Immigration, Gender, and Labor Force Participation in Israel: An Evaluation of the "Double Disadvantage" Thesis

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Abstract

This paper examines gender differences in labor force participation among immigrants in Israel, and how these differences vary across origin groups. Analysis of the 1995 population census indicates that all else being equal immigrant women exert a negative effect on labor force participation. As time elapses, the probability of immigrant women to be employed improves but remains considerably lower than that of immigrant and native-born men. Nevertheless, immigrant women have closed the gap with native-born women and after a few years in Israel both groups have very similar probabilities to be employed. This observed convergence is robust holding both for working part of the year and year-round. A detailed analysis by country of birth suggests that immigrant women from the republics of the former Soviet Union, as well as those from several Latin American countries, had higher probabilities of employment than did native-born women. By contrast, immigrant women from Asian and African countries, as well as from the United States, had difficulty finding jobs relative to their native-born counterparts. This stratification holds also after refining the comparison of immigrant women to their native-born ethnic peers. Thus, while for some immigrant groups the patterns of labor force participation reflect a double disadvantage for women, other groups appear to have only the one disadvantage of being females. This stratification should be attached to cultural background and social values of country of birth as well as to economic and religious considerations not fully indexed by the census data.

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1. Introduction

Migration across international boundaries is often viewed as reducing the immigrants' economic status and well-being (Chiswick, 1979; Constant and Zimmermann, 2004; McAllister, 1995; Raijman and Semyonov, 1995). New arrivals encounter difficulties in integrating into the new labor market, in finding employment suitable to their professional qualifications, and attaining adequate economic returns (Borjas, 1982; Chiswick, 1978; Hoffman-Nowonty, 1978; Lieberson, 1980; Park, 1952). These obstacles are explained by restricted access to information, (Chiswick and Sullivan, 1995; Kossoudji and Ranney, 1984), low levels of human capital (Borjas, 1982; Raijman and Semyonov, 1995), limited acquaintance with the host society including language proficiency (Chiswick and Miller, 1998; Greenlees and Saenz, 1999), as well as lack of personal contacts (Granovetter, 1995). Asymmetric information between employers at origin and destination regarding immigrants' true productivity further reduce their wages, with somewhat different effects on high- and low-ability workers (Katz and Stark, 1984; 1987). As time in the new country elapses the economic cost of immigration is anticipated to diminish (Chiswick, 1978) exhibiting a U-shaped curve of economic change (Chiswick, Lee and Miller, 2003; Poston, 1994; Simon and Sullivan, 1988).

The economic cost of international migration varies between groups (Adsera and Chiswick, 2006; Antecol, 2000; Semyonov and Lerenthal, 1991). Country of origin is indicative of socio-cultural resources and specific structural and ecological factors, which

may either hinder or enhance socioeconomic achievement in the receiving society (Lieberson and Waters, 1988; Stier and Tienda, 1992; Willis and Yeoh, 2000). Entrepreneurial activities or self-employment, including that within ethnic niches, are important determinants of economic integration and mobility (Evans, 1989). Variations in economic attainment among different foreign-born groups likewise derive from the treatment and sympathy they receive from the host society (Boyd, 1984; Poston, 1994). Others have suggested that the processes of migration, including economic dislocation and career disruption (McAllister, 1995), timing of entry into the local labor market (Liberson, 1980), and age at time of immigration whether as adults or children (Elder, 1990; Kossoudji, 1989), influence labor market incorporation more than ethnicity per se. Area of settlement exposes the immigrants to distinctive labor market conditions and opportunities thus also playing an important role in affecting occupational and earning patterns (Greenless and Saenz, 1999; Lieberson and Waters, 1988; Waxman, 2001).

Within each immigrant group, differences were found between men and women (Boyd, 1984; Haberfeld, 1993; Sullivan, 1984). Gender differences among immigrants were often more substantial than among the local population in general (Boyd, 1984). The double disadvantage of being both female and foreign-born was discovered after controlling for various potentially confounding factors. The gender dimension of immigrants' economic integration is attributed to the sex-segregated occupational structure which limits women's job opportunities and wages as a whole (Philzacklea, 1983), as well as to the devalued status associated with ascribed affinities, including national origin and ethnicity (Epstein, 1973; Hoffman-Nowotny, 1978). Family burdens, regularly imposed on women, are aggravated under conditions of immigration and

separation from family and relatives, thereby limiting the time and energy available for acquiring the language of the receiving country and, consequently, economic attainment patterns (Dumon, 1981; Hoffman-Nowotny, 1978).

Interest in the double disadvantage has been mainly oriented toward economic aspects of class of work, namely of being an employee or being self-employed (Boyd, 1984), occupational status and mobility (Boyd, 1984; Pekin, 1981; Chiswick et al., 2003), wages (Adsera and Chiswick, 2006; Haberfeld, 1993; Kossoudji and Ranney, 1984) and remittances sent home (Semyonov and Gorodzeisky, 2005). To my knowledge, only a handful of studies have focused on gender gaps in labor force participation (LFP) or employment status, among new immigrants (Baker and Benjamin, 1997; Boyd, 1984; Kats, 1982) or looked at differences across origin groups within a single country (Antecol, 2000; Raijman and Semyonov, 1997). The findings that have emerged from this research revealed considerable variations across immigrant groups and countries of destination. Consequently, other explanations were proposed reflecting 'single' and 'triple' disadvantage of immigrant women.

This scarcity is all the more striking since LFP is a precondition for other aspects of economic characteristics, namely class of work, occupation and wage. As such, participation involves more factors directly associated with the migration process. These factors include, inter alia, the culture of place of origin and place of destination; motivations for immigration; the legal status of immigrants; immigration policy of the host society; availability of ethnic or nativity peers; and the immigrant's family composition. The present study seeks to extend current understanding of the working experience of immigrants by examining LFP among foreign-born men and women in

Israel. The analytical model incorporates individual's human capital, family structure, area of residence, and immigration characteristics. Aggregate models for the total immigrant population, as well as its detailed composition by country of origin, are developed. More specifically, I address the following four questions: 1) Do the characteristics of LFP ascertain the "double negative" effect according to which immigrant women are disadvantaged relative to both native-born women and to native and foreign-born men? 2) Do such differentials hold true for different durations of work, namely part of the year or the entire fiscal year? 3) How the gender differences in LFP evolve over time? And 4) Does the combined effect of being both an immigrant and a woman operate similarly among all foreign-born groups?

The remainder of this article is structured as follows: Section 2 reviews the literature on gender differences in the economic integration of new immigrants and develops some working hypotheses. Section 3 discusses immigration to Israel. This is followed by section 4 which introduces the data and measurements used in this paper and also describes the characteristics of the population. Section 5 focuses on the results of multivariate analyses. And finally section 6 summarizes the findings and discusses research and policy implications.

2. Theoretical Perspective

The literature on the economics of immigration underscores various factors that effect the employment patterns and LFP of immigrants in their host country. Not only gender per se is an important determinant but other variables, both individual and contextual, sometimes operate differently among immigrant men and women. These explanatory

factors can be clustered into four major blocks: demographic and human capital characteristics; family structure; area of residence; and cultural context of country of origin.

In the first block, age and education are the most frequently mentioned determinants of immigrants' employment status. Being in prime working-age years, as compared to the young and old extremes of the working-age interval, increases the likelihood of having a job (Greenlees and Saenz, 1999; Waxman, 2001). As with the general population, the relationship of age with LFP is substantially important for immigrant men, while the influence of age among immigrant women is weaker reflecting the importance of life-cycle responsibilities (Kats, 1982). Educational attainment is also positively associated with LFP (Evans, 1984; Raijman and Semyonov, 1995; Stier and Tienda, 1992). Here, however, the relationships are stronger among immigrant women than among their male counterparts (Kats, 1982). This is explained by different opportunities for immigrant men and women at a given level of education, and presumably also by the greater flexibility on the part of men to accept jobs inferior to their professional qualifications. Duration in the country and age at immigration are indirect indicators of such human resources as language proficiency, adjustment of professional skills to local labor market characteristics, and personal contacts, and thus have strong relationships (positive and negative, respectively) with immigrants' employment (De Dunn and Paul, 2002; Evans, 1984; Schoeni, 1998; Waxman, 2001). All else being equal, women who were economically active in their countries of origin faced greater difficulties in rejoining the labor market than did immigrant men; significant differences were maintained also after a tenure of twenty years (Raijman and Semyonov, 1997).

When immigration is a family act involving two adults, the wife's labor-market participation is anticipated to increase upon arrival whether because the husband's prospects of employment are low (Long, 1980) or in order to finance the investment in his local-context human capital (Baker and Benjamin, 1997). During this initial period immigrant women will have higher earning than will immigrant men. Unless they decide to invest in their own human capital, the labor supplied by immigrant women will decline over time. The traditionally stronger responsibility of women for household duties, which are enhanced in the absence of extended family, together with the presence of a husband and young children at home, limits the integration of migrant women into the labor force (Evans, 1984; Gurak and Kritz, 2000). On the other hand, single or once-married mothers, as well as those in unstable family units, must find work in order to provide for themselves and their children (Kossoudji and Ranney, 1984; Semyonov, 1980). Immigrant wives are most likely to enter the labor market if economic compensation for their time is sufficiently high and they will then have high levels of occupational prestige and wages (Kossoudji and Ranney, 1984). These observations were challenged by other studies on immigrant women from Puerto Rico (Tienda and Glass, 1985) Mexico (Greenlees and Saenz, 1999) and the Dominican Republic (Gurak and Kritz, 2000) contending that the presence of a husband or other adult at home in fact encouraged women LFP. Among other explanations, it was suggested that the social and economic context of area of settlement (i.e. New York) provides people with low paying jobs better opportunities to receive public assistance and "perhaps to advance their own education and future market skills" (Gurak and Kritz, 2000: 416). Further, as in the general population, husbands can increase the likelihood of a wife's employment by providing

better information on labor market opportunities and sharing child care responsibilities (Presser, 1989). Another important determinant associated with household composition and family decision-making distinguished between "primary" movers and "tied" movers (Mincer, 1978); the latter group is likely to be in an unfavorable economic position being both unemployed and typically comprised of a disproportionately high percentage of women.

Area of residence is another indicator of access to labor market and economic opportunities (Bean and Tienda, 1987; Hanson and Pratt, 1995). Be it different parts of the country, large versus small cities, or urban versus rural areas, the area of residence presents specific structural needs for labor and different types of jobs which may either enhance or hinder the LFP of new immigrants (Greenlees and Saenz, 1999; Wong and Hirschman, 1983). This is especially salient under conditions of spatial disequilibrium in jobs typically available to immigrants, and more so if they differ across gender lines. Previous studies which have introduced this factor, either by direct economic measures such as unemployment rate or income attached to individuals living in a given area (Greenlees and Saenz, 1999), or more generally distinguishing between a few rigidly defined geographic units (Wong and Hirschman, 1983), were able to increase the explained variation in LFP. A complementary geo-social factor is the spatial concentration of immigrants. According to the labor-market assimilation perspective (Portes and Bach, 1985), proximity to an ethnic enclave of immigrant groups provides opportunities to work in a familiar environment of language and professional skills and hence increases labor force activity. These immigrant enterprises are known for their low wages and lack of social welfare and are often aimed only augmenting household income

and thus employ large numbers of female workers (Massey et al., 1994). Such workplaces draw mainly women since they are located within immigrant residential enclaves, and so are in close proximity to home. More generally, immigrant enclaves strengthen social networks and mutual assistance, such as child-care, and are likely to be positively associated with women's decisions to become part of the labor force.

Differential labor force responses also involve cultural factors (Antecol, 2000). Social norms and values, associated with the industrial development and modernity of country of origin, imply family priorities and the role of women at work versus at home. As a few studies have shown (Raijman and Semyonov, 1997; Reimers, 1985), there is substantial interaction between geo-cultural background and socio-demographic characteristics in relation to labor force activity in the new country. Immigrant women from less developed countries experience greater decline than do their women counterparts from advanced industrial economies with the differentials being narrowed as time in the host country elapses. Not only culture per se but also the magnitude of the cultural distance between origin and destination is important (Evans, 1984). Thus, while many studies consider the "cultural" factor to be a residual effect,[1] others introduced specific areas or countries of origin into the empirical model as a more direct measure of the relationships between culture and employment characteristics (Raijman and Semyonov, 1997). Antecol (2000) has gone even further by using gender gaps in LFP rates across home country groups in the United States, revealing the paramount importance of the cultural variable after controlling for personal characteristics. Focusing on one absorbing country (i.e., the United States) also controls for institutional differences since all residents "operate under

[1] This argument is nicely discussed in: Gurak and Kritz, 2000, pp.417-418.

roughly the same overall labor market regime" (Antecol, 2000: 413). At the same time, however, it does not challenge the potential for contextual explanations of local social and economic conditions in different parts of the continent (Gurak and Kritz, 2000).

Guided by the literature on immigrants' LFP in general, and that of gender differences in particular, I propose three complementary hypotheses regarding the target population of this study, namely immigrants in Israel: (1) Women are less likely to actively participate in the labor force than men whether year around or partial attachment to the workforce; these relationships characterize the entire Israeli society but are more salient among immigrant than among native-born women; (2) Over time, immigrant women will experience improvement in LFP but their double disadvantage will not totally disappear; (3) The effect of being an immigrant woman on LFP varies by country of origin; immigrants from less developed countries in Asia and Africa will experience the greatest disadvantage while a few other immigrant groups, especially from Eastern Europe with its long tradition of gender parity in working are anticipated to exert an even stronger tendency toward employment than their native-born counterparts.

3. Immigrants in Israel

Immigration (of Jews) is a major source of population growth in Israel. Approximately one-third of its Jewish inhabitants are foreign-born (CBS, 2004). Immigration to Israel is characterized by a wave-like pattern with periods of large numbers of arrivals followed by smaller numbers, and so forth. Since the formative initial mass immigration after the foundation of the state in 1948, subsequent waves were significantly smaller and overall in declining size. The numbers of the most recent influx in the early 1990s from the

former Soviet Union approximated the historical high levels, but in a context of a demographically larger and economically stronger recipient Israeli population (DellaPergola, 2004).

Equally important is the heterogeneous profile of the immigrant population. It includes people from some 150 countries of origin in Asia, Africa, East Europe, West Europe, North America, South America, and Oceania. Often, Israel's immigrants and their native-born descendants are dichotomously distinguished between those of Asian-African and European-American origin. The two groups differ slightly in size with approximately 40% of the immigrants being from Asia and Africa, and 60% originating from Europe and America. The Asian-African group is socio-economically subordinate to their European-American counterparts in aspects such as education, occupation, income, political power, and residential areas (Haberfeld, 1993). Over time, the gaps between the groups have evolved somewhat inconsistently, their diminution or expansion largely dependent on the specific social or economic indicator (Cohen et al. 2004; Friedlander et al., 2002; Schmelz et al. 1991).

The ingathering of Jews from around the world to their own country is a core ideal of nation-building in Israel. Accordingly, the formal immigration policy that first appeared in the Declaration of Independence in 1948, and was later anchored by the Law of Return in 1950, proclaims the right of every Jew to settle in the country and grants him citizenship upon arrival. In order to encourage immigration and ensure successful absorption, the state provides immigrants with meaningful financial assistance. This settlement assistance, including coverage of travel expenses, free housing, tax exemption on cars and appliances, and free language and job training, is given to all immigrants

during the first few months after arrival regardless of their country of origin or personal economic condition.

Most of the immigrants to Israel, from Asian and African countries and from East Europe, were pushed by social alienation and political repression (and so may be called "refugee" migrants). Others, a much smaller number, from North America and Western Europe, were motivated by religious and nationalistic incentives (thus becoming "ideological" migrants). None are the conventional economic migrants. Refugee migrants "have more skills specific to the origin and fewer skills that are destination specific or internationally transferable" (Chiswick and Wenz, 2005); "ideological" migrants are more positively self-selected to the economic opportunities of their new locality. These differences by type of migration are expected to effect immediate as well as long-term economic adjustment.

4. Data, Variables, and Description

Data

The data utilized in this study are drawn from the 1995 Israeli Census of Housing and Population (20% 'demographic version' file). The sample is restricted to men aged 25-65 and to women aged 25-60 with the upper limit reflecting the mandatory retirement age for each gender group, respectively. Since the question on employment referred to the "last year", I excluded immigrants who arrived in the country in the year of the census. Three native-born groups included for comparison are persons who were born in Israel and whose ethnic background, based on father's place of birth, could be identified (Asia-Africa, Europe-America, and Israel).

Immigrants were aggregated into 48 individual countries, or areas, of origin each of which meets the criterion of having a minimum of 250 sample cases. Origin groups cover people from West Europe, East Europe, North America, Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania. Group sizes range from 250 persons from Lebanon to 15,002 from Morocco. Applying the above criteria, I generated a sample of 96,850 immigrants and 97,474 native-born Israelis.

The assignments of people into origin groups were determined solely on the answer to the country-of-birth question. The geo-political transformations in East-Europe in the early 1990s seem to have created some confusion with a few reported terms still referring to general units such as the former Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia. When these met the minimum threshold, I maintained the respondent's specification and did not merge them into inclusive country categories.

Variables

The dependent variable is the individual's labor force status during the census reference year. It alternately distinguishes between two or three groups of people. A breakdown of the population into two groups distinguishes between people who were not at work at all over the past year and those who did work; a three group distinction divides the population into those who were not at work, those who worked less than 12 months, and people who reported working throughout the year. A small proportion of approximately 3% of those who reported not working was in fact in the labor force looking for a job.

Explanatory variables are clustered into four major blocks: demographic and human capital characteristics, family structure, area of residence, and immigration factors. All

covariates but one are measured as dummy variables. Demographic and human capital characteristics used in this analysis are age, gender, and education. Age is represented by the categories 25 to 34, 35 to 49, and 50 years and older (the omitted category). Gender is set to 1 if the person is female with males as the reference category. Education was decomposed into five dummy variables of primary/intermediate education (the omitted category), high school graduation without matriculation, matriculation, post-secondary diploma, and academic degree. Family structure is evaluated by two variables of marital status (Married=1) and the presence of children under the age of 18 at home (children=1); the respective omitted categories are unmarried (single, divorced, widowed), and having older children or no children at all.

Area of residence divides the country into four major geographic units. They include: Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv Metropolitan area, Haifa Metropolitan area, and the rest of the country. Jerusalem refers to the city of Jerusalem. Each of the metropolitan areas is a large urban conglomerate composed of a number of municipalities with strong socio-economic and cultural ties. Metropolitan Tel-Aviv consists largely of greater Tel-Aviv and the coastal plain from Hadera to Ashdod and is the country's major economic and cultural center (the omitted category). Metropolitan Haifa consists of the area north of Hadera including the city of Haifa and parts of the Galilee. The rest of the country is comprised of small towns, both urban and rural, which are located mainly in the far north and far south.

Immigration factors include age at time of immigration, tenure in Israel, and nativity concentration. Age at immigration distinguishes five interval groups: less than 14 years old, 15-24, 25-34, 35-49 and those aged 50 and older as the omitted category. Tenure in

Israel reflects the time which has elapsed since immigration until the end of period (i.e. 1994) and distinguishes between duration of up to one year, 1-2 years, 3-5 years, 6-10 years or 11 or more years in Israel (omitted category). Nativity concentration is the percentage distribution of a given immigrant group among the four geographic areas defined above. All persons of a given immigrant group who lived in a specific area have the same concentration value. Both nominator and denominator refer to the entire population, i.e. at all ages. Nativity concentration is treated as a continuous variable. Finally, native-born persons were distinguished between second (the omitted category) and third generation in the country.

Description

Descriptive analysis of the data reveals lower rates of LFP among immigrants than among native-born Israelis (Figure 1). These differences are mainly attributed to the general tendency of immigrants to be employed less than native-born rather than to variations in the amount of work whether part of the year (less than 12 months) or year-round (all 12 months). The findings further suggest that men, immigrant and native-born alike, are more likely to be economically active than their women counterparts. Nevertheless, immigrants exhibit larger gender differences than the native-born implying that immigrant women are the most disadvantaged group. That the rate of participation is lower for women than men pertains to all immigrant groups (with the exception of immigrants from Lithuania). Gender differences are high among immigrants from Asian and African countries and tend to be less for immigrants from Europe and North

America. This is still evident in the second generation of native-born Israelis, with the gaps being considerably diminished among third-generation Israelis.

Socio-demographic characteristics vary across geo-cultural groups (Table 1). The mean age of most immigrant groups is higher than that of native-born. The range of the mean ages of the various immigrant groups is approximately 14 years, with those born in Ethiopia being the youngest group and those from Yemen the oldest. Even more substantial are the variations in educational attainment with only a small proportion of Asians and Africans having academic degrees, a medium proportion of immigrants from Western European and Latin American countries, and a high percentage of immigrants from North America and a few republics of the former Soviet Union; this rough classification holds true for both men and women and is largely reflected also among second generation Israelis. Yet, within each group there are differences along gender lines: among most groups of Asian and African origin there is a higher proportion of men with academic degrees as compared to women, whereas immigrant women from the United States, Belarus and the rest of Eastern Europe, among others, have more education than do their men counterparts. Family composition varies between immigrant groups with an approximately 20% difference between the group with the lowest rate of married people and that with the highest rate. In all groups men are more likely than women to be married.

Inter-group comparison, by origin and gender, underscores substantial differences of immigration characteristics. Immigrants from Asia and Africa, as well as from Eastern and Central European countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Germany, arrived in Israel at young ages as children or adolescents. To a large extent, they belong

to the mass waves of immigration following the foundation of the state of Israel in whose wake the Jewish communities in these countries were almost totally emptied of Jews. The older age at immigration of Soviet Jews is associated with the large influx which arrived in Israel recently, coupled with the lower bound of the age interval of our target population. Immigrants from Western Europe and America are a selective population, mainly motivated by religious and ideological incentives, which typically characterize young adults. Gender variation in age at immigration is small, but when women's mean age at immigration is higher than men's, this is always associated with immigration from Western Europe and America. Origin groups with young age at immigration have longer tenure in Israel, and vice versa.

Substantial differences were found in the geographic distribution of immigrant populations as seen in the proportions living in Metropolitan Tel-Aviv. The data do not point to any clear pattern of strong or weak preference to reside in Tel Aviv either by groups from a given continent or by gender. The literature (e.g. Schmelz et al. 1991; Gonen, 1995; Dashefsky et al., 1992) suggests that immigrants' residential choices in Israel are determined by the timing of arrival (especially during the formative years of the state), housing prices, instrumental considerations (i.e. proximity to work), and the desire to live in a religiously and socially suitable community.

5. Findings

Gender influences LFP by means of demographic and human capital characteristics, family structure, context of residence, and immigration factors. A multivariate strategy keeps these factors constant and evaluates the net effect of each factor, or interaction

terms, on the predicted variable. Table 2 presents the odds ratios from binary logistic regression models that predict working (part or full year) versus not working. Separate equations were calculated for immigrants, native-born Israelis, and the total sample.

Among immigrants, being a woman decreases the probability of employment. The odds ratio suggests that, ceteris paribus, immigrant women are only 40 percent as likely to be in the labor force as immigrant men (Column 1). When introducing interaction terms of gender by marital status and gender by presence of children at home, immigrant women remained less likely to be employed than were their men counterparts albeit at a somewhat higher odds ratio of 0.75 (Column 2). Among the native-born, women exert a negative effect on LFP with an odds ratio of .53 (Column 3). Contrary to immigrants, however, after the inclusion of interaction terms, native-born women do not suffer any more hardship than their men counterparts and are even slightly more successful in joining the economically active labor force (Column 4). In other words, overcoming the obstacles associated with family obligations eliminated the gender inequality for native women but not for immigrant women. Accordingly, the interaction term of gender (female) by birthplace (immigrant) in the total sample produced an odds ratio of 0.89 (Column 6). Thus, immigrant women face difficulties in finding jobs and are at a double disadvantage in the Israeli labor market.

Other socio-demographic determinants of LFP, namely age and education, operate similarly among immigrants and the native-born. Of particular interest is the role of family characteristics that involve household responsibilities which traditionally vary by gender. Being married was found to increase LFP. The interaction terms, however, show that this does not apply to women, immigrant and native-born alike, among whom having

a spouse is negatively associated with employment. The presence of children at home depresses the LFP of immigrant women but does not have a statistically significant effect on the employment of native-born women. This may reflect differences in familial and social contexts, since the native-born have easier access to child care assistance provided by relatives and friends. Likewise, given similar conditions of occupation type and amount of work, immigrants will have lower incomes than will the native-born because of shorter tenure and less familiarity with the possibilities of attaining supplementary wage for such expenses as car maintenance, telephone, and annual vacation, which are customary in Israel. Hence, the economic value for immigrant women to work outside the home vis-à-vis the cost of child care is smaller than for native-born women.

The effects of the immigration factors show an overall higher probability to work as age at immigration declines. Concurrently, the longer the tenure in the country the higher the likelihood to be in the labor force. The economic adjustment of immigrants in Israel is steep, and after 3 years in the country they already have greater odds of being economically active than more veteran immigrants or the native-born (the omitted category). Many of the immigrants who have been in Israel between 3-5 years, and some who arrived between 6-10 years ago, arrived from the former Soviet Union and perhaps reflect patterns of employment associated with their geo-cultural background.

An in-depth analysis of the effect of tenure on LFP reveals significant gender differences (Table 3, Part A). All else being equal, the most recent immigrants with tenure of less than 1 year in Israel, men and women alike, have the lowest probability of being employed. Already at this early stage in the new country the odds of being employed are greater for men than for women. Thereafter, these gender differences develop in different

trajectories: after 1-2 years in Israel, we see no difference between the likelihood of LFP of immigrant and native-born men (the omitted category) and later the immigrants have even higher odd whereas the odds of immigrant women to be economically active, although they improve over time, remain substantially lower than those of native-born men. Nevertheless, immigrant women were able to close the gap with native women. Thus, as far as the double effect is concerned, it is the effect of gender which remains significant for the employment of immigrant women.

I have decomposed LFP into three categories of those employed less than 12 months, 12 months, and the unemployed. The data were utilized for the total sample, i.e. immigrants and native-born combined, through multinomial logistic regression. The results in Table 4 are consistent with those presented above where the analysis was confined to a dichotomous distinction. Both for working part of the year and working year-round, being an immigrant woman decreases the probability of employment with respective odds ratios of .835 and .923. Insight into the joint effect of gender and tenure (Table 3, Part B) shows that as time elapses immigrant women increase the likelihood of year-round employment (from an odds ratio of .101 in the first year to .443 after 11 years or more). Both for working part of the year and for the full year, the probability of immigrant women to be employed has converged with that of native women.

Is the effect of gender on LFP similar among all immigrant groups or there is perhaps some stratification by country of origin? To explore this, I introduced each of the 48 immigrant groups in a multivariate equation. Data were separately utilized for women and men; and only for the dichotomous distinction between being employed (part or all year) versus not at all. Since immigrants to Israel originated in a large number of

countries with different levels of development and modernization, I first compared their LFP in reference to the total native-born population and then only to their native-born ethnic peers: for immigrants from Asian and African countries their peers were determined as native-Israelis whose fathers were born in Asia or Africa, and for immigrants from Europe and America (including South Africa) the native-born were those whose fathers were born in either Europe or America. Due to space limitations Table 5 presents only the odds ratios (those who were statistically significant) of the interactions between country of origin and tenure in Israel[2] but they are controlled for all the other sets of independent factors including demographic and human capital characteristics, family structure, area of residence, and immigration variables.

Among women, the interaction terms of birthplace by tenure show that slightly less than half of the immigrant groups have a statistically significant effect on LFP relative to native-born women. With prolonged tenure, immigrant women from a few of the republics that formerly comprised the Soviet Union, as well as those from some Latin American countries, have higher probabilities for employment than their native-born counterparts. By contrast, immigrant women from many of the Asian and African countries and immigrant women from the United States, despite very different socio-economic backgrounds, are less likely to be employed than native-born women. Restricting the comparison to ethnic peers slightly decreased the number of immigrant groups with higher probabilities of being in the labor force than the native-born; women in eight immigrant groups – mainly from the former Soviet Union and Latin American countries - were more likely to be employed than were their native-born peers.

[2] For this analysis, tenure in Israel is treated as a continuous variable.

The above findings attest to a substantial stratification by country of origin. For approximately half of the immigrant groups, there is no significant effect on LFP relative to native-born women. The double disadvantage of being a women and an immigrant is mainly attributed to what can be considered as the two extremes of the developmental and modernization spectrum, i.e. Asia and Africa on the one side and Western Europe and North America on the other. Thus, while for some the patterns of labor force incorporation indeed reflect a double disadvantage, others suffer only the single disadvantage of being women. The heterogeneous profile of the immigrant groups with a double disadvantage, which originated in very different parts of the globe, is probably evidence of cultural background and ideology regarding gender roles as well as personal economic considerations.

For men, 9 of the 13 immigrant groups with statistically significant differentials had higher odds of being economically active throughout time than native-born men. This number slightly dropped when the comparison was restricted to ethnically native peers. In contrast to immigrant women, among immigrant men there are a few groups from Asian and African countries with positive effects on LFP, but none from the republics of the former Soviet Union.

6. Discussion

The central goal of this paper was to examine gender differences in LFP among immigrants in Israel and to see how these differences vary across origin groups. I was motivated by the rare scholarly attention given to the joint effect of being both a woman and an immigrant on LFP, as well as the effect of the specific birthplace. I proposed three

complementary hypotheses according to which: 1) women in general, and immigrant women in particular, have difficulty in entering into the labor market; 2) with the passage of time immigrant women experience some improvement in LFP yet remain at a "double disadvantage"; 3) there exists stratification of gender gaps in LFP by birthplace.

Findings from multivariate analyses of the 1995 Israeli census largely support the first and third hypotheses but refute the second. After controlling for demographic and human capital characteristics, family structure, area of residence and immigration factors, immigrant women exerted a negative effect on LFP. This conclusion is consistent for different durations of work, whether for part of the year or the entire fiscal year. As time elapsed, the probability of immigrant women's LFP improved but remained considerably lower than that of immigrant men. Nevertheless, immigrant women have closed the gap with native-born women and after a few years in Israel both groups had very similar probabilities to be employed.

A detailed analysis by country of birth shows that immigrants are not made of one cloth. For slightly more than half of the immigrant groups, women did not exert significant differences in LFP as compared to native-born women. Among the remaining groups, immigrant women from Asian and African countries, as well as from the United States, had difficulty finding jobs relative to native-born women; by contrast, immigrant women from many of the republics of the former Soviet Union, as well as immigrant women from a few Latin American countries, had higher probabilities of employment than did their native-born counterparts. Refining the comparison to native-born ethnic peers (Asia-Africa or Europe-America) somewhat decreased the number of groups with higher probabilities of employment. The stratification of LFP by birthplace and the changes

according to the reference group (total native-born or ethnic peers), emphasize the importance of cultural background and social values associated with country of birth. Immigrants from Asian and African countries originated in societies with generally low rates of participation of women in the labor force and they have continued to follow this pattern also in Israel. According to The World Bank (2004), besides Ethiopia, all other Asian and African countries discussed in this study had a Labor Force Gender Parity Index (LFGPI)[3] substantially lower than that of Israel. Similarly, the strong inclination of immigrant women from areas which formerly comprised the Soviet Union to be employed reflects the position of women in the Soviet economy as equal participants in the labor force with Soviet men, hence have higher LFGPI than Israel.

A somewhat surprising finding is the low probability of immigrant women from several industrialized countries, although they arrived from societies with high LFGPI, to actively participate in the labor force. This should be interpreted by means of economic factors not fully indexed by the census' socio-economic characteristics. Reflecting the educational and occupational profile of the Western Jewish Diaspora in general (Goldstein, 1992; DellaPergola, 1993), and the positive selectivity of immigrants to Israel in particular (Goldscheider, 1974; Rebhun and Waxman, 2001), immigrants from Western Europe and the United States are concentrated in the upper ranks of the socio-economic hierarchy. On the average, they are wealthy, presumably with economic savings and also remuneration from property or estate held in their country of origin. This enables them to maintain a high standard of living with only one bread winner or even none. Furthermore, the jobs in which they were engaged prior to immigration as white-

[3] Labor Force Gender Parity Index "is the ratio of the percentage of women who are economically active to the percentage of men who are" (2004 World Development Indicators, p. 31).

collar professionals are often not female-typed occupations and are thus more difficult to penetrate in a new country; and they will be reluctant to accept jobs inferior to those they had in their countries of origin. By contrast, given the economic conditions of the former Soviet Union immigrants, including the women, are more willing to experience loss of occupational status. In addition, a high proportion of immigrants from western Europe, and especially from the United States, are Orthodox Jews with strong religious orientation; typically, Orthodox households have low percentages of women in the labor force.

The findings also reveal the nature of the disadvantage of women associated with family characteristics. Being both a woman and married decreases employment for both immigrants and the native-born. However, the combination of being a woman and having children at home negatively effects the economic activity of immigrant women but not that of native-born women. In other words, children do not necessarily produce a conflict between work and traditional family roles to a level that prevents women from entering the labor force. These differences between immigrant and native-born women can be attributed to child care assistance from family and social networks which are more easily available to people with deep roots and longstanding personal contacts. Thus, although not evaluated here empirically, I argue that in addition to individual and cultural characteristics, the receiving social context is important for immigrants' participation in the labor force. From a policy standpoint, the various possibilities to facilitate immigrant women's employment should include the availability of a care system for young children compatible with full-time work; flexibility for absence from work in case of children's illness during the first few years in the country; and informal social activities between

veteran and new inhabitants to strengthen personal contacts which if needed can substitute for the absence of enlarged family and relatives. From the moment the immigrant women enter the labor market, their seniority at the work place will gradually increase and concurrently also their familiarity with the economic system, hence the profitability of LFP.

In Israel, as in many other developed countries, the gender gap in LFP has diminished over time. This resulted from the two opposing trends of increase in women's LFP and decrease in that of men. The decline in the percentage of men who are employed is explained, among other things, by foreign workers who have replaced local inhabitants with low education. This is further enhanced by a large number of Ultra-Orthodox Jews who, for religious reasons, are not gainfully employed. The participation of immigrant women in the labor force attests to the rapid assimilation of many of the origin groups into main-stream patterns of Israeli women and thus does not interfere with the general trend of narrowing gender differences. The fact that the source of the recent large wave of immigration to Israel was mainly the former Soviet Union, where there was a strong inclination to work, for immigrant women to be employed have accelerated socio-economic processes of gender equality at destination. Future research should challenge the double disadvantage effect in Israel on complementary economic dimensions, namely occupational mobility and wage, which might reveal different roles of both micro and macro determinants.

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FIGURE 1
LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF IMMIGRANTS AND NATIVE -BORN ISRAELIS, 1995

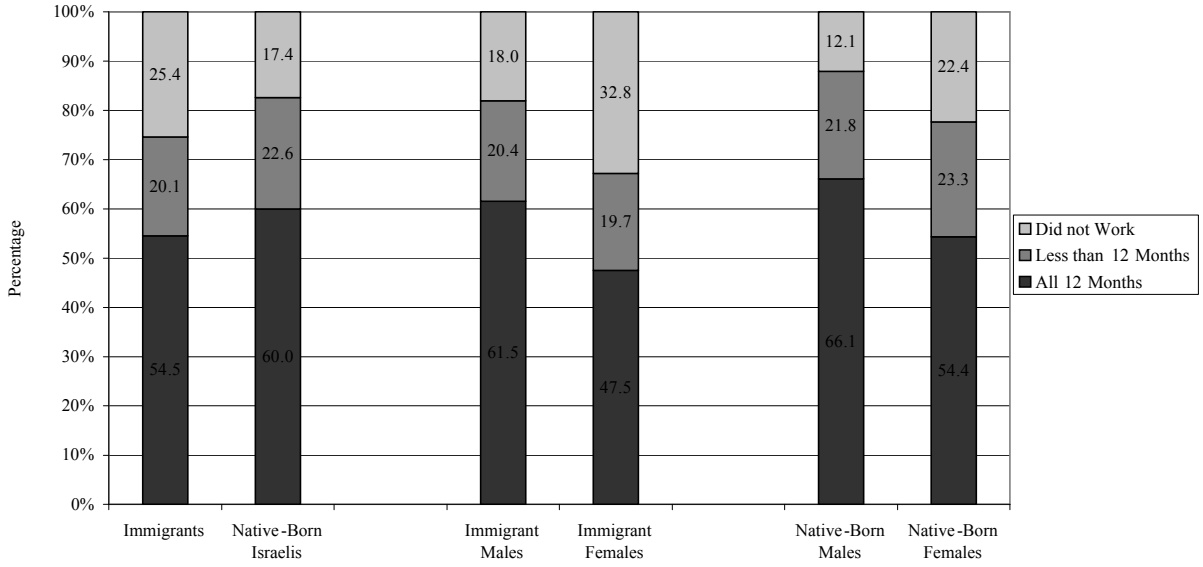

TABLE 1
LABOR FORCE, SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC, AND IMMIGRATION CHARACTERISTICS: MEANS (STANDARD DEVIATION) AND PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANTS AND NATIVE-BORN ISRAELIS, BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND GENDER, 1995

Place of Birth	(N)	% in Labor Force		Mean Age	% with B.A. Degree	% Married	Mean Age at Immigration	Tenure in Israel	% Live in Tel-Aviv
		Total	Thereof: 12 Mon.						
				MALES					
Total Immigrants	49,214	81.9	61.5	47.6 (10.4)	24.3	84.7	20.9 (15.4)	26.7 (16.8)	49.9
Algeria	453	77.1	55.5	48.4 (8.9)	11.9	86.5	16.2 (12.3)	32.2 (11.5)	41.1
Argentina	1,087	92.2	72.8	44.5 (10.8)	30.8	82.6	23.5 (11.7)	20.9 (10.9)	44.1
Austria	129	84.5	62.0	51.5 (8.0)	31.0	85.3	6.7 (9.7)	44.8 (11.6)	48.8
Azerbaijan	334	84.8	61.2	42.9 (10.2)	35.9	85.3	36.5 (11.5)	6.4 (6.3)	29.6
Belarus	774	86.2	72.2	45.0 (11.1)	42.1	89.7	38.6 (12.2)	6.3 (7.8)	37.5
Belgium	131	85.1	57.5	48.8 (11.1)	32.1	79.4	17.8 (11.8)	30.9 (16.3)	62.6
Brazil	167	90.1	67.3	43.4 (11.7)	35.3	73.7	19.6 (11.2)	23.8 (12.5)	44.3
Bulgaria	581	83.9	67.2	54.5 (7.3)	21.9	86.9	11.8 (10.1)	42.6 (12.3)	81.4
Canada	138	86.9	57.7	41.4 (10.3)	63.8	79.7	22.8 (12.7)	18.5 (11.5)	33.3
Czechoslovakia	227	87.0	72.1	52.9 (8.4)	27.8	78.0	10.5 (10.0)	42.3 (11.6)	50.2
Egypt	833	80.4	62.1	52.1 (7.6)	13.1	85.5	10.6 (7.4)	41.4 (6.5)	63.4
Ethiopia	929	70.0	46.6	40.4 (11.4)	3.7	73.0	32.6 (12.9)	7.8 (6.4)	40.3
France	619	82.0	55.6	41.4 (11.7)	31.2	76.1	18.3 (13.1)	23.1 (15.0)	46.2
Georgia	845	77.9	58.3	43.8 (11.1)	16.1	90.2	26.7 (14.0)	17.1 (8.9)	55.1
Germany	565	87.8	70.2	50.6 (8.1)	34.7	83.9	8.5 (13.1)	42.1 (14.5)	58.4
Hungary	373	79.4	56.9	53.9 (8.1)	24.4	82.0	14.3 (10.9)	39.5 (12.2)	46.9
India	713	79.3	59.6	45.5 (9.9)	7.9	85.7	16.5 (10.8)	29.0 (9.1)	49.8
Iran	2,046	83.3	60.0	48.0 (9.8)	10.1	88.7	15.4 (12.0)	32.6 (12.4)	66.0
Iraq	3,251	78.1	58.8	53.8 (6.7)	8.4	84.9	10.0 (6.8)	43.7 (4.5)	65.8
Italy	161	91.8	67.9	47.7 (8.7)	32.3	82.0	10.6 (13.0)	37.1 (14.7)	58.4
Kazakhstan	115	91.3	72.2	43.2 (9.7)	48.7	93.0	34.3 (13.9)	8.9 (13.5)	50.4
Latvia	204	91.5	77.1	45.3 (10.5)	50.5	85.8	29.1 (14.1)	16.1 (12.6)	56.4
Lebanon	119	91.6	76.3	47.3 (10.6)	10.9	86.6	12.4 (9.4)	34.9 (11.6)	73.9
Lithuania	333	87.4	75.8	45.2 (10.9)	39.6	84.4	24.3 (14.4)	20.9 (13.6)	69.1
Lybia	834	80.1	54.2	52.7 (7.1)	5.6	90.0	9.2 (7.2)	43.5 (6.5)	71.9
Moldovia	727	89.4	73.2	45.7 (10.5)	37.3	89.4	36.3 (12.4)	9.3 (8.1)	43.3
Morocco	7,474	78.7	58.6	47.5 (9.0)	7.1	86.3	12.1 (8.6)	35.3 (6.6)	34.7
Other Asia-Africa	263	80.5	58.6	49.2 (10.3)	20.5	79.1	14.7 (12.8)	34.5 (14.7)	70.3
Other East Europe	129	79.4	53.2	49.9 (10.0)	30.2	79.8	21.1 (16.7)	28.8 (21.3)	42.6
Other Latin America	262	89.8	63.1	41.3 (10.8)	35.1	74.0	20.9 (11.3)	20.3 (11.8)	50.8
Other Former Soviet Union	161	84.4	64.4	43.7 (10.2)	38.5	87.0	37.2 (12.0)	6.5 (8.0)	53.4
Other West Europe	384	84.0	63.7	45.9 (10.1)	34.1	84.1	14.6 (13.8)	31.3 (17.8)	54.4
Poland	1,583	83.2	65.4	53.6 (8.6)	25.1	83.1	11.4 (9.2)	42.2 (10.7)	66.2
Romania	3,911	83.7	67.4	51.1 (9.3)	25.9	85.3	17.0 (11.5)	34.1 (11.7)	50.5
Russia	4,420	85.2	65.8	43.9 (10.6)	44.3	83.6	34.6 (13.9)	9.3 (11.2)	44.4
South Africa	296	92.0	70.2	43.4 (11.0)	48.3	78.4	25.9 (12.5)	17.4 (11.5)	48.6
Spain	120	68.7	53.0	48.6 (10.6)	15.0	86.7	15.8 (10.5)	32.8 (12.3)	45.8
Syria	367	80.3	60.1	52.2 (9.5)	8.7	88.8	14.5 (12.0)	37.6 (15.8)	66.2
The Netherlands	133	88.4	66.9	46.5 (10.3)	39.8	82.7	21.4 (12.4)	25.1 (14.4)	45.9
Tunisia	1,294	78.2	56.9	49.7 (8.6)	8.3	86.3	12.9 (9.3)	36.7 (8.9)	35.4
Turkey	1,182	81.4	65.1	51.1 (9.2)	10.4	86.5	13.7 (9.5)	37.3 (11.7)	76.6
Ukraine	4,038	84.3	65.0	45.9 (10.8)	45.6	85.3	37.7 (13.6)	8.2 (10.0)	42.2
United Kingdom	494	84.7	60.4	42.9 (11.2)	40.7	81.6	23.8 (12.5)	19.1 (12.5)	42.5
United States	1,357	79.7	49.3	40.6 (10.3)	59.8	77.5	25.0 (12.8)	15.6 (10.5)	30.7
Uruguay	191	94.7	78.8	44.4 (11.0)	30.9	78.0	21.8 (10.2)	22.5 (10.3)	58.6
Former Soviet Union[d]	2,354	80.2	49.9	43.2 (10.9)	31.7	81.3	32.0 (14.4)	11.1 (10.8)	47.5
Uzbekistan	736	84.0	65.0	43.4 (10.3)	32.6	91.3	36.0 (13.1)	7.3 (9.0)	61.1
Yemen	1,376	73.9	53.1	54.7 (6.2)	5.5	88.3	8.7 (6.3)	46.0 (5.6)	74.6
Total Native-Born Israelis	49,059	87.9	66.1	38.6 (9.3)	21.7	78.9	-	-	54.9
Israel-AA[a]	20,225	86.6	64.1	36.2 (7.6)	10.2	80.9	-	-	52.2
Israel-EA[b]	19,813	90.6	71.2	41.7 (9.6)	31.3	80.1	-	-	59.5
Israel-Israel[c]	9,021	84.8	59.3	37.0 (10.3)	26.2	71.6	-	-	51.0

TABLE 1. CONT.

Place of Birth	(N)	% in Labor Force: Total	% in Labor Force: Thereof: 12 Mon.	Mean Age	% with B.A. Degree	% Married at Immigration	Mean Age at Immigration	Tenure in Israel	% Live in Tel-Aviv
				FEMALES					
Total Immigrants	49,108	67.2	47.5	45.2 (9.2)	23.9	70.5	20.6 (14.8)	24.5 (16.3)	49.4
Algeria	447	62.5	43.5	46.9 (7.4)	9.4	74.7	14.3 (11.0)	32.5 (10.8)	42.3
Argentina	1,056	85.5	62.3	42.9 (9.4)	32.3	72.0	22.3 (10.6)	20.6 (10.1)	45.7
Austria	132	75.8	60.6	47.3 (5.3)	32.6	70.5	7.3 (11.7)	39.9 (13.1)	57.6
Azerbaijan	388	62.5	40.7	41.5 (9.5)	35.8	63.4	35.6 (11.2)	5.9 (6.4)	26.5
Belarus	880	74.9	55.2	42.5 (9.4)	46.9	72.7	37.0 (10.3)	5.4 (5.4)	34.0
Belgium	137	71.8	48.1	43.1 (10.8)	35.0	69.3	18.9 (10.9)	24.2 (14.4)	59.1
Brazil	216	81.6	54.2	42.7 (10.0)	35.2	69.9	20.5 (9.8)	21.5 (11.4)	50.0
Bulgaria	475	70.1	57.1	51.8 (6.1)	15.4	71.2	9.2 (9.5)	42.5 (11.2)	80.2
Canada	144	76.7	52.1	39.4 (9.3)	56.9	68.1	23.1 (11.0)	16.3 (10.0)	46.5
Czechoslovakia	177	77.9	63.1	48.6 (6.2)	31.1	75.7	7.9 (9.2)	40.7 (11.7)	55.4
Egypt	760	63.9	46.7	50.0 (5.9)	8.8	70.5	10.1 (7.3)	39.9 (7.0)	60.0
Ethiopia	958	26.7	12.8	38.9 (9.9)	2.7	58.1	31.9 (11.2)	7.0 (4.8)	38.2
France	785	72.4	46.6	39.9 (10.0)	29.0	68.7	19.1 (12.2)	20.8 (13.3)	48.3
Georgia	928	63.2	41.4	42.0 (9.9)	14.4	72.8	24.7 (12.8)	17.3 (8.6)	56.8
Germany	591	77.4	61.0	46.8 (6.1)	27.2	69.0	9.7 (13.1)	37.1 (15.4)	59.6
Hungary	267	75.6	56.6	48.2 (6.6)	22.1	65.2	13.4 (11.2)	34.8 (13.1)	55.8
India	789	62.3	46.2	43.8 (9.0)	6.2	73.1	14.7 (10.1)	29.1 (9.1)	51.7
Iran	1,878	57.6	37.9	45.9 (8.7)	6.1	80.4	14.6 (10.7)	31.2 (12.1)	69.2
Iraq	2,552	56.9	40.4	51.5 (5.2)	5.6	70.6	7.9 (5.7)	43.5 (4.4)	68.5
Italy	183	73.3	55.7	45.0 (8.7)	27.3	70.5	12.3 (13.1)	32.6 (15.7)	54.1
Kazakhstan	158	68.9	43.0	41.6 (9.2)	51.9	68.4	34.6 (12.0)	6.9 (10.5)	43.0
Latvia	252	85.7	61.5	42.6 (8.6)	44.4	69.8	27.7 (13.2)	14.9 (11.4)	52.0
Lebanon	128	58.7	45.2	47.1 (10.2)	14.1	71.9	15.5 (10.5)	31.5 (10.7)	71.9
Lithuania	321	90.2	73.5	43.6 (8.7)	41.7	73.8	23.9 (12.4)	19.6 (11.7)	71.3
Lybia	729	49.4	33.5	51.3 (6.1)	4.5	74.5	8.1 (6.3)	43.1 (6.3)	70.5
Moldovia	771	77.9	56.6	43.4 (9.0)	39.3	75.5	34.8 (11.1)	8.5 (7.7)	44.7
Morocco	7,528	59.2	41.1	46.1 (8.0)	4.8	74.1	11.4 (8.0)	34.6 (6.4)	37.1
Other Asia-Africa	280	64.6	41.5	46.9 (9.7)	13.6	67.5	12.7 (11.7)	34.2 (14.1)	69.3
Other East Europe	144	74.8	53.1	46.7 (8.9)	38.2	68.1	21.1 (16.8)	25.6 (21.3)	45.8
Other Latin America	355	76.3	56.2	41.1 (8.9)	29.3	70.1	21.0 (10.7)	20.0 (11.0)	47.9
Other Former Soviet Union	201	65.3	37.2	41.7 (9.1)	38.3	62.7	36.0 (11.2)	5.7 (7.2)	38.8
Other West Europe	491	80.5	55.2	42.6 (9.1)	30.1	70.9	16.6 (12.5)	26.0 (15.8)	46.8
Poland	1,349	73.2	56.4	49.6 (6.6)	24.6	68.9	9.9 (8.3)	39.6 (9.1)	63.9
Romania	3,282	74.2	59.0	48.2 (7.9)	25.0	72.2	15.2 (10.7)	33.0 (11.0)	50.6
Russia	5,343	72.8	50.9	42.5 (9.5)	42.4	64.7	33.3 (12.9)	9.1 (10.9)	43.4
South Africa	325	81.3	54.7	40.7 (9.2)	35.7	68.3	22.6 (11.2)	18.1 (10.5)	54.2
Spain	141	51.0	34.5	46.6 (8.2)	5.7	73.8	12.7 (10.0)	33.8 (10.1)	39.0
Syria	292	53.8	34.5	47.8 (9.9)	4.5	75.3	14.3 (11.7)	33.5 (16.0)	66.1
The Netherlands	149	78.5	48.3	44.2 (9.9)	23.5	62.4	21.6 (10.8)	22.6 (13.8)	43.0
Tunisia	1,275	55.4	37.6	47.6 (7.6)	5.8	75.2	11.9 (8.6)	35.7 (9.1)	35.1
Turkey	491	56.0	41.0	49.1 (7.8)	4.4	76.9	12.1 (9.1)	37.0 (11.0)	75.5
Ukraine	4,454	74.4	54.0	43.6 (9.6)	42.8	66.6	35.7 (12.6)	7.8 (9.1)	42.7
United Kingdom	529	78.6	53.1	41.9 (9.9)	38.4	70.9	22.7 (11.5)	19.1 (12.1)	45.7
United States	1,403	75.0	47.5	40.0 (9.0)	63.9	70.5	22.9 (11.7)	17.0 (10.1)	32.4
Uruguay	198	88.3	66.0	42.7 (10.0)	30.3	72.7	22.8 (12.0)	19.9 (8.8)	55.1
Former Soviet Union[d]	2,346	71.1	46.1	42.2 (9.6)	34.7	67.0	31.4 (13.5)	10.7 (10.6)	48.9
Uzbekistan	788	71.1	48.9	40.6 (9.3)	34.6	67.8	33.8 (11.1)	6.7 (7.8)	57.5
Yemen	1,107	60.4	42.5	52.5 (5.0)	4.4	71.6	7.0 (4.9)	45.5 (4.6)	74.7
Total Native-Born Israelis	51,305	77.7	54.4	37.9 (8.7)	21.8	74.0	-	-	56.9
Israel-AA[a]	22,290	72.1	48.7	35.7 (7.3)	10.8	77.8	-	-	54.7
Israel-EA[b]	20,204	82.5	61.0	41.1 (9.0)	30.4	71.9	-	-	60.5
Israel-Israel[c]	8,811	80.4	53.4	36.1 (9.3)	29.8	69.2	-	-	54.0

a) Native-born Israelis with father born in Asia or Africa (excluding in South Africa).
b) Native-born Israelis with father born in Europe or America.
c) Native-born Israelis with father born in Israel.
d) People indicating former Soviet Union with no specification of republic of birth.

TABLE 2
LOGISTIC REGRESSION (ODDS RATIOS) OF LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION ON HUMAN CAPITAL, FAMILY STRUCTURE, AREA OF RESIDENCE, AND IMMIGRATION FACTORS: IMMIGRANTS AND NATIVE-BORN ISRAELIS, 1995

Independent	Immigrants		Native-Born		Total Sample	
Variable[a,b]	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Human Capital						
Age 25-34	1.462	1.504	1.353	1.366	1.426	1.478
	(.034)	(.034)	(.029)	(.030)	(.020)	(.021)
Age 35-49	1.995	1.992	1.790	1.720	1.895	1.890
	(.021)	(.022)	(.029)	(.029)	(.017)	(.017)
Female	0.402	0.753	0.531	1.005[c]	0.445	0.939
	(.020)	(.035)	(.027)	(.038)	(.016)	(.029)
High School Diploma	2.124	2.124	2.650	2.675	2.350	2.351
	(.023)	(.024)	(.023)	(.023)	(.016)	(.016)
Matriculation Diploma	2.907	2.923	3.669	3.775	3.240	3.278
	(.028)	(.028)	(.028)	(.028)	(.020)	(.020)
Postsecondary Diploma	4.471	4.462	5.779	5.897	5.038	5.056
	(.027)	(.027)	(.030)	(.031)	(.020)	(.020)
Academic Degree	6.419	6.427	10.276	10.476	7.860	7.902
	(.027)	(.027)	(.034)	(.034)	(.021)	(.021)
Family Structure						
Married	1.505	2.628	1.270	2.492	1.384	2.547
	(.019)	(.031)	(.022)	(.032)	(.014)	(.022)
Children < 18	0.818	1.012[e]	0.612	0.847	0.727	0.935[e]
	(.023)	(.082)	(.028)	(.096)	(.017)	(.062)
Area of Residence						
City of Jerusalem	0.664	0.640	0.191	0.181	0.507	0.496
	(.044)	(.044)	(.126)	(.126)	(.036)	(.036)
Haifa Metropolitan Area	0.717	0.715	0.363	0.355	0.733	0.729
	(.035)	(.035)	(.118)	(.119)	(.032)	(.032)
Rest of the Country	0.760	0.755	0.544	0.537	0.803	0.799
	(.026)	(.026)	(.076)	(.076)	(.022)	(.022)
Immigration Factors						
Age at Immigration: < 14	5.570	5.566	-	-	6.378	6.485
	(.053)	(.053)			(.048)	(.049)
Age at Immigration: 15-24	3.917	3.923	-	-	4.413	4.463
	(.050)	(.050)			(.047)	(.047)
Age at Immigration: 25-34	4.056	3.998	-	-	4.458	4.438
	(.046)	(.046)			(.043)	(.043)
Age at Immigration: 35-49	3.308	3.255	-	-	3.572	3.552
	(.041)	(.041)			(.040)	(.041)
Tenure in Israel: 1 Year or Less	0.555	0.549	-	-	0.550	0.540
	(.053)	(.053)			(.050)	(.051)
Tenure in Israel: 1-2 Years	0.848[c]	0.837	-	-	0.847	0.833
	(.055)	(.055)			(.053)	(.053)
Tenure in Israel: 3-5 Years	1.202	1.190	-	-	1.183	1.173
	(.036)	(.036)			(.033)	(.033)
Tenure in Israel: 6-10 Years	1.123[d]	1.129[d]	-	-	1.150	1.160[c]
	(.054)	(.054)			(.052)	(.053)
Nativity Concentration	0.996	0.996	0.974	0.974	0.994	0.994
	(.001)	(.001)	(.03)	(.003)	(.001)	(.001)
Third Generation	-	-	0.910	0.919	-	-
			(.024)	(.024)		
Immigrant	-	-			0.982[e]	1.051[d]
					(.017)	(.024)

*Interactions Female**						
Married	-	0.427	-	0.309	-	0.376
		(.039)		(.044)		(.029)
Children < 18	-	0.846[d]	-	0.871[e]	-	0.839[c]
		(.085)		(.101)		(.065)
Immigrant	-		-		-	0.896
						(.026)
Nagelkerke R^2	.230	.236	.168	.179	.209	.217
Number of Observations	96,850	96,850	97,474	97,474	194,325	194,325

Note : Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.

a) The omitted categories are: age 50 and over; male; primary/intermediate school; not married; no children or children aged 18 and older; Tel-Aviv metropolitan area; age at immigration 50 and over; 11 years or more in Israel; second generation; native-born.

b) All effects are significant at p<.001 unless otherwise specified.

c) Significant at p<.01

d) Significant at p<.05

e) Not significant

TABLE 3
INTERACTION EFFECTS (ODDS RATIOS) OF TENURE IN THE COUNTRY BY GENDER ON LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION, TOTAL SAMPLE[a,b]

	Tenure in Israel					
Gender	Less than 1 Year	1-2 Years	3-5 Years	6-10 Years	More than 11 Years	Native-Israeli
			Part A			
In LF/Not in LF						
Men	0.621	0.959[e]	1.409	1.193[d]	1.076[c]	-
	(.073)	(.079)	(.047)	(.083)	(.024)	
Women	0.248	0.382	0.524	0.546	0.459	0.492
	(.065)	(.068)	(.041)	(.068)	(.024)	(.022)
			Part B			
Part of the Year/Not in LF						
Men	1.361	1.402	1.475	1.427	1.102	-
	(.082)	(.091)	(.055)	(.095)	(.029)	
Women	0.658	0.661	0.641	0.755	0.502	0.572
	(.073)	(.080)	(.050)	(.080)	(.029)	(.026)
Full Year/Not in LF						
Men	0.365	0.795[c]	1.368	1.097[e]	1.065[d]	-
	(.081)	(.083)	(.048)	(.085)	(.025)	
Women	0.101	0.280	0.479	0.466	0.443	0.463
	(.084)	(.075)	(.043)	(.072)	(.024)	(.023)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.

a) The odd ratios were obtained after controlling for the independent variables included in Table 2.

b) All effects are significant at p<.001 unless otherwise specified.

c) Significant at p<.01

d) Significant at p<.05

e) Not significant

TABLE 4
MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION (ODDS RATIOS) OF PART OF THE YEAR AND ALL YEAR LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION ON HUMAN CAPITAL, FAMILY STRUCTURE, AREA OF RESIDENCE AND IMMIGRATION FACTORS: IMMIGRANTS AND NATIVE-BORN ISRAELIS, 1995

Independent Variable [a,b]	Less than 12 Months / Not in Labor Force	All 12 Months / Not in Labor Force
Human Capital		
Age 25-34	1.811	1.343
	(.025)	(.022)
Age 35-49	1.793	1.930
	(.021)	(.018)
Female	0.826	1.021[e]
	(.034)	(.031)
High School Diploma	1.945	2.552
	(.021)	(.017)
Matriculation Diploma	2.623	3.614
	(.024)	(.021)
Postsecondary Diploma	3.781	5.721
	(.024)	(.021)
Academic Degree	5.968	8.935
	(.024)	(.021)
Family Structure		
Married	1.600	3.171
	(.026)	(.024)
Children < 18	0.714	1.045[e]
	(.078)	(.065)
Area of Residence		
City of Jerusalem	0.661	0.428
	(.044)	(.038)
Haifa Metropolitan Area	0.667	0.753
	(.039)	(.033)
Rest of the Country	0.843	0.779
	(.028)	(.024)
Immigration Factors		
Age at Immigration : < 14	5.862	6.669
	(.063)	(.052)
Age at Immigration : 15-24	4.133	4.527
	(.060)	(.051)
Age at Immigration : 25-34	3.805	4.646
	(.055)	(.047)
Age at Immigration : 35-49	3.314	3.651
	(.053)	(.044)
Tenure in Israel : 1 Year or Less	1.236	0.276
	(.057)	(.059)
Tenure in Israel : 1-2 Years	1.261	0.660
	(.062)	(.057)
Tenure in Israel : 3-5 Years	1.262	1.126
	(.040)	(.034)
Tenure in Israel : 6-10 Years	1.407	1.049[e]

Nativity Concentration	0.994	0.994
	(.001)	(.001)
Immigrant	1.070[d]	1.043[e]
	(.028)	(.024)
*Interaction Female**		
Married	0.557	0.312
	(.034)	(.031)
Children < 18	1.153[e]	0.735
	(.081)	(.067)
Immigrant	0.835	0.923[c]
	(.030)	(.027)
Adjusted R^2	.187	
Number of Observations	194,286	

Note : Numbers in parentheses are standard errors.

a) The omitted categories are: age 50 and over; male; primary/intermediate school; not married; no children or children aged 18 and older; Tel-Aviv metropolitan area; age at immigration 50 and over; 11 years or more in Israel; native-born.

b) All effects are significant at p<.001 unless otherwise specified.

c) Significant at p<.01

d) Significant at p<.05

e) Not significant

TABLE 5
SUMMARY TABLE OF STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT INTERACTION EFFECTS FROM LOGISTIC REGRESSION OF ORIGIN GROUPS WITH TENURE ON LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION, BY GENDRE

Intercation Effects[ab]	No. of Groups	Women	No. of Groups	Men
With Reference to All Native-Born Israelis				
Odds Ratio >1	11	Argentina(1.026); Brazil(1.018[d]); Latvia(1.036[c]); Lithuania(1.039); Moldavia(1.030[c]); Russia(1.011); South Africa(1.020[d]); Ukraine(1.021); Urugay(1.048); USSR(1.008[d]); Other West Europe(1.010[d]).	9	Argentina(1.030); Ethiopia(1.023[d]); Iran(1.009); Lebanon(1.017[d]); Moldovia(1.027[d]); Russia(1.009[c]); South Africa(1.050); Ukraine(1.009[d]); Uruguay(1.050).
Odds Ratio <1	11	Ethiopia(0.960); Iran(0.995); Iraq(0.996); Lebanon(0.989[d]); Lybia(0.992); Morocco(0.995); Poland(0.995[c]); Spain(0.984[c]); Tunisia(0.993); Turkey(0.996[d]); United States(0.988).	4	Georgia(0.988[d]); Morocco(0.997); Spain(0.980); Yemen(0.995[c]).
With Reference to Native-Born Ethnic Peers				
Odds Ratio >1	8	Argentina(1.022); Latvia(1.032[c]); Lithuania(1.083); Moldovia(1.023[d]); Russia(1.005[d]); South Africa(1.016[d]); Ukraine(1.015); Uruguay(1.043).	6	Argentina(1.021); Ethiopia(1.057); Iran(1.010); Lebanon(1.020[d]); South Africa(1.041[c]); Uruguay(1.042[c]).
Odds Ratio <1	10	Canada(0.979[d]); Iran(0.996[d]); Iraq(0.995); Lybia(0.990); Morocco(0.998[d]); Poland(0.994); Romania(0.996[c]); Tunisia(0.994[c]); Turkey(0.994[c]); United States(0.986).	10	Austria(0.989[d]); Georgia(0.980); Hungary(0.992[d]); Poland(0.994); Other East Europe(0.987[d]); Romania(0.994); Spain(0.974); United States(0.990[d]); Former Soviet Union(0.986); Yemen(0.995[c]).

Note: Numbers in parentheses are odds ratios.
a) Odds ratios were obtained after controlling for the independent variables in Table 2.
b) All effects are significant at p <.001 unless otherwise specified.
c) Significant at p < .01
d) Significant at p < .05