Double or Single Negative:
Immigrant Women and Labor Force Participation in Israel

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Abstract

This paper examines gender differences in labor force participation (LFP) 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 LFP. 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, after a few years in the country immigrant women have closed the gap with native-born women. A detailed analysis reveals substantial stratification by country of birth. Thus, while for some immigrant groups the patterns of LFP reflect a double disadvantage for women, other groups appear to have only the one disadvantage of being females. I attach this stratification 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.

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, 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), and lack of personal contacts (Granovetter, 1995). Information asymmetry between employers at origin and destination regarding immigrants' true productivity further reduce immigrants' 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 expected 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 among groups (Adsera and Chiswick, 2006; Antecol, 2000; Semyonov and Lerenthal, 1991). Country of origin is indicative of sociocultural resources and specific structural and ecological factors that 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 those within ethnic niches, are important determinants of economic integration and mobility (Evans, 1989). Variations in economic attainment among different foreign-born groups also derive from the treatment

and sympathy the groups 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—as adults or as children—(Elder, 1990; Kossoudji, 1989) influence labor-market incorporation more than ethnicity per se. Area of settlement also plays an important role in affecting occupational and earning patterns by exposing the immigrants to distinctive labor-market conditions and opportunities (Greenlees and Saenz, 1999; Lieberson and Waters, 1988; Waxman, 2001).

Within each immigrant group, differences are found between men and women (Boyd, 1984; Haberfeld, 1993; Sullivan, 1984). Gender differences are often more substantial among immigrants than among the local population at large (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 that limits women's job opportunities and wages as a whole (Philzacklea, 1983) and 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, i.e., of being an employee or being self-employed (Boyd, 1984), occupational status and mobility (Boyd, 1984; Pekin, 1981; Chiswick et al., 2003), wage (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 recent immigrants (Baker and Benjamin, 1997; Boyd, 1984; Kats, 1982) or observed differences across origin groups within a single country (Antecol, 2000; Raijman and Semyonov, 1997). The findings of this research reveal considerable variations among immigrant groups and destination countries. Consequently, other explanations have been proposed, reflecting "single" and "triple" disadvantage of immigrant women.

This scarcity of research is all the more striking since LFP is a precondition for other aspects of economic characteristics, i.e., class of work, occupation, and wage. Participation as such involves more factors directly associated with the migration process, including the culture of place of origin and place of destination, motives for immigration, the immigrants' legal status, immigration policy of the host society, availability of ethnic or nativity peers, and immigrants' 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 individuals' human capital, family structure, area of residence, and immigration characteristics. Aggregate models for the total immigrant population, as well as detailed composition by country of origin, are developed. More specifically, I address the following four questions: 1) Do the characteristics of LFP verify the "double negative" effect, according to which immigrant women are disadvantaged relative to both native-born women and

native and foreign-born men? 2) Do such differentials hold true for different durations of work, i.e., part of the year or the entire fiscal year? 3) How do 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 recent immigrants and develops some working hypotheses. Section 3 discusses immigration to Israel. Section 4 presents the data and measurements used in this paper and describes the characteristics of the population. Section 5 focuses on the results of multivariate analyses. 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 affect the employment patterns and LFP of immigrants in their host country. Not only gender is an important determinant but other variables, both individual and contextual, sometimes operate differently among immigrant men and women. These explanatory factors may be clustered into four major blocs: demographic and human capital characteristics, family structure, area of residence, and cultural context of country of origin.

In the first bloc, age and schooling are the most frequently mentioned determinants of immigrants' employment status. Being in prime working-age years, as against the young and old extremes of the working-age interval, increases the likelihood of having a job (Greenlees and Saenz, 1999; Waxman, 2001). The correspondence of age to LFP is substantially important for immigrant men, as with the population at large, while the influence of age among immigrant women is weaker, reflecting the importance of life-cycle responsibilities (Kats, 1982). Schooling is also positively associated with LFP (Evans, 1984; Raijman and Semyonov, 1995; Stier and Tienda, 1992). Here, however, the correspondence is 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 schooling and also, presumably, by the greater flexibility of men in accepting jobs for which they are overqualified. Duration in the country and age at immigration are indirect indicators of human resources such as language proficiency, adjustment of professional skills to local labor-market characteristics, and personal contacts, and thus correspond strongly (positive and negative, respectively) to immigrants' employment (De Dunn and Paul, 2002; Evans, 1984; Schoeni, 1998; Waxman, 2001). Everything else being equal, women who were economically active in their countries of origin face greater difficulties in rejoining the labor market than immigrant men do; significant differences persist even after a tenure of twenty years (Raijman and Semyonov, 1997).

When immigration is a family act involving two adults, the likelihood of the wife's participation in the labor market is expected to increase upon arrival either because the husband's prospects of employment are poor (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 out-earn immigrant men. Over time, however, the labor supplied by immigrant women declines unless they decide to invest in their own human capital. The traditionally stronger responsibility of women for household duties, which increase 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). By the same token, 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; in this case, they attain high levels of occupational prestige and wages (Kossoudji and Ranney, 1984). These observations have been challenged; studies on immigrant women from Puerto Rico (Tienda and Glass, 1985), Mexico (Greenlees and Saenz, 1999), and the Dominican Republic (Gurak and Kritz, 2000) contend that the presence of a husband or other adult at home actually encourages women's LFP. Among other explanations, it was suggested that the social and economic context of area of settlement (e.g., 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, immigrant husbands, like counterparts in the population at large, may increase the likelihood of wives' 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 distinguishes 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 cities versus small cities, or urban areas versus rural areas, the area of residence has specific structural needs for labor and offers different types of jobs that may either enhance or hinder the LFP of recent 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 that have addressed this factor, either by direct economic measures such as unemployment rate or income related to individuals living in a given area (Greenlees and Saenz, 1999), or more generally distinguishing between several 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. From the labor-market assimilation perspective (Portes and Bach, 1985), proximity to an ethnic enclave of immigrant groups provides work opportunities in a familiar environment of language and professional skills and hence increases labor-force activity. These immigrant enterprises, known for their wages and lack of social welfare, are often aimed only at augmenting household income and thus employ large numbers of female workers (Massey et al., 1994). Such workplaces attract women in the main because they are located in immigrant residential enclaves, i.e., close 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, denote family priorities and the role of women at work versus at home.

As several studies have shown (Raijman and Semyonov, 1997; Reimers, 1985), substantial interaction takes place 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, although the differentials narrow as time in the host country increases. Not only culture per se is important; so is the magnitude of the cultural distance between origin and destination (Evans, 1984). Thus, while many studies consider the "cultural" factor a residual effect,[1] others insert 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) went even further; by using gender gaps in LFP rates across home-country groups in the United States, he revealed the paramount importance of the cultural variable after controlling for personal characteristics. Focusing on one host country (e.g., the United States) also controls for institutional differences, since in this case all residents "operate under roughly the same overall labor market regime" (Antecol, 2000: 413). This, however, does not rule out 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 on gender differences in particular, I propose three complementary hypotheses in regard to the target population of this study, immigrants in Israel: (1) Women are less likely than men to participate actively in the labor force, either year-round or in 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 on LFP of being an immigrant woman varies by country of origin; immigrants from less developed countries in Asia and Africa will experience the greatest disadvantage while several immigrant groups, especially from Eastern Europe with its long tradition of gender parity at work, will show an even stronger tendency toward employment than their native-born counterparts.

3. Immigrants in Israel

Jewish immigration is a major source of population growth in Israel. Approximately one-third of the country's 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 mass immigration that shortly followed the establishment of the state in 1948, the waves have been significantly smaller and, overall, have been declining in size. The magnitude of the most recent influx—from the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s—approximated the historical high levels but in a context of a demographically larger and economically stronger recipient Israeli population (DellaPergola, 2004).

The heterogeneous profile of the immigrant population is equally important. It includes people from some 150 countries of origin in Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, Western Europe, North America, South America, and Oceania. Often, Israel's immigrants and their native-born descendants are dichotomously differentiated by origin: Asian-African versus European-American. The two groups differ slightly in size, approximately

40% of the immigrants being from Asia and Africa and 60% originating from Europe and America. The Asian-African group is socioeconomically inferior to its European-American counterpart in parameters such as schooling, occupation, income, political power, and residential areas (Haberfeld, 1993). Over time, the gaps between the groups have evolved somewhat inconsistently, their contraction or expansion depending largely on the specific social or economic indicator tested (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, first expressed in the Declaration of Independence (1948) and later anchored in the Law of Return (1950), proclaims the right of every Jew to settle in the country and to obtain citizenship upon arrival. To encourage immigration and ensure successful absorption, the state provides immigrants with meaningful financial assistance which includes travel expenses, housing subsidies, tax exemptions on cars and appliances, and free language and job training. It is available to all immigrants during their first few months after arrival.

Most of the immigrants, those from Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe, came to Israel due to "push" factors such as 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 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 affect immediate as well as long-term economic adjustment.

4. Data, Variables, and Description

Data

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

The immigrants were aggregated into forty-eight individual countries or areas of origin, each of which meets the criterion of having a minimum of 250 sample cases. The origin groups cover people from Western Europe, Eastern Europe, North America, Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania. Group sizes range from 250 persons from Lebanon to 15,002 from Morocco. By applying these criteria, I generated a sample of 96,850 immigrants and 97,474 native-born Israelis.

The attribution of people to origin groups was determined solely by their answer to the country-of-birth question. The geo-political transformations in Eastern Europe in the early 1990s seem to have created some confusion, as a few reported terms still refer 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 did not work during the past year and those who did work; a three-group distinction divides the population into those who did not work, those who worked less than twelve months, and those who reported working throughout the year. A small proportion of those who reported not working, approximately 3%, were actually in the labor force and looking for a job.

The explanatory variables were clustered into four major blocs: demographic and human-capital characteristics, family structure, area of residence, and immigration factors. All covariates but one were measured as dummy variables. The demographic and human-capital characteristics used in this analysis were age, gender, and schooling. Age was represented by the cohorts 25–34, 35–49, and 50+ (the omitted category). Gender was set to 1 if the person is female; males are the reference category. Schooling was decomposed into five dummy variables of primary/intermediate schooling (the omitted category), high-school graduation without matriculation, matriculation, post-secondary diploma, and academic degree. Family structure was 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.

The area-of-residence variable divides the country into four major geographic units: Jerusalem, metropolitan Tel Aviv area, metropolitan Haifa , and the rest of the country. "Jerusalem" refers to the city of Jerusalem. Each metropolitan area is a large conurbation composed of several cities with strong socioeconomic and cultural ties. Metropolitan Tel Aviv, composed largely of greater Tel Aviv and the coastal plain from Hadera to Ashdod, 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, 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: 0–14, 15–24, 25–34, 35–49, and 50+ as the omitted category. Tenure in Israel reflects the time from immigration to end of period (i.e. 1994) and distinguishes among up to one year, 1–2 years, 3–5 years, 6–10 years, and 11+ 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 in a given immigrant group who live in a specific area have the same concentration value. Both nominator and denominator refer to the entire population, i.e., people of all ages. Nativity concentration is treated as a continuous variable. Finally, native-born persons were distinguished between second-generation (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 attributed more to the general tendency of immigrants to be less employed than native-born than to variations in the amount of work, be it part of the year (less than twelve months) or year-round (all twelve months). The findings also suggest that men, immigrant and native-born alike, are more likely to be economically active than women. Nevertheless, immigrants exhibit larger gender differences than the native-born, implying that immigrant women are the most disadvantaged group. A lower participation rate for women than for men is found in 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 so 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 mean ages among the various immigrant groups is approximately fourteen years, with those born in Ethiopia being the youngest group and those from Yemen the oldest. Variations in schooling are even more substantial, as the proportion of holders of academic degrees is small among Asians and Africans, medium among immigrants from Western Europe and Latin America, and high among immigrants from North America and several former Soviet Union republics. This rough classification holds true for both men and women and is largely reflected also among second-generation Israelis. Within each group, however, there are differences along gender lines: most groups of Asian-African origin have a higher proportion of men with academic degrees than of women, whereas immigrant women from the United States, Belarus, and the rest of Eastern Europe, among others, surpass their male counterparts in schooling. 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 massive waves of immigration that shortly followed the establishment of Israeli statehood and in large part depopulated the Jewish communities in these countries. The older age of Soviet/former Soviet Jews at immigration is associated with the large recent influx from these countries, coupled with the lower bound of the age interval of our target population. Immigrants from Western Europe and America are a selective population, motivated mainly by religious and ideological incentives that are typical of 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 of residence 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 (e.g., proximity to work), and the wish to live in a religiously and socially suitable community.

5. Findings

Gender influences LFP via 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 the 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). Even after interaction terms of gender by marital status and gender by presence of children at home are introduced, immigrant women remain less likely to be employed than men, 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). Unlike immigrants, however, after the inclusion of interaction terms, native-born women do not suffer more hardship than men 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 eliminates 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, be they immigrant or native-born, among whom having a spouse is negatively associated with employment. The presence of children at home depresses the LFP of immigrant women but has no 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 childcare assistance provided by relatives and friends. Likewise, given similar conditions of occupation type and amount of work, immigrants have lower incomes than the native-born because of shorter longevity and less familiarity with the possibilities of receiving wage supplements for such expenses as car maintenance, telephone, and annual vacation, which are customary in Israel. Hence, the economic value of work outside the home vis-a-vis the cost of childcare is smaller for immigrant women than for native-born women.

The effects of the immigration factors show an overall higher probability of working as age at immigration declines. Concurrently, the likelihood of LFP rises commensurate with tenure in the country. The economic adjustment of immigrants in Israel is rapid;

after three 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 immigrants who have been in Israel for 3–5 years, and some who arrived 6–10 years ago, originate in the former Soviet Union and may reflect patterns of employment associated with their geo-cultural background.

In-depth analysis of the effect of tenure on LFP reveals significant gender differences (Table 3, Part A). All other factors being equal, the most recent immigrants—those with tenure of less than one year in Israel, men and women alike—are the least likely to be employed. Even 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 along 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); later on, immigrants have even higher odds whereas the odds of economic activity among immigrant women, although they improve over time, remain substantially lower than those of native-born men. Nevertheless, immigrant women are able to close the gap with native women. Thus, as far as the double effect is concerned, it is the effect of gender that remains significant for the employment of immigrant women.

I decomposed LFP into three categories: those employed less than twelve months during the year, those employed all twelve months, and the unemployed. The data were applied to the total sample, immigrants and native-born combined, by means of a multinomial logistic regression. The results (Table 4) are consistent with those presented above when the analysis is confined to a dichotomous distinction. At both levels of employment, part of the year and year-round, being an immigrant woman decreases the probability of employment, with odds ratios of .835 and .923, respectively. Study of the joint effect of gender and tenure (Table 3, Part B) shows that the likelihood of year-round employment among immigrant women increases as time elapses (from an odds ratio of .101 in the first year to .443 after eleven years or more). The probability of immigrant women's being employed, both part-of-year and year-round, has converged with that of native women.

Is the effect of gender on LFP similar among all immigrant groups or may there be some stratification by country of origin? To explore this, I inserted each of the forty-eight immigrant groups into a multivariate equation. Data were separately utilized for women and men; and only for the dichotomous distinction between being employed (part- or full-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, 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 statistically significant odds ratios of the interactions between country of origin and tenure in Israel[2] but they are controlled for all 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. After they amass enough tenure, immigrant women from several former Soviet republics and some Latin American countries have higher probabilities of employment than their native-born counterparts. By contrast, immigrant women from many Asian and African countries and the United States, despite very different socioeconomic backgrounds, are less likely to be employed than native-born women. Restricting the comparison to ethnic peers slightly decreased the number of immigrant groups that had 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 America —were more likely to be employed than were their native-born peers.

These findings attest to 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 woman and an immigrant is mainly attributable to what may be considered the two extremes of the developmental and modernization spectrum, Asia and Africa on the one side and Western Europe and North America on the other. Thus, while the patterns of labor-force incorporation indeed reflect a double disadvantage for some, others suffer only the single disadvantage of being women. The heterogeneous profile of the doubly disadvantaged immigrant groups, 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, nine of the thirteen immigrant groups with statistically significant differentials had higher odds of being economically active over time than native-born men. This number dropped slightly when the comparison was restricted to ethnically native peers. Among immigrant men, in contrast to immigrant women, there are several groups from Asian and African countries with positive effects on LFP, but none from the former Soviet republics.

6. Discussion

The main 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: 1) women in general, and immigrant women in particular, have difficulty in entering the labor market; 2) with the passage of time, immigrant women experience some improvement in LFP yet remain at a "double disadvantage"; 3) gender gaps in LFP are stratified by birthplace.

Findings from multivariate analyses of the 1995 Israel 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, i.e., part or all of the 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 closed the gap with native-born women and after a few years in Israel both groups had very similar probabilities of employment.

A detailed analysis by country of birth shows that immigrants are not cut of one cloth. For slightly more than half of the immigrant groups, women did not exert significant differences in LFP as compared with native-born women. Among the remaining groups, immigrant women from Asia-Africa and the United States, had more difficulty finding jobs than native-born women did. By contrast, immigrant women from many former Soviet republics and several Latin American countries had higher probabilities of employment than their native-born counterparts did. Refining the comparison to native-born ethnic peers (Asia-Africa or Europe-America) somewhat decreased the number of groups that had higher probabilities of employment. The stratification of LFP by birthplace and the changes according to reference group (all native-born or ethnic peers only), 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 labor-force participation by women and have continued to follow this pattern in Israel. According to the World Bank (2004), all Asian and African countries discussed in this study, except for Ethiopia, had a substantially lower Labor Force Gender Parity Index (LFGPI)[3] than Israel's. Similarly, the strong inclination of immigrant women from former Soviet areas to be employed reflects the status of women in the Soviet economy as equal participants in the labor force with Soviet men; hence their LFGPI surpasses Israel's.

A somewhat surprising finding is the low probability of immigrant women from several industrialized countries, although they arrived from high-LFGPI societies , to actively participate in the labor force. This should be interpreted by means of economic factors not fully indexed by the socioeconomic characteristics of the census. 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 socioeconomic hierarchy. On average they are wealthy, presumably with economic savings and also remuneration from property or estate held in their countries of origin. This enables them to maintain a high standard of living with only one breadwinner or even none. Furthermore, the white-collar professional jobs that they held before immigration are often not female-typed and, thus, are more difficult to penetrate in a new country. Finally, women of such origin are reluctant to accept jobs inferior to those they had held in their countries of origin. By contrast, given the economic conditions of the former Soviet Union, immigrants—including 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 that is 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 generate a conflict between work and traditional family roles at a level that prevents women from entering the labor force. These differences between immigrant and native-born women

may be attributed to childcare assistance from family and social networks that are more easily available to people who have deep roots and longstanding personal contacts. Thus, although this study did not evaluate the matter 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, possible actions to facilitate immigrant women's employment should include the availability of a care system for young children that is compatible with full-time work; flexibility in absence from work due to children's illness during immigrant women's first few years in the country; and informal social activities between recent immigrants and others in order to strengthen personal contacts that, if needed, may substitute for the absence of extended family and relatives. From the moment the immigrant women enter the labor market, their seniority at the workplace will gradually increase and as will 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 is the result of two opposing trends: increase in women's LFP and decrease in that of men (Klinuv, 2005). The decline in the percentage of men who are employed is explained, among other things, by the displacement of poorly schooled local inhabitants by foreign workers. The downtrend is furthered by the large number of Ultra-Orthodox Jews who, for religious reasons, are not gainfully employed. The LFP of immigrant women attests to the rapid assimilation of mainstream patterns of Israeli women by many origin groups and, thus, does not interfere with the general trend of narrowing gender differences. Since the main source of Israel's recent mass immigration was the former Soviet Union, where there was a strong inclination to work, the employment behavior of former Soviet immigrant women has accelerated socioeconomic processes of gender equality at destination. Future research should challenge the double-disadvantage effect in Israel in two complementary economic dimensions, occupational mobility and wage, which might reveal different roles of both micro and macro determinants.

Notes

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

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

[3] The 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).

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

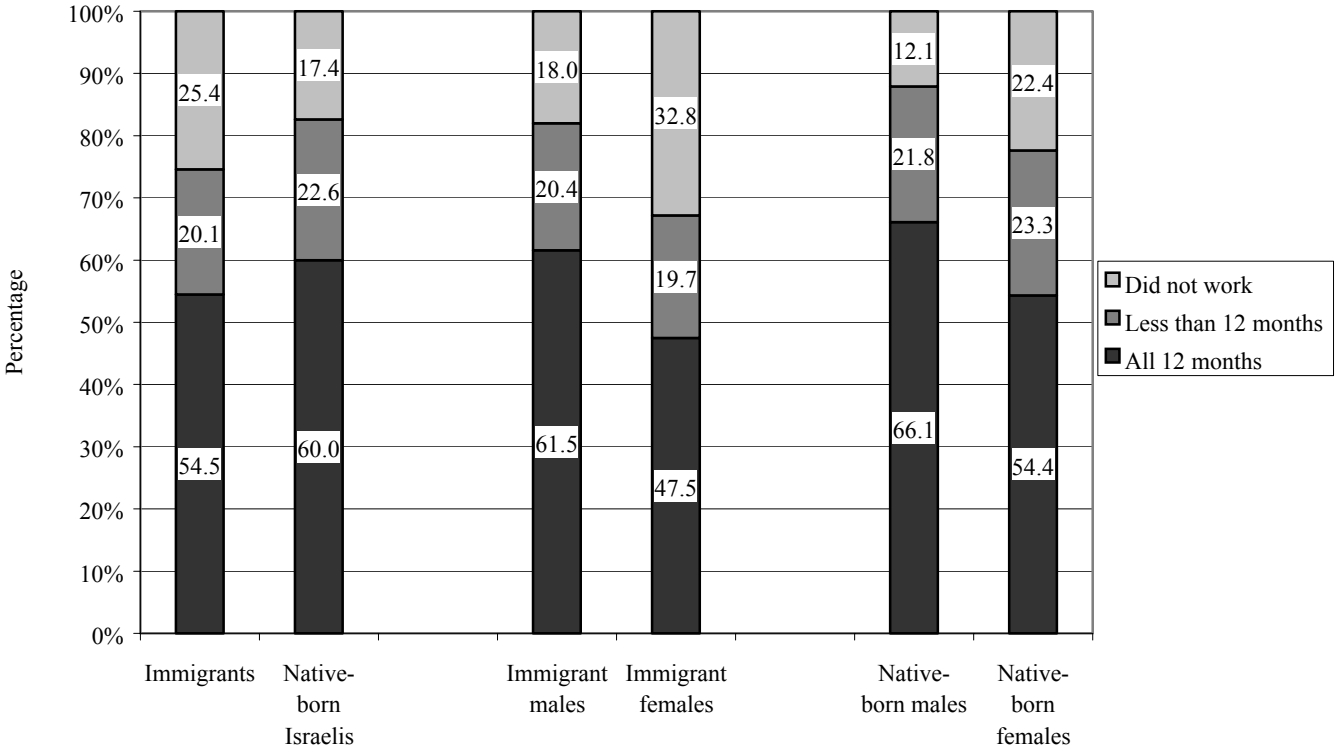

TABLE 1

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: Total	% in labor force: Thereof: 12 Mon.	Mean age	% with B.A. degree	% Married	Mean age at immigration	Tenure in Israel	% live in TelAviv
				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
Libya	834	80.1	54.2	52.7 (7.1)	5.6	90.0	9.2 (7.2)	43.5 (6.5)	71.9
Moldova	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	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
Libya	729	49.4	33.5	51.3 (6.1)	4.5	74.5	8.1 (6.3)	43.1 (6.3)	70.5
Moldova	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 variable[a,b]	Immigrants		Native-born		Total sample	
	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)
Metropolitan Haifa	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)
Metropolitan Haifa	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]
	(.062)	(.055)
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)
Nagelkerke 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: STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT INTERACTION EFFECTS FROM LOGISTIC REGRESSION OF ORIGIN GROUPS WITH TENURE ON LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION, BY GENDER

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