover, there are ways to analyze the relatively successful absorption processes, in order to learn ways of behavior and intervention that may reduce the potential conflicts and increase the benefits derived by all involved parties.

Collegial networking was used to find out the most competent persons for this workshop. They come from several continents, including Europe, America, Australia and Asia, and from various disciplines, including sociology, economics, political science, human geography and urban planning. The richness and diversity of their knowledge and research work is reflected in this collection of in-advance version of papers which were prepared especially for the workshop.

The collection includes several overviews of migration and absorption processes. One of the issues they raise is the definition of immigration; is it the same as it was in past centuries, i.e. a once-in-a-life-time change of place, usually coupled with a strong will to assimilate in the new society, or is it changing in a world of highly developed communication means? Several articles are devoted to

employment and economic aspects, sometimes analyzing them from the point of view of the absorbees and more frequently from the viewpoint of the absorbing economies and societies.

Questions of inter-ethnic relations and the changing concept of multiculturalism are discussed by other authors. Finally, issues of housing and the spatial distribution of the population are analyzed. The papers will be used to enrich the discussions of the accumulated knowledge and assist the participants in analyzing its implications for policy making. Through a process of mutual learning and brainstorming, we intend to develop an agenda for research that will strengthen the interface between research and policy making.

The workshop and this volume have been made possible by the generous support and the hard work of the following institutions and persons:

- The estate of Ladislav and Vilma Segoe, the managers of which kindly decided to provide the main part of the funding for this workshop;
- The American Technion Society, and especially Melvin Bloom and Stanley J. Abrams, whose support enabled us to begin this project;
- Additional financial support and other kinds of assistance was generously provided by :
 - The Ministry of Science and Technology of Israel;
 - The Cultural Center of the American Embassy in Israel and its program assistant for society and education - Ms. Nora Iny;
 - The Israel Scientific Exchange Scheme - Frank Theeman, Australia, and its chairman - Prof. M. Chaikin;
 - The Jewish Agency for Israel;
- The Senior Vice President of the Technion - Professor Paul Singer, kindly and effectively coordinated the support from various sources;
- The S. Neaman Institute for Advanced Studies in Science and Technology at the Technion, its Director, Professor Daniel Weihs and its administrative assistant, Ms. Ruth Rivkind, gave us a vital and efficient assistance;
- The Klutznick Center for Urban and Regional Studies at the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning at the Technion served as the home-base of this voyage; its coordinator - Mr. Amnon Frenkel, its secretary, Ms. Nurit Krengel, and the workshop secretary - Ms. Tamar Eres worked hard and took care of the many administrative details.

My deep thanks go to all of them.

Naomi Carmon

Mount Carmel, Haifa, Israel