

Immigrants as Carriers of Urban Regeneration: International Evidence and an Israeli Case Study

NAOMI CARMON

Graduate Program of Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, Technion—Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa 32000, Israel

ABSTRACT *This article sheds new light on current urban processes, especially in city centres. It distinguishes between public–private partnerships, mainly property-led regeneration projects, and public–individual partnerships, mainly gentrification and renovation efforts by incumbent residents. It points at another potential public–individual partnership—revitalization by immigrants. It claims that this process is emerging as a significant route to urban regeneration. It can be strengthened and may achieve permanence in the urban landscape, if assisted by informed planners collaborating with the local public authorities and local leaders. These claims are supported by evidence from the international literature and by an analysis of a case study in Israel, a country which has received a large wave of immigrants from the former USSR during the 1990s.*

Introduction

The goal of this article is to present and discuss a relatively new urban process—urban regeneration by new immigrants. It opens with a presentation of processes of urban regeneration, mainly current spontaneous processes in large city centres, continues by characterizing trends in immigration and integration, and ties the two fields by looking into the role of immigrants in revitalizing urban areas. Then follow description and analysis of an empirical investigation of this role in the centre of an Israeli city. Finally, the implications of the above on the theory and practice of urban regeneration are discussed.

In the last quarter of our century, following many years of deterioration and frequent failures of renewal and rehabilitation plans (for an overview of three generations of regeneration policies see Carmon (1997)), some positive changes have been observed in inner cities. A highly visible change is property-led urban regeneration (Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989; Healy *et al.*, 1992). Sometimes these projects include housing, mostly for the higher classes; oftentimes they are large-scale business and consumption centres, with shopping malls, convention centres, atrium hotels and high-standard office buildings. In more than several places, they have succeeded in bringing profits to those who invested in them, in attracting locals and tourists to stroll and shop in the older parts of cities, and in increasing the tax base of municipalities. However, the development of these projects created “islands of renewal in seas of decay” (Berry, 1985) and engraved “the image of two cities—one for the rich and one for the poor—on the urban landscape” (Fainstein, 1994, p. 236).

Not only large businesses but also small investors have been attracted back to the city. They were influenced by similar factors, among them the economic restructuring and the attractiveness of low real-estate prices in inner cities. These factors together with demographic changes and new pro-city attitudes, have created the well-documented phenomenon of gentrification. Gentrification has been observed in large cities of the highly developed countries of North America, Australia and Europe (Laska & Spain, 1979; Davies & Champion, 1983; Palen & London, 1984; Gale, 1984, 1990; Smith & Williams, 1986; van Weesep & Musterd, 1991; Clark, 1992), and also in the author's country—Israel, especially in Tel Aviv, and to some extent, in Jerusalem (Schnell & Gracier, 1993; Gonen, 1995). Many have blamed gentrification for its common consequence of displacement of incumbent residents. However, in most cases, the local authorities are eager to encourage it, because they see in it the beginning of social revitalization, a direct contribution to physical renewal of the housing stock and a contribution to economic regeneration, carried by the new residents of the old neighbourhoods.

The new large business development projects in the cities are often classified as public-private partnerships. In the same spirit, I would classify gentrification as a public-individual partnership. Another type of regeneration effort, which belongs to the last category, is 'incumbent upgrading', i.e. bottom-up initiatives of local residents, who decide to invest their own meagre resources to upgrade their living conditions, and usually manage to obtain some add-on grants or funds, either from public agencies or private sources. Clay (1979) coined the term long ago, but this interesting process has been scarcely studied, probably because it often occurs in less central parts of the city. Several British area improvement schemes (Murie, 1990; Wood, 1991), as well as the self-help housing renovation and enlargement in Israel (Carmon, 1992), may be considered as examples of incumbent upgrading.

It was not until the last decade that a few researchers discovered another spontaneous process that has had positive impacts on old neighbourhoods: the entrance of immigrants, who are part of the large present wave of immigration to the developed countries. Among these few is Bourne. He expressed his opinion regarding the exaggeration of the importance of gentrification, the process which "is prominent only in a few cities, it is not the most important process even in those cities, and its importance there has been decreasing" (Bourne, 1993, p. 188). In this context, he said that the intensive research of gentrification had prevented proper attention to other changes which contribute to urban regeneration, among them those caused by immigrants.

The number of international immigrants is growing world-wide. In the period 1945–1970, 100 million immigrants moved from country to country—an average of 4 million a year; by 1990, the number had reached 120 million—an average of 6 million a year (World Media, 1991). There are at least four groups of factors which explain this large movement: the demand for labour in the developed countries coupled with their declining rates of natural increase (according to Cross (1992), by 1990 there was no member state in the European Community with fertility rates above replacement); the large inter-countries gap in standards of living; the turbulence and warfare in many newly independent countries; and the greater ease and reduced cost of transportation. The globalization trend has also affected immigration, but not as strongly as could be expected. It has caused governments to open up their economies to foreign investments and to imports

of goods and services; it has also accelerated movements of labour force, but except for some special regimes for the circulation of service workers and business persons, it has not (yet?) caused governments to ease the strict regulations imposed on immigration (Sassen, 1996).

Teitelbaum & Russell (1994) collected data from around the world and concluded that in the early 1990s at least 100 million immigrants were living outside their countries of birth or citizenship (including both permanent and temporary immigrants, as well as refugees). About half of these immigrated to the developed countries of the world: approximately 23 million to Europe, 20 million to North America and 4 million to Oceania.

The characteristics of the new immigrants, those who are part of the current large wave, are different from those of former waves. While in the past, most of the immigrants into the developed countries were white Europeans, recently, most of them have been non-whites from developing countries, and thus, racially and ethnically different from the majority in the host society (Carlson, 1994; Coleman, 1995). On the other hand, while in the past the majority were rural people with little schooling and marketable skills, among the recent immigrants there are big groups of urban, skilled workers, who are often highly educated (Carmon, 1996). The general picture of the immigrant population is polarized; the same socioeconomic polarization that is typical to post-industrial societies and labour markets in general (Loughlin & Friedrichs, 1995) can be identified among the new immigrants. Needless to say, the different characteristics have different consequences with regard to integration processes.

The research on immigration and integration can be divided into two main parts: the economic and the social-cultural. A lot of empirical research has been published about economic integration and the influence of immigration on the economy and the labour markets in the host societies. While there is conflicting evidence regarding the costs and benefits of specific groups and localities within these societies (Enchautegui, 1992; Pope & Withers, 1993; Borjas, 1994; Saunders & King, 1991; Zimmermann, 1994; Friedberg & Hunt, 1995; Razin & Sadka, 1995; Clark, 1996; Waldinger, 1996), most researchers agree that the host societies as wholes benefit economically from accepting immigration (Jensen, 1989; Simon, 1989; Akbari, 1989; Steinmann & Ulrich, 1992).

Economic benefits, however, cannot convince countries and peoples to accept immigrants gladly. All of the receiving societies are struggling with dilemmas related to the socio-cultural integration of their immigrants. Indeed, there are significant differences in basic approaches which are expressed in different policies in the different countries (Schierop, 1989; Hammer, 1990; Cross, 1993; Kennett, 1995). According to Horowitz's (1992) analysis, immigrant status in the US is short-lived, and the boundary between aliens and citizens is porous; in Germany, immigrant status is long-standing and inter-generational, and the boundary between aliens and citizens is relatively impermeable; in Britain and France, non-citizen status may be, but need not be, inter-generational, and the above-mentioned boundary is moderately permeable. Despite the differences, there is a common denominator among these four, as well as other host countries: a large percentage of their peoples tend to perceive immigrants as a threat, and the larger the difference in the appearance of the immigrants (i.e. race or ethnic origin), the larger is the perceived threat. Because the new immigrants as a group are racially more distant from the locals compared with former waves of immigrants, problems of racism and ethnicity, of marginalization and social

exclusion, have reached a very high place on the social and political agenda of many countries (Cross, 1993; Crowley, 1996; Jayasuriya, 1996).

All these factors have had a significant influence on cities in the host countries, especially on the few large cities in each country in which the new immigrants tend to settle (Glazer, 1981; King, 1993; Sassen 1993, 1994; Buetow, 1994). Researchers have focused on two aspects of this influence: impacts on the local economy (McCarthy & Valdez, 1986; Zhou, 1991; Poot, 1993) and impacts on housing (Henderson & Karn, 1987; Sarre *et al.*, 1989; Huttman *et al.*, 1991; de Rudder, 1992; Ratcliffe, 1996), with special attention to the phenomena of segregation and exclusion in both. Studies of the effect of immigrants on urban processes, in particular city decline, were common in the past, but recently, only a few have paid attention to the question: "will the new immigration ... be an asset in dealing with problems of [urban] decline or a liability?" (Glazer, 1992, p. 270). This question points at the possible relationships between the new immigration and urban regeneration, which stand at the centre of this article.

Among the researchers who present an answer to this question are Winnick (1990) and Smith *et al.* (1991). They studied the impact of new immigrants on old neighbourhoods in New York and reported that the immigrants supported urban revitalization by bringing new life to the streets where they dwell and work long hours. The feeling of activity and vitality generated by the presence of a greater number of people for many hours of the day created a demand for residential space. The shortage of new apartments encouraged renewed use of apartments which had previously been used for commercial purposes and business. Floors were added to many buildings and the number of residential units was increased by dividing large old apartments, so that they would be suitable for smaller households. In addition, new apartments were built on vacant lots between existing buildings in old neighbourhoods. The spread of immigrants from the neighbourhoods of the central city to more outlying neighbourhoods created a 'reverse domino effect'—neighbourhoods which in the past had 'died' one after another now 'came to life' one after the other. Muller (1993) concluded that the new immigrants contributed to US urban renewal, especially in the big cities which attract most of the immigrants: New York, Los Angeles and Miami.

The difference between the findings of the older studies, which documented urban decline following the settlement of immigrants in central city neighbourhoods, and the new ones (some of which were mentioned above), may be attributed to a large extent to differences in the characteristics of the new immigrants. The level of urbanization and the level of education in the countries of origin have risen; because many of these have difficulties in absorbing educated and skilled labour force in their own labour markets, and/or cannot provide such workers with the rewards they seek, large numbers of skilled persons join the immigration movements. We have been used to thinking about movements from the less developed countries to the more developed ones in terms of from the South to the North; it is worthwhile noticing that the recent movements of the skilled labour force are mainly (but not solely) from the East to the West: from Eastern to Western Europe and from the Far East to North America.

The case of Jewish immigration from countries which were formerly part of the Soviet Union is an example of this change. Most of the Jews who left Eastern Europe at the turn of this century came from villages and small towns. The men,

for the most part, had been given a religious education and many of the women had had no formal education. Today, in contrast, most of the Jews who have left the former Soviet Union for the developed countries, including Israel, have more than a high school education, both men and women. It is therefore reasonable to hypothesize that the settlement of many such immigrants in a deteriorating city centre would have a positive effect on the area and contribute to its revitalization. An empirical investigation of this hypothesis was conducted in a residential quarter at the centre of Haifa, the main city of northern Israel, in which thousands of new immigrants from the former USSR have settled in the 1990s.

The Case Study: The Area of Hadar HaCarmel in the Centre of the City of Haifa

Hadar HaCarmel is the largest and most important of the Jewish neighbourhoods built in Haifa, prior to the establishment of the State of Israel. The construction of the neighbourhood started in 1909. In 1923, the architect Richard Kaufman created a plan for the Hadar HaCarmel central area. Kaufman designed a residential neighbourhood with small and large gardens, with parallel streets, one below the other, on the slope of Mount Carmel with the Technion (Israel's first modern university) on the western end and the large Benjamin public park on the east, connected by pedestrian walks and flights of steps. Hadar HaCarmel was further developed by the amalgamation of smaller neighbourhoods established in the area. The growth of the population was followed by an increase in the construction of shops and offices, and the area became part of the city CBD (central business district). The development of the quarter reached its peak in the mid 1960s and started to deteriorate thereafter. The middle class left it, mainly in the direction of the new residential areas on Mount Carmel. The commercial and entertainment functions could not stand the strong competition from the small business centres in the new neighbourhoods, and especially, from the accelerated business development in the Bay Area at the meeting point of the city of Haifa and its satellite towns (the Krayot). However, several large public and social services, such as the City Hall, the court, a few good schools, the municipal theatre and museums, remained in the area.

In 1983, Hadar HaCarmel had less than half of the inhabitants it had in 1967 (Kaufman & Carmon, 1992). The thinning out of the Jewish population was accompanied by its ageing; the percentage of residents aged 65 and over rose from 15 to 25% between 1972 and 1983. At the same time, processes of settlement of minority groups started, mainly at the margins of the area. Arabs entered the northeastern part and ultra-orthodox Jews the southwestern part. The housing stock was (and still is) in a fairly decent condition, but without adequate maintenance and with various unplanned uses.

While the centres of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, the two largest cities of Israel, experienced gentrification-type processes in the mid 1980s, the centre of Haifa, the third largest city, continued to deteriorate. Leshem (1992) interviewed 200 middle- and upper-middle-class persons in Haifa, aged 20–30, and found out that Hadar HaCarmel was not an area which attracted this population. Because it did not appeal to young Haifaite, and because it was obvious that the national and municipal authorities were not going to invest the large resources that could have changed the face of the area, continued deterioration was

expected. Hence, the appearance of the new immigrants in this area might have been a lifesaver.

Haifa attracted many immigrants from the large wave of immigration that has come to Israel since 1990 from the former Soviet Union. Examination of the breakdown of the immigrant population among the different neighbourhoods of Haifa shows that the Hadar HaCarmel area attracted a great many immigrants relative to its portion of Haifa's population. As stated above, immigrants can constitute a potential for renewal; the question remains, if that is the case for the immigrants in Hadar HaCarmel. Our study intended to investigate the present contribution of the immigrants and their potential contribution to upgrading processes in the centre of Haifa.

The Empirical Research—Questions and Methods

Research Questions

The main empirical work was carried out in 1992 (Amir, 1992). It focused on two primary questions, subdivided into secondary questions as follows:

- (1) What has been the contribution of the immigrants from the former Soviet Union to the upgrading of Hadar HaCarmel in 1991–1992?
 - Have the immigrants, with their special socio-demographic characteristics, changed the socio-demographic structure of the population?
 - How have the immigrants influenced the local housing market?
 - What has been the effect of immigrant behaviour on changes in the use of services in the research area?
- (2) What is the likelihood of future immigrant-driven upgrading processes in Hadar HaCarmel?
 - What are the attitudes of the immigrants towards Hadar HaCarmel?
 - Do the immigrants intend to settle in Hadar for a long time?
 - Will new immigrants continue to come to Hadar HaCarmel?

Selection of the Research Area and the Source of Data

The Hadar HaCarmel quarter contains different areas from the points of view of function, architecture and human population. The selection of areas (statistical areas) for this investigation used a method which was developed by Kaufman & Carmon (1992). The method is based on grading of urban areas by three indices: the index of attraction, the potential for development and the level of social deterioration of the neighbourhood. The first examines the attractiveness of the neighbourhood from the point of view of the population which planners want to attract into it; the second examines the potential for development from the point of view of the authority, that is, the public investment required for upgrading; the third—the level of deterioration index—looks into the socio-economic level of the neighbourhood's residents and the physical and social deterioration of the neighbourhood. The algorithm which Kaufman and Carmon developed permits the application of different weights to the indices, according to various strategies of upgrading, such as: choosing the most deteriorated areas or choosing the ones with the highest chances of success. Kaufman and Carmon

demonstrated this method with respect to the city of Haifa. Their analysis designated certain sub-areas in Hadar HaCarmel which are suited to upgrading in accordance with the 'opportunity-oriented strategy' (Downs, 1979), which gives high weight to the first two indices and sets the third index at zero. The selection of the test area for the present study is based on their findings.

In the five statistical areas chosen for the empirical research, it was found at the end of 1991 that 750 units were occupied by immigrants, who entered them between 1990 and 1991. We found this information in the Municipality of Haifa, which kept records on all immigrant households which applied for local tax reductions for which they were eligible during their first three years in Israel. A third of the 750 were chosen for our sampling, where the portion of each of the five statistical areas in the sampling was similar to the portion of the total of residential units occupied by immigrants. To ensure the randomness of the sampling, each third address on the list was chosen. For each of these, the address which appeared immediately after it on the list was picked as a reserve.

Following a pilot study, a research questionnaire was prepared. The questionnaire was translated into Russian in order to prevent misunderstandings and questions unanswered because of difficulties with language. The interviews were held in the apartments where the immigrants lived at the beginning of 1992. Two hundred men and women were interviewed by trained Russian students of the Technion. The level of response to the questionnaire was very high, especially in consideration of the fact that the population examined is unused to this kind of exposure. In only a few cases did the surveyors use the reserve addresses, when the people at the original addresses were not at home on two successive visits, or in the very few cases of refusal to be interviewed. According to our best judgement, we interviewed a representative sample of the population of immigrants from the former Soviet Union in the chosen area in 1992.

Findings

Socio-demographic Characteristics

Table 1 shows the changes which have taken place in the population of the Hadar HaCarmel quarter since the early 1970s. While the population size of

Table 1. Number of residents in Haifa and Hadar HaCarmel (quarter 6), 1972–1995

	City of Haifa	Hadar HaCarmel quarter	Elderly in Hadar HaCarmel (%)
1972	219 559	45 846	19
1983	225 775	37 430	32
1989	223 589	32 883	30
1990	245 860	38 837	26
1991	251 000	40 494	23
1995	252 300	40 542	22

Sources: for the census years (1972, 1983)—The Statistical Abstract of the Central Bureau of Statistics in Israel; for other years—The Statistical Unit, Municipality of Haifa.

the city of Haifa has grown somewhat, the population in the research area in 1989 amounted to only about two thirds of its number in 1972. At the same time, the percentage of elderly in the area had increased by 60%. The arrival of the new immigrants in the early 1990s increased the area population by 25% and reduced significantly the share of elderly residents.

Who are the immigrants who settled in Hadar HaCarmel? According to the findings of the questionnaire, approximately 90% of them came from the European part of the former Soviet Union and only about 10% from its Asiatic Republics. About 60% had been in Israel for one to two years prior to the interview, about 30% for 6 months to one year, and the rest had either just come or had been here slightly over two years before the interview. As shown in Table 2, they caused a significant change in the age pyramid of the research area, especially by adding a large percentage of young adults (aged 25–44). The families are small, with 1–2 children per family, compared with 2–4 children per family in a typical household in Haifa and in Israel. The immigrants brought with them extensive educational resources: approximately 80% had above a high school education (13 or more years of schooling). Three quarters of those who had worked in the former Soviet Union had worked in academic positions or the professions or technical fields, and only 10% had worked in industry, construction or agriculture; with respect to former area of employment, only a slight difference was found between men and women.

Approximately 85% of the respondents of working age (20–65) declared themselves to be part of the workforce in Israel (90% of the men and 80% of the

Table 2. Characteristics of age and education of selected populations (%)

	Respondents	Hadar HaCarmel incumbent residents	Population of Haifa	Population of Israel
Age (years)				
0–14	18.4	17.6	22.6	28.9
15–24	15.0	12.0	15.4	16.6
25–44	33.3	20.7	26.3	28.1
45–64	21.7	19.4	19.4	17.5
65 +	11.2	30.0	16.4	10.7
Family size				
1	20.5	33.9	23.7	16.8
2	32.9	37.8	31.7	22.8
3	29.4	11.5	14.3	14.2
4	15.9	8.5	16.7	18.5
5 +	1.0	8.3	13.6	27.8
Average family size	2.4	2.3	2.7	3.4
Years of schooling				
0–8	2.5	33.5	24.7	20.3
9–12	17.5	44.0	44.8	51.5
13 +	80.5	22.5	30.5	28.2

Sources: for the respondents—the research questionnaire; for the incumbent residents and the population of Haifa (1989)—The Statistical Unit, Municipality of Haifa; for the population of Israel—Statistical Abstract of Israel (1991).

women). But of this large work-force, only about half were employed at the time of the interview, and of these only one third were employed in professions for which they had been trained in the former Soviet Union (note: 90% came to Israel 6–18 months before being interviewed). The non-employed were divided almost equally between 'studying' (mostly in Ulpan—schools for study of the Hebrew language and familiarity with life in Israel), and 'unemployed'. Because being employed and earning money is crucial not only from the personal point of view of the immigrant but also from the point of view of his/her potential contribution to neighbourhood processes (consuming commercial and public services, investing in housing, etc.), it is important to note that the employment situation improved directly with length of residence in Israel: among those in Israel for up to 6 months, no one was employed and almost all of those who saw themselves as part of the labour force were studying in an Ulpan; among those who had been in the country for 6–12 months, approximately 40% of the workforce were employed; among those who immigrated one to two years before the interview, approximately 50% of the workforce were employed and another 20% were studying in an Ulpan, in a university or in some type of training course.

Most of the immigrants arrived in Israel with no knowledge of Hebrew. Several researchers have found that knowing the local language is highly related to chances of employment and to the immigrants' wages (Chiswick & Miller, 1995). When the immigrants were interviewed (in Russian), only 14% of them answered that they did not use Hebrew at all (most of these were elderly). Only 3% of the employed did not use Hebrew, as compared with 35% among the elderly. Nearly half of those interviewed evaluated their spoken Hebrew as good; approximately 90% of those in the 20–44 age group spoke good Hebrew, compared with only approximately 10% of those 45 years old or more. This rapid learning process may be seen as an indication of the readiness and capability of being integrated into the host society.

Housing, Use of Local Services and Attitudes towards the Built Environment

The settlement of immigrants in Hadar brought about major changes in the local housing market. First, it increased the number of apartments used for residential purposes: a quarter of the apartments occupied by the interviewees had been empty or used for non-residential purposes before the arrival of the immigrants. Second, it caused an increase in prices: the price of apartments for sale almost doubled within two years, from US\$24 000–45 000 for 2–3 room apartments to US\$50 000–70 000 (in Israel, living rooms are counted as 'rooms', while kitchens and bathrooms are not); the rents in the area increased by 50% (the price data were based on analysis of newspaper advertisements and interviews with local real-estate agents).

Most of the immigrants lived in rented apartments under crowded conditions: an average of 3.8 people in an average apartment of 2.2 rooms, i.e. 1.7 people to a room on average, compared with 0.9 among the incumbent population in the area. In many of the immigrants' apartments we found two households (35%), or even three (5%) living together, although in almost all of these cases (except for 2%) there was a family relationship among those residing in the same apartment (usually older parents, but also brothers and sisters). The stock of housing was generally not in a good condition before the immigrants came

(compared with current Israeli standards, which are high), and very little real renovation work was done on the apartments before they were rented to the immigrants, or while they were living in them. The conclusion, therefore, is that the stock of housing in use increased by a significant factor, but its physical condition did not improve (and apparently grew worse, due to intensive use), despite the sharp rise in the rent.

The questionnaire included an extensive set of questions regarding the use of local public and social services and leisure-time activities. We found that the advent of the immigrant population created a prominent change in the 'vitality' of the area. Kindergartens and schools which had gradually emptied out were partially refilled by the immigrant children. In the streets, and particularly in the Nordau pedestrian mall, human traffic increased significantly. Criminal activity retreated from the main public park, Benjamin Park, in the face of intensive legitimate use. Social and cultural activity in the (highly subsidized) community centres changed and increased significantly. However, the difficult economic situation of the immigrants prevented them from increasing their use of the local commercial services, and it seemed that only the food market at the lower edge of Hadar HaCarmel profited from the mass arrival of new consumers. In contrast with their past lifestyles, the new immigrants hardly utilized cultural or entertainment services which they had to pay for (see Table 3). The language was a barrier, but it is almost certain that the major factor accounting for non-attendance at concerts, plays and movies, in contrast with their pre-immigration customs, was the absence of financial resources.

Satisfaction with the physical environment was not high among the interviewees: approximately 40% were satisfied, about 30% were not so satisfied and nearly 30% were not at all satisfied. Those who were dissatisfied complained of the neglect of buildings and yards (46% of the responses), of noise (10%), of air pollution (10%), of lack of playgrounds for children (10%), the danger inherent in the large volume of traffic (6%) and the multiplicity of criminals in the area

Table 3. Primary places of entertainment for the respondents* by age and gender (%)

Primary place of entertainment in Hadar HaCarmel	All respondents*	Age (years)		Gender	
		20-44	45 +	Men	Women
Meeting friends at home	58.6	66.3	46.4	52.1	64.8
Nordau Pedestrian street and Benjamin Park	28.7	23.3	37.5	38.8	19.7
Paid entertainment**	12.5	10.2	16.0	8.3	15.3
Total	100.0 (n = 169)	100.0 (n = 112)	100.0 (n = 57)	100.0 (n = 77)	100.0 (n = 92)
		$\chi^2 = 0.06$	$p = \leq 0.04$	$\chi^2 = 7.81$	$p = \leq 0.02$

*Does not include 15% of the respondents who either said that they had no leisure time or answered that their primary place of entertainment was outside of Hadar HaCarmel.

**Theatre and movies, coffee shops and restaurants in Hadar HaCarmel.

(5%). These are all typical factors which impel people to leave the centres of large cities.

In contrast, there were also factors which led to a feeling of satisfaction with the environment, prominent among which were closeness to the commercial area (30% of responses), the fact of being in the centre with its extensive activity (20%), and convenient public transportation (13%). It was also found that the respondents were not unaware of the special architectural features of the Hadar HaCarmel area which was designed to be a pleasant garden neighbourhood; if we add the percentage of responses which related to the 'special landscape of the environment', 'lots of places to walk to', 'pretty gardens', 'pretty streets', 'pretty street planting' and 'style of construction', we reach 34% who mentioned one or more of these advantages in their residential area.

Permanent Settlement of Immigrants in Hadar HaCarmel

We investigated both the intention of the immigrants currently living in Hadar to settle there permanently and the recommendations those interviewed would make to future immigrants, since these recommendations could either attract additional immigrants or ward them off. We found that about half of the immigrants intended to reside in Hadar HaCarmel either permanently or for a period that would not be short. Only 8% of the respondents had purchased an apartment in Hadar; almost all of them had lived in Israel for at least one year. A further 16% were certain to or hoped to purchase their present apartment or a different apartment in the area within the three coming years. Heads of households with higher education were prominent among the 24% of respondents who had either purchased or intended to purchase an apartment in Hadar HaCarmel. Twenty per cent more said that they intended to continue renting in the area for a few years, but these were primarily the older and non-employed heads of households. Approximately 10% more said that they would continue to rent in Hadar HaCarmel, if the rent dropped by \$50–100. The rest of the respondents (45%) said that nothing could persuade them to remain living in the research area.

Significant positive correlations were found between the intention of the immigrants to settle and their age, between the intention to settle and the perception of Hadar as the centre of Haifa, and between the intention to settle and the attribution of importance to living in the centre. However, regression analyses for the intention to remain in Hadar HaCarmel as a dependent variable with many independent variables (including logistic regression especially suited to the variables under consideration here) did not produce any clear or interesting results.

Although only about 40% of those interviewed expressed satisfaction with their residential environment, and only half expressed their wish for long-term residence there, it was found that approximately two thirds of the respondents would recommend living in Hadar to new immigrants. Only 15% would not make such a recommendation, 5% conditioned their recommendation on improvements in the housing environment, and 15% answered 'don't know'. Since other research has shown that immigrants tend to determine their first place of residence in Israel according to the recommendations of their relatives and friends (Hasson, 1996), it would appear that if the immigration wave continues, the stream of immigrants coming to live in Hadar HaCarmel will continue.

Four Years Later

We were lucky. Four years after we studied Hadar HaCarmel, a local housing company (Shikmona, owned by the Municipality of Haifa and the Ministry of Construction and Housing) commissioned an investigation of the area towards the preparation of a regeneration plan. At the end of 1995, a commercial company administered a survey in which 40% of the households were interviewed. Thanks to the generosity of the housing company and the municipality, we were granted access to the collected data related to the new immigrants (those who immigrated in the 1990s) residing in Hadar.

While in 1991 the new immigrants constituted about 25% of the inhabitants in the study area at the end of 1995 they were 45% of the local population in the selected area and 35% in the whole quarter; in several (statistical) sub-areas they were close to 60%, while in others 20–40%. Somewhat more than half of the interviewed new immigrants had lived in the study area for at least four years (usually from the time they arrived at Israel), and the rest were more recent arrivals. The age of most heads of households among the new immigrants (both women and men) ranged from 35 to 54. Sixty per cent of the interviewees had at least a first academic degree. The employment situation of the new immigrants, which was found to be very severe in the first survey, had significantly improved, according to the findings of the second study: two-thirds of those aged 25–54 were employed; one-third of the younger (18–24) and the older (55–64) persons also worked.

The survey included information about the condition of the buildings in the area: 61% were classified as in 'good' or 'proper' condition, 36% 'fair', and only 3% 'bad'. While in the first survey very little housing renovation work was found, the second reported that 8% of the buildings had been 'completely renovated' recently and another 25% had been 'partly renovated'. Questioning of local real-estate agents revealed that the prices of apartments for sale and for rent in the area had stabilized at the high level they had reached in the early 1990s, following the beginning of the large wave of immigrants.

There has been no systematic recent investigation of the use of public space and public and commercial services. However, following several targeted walks in the area and informal talks with people in the streets and with local shopkeepers, several statements can be made. New immigrants are highly visible in the streets and in the parks, at various hours of the day and the evening. The Russian language and Hebrew with a heavy Russian accent are frequently heard in the streets, where stores with signs written in Cyrillic letters are often observed. These are usually groceries, restaurants, clothing shops and book stores, but there are also other kinds of small businesses with Russian signs. The local community centres have many more programmes than they used to have several years ago, and many of them are attended mainly by the new immigrants.

Two questions included in the recent questionnaire were highly relevant for our research: housing tenure and intention to remain living in the area. While in early 1992 only 8% of the respondents owned the apartment they occupied, the comparable figure for late 1995 was 38%. Among immigrant heads of households, aged 25–54 and employed, the figure reached 66%, which is slightly higher than 63%—the percentage of owner-occupiers among the non-immigrant residents of the area. When asked about their plans for the future, 58% of the

respondents said that they intended to stay in Hadar HaCarmel, 17% were not sure and 25% said that they intended to move out of the study area (very similar to the findings among non-immigrants in the area). The percentage of those who wanted to stay was higher among the older respondents, but it was still above 50% in the 35–54 age group, among those who had academic degrees and those who were employed.

Discussion and Conclusion

Carmon (1997) identified two main patterns of urban regeneration initiatives: the well-known public–private partnerships which are related to forms of cooperation between the public sector and big investors and developers of the private sector, and public–individual partnerships which include gentrification and incumbent upgrading, i.e. small and very small investors who sometimes manage to recruit some public support. The process of urban revitalization by new immigrants has the potential to become a third type of public–individual partnership, to develop as an important carrier of urban regeneration. The following discussion will focus on this idea.

The term urban regeneration is used here to express a multi-faceted phenomenon: it is related to socio-demographic changes in the composition of the local population, to changes in the built environment, especially in the condition of housing, and to economic revitalization of small and/or big businesses in the area. All these were found in the study of Hadar HaCarmel in Haifa and were related to the arrival of the new immigrants in the 1990s. The younger age and the higher education of the new immigrants, compared with the old-timers in the area, have changed for the better its socio-demographic structure. The stock of housing was significantly enlarged when apartments which were closed or used for other purposes were reopened or returned to their original use; the higher prices in the local housing market convinced the house owners to use their units for residential purposes, and sometimes, to also renovate them. Hardly any new housing development was observed, but a third of the old stock was subject to at least partial renovation. Economic revitalization is still lagging behind; the developments in other parts of the city and local problems of transportation and parking stand against it. But the economic situation could have been much worse, without the presence of thousands of new immigrants, their increasing purchasing power and the new small businesses which they run.

Displacement of incumbent residents has been a common serious problem in older residential areas which attract a large new population. This issue was not directly investigated by the above-mentioned surveys, but there is circumstantial evidence which leads us to believe that, if at all, it was not a serious problem in the study area. First, we found that a quarter of the respondents in the first survey lived in units which were either empty or used for non-residential purposes before they occupied them; knowledgeable informants have estimated that the current figure is a third of the immigrant households. Second, close to 40% of the new immigrants now living in Hadar HaCarmel have purchased their apartments; their payments typically went not to large landlords but to individual owners of individual apartments; people who receive a good price for their old apartment are not considered as displaced, but rather as catching an opportunity to better their life. Last, but not least, was the biological reality of the incumbent residents: about a third were elderly when the wave of immi-

grants started to arrive; many of them have passed away since then, and their apartments have been either sold or rented out by their inheritors.

Another common problem of urban areas invaded by waves of immigrants is ghettoization. If a ghetto is an urban area in which a minority group is voluntarily or involuntarily segregated and others avoid living in it, then Hadar HaCarmel, in which immigrants from the former USSR are now a third of the quarter's residents, and 45% of the population in the selected study area, is not a ghetto. The new immigrants are not segregated, not in the area as a whole and not in specific sections or buildings within it. Indeed, like immigrants around the world, they tend to concentrate in selected areas and to find ways to preserve their cultural identity, and this tendency is seldom welcomed by the local people. But unlike the situation in many other cases of immigration, the immigrants to Israel from the former USSR (at least the majority of them whose origin is in the European republics) belong ethnically to the dominant group in the host society, the Ashkenazim (those who originated in Europe and America, as opposed to those who were born in Asia and Africa). Therefore, non-immigrant residents do not tend to move away from these immigrants, and segregation has not and is not expected to occur.

The settlement of the new immigrants in Hadar HaCarmel in the central area of the city of Haifa has halted the deterioration of the area and started a process of social and physical revitalization, without creating serious problems of displacement and ghettoization. Nevertheless, for several reasons the general picture is not so rosy. First, new immigrants continue entering the area but its population seems to be stable in very recent years, which means that some are leaving it; our local informants are convinced that a large proportion of the out-migrants are the more veteran immigrants. Second, the settlement of immigrants stopped two other movements into the area which started some time before their arrival: the gradual entrance of Arabs into the southwestern streets of Hadar and of ultra-orthodox Jews into the southeastern streets. These streets seemed to be the 'natural' spreading areas of these two growing populations, and if these are taken, the city planners should assist these two groups in finding other places, preferably not far away. Other difficulties are related to the slow economic regeneration of the study area and the CBD of Haifa in general. It seems that if things do not improve in the near future, many of the new residents of the area, especially the more mobile among them, will leave as soon as they can afford it. The out-migration may include at least some of the homeowners (home ownership reduces mobility of immigrants but does not prevent it: see a report from France by de Villanda (1996)). Hence, the most serious danger that threatens the relatively successful current process is that Hadar HaCarmel will become a transition zone for new immigrants.

Herbert Gans (1962), in his classic study of Boston's Italian-Americans, created the concept of the 'urban village', a world circumscribed by the converging contours of class and ethnicity, in which everyone knew everyone else; the 'urban village' was a relatively stable community. Waldinger (1996) says that the post-1965 immigrants to American cities seem to have replicated the experience of their turn-of-the-century predecessors, by creating Chinatowns, Koreatowns and such areas as 'Little Odessa on the Sea' in Brooklyn, New York. This socio-cultural form of living does not seem to interfere and often even supports the economic vitality of the immigrants and their contribution to urban regeneration. One may look at Hadar HaCarmel with this analytical framework in

mind, and find there some signs of a developing community of immigrants. However, these educated urban individuals seem to seek personal success in the free world they came to be a part of more than they care about community ties. Thus, the stability of their developing community is dubious. We know from the first survey that many of them were dissatisfied with several aspects of living in Hadar; where dissatisfaction is combined with a strong personal drive for mobility and weak community ties, it is reasonable to hypothesize that many will leave the area when they can afford it. If this happens, it may put an end to the young regeneration process.

The reader may recall that several researchers found that gentrification tended to be a temporary phenomenon where neighbourhoods did not develop enough to be preferable places for families, not only young adults. This may well be the fate of regeneration by immigrants. My claim is that well-informed intervention by urban planners, in collaboration with local (immigrant) leaders and the support of the local public authorities, can make the difference that will attract the typical middle-class new immigrants to find their permanent home in the central city, thus enabling continuing regeneration instead of re-deterioration.

It is relatively easy for planners to inject 'cosmetic' improvements into the physical environment, but considering our findings in the first survey, as well as the established experience of planners, such improvements alone will not help. Planned measures that can make a change in immigrants' long-term preferences are those which contribute to solving their existential problems, mainly employment and affordable housing (Hasson, 1996).

Planners can influence the availability of jobs in a particular city quarter. They can do it both directly, by changing permitted land uses in the area to allow for immigrants' entrepreneurship to develop, and/or by making 'linkage' agreements with local developers/employers (Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989). They can do it indirectly, by creating a favourable environment for business development (Porter 1995). In the case of the city of Haifa, a strong mayor, assisted by an active local planning department, can renew the role of the city as the capital of northern Israel. Among other operations, this will require a re-concentration of service jobs in the old CBD. If such re-concentration is to assist and not to be in conflict with housing regeneration, the added public services, producer services and commercial services should be directed to specific locations in the quarter, much of it to new, specially planned office buildings and commercial centres on the sites of old, deteriorated public buildings and cinemas. In Haifa, several such sites were identified and the municipality is encouraging the construction of business centres (including ample parking) on them, thus contributing to the process of revitalization.

The field of housing is widely open to changes by planned intervention. In collaboration with the local authority, planners can suggest incentives for renovation to housing owners. Incentives such as eased regulations and preferred loans may encourage renovation of the old stock, including expanding, combining and subdividing apartments, according to the forecasts of housing demand. In addition, it is possible to encourage the building of new dwelling units, especially on the roofs and on the few vacant lots in the area. Most of the renewal expenses will have to come from the private sector, but the process has a small chance of starting without involvement of the public sector. This involvement should take the form of enabling and encouraging, but probably also of subsidizing it. Evidence from other places in Israel has shown that

ensuring loans for selected populations, such as the new immigrants, and some improvements of the public services in the area, are effective means for promoting urban regeneration (Eres & Carmon, 1996).

Is this analysis of what has happened and what may and should happen in an urban quarter in the centre of an Israeli city which has absorbed a large wave of immigrants from the former USSR in the 1990s, relevant to other cities of the developed countries which attract new immigrants? In spite of local differences, my answer is positive. Many countries, like Israel, receive educated and skilled immigrants who come to the new country with their families and settle in cities, in the vicinity of other people from the same country of origin. These are common characteristics of the new immigration into countries in Europe, North America and Australia, especially the legal immigration from the East (the Far East and Eastern Europe).

The relative abundance of marketable resources of large groups of the new immigrants can partly explain the difference between the findings of the older studies, which documented urban decline following the settlement of immigrants in central city neighbourhoods, and those of the new ones, which analyse their share in revitalizing such places. Another possible explanation is related to a less tangible factor, the feeling of self-respect which has been increased among less advantaged groups of people, including immigrants, following the partial success of the fights for human rights. In the past, immigrants tended to view themselves, as others viewed them, as creatures with little human semblance who are (at best) tolerable in their new place; if they were to succeed there, they had to ignore their original identity and assimilate as soon as possible. Nowadays, they enjoy more rights, even without becoming citizens: rights for education for their children, sometimes in their own language, and rights to appeal against deportation. More and more frequently, immigrants of the new type want and dare to organize and to build their community—physically, economically, socially and politically (the stories of Monterey Park in Los Angeles (Bach, 1993) and Belleville in Paris (Pincetl, 1996) are illuminating). In these cases, the assistance of planners and local voluntary organizations may be critical components of success.

According to my best judgement, the accumulating knowledge in urban studies and the experience of urban planning teach us that planning cannot succeed when it walks against the wind. Planners are not strong enough to do that. As planners, we have good chances to succeed in directing urban changes when we use research to identify spontaneous processes which go in the direction we believe is desirable, and then use professional tools to encourage and channel them. This is what I have tried to do above. By means of research, the spontaneous process of settlement of the new immigrants in old neighbourhoods was identified and its positive contributions (alongside with its problematic aspects) were analysed; then, several planning tools were suggested in order to encourage and direct it. If planners manage to convince the public authorities to take a (not necessarily expensive) role in the regeneration process and pay special attention to areas which immigrants have started to revitalize, the chances are good for the discussed process to turn into an effective type of public-individual partnership which would lead to urban regeneration.

Because of the good reasons mentioned in the Introduction, immigrants will continue to come and settle in cities of the highly developed countries. Additional research into the spontaneous processes, into policies and plans related to

the advantages and problems discussed above, will assist in materializing their potential contribution to urban regeneration.

Acknowledgement

This article was completed when the author was a visiting scholar at the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA. The author would like to thank the Director of the Center, Professor Kenneth A. Oye and the Head of the Inter-University Seminar on International Migration, Professor Myron Weiner, for their support.

References

- Akbari, H. (1989) The benefits of immigrants to Canada: evidence on tax and public services, *Canadian Public Policy*, 15(4), pp. 424–435.
- Amir, S. (1992) Housing revitalization and immigrant absorption in Hadar-HaCarmel, Haifa, unpublished M.Sc. thesis submitted to the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, Technion—Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa (in Hebrew).
- Bach, R.L. (1993) *Changing Relations, Newcomers and Established Residents in U.S.A.*, a report to Ford Foundation by the National Board of the Changing Relations Project (New York: Ford Foundation).
- Berry, B.J.L. (1985) Islands of renewal in seas of decay, in: P.E. Peterson (Ed.) *The New Urban Reality*, pp. 69–96 (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution).
- Borjas, J.S. (1994) The economics of immigration, *Journal of Economic Literature*, 32(4), pp. 1667–1717.
- Bourne, L.S. (1993) The myth and reality of gentrification: a commentary on emerging urban forms, *Urban Studies*, 30, pp. 183–189.
- Buetow, S.A. (1994) International migration: some consequences for urban area in Australia and New Zealand, *International Migration*, 32(2), pp. 307–325.
- Carlson, A.W. (1994) America's new immigration: characteristics, destinations and impacts, *Social Science Journal*, 31(3), pp. 213–236.
- Carmon, N. (1992) Housing renovation in moderately deteriorated neighborhoods: public–individual partnership in Israel and its lessons, *Housing Studies*, 7, pp. 56–73.
- Carmon, N. (1996) Immigration and integration in post-industrial societies: quantitative and qualitative analyses, in: N. Carmon (Ed.) *Immigration and Integration in Post-industrial Societies: Theoretical Analysis and Policy-Related Research*, pp. 13–29 (London: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martins Press).
- Carmon, N. (1997) Neighborhood regeneration: the state of the art, *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 17, pp. 131–144.
- Chiswick, B.R. & Miller, P.W. (1995) The endogeneity between language and earning: international analysis, *Journal of Labor Economics*, 13(2), pp. 246–288.
- Clark, A.V. (1996) Immigration and integration: lessons from Southern California, in: N. Carmon (Ed.) *Immigration and Integration in Post-industrial Societies: Theoretical Analysis and Policy Related Research*, pp. 86–104 (London: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martins Press).
- Clark, E. (1992) On gaps in gentrification theory, *Housing Studies*, 7, pp. 16–26.
- Clay, P.L. (1979) *Neighborhood Renewal* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath).
- Coleman D.A. (1995) International migration: demographic and socioeconomic consequences in the United Kingdom and Europe, *International Migration Review*, 29(109), pp. 155–206.
- Cross, M. (1992) Ghettoisation and the new immigration in Europe: a challenge for integration?, paper presented in IAS/IIASA/IF Conference on Mass Migration in Europe: Implications for East and West, Vienna, 5–7 March.
- Cross, M. (Ed.) (1993) *Ethnic Minority and Industrial Change in Europe and North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Crowley, J. (1996) The theory and practice of immigration and 'race relations' policy: some thoughts on British and French experience, in: N. Carmon (Ed.) *Immigration and Integration in Post-industrial Societies: Theoretical Analysis and Policy Related Research*, pp. 227–247 (London: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martins Press).

- Davies, R.L. & Champion, A.G. (Eds) (1983) *The Future of the City Center* (London: Academic Press).
- Downs, A. (1979) Key relationships between urban development and neighborhood change, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45, pp. 462–472.
- Enchautegui, M. (1992) *Immigration and County Employment Growth*, research paper (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute).
- Eres, T. & Carmon, N. (1996) *Urban Revitalization: An International Literature Survey and the Case of Florentin in Tel Aviv* (Haifa: Center for Urban and Regional Studies) (in Hebrew).
- Fainstein, S.S. (1994) *The City Builders: Property Politics and Planning in London and New York* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Friedberg, R.M. & Hunt, J. (1995) The impact of immigrants on host country wages, employment and growth, *Journal of Economic Perspective*, 9(2), pp. 23–44.
- Frieden, B.J. & Sagalyn, L.B. (1989) *Downtown Inc.: How America Rebuild Cities* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).
- Gale, D.E. (1984) *Neighborhood Revitalization and the Post-industrial City* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books).
- Gale, D.E. (1990) Conceptual issues in neighborhood decline and revitalization, in: N. Carmon (Ed.) *Neighborhood Policy and Programs: Past and Present*, pp. 11–35 (London: Macmillan).
- Gans, H. (1962) *The Urban Villagers* (New York: Free Press).
- Glazer, N. (1981) *The New Immigration: A Challenge to American Society* (San Diego, CA: San Diego State University Press).
- Glazer, N. (1992) The new immigration and the American City, in: D.L. Horowitz & G. Noiriel (Eds) *Immigrants in Two Democracies: French and American Experience* (New York: New York University Press).
- Gonen, A. (1995) *Between City and Suburb: Urban Residential Patterns and Processes in Israel* (Aldershot: Avebury).
- Hammer, T. (1990) *Democracy and the Nation State: Aliens and Citizens in a World of International Migration* (Aldershot: Avebury).
- Hasson, S. (1996) From International migration to internal migration: the settlement process of immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel, in: N. Carmon (Ed.) *Immigration and Integration in Post-industrial Societies: Theoretical Analysis and Policy Related Research*, pp. 166–184 (London: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martins Press).
- Healey, P., Davoudi, S., O'Toole, M., Tavfanoglu, S. & Usher, D. (Eds) (1992) *Rebuilding the City: Property-Led Urban Regeneration* (London: E. & F.N. Spon).
- Henderson, J. & Karn, V. (1987) *Race, Class and State Housing* (Aldershot: Gower).
- Horowitz, D.L. (1992) Immigration and group relations in France and America, in: D.L. Horowitz & G. Noiriel (Eds) *Immigrants in Two Democracies: French and American Experience* (New York: New York University Press).
- Huttman E., Saltman, J. & Blauw, W. (Eds) (1991) *Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States* (London: Duke University Press).
- Jayasuriya, L. (1996) Immigration and settlement in Australia: an overview and critique of multiculturalism, in: N. Carmon (Ed.) *Immigration and Integration in Post-industrial Societies: Theoretical Analysis and Policy Related Research*, pp. 206–226 (London: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martins Press).
- Jensen, L. (1989) *The New Immigration: Implications for Poverty and Public Assistance Utilization* (New York: Greenwood).
- Kaufman, J.B. & Carmon, N. (1992) Encouraging residential revitalization: a method for the selection of target neighborhoods, *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 9, pp. 1–18.
- Kennett, P. (1995) Citizenship and social exclusion in Britain and Germany, *Research in Community Sociology*, 5, pp. 225–248.
- King, R. (1993) *Mass Migration in Europe* (London: Belhaven Press).
- Laska, B. & Spain, D. (1979) Urban policy and planning in the wake of gentrification, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45, pp. 523–531.
- Leshem, S. (1992) Estimating the demand for housing renewal in the center of Haifa and its planning implications, M.Sc. research thesis, Urban and Regional Planning, Technion—Israel Institute of Technology.
- Loughlin, J. & Friedrichs J. (Eds) (1995) *Social Polarization in Post-industrial Metropolis* (Berlin: de Gruyter).
- McCarthy K. & Valdez, R. (1986) *Current and Future Effects of Mexican Immigration in California* (Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation).
- Muller, T. (1993) *Immigrants and the American City* (New York: New York University Press).

- Murie, A. (1990) Neighborhood housing renewal in Britain, in: N. Carmon (Ed.) *Neighborhood Policy and Programmes: Past and Present*, pp. 36–58 (London: Macmillan).
- Palen, J. & London, B. (Eds) (1984) *Gentrification, Displacement and Neighborhood Revitalization* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press).
- Pincetl, S. (1996) Immigrants and redevelopment plans in Paris, France: urban planning, equity and environmental justice, *Urban Geography*, 17(5), pp. 440–455.
- Poot, J. (1993) Adaptation of migrants in the New Zealand labour market, *International Migration Review*, 27(1), pp. 121–139.
- Pope, D. & Withers G. (1993) Do immigrants rob jobs? Lessons of Australian history 1861–1991, *Journal of Economic History*, 53, pp. 719–742.
- Porter, M. (1995) The competitive advantage of the inner city, *Harvard Business Review*, May–June, pp. 55–71.
- Razin, A. & Sadka, E. (1995) *Population Economics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).
- Ratcliffe, P. (1996) *Race and Housing in Bradford* (Bradford: Bradford Housing Forum).
- de Rudder, V. (1992) Immigrant housing and integration in French cities, in: D.L. Horowitz & G. Noiriél, G. (Eds) *Immigrants in Two Democracies: French and American Experience* (New York: New York University Press).
- Sarre, P., Phillips, D. & Skellington, R. (1989) *Ethnic Minority Housing: Explanations and Policies* (Aldershot: Avebury).
- Sassen, S. (1993) Miami: a new global city? *Contemporary Sociology*, 22(4), pp. 471–477.
- Sassen, S. (1994) International immigration and the post-industrial city, *The Urban Edge*, 2(3), pp. 1–3.
- Sassen, S. (1996) Transnational economies and national migration policies, unpublished paper, Department of Urban Planning, Columbia University, New York.
- Saunders, P. & King, A. (1994) *Immigration and the Distribution of Income* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service).
- Schierop, C. (1989) Immigrants and immigrants policy in Denmark and Sweden, in H. Entzinger & J. Carter (Eds) *International Review of Comparative Public Policy*, Volume 1 (Greenwich, CN: Jai Press).
- Schnell, I. & Graicer, I. (1993) Causes of in-migration to Tel-Aviv inner city, *Urban Studies*, 30, pp. 1187–1207.
- Simon, J.L. (1989) *The Economic Consequences of Immigration* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell).
- Smith, M.P., Tarall, B. & Kagiwada, G. (1991) Colouring California: new Asian immigrants' households, social network and local state, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 15(2), pp. 250–268.
- Smith, N. & Williams, P. (Eds) (1986) *Gentrification of the City* (Winchester, MA: Allen and Unwin).
- Steinmann, G. & Ulrich, R. (1992) The impact of immigrants on economic welfare of natives: theory and recent experiences in Germany, paper presented in IAS/IIASA/IF Conference on Mass Migration in Europe: Implications for East and West, Vienna, 5–7 March.
- Teitelbaum, M.S. & Russell, S.S. (1994) International migration, fertility, and development, in: R. Cassen (Ed.) *Population and Development: Old Debates, New Conclusions*, US–Third World Policy Perspectives, No. 19 (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers).
- De Villanda, R. (1996) Migrants' residential mobility in Europe: Portuguese, Turkish and African home-owners in France, paper presented at the International conference of ENHR (European Network of Housing Research) on Housing and European Integration, Helsingor, Denmark.
- Waldinger, R. (1996) *Still the Promised City? African-Americans and New Immigrants in Postindustrial New York* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- van Weesep, J. & Musterd, S. (1991) *Urban Housing for the Better-Off: Gentrification in Europe* (Utrecht: Stedelijke Netwerken).
- Winnick, L. (1990) *New People in Old Neighborhoods* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation).
- Wood, C. (1991) Urban renewal: the British experience, in: R. Alterman & G. Cars (Eds) *Neighborhood Regeneration: An International Evaluation*, pp. 44–69 (London: Mansell).
- World Media (a special issue of a consortium of 15 national newspapers) (1991) Immigrants: in search of a better passport, *World Media*, 2, p. 18.
- Zhou, M. (1991) *Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Ethnic Enclave* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press).
- Zimmermann, K.F. (1994) Some general lessons for Europe's migration problem, in: H. Giersch *Economic Aspects of International Migration* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag).