Residential segregation and internal migration are studied as critical processes in understanding ethnic and race relations within society. Scholars have shown the importance of ethnic, racial and social segregation for accelerating and slowing immigrant assimilation (Portes & Zou, 1993; Alba & Nee, 2002). The most important work today in this field has been done on immigrants to the U.S. – either in the early 20th C, or in the more modern, post-WWII period. In this article, we use the unique demographic context of Israel with its unparalleled levels of immigration. The Israeli country grew by about 3 times over the course of 10 years by immigrants from both 'Eastern' and 'Western' countries, who were absorbed by the 'relatively' veteran society – themselves mostly immigrants from one to two generations earlier. This period of the establishment of Israel forms a unique demographic laboratory, allowing us to investigate how immigrant seniority and ethnicity shaped both patterns of residential segregation and spatial mobility.

The foundation of Israel induced two principle dimensions of ethnic separation within Israel almost immediately. The first with the Native Palestinian population where ethnic-religious boundaries instantly separated both Jewish and Arab population within Israel and contentious political boundaries separating populations outside the central boundaries of Israel's internationally recognized borders. The second dimension of ethnic separation emerged within Jewish society and distinguished 'Western' Jews who came from Europe and America and often referred to as the pioneers that established the state from 'Eastern' Jews who arrived from Asia and Africa primarily after the state was established (Sikron, 2004). This paper focuses on this latter dimension of ethnic separation within the Jewish society. In order to distinguish between the process of exclusion, which was made against the Palestinian citizens of Israel, and the process of marginalization, made within the Jewish society. Yet, general scores of segregation will be measures also by including Palestinian minority of Israeli citizens.

In order to describe and explain the dynamics of residential segregation within Jewish society in Israel we taking two main processes into account: The first is an official policy of population dispersal carried out by the state, where new immigrants, mostly 'Easterners', were settled in the peripheral areas of Israel, in order to fortify the Jewish borders of the Israeli nation against the Arab populations within and beyond the Israeli borders (Camp, 2000). The second is a process of relatively large internal-migration flows offsetting government policies aimed at distributing particular ethnic groups across Israel and creating relatively high segregation. This combination of "engineered ethnic segregation" (Khazzom, 2005) and voluntary internal migration creates a unique opportunity to study how these processes interact. A rich literature in sociology has explored Israel's different dimensions of segregation created as a consequence of these two processes, e.g. segregation in the field of education as well as in the labor market (Semyonov, 1988; Lewin-Epshtein & Semyonov, 1992). Most of the literature emphasizes a strong correlation between ethnicity and other dimensions of social stratification, and the role of living in the periphery (Gonen, 1972, Lewin, Steir & Casp-Dror, 2006). In contrast, there is no updated and inclusive parallel research about residential segregation in Israel (Klaff, 1977; Kraus & Koresh, 1992), despite the critical role it has played in studies on US ethnic dynamics and despite the intense debate about the role of the geographic periphery in current studies on poverty and stratification within Israeli society (Adler, Lewin-Epshtein, & Shavit, 2005). Examining the housing market is usually accompanied with observing the role of the state in shaping patterns of assimilation or segregation. Usually, directed state intervention, such as promoting public housing, is considered a factor that decreases segregation. In contrast, indirect intervention of the state is usually considered a hidden mechanism of discrimination (Massey, 1990; Boustan, 2011; Iceland, Mateos & Sharp, 2011). In the Israeli context, the state intervention is considered very dominant, as a result of the weight of absorption policy (Kraus & Koresh, 1992; Tzfadia & Yiftachel, 2004). But the housing policy itself is frequently examined as a tool for achieving political long term goals, mostly ones from which only the Jewish population benefits. The

initial dispersal policy itself is critically understood today as the main factor of ethnic residential segregation and social inequality, but later intervention using housing policy is more ambiguous in its effect (Lewin-Epshtein, Elimelech & Semyonov, 1997; Lewin, Steir & Casp-Dror, 2006; Hannanel, 2009).

We use four rounds of the Israeli census from 1961 to 2008 to track patterns of ethnic spatial segregation within Israel and to isolate the role of internal migration. We focus on the cohort born around the establishment of state – babies born 1938-1958. This approach enables us to identify each individual's ethnicity, using information on both their parents and their own place of origin. While studies have shown important distinctions in assimilation between individual immigrants from specific origins (Khazoom, 2008; Ben-Moshe, 1989), our approach follows a common tradition of distinguishing between 'Western' and 'Eastern' ethnicity, but further separates each ethnic grouping by seniority in order to create five central groups. First, individuals whose parents were born in Israel are considered at least second generation Israelis and labeled 'Senior veterans'; second, Israelis born of 'Eastern' origin, are named 'Eastern veterans'; third, Israelis born of 'Western' origin, are named 'Western veterans'; fourth and fifth, immigrants who were born abroad, are labeled 'Easterner' or 'Westerner', according to their place of birth. These last two groups are at the center of our analysis, which we use to highlight the process of assimilation of new immigrants into a newly established society. In addition, the combination between seniority and ethnicity allow us to examine the more complex dynamics that accompanied the process.

We build on Massey and Denton's (1988) criteria of assessing residential segregation, focusing on the dimension of 'Evenness'. We adopt tools presented by Fischer et el (2004), Reardon and Bischoff (2011) and Iceland, Mateos and Sharp (2011), to calculate Theil's H. Their approaches help to decompose segregation into its geographic levels. In our case, we define four different levels within Israel: districts, sub-districts, localities and statistical areas. Our non-traditional approach contrasts with much of the US-focused research on metropolises, and is warranted by Israel's relatively small size both in terms of land and population size. From a comparative point of view, it could be perceived as having the characteristic of a metropolis; moreover, the concept of 'center' and 'periphery' are popularly attributed to the country as a whole and less to a specific metropolis (Heilbruner & Lewin, 2007). In addition, we show the stability of the different geographic levels facilitating segregation. The core of the analysis presents the combined effect of seniority and ethnicity, by examining segregation of 'Easterners' and 'Westerners' versus other groups. We further disaggregate 'Easterners' and 'Westerners' into 'Ever moved' and 'Non-moved' groups to then identify where segregation was altered by population mobility and how this varied across groups.

We discuss and explore two hypotheses on the creation of geographical and social boundaries. Each one of the hypotheses suggests a different answer to the question about social and geographic incorporation of immigrants into Israel. The first hypothesis predicts that senior and junior immigrants will be geographically stratified, irrespective of their ethnic affiliation at the start, with levels falling slowly over time. The classical spatial assimilation theory (Alba & Nee, 2002) suggests that groups of immigrants integrate into the majority group, during a gradual adoption of mainstream attitudes, culture and human capital. This mechanism would also be consistent with Marxist theory on the monopolization of resources (Parkin, 1979 in Khazoom, 2008). According to this hypothesis, veteran immigrants who occupied the land first, prevented the new immigrants from entering the same localities trying to maintain their hegemonic economic status. The advantage of veteran immigrants created economic obstacles that newcomers, most of whom were refugees with little or no property, often found difficult to overcome (Lewin-Epshtein, Elimelech & Semyonov, 1997; Gonen, 1972).

The second hypothesis suggests that the population was ethnically stratified, so that 'Western veterans' and new 'Westerners' settled in specific localities, while 'Eastern veterans' and new 'Easterners' inhabited other localities. The process of ethnic stratification, common in many immigrant states, is enhanced by social network theory as new immigrants base their residential and employment decisions on information provided by more senior immigrants from the same ethnic groups. Ethnic stratification could also be explained via a negative mechanism: segmented assimilation theory suggests that discriminatory practices will lead different groups to encounter unequal opportunities for assimilation (Alba & Nee, 2002; Boustan, 2011). We hypothesize that there is unequal access to specific residential opportunities by ethnicity or at least by characteristics correlated with ethnicity such as poverty or illiteracy. In the Israeli case, 'Westerners' will enjoy a better starting position because most veteran Israelis are of 'Western' origins. We explore the salience of these processes in the analysis below.

As stated, we begin with measuring the changing process of segregation over the last sixty years among the five groups. We are assisted by Reardon and Bischoff's (2011) method of calculating H, which uses the index's ability to measure segregation for a few groups at the same time:
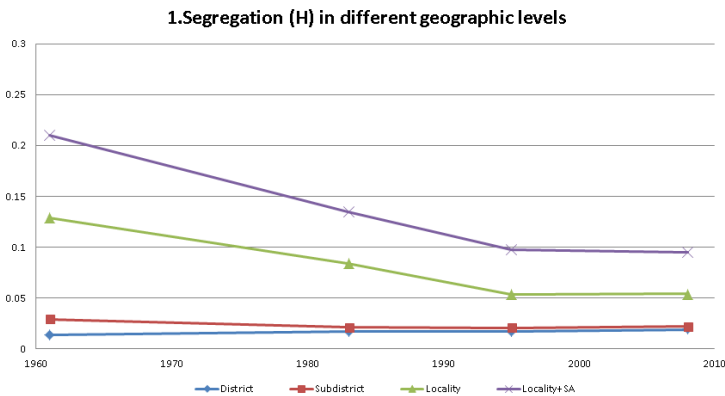

The results shows that though Israel is a small country, segregation levels are almost insignificant in the larger area units, i.e. districts and sub-districts, and can only be seen in the localities and more prominently in the statistical areas (SAs). The level of segregation among the Jewish society at the SA level is H=0.2 in the 60's, and decreases by half to H=0.1, mostly by the 80's.

The decomposition of inter group segregation, which builds on the approach of Fischer et el (2004), reveals a more interesting and complex impression of changing segregation over time (Graphs 2-3). First, we calculated H for 'Easterners' and 'Westerners' versus all other groups together (the solid blue and red lines). Second, we separately calculated H values of the new immigrants in comparison to each group category. The general picture seen below highlights their different, initial starting points in the 60's with 'Easterners' far more segregated than 'Westerners'. This evidence supports the second hypothesis since large ethnic differences in stratification are evident with new 'Easterners' far more segregated relative to natives when compared to new 'Westerners'. Yet, at the same time, the results for 2008 highlight the dramatic decline of segregation and the convergence of segregation estimates for both groups by 2008. The results further reinforce our earlier question: is it seniority or ethnicity that can help us understand how these two large groups of immigrants with such different initial levels of segregation achieve such similar levels of residential segregation within less than five decades?

2. Easterners .v. All others
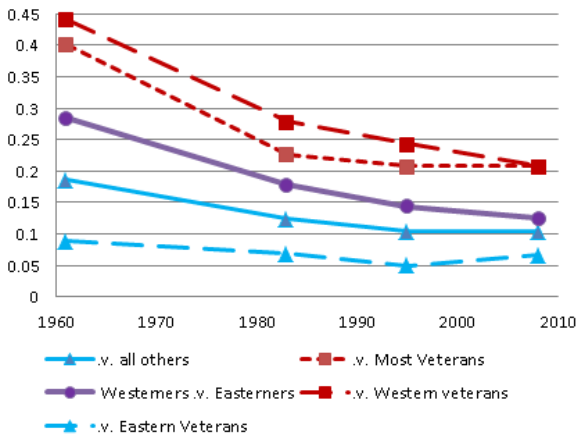

3. Westerners .v. All others
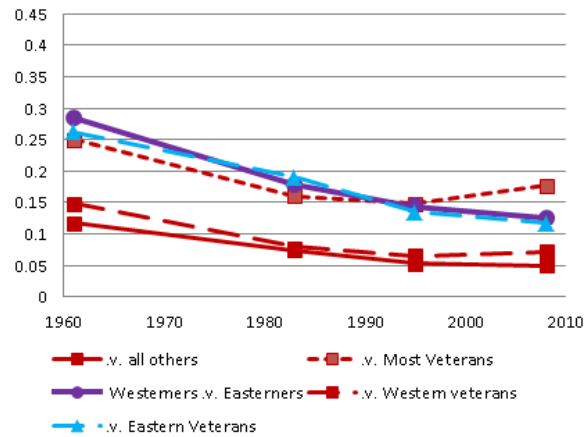
The two graphs above illustrate another interesting phenomenon: low levels of segregation when new immigrants from either group are compared with veteran immigrants from the same ethnic group. However, we also observe important differences between new 'Easterners' and new 'Westerners' in how segregation shifts when new immigrants are compared with veteran immigrants from the opposite ethnic group. These latter findings support our second hypothesis that ethnicity plays a critical role in assimilation. This apparent contradiction also suggests we consider a more complex, combined explanation. In fact, 'Easterners' seniority (Graph 2) have different patterns of segregation to 'Westerners' when they are contrasted by their. In the 60's, 'Easterners' are far less segregated from new 'Westerners' than 'Western veterans'. As time passes, 'Easterners' levels of segregation relative to new and veteran 'Westerners' decline but they continue to show a sizable gap, with 'Western veterans' still highly segregated from 'Easterners'. In contrast, new 'Westerners' (Graph3) have the same pattern of reducing segregation with new 'Easterners' and 'Eastern veterans', and are thus seemingly blind to the different levels of 'Easterners' seniority, which supports the ethnic hypothesis. The combination of both patterns provides a more accurate reflection of mechanisms that may explain the shifting trends in ethnic segregation in Israel.

Beyond the option of capturing 'snap shots' of segregation among the different groups in each census round, we would like to unwrap the interaction between the groups and to understand who approached whom, and whether relocation had different effects on new 'Easterners' and new 'Westerners' by separately estimating H for 'ever-moved' –'never-moved' groups.

4. East/West .v. all others
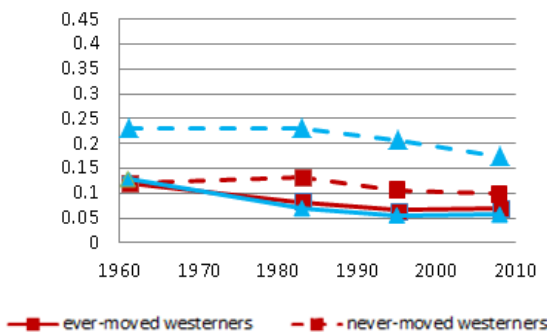
5. East/West .v. West/East
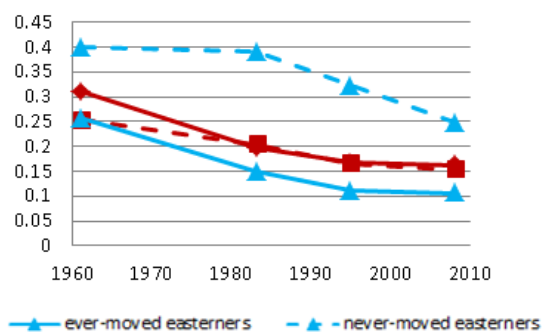
Graph 4-5 exhibits the changing effect of relocation: we can see in Graph 4 that 'Easterners' that ever-moved are the least segregated group. In contrast, 'Easterners' who never moved are 'left behind'

with high segregation scores. Graph 5 highlights the different role of relocation to 'Easterners' and 'Westerners'. While the gaps between the 'Eastern' movers and non-movers is quite large, the gap between 'Westerners' is almost unnoticeable

To conclude, in the local Israeli context, this analysis extends the understanding of residential segregation among Jews in Israel. In a broader context, while comparing segregation rates and its decline among Jews to rates of ethnic segregation in the U.S, the differences are very salient (Fischer et el., 2004; Parisi, Licther & Taquino, 2011; Iceland, Mateos & Sharp, 2011). Our analysis offers a combined approach of measuring both segregation and internal migration. This enabled us to highlight how social-geographic boundaries were marked at first and erased later. We suggest that this dynamics should be comprehended by the effect of seniority and ethnicity, using both classical and segment assimilation theory.

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