Vancouver Centre of Excellence

Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis

Working Paper Series

#98-04

Best of Times, Worst of Times, and Occupational Mobility: The Case of Russian Immigrants in Israel

Rebeca Raijman and Moshe Semyonov

January 1998

RIIM

Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis

The Vancouver Centre is funded by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Citizenship & Immigration Canada, Simon Fraser University, the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria. We also wish to acknowledge the financial support of the Metropolis partner agencies:

- Health Canada
- Human Resources Development Canada
- Department of Canadian Heritage
- Department of the Solicitor General of Canada
- Status of Women Canada
- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
- Correctional Service of Canada
- Immigration & Refugee Board

Views expressed in this manuscript are those of the author(s) alone. For more information contact the Co-Directors of the Centre, Dr. Don DeVoretz, Department of Economics, SFU (e-mail: devoretz@sfu.ca) or Dr. David Ley, Department of Geography, UBC (e-mail: davidley@unixg.ubc.ca).

Best of Times, Worst of Times, and Occupational Mobility: The Case of Russian Immigrants in Israel

Rebeca Raijman
University of Haifa

Moshe Semyonov
Tel-Aviv University

January 1998

Best of Times, Worst of Times, and Occupational Mobility:
The Case of Russian Immigrants in Israel

Abstract

In the present paper we compare the incorporation of two groups of immigrants from the former Soviet Union into the Israeli labor market. The first group arrived in 1979, and the second group arrived in Israel in 1990. The first period was characterized by a small number of immigrants at a time of economic growth (best of times), and the second period was characterized by mass migration and economic hardship (worst of times). Using data sets assembled by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, we examine labor force status of the two groups in Israel four years after arrival (1983 and 1994, respectively). We find no difference in rate of labor force participation but considerable differences in rate of occupational mobility between the two groups of immigrants. Specifically, the data reveal that immigrants were able to find employment in both periods. However, during periods of mass migration and economic stagnation, recent immigrants had experienced higher rates of downward occupational mobility and greater loss of occupational status.

Best of Times, Worst of Times, and Occupational Mobility:
The Case of Russian Immigrants in Israel

In the present paper we compare incorporation of two groups of immigrants from former Soviet Union in the Israeli labor market. The first group arrived in Israel during 1979 (hereafter the 1980 period), and the second group arrived in Israel in 1990 (hereafter the 1990 period). While the first period was characterized by a small number of immigrants at time of economic growth (best of times), the second period had been characterized by mass immigration and economic stagnation (worst of times).

From a theoretical point of view, such a comparison provides us with a unique opportunity to examine the thesis that context of immigration has significant consequences for immigrants' employment opportunities and patterns of occupational mobility (Portes and Bach, 1985; Portes and Rumbaut, 1990; Semyonov and Lerenthal, 1991; Light et al, 1993; DeVoretz, 1995; Lee, 1996). Specifically, we test the thesis that conditions during periods of economic stagnation and mass immigration are especially detrimental to the occupational and economic opportunities of immigrants (Light et at, 1993). During periods of economic stagnation, high unemployment and low levels of economic growth, recent immigrants experience high risk of unemployment and downward occupational mobility. This hypothesis will be tested in the Israeli context with regard to the two groups of immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Before proceeding with the analysis, it is important to provide a brief overview of the immigration trends to Israel with specific attention to immigration from former Soviet Union during the 80's and 90's.

The Setting

Israel is a society of immigrants and their offsprings where over 50 percent of the Jewish population were born outside the state. Indeed the social, cultural, political and economic structure of Israel have been shaped by immigration flows. Jewish immigrants arrived in Israel in a sequence of waves. The first wave arrived at the turn of the century mainly from European countries. The second wave of immigrants arrived shortly after statehood (1948); most came as refugees from the Moslem countries in Asia and North Africa along with survivors of the holocaust. During the first decade after statehood the population of Israel had tripled mainly due to the massive immigration of refugees. Immigration during the three decades that followed was more scattered and less systematic. It was characterized by a slow but constant stream of immigrants from North and South America as well as immigrants from South Africa, Eastern Europe, Ethiopia and Iran.[1] The analysis reported in this paper focuses on two time points of immigration to Israel: the early 80s and the early 90s.

During the 1980s immigration to Israel was scattered. The overwhelming majority of immigrants (a total of 101,000 between 1979-1983) arrived from Eastern-European countries, predominantly from the Soviet Union. Because of its relatively "normal size", this immigration flow did not create unusual pressure in the Israeli labor market. The labor force increased about 0.5 percent per year and the rate of unemployment was about 3.3 percent. An infrastructure of public housing and support was available for all new immigrants. In fact, immigrants were given the opportunity to spend five or six months in absorption centers, where they received intensive Hebrew instruction and assistance in finding employment. The immigrants also enjoyed interim subsistence loans, tax exemptions for cars, electrical appliances, and other household goods. In addition, the government provided a wide variety of retraining courses for immigrants whose previous training and experience were not suited to the needs of the economy. By all standards, immigration during the 1980 period can be viewed as taking place under what can be defined as "the best of times".

The winter of 1989 had been a turning point in the immigration flow to Israel and reversed the declining trend manifested during the previous decade. Following the downfall of the former Soviet Union a mass of immigrants had begun exodusing the Soviet Republics to settle in Israel. From the State's vantage point, the 1990 immigrant wave has been viewed as a dream comes true. Israel has become a homeland for thousands of immigrants who could not leave the Soviet Union for many decades. However, what could have been a "dream" for the state, had probably become a "nightmare" for many of the 400,000 immigrants who arrived between 1990-91, to a state of only 4.5 million residents.

The social and economic conditions that characterized the 1990 period were dramatically different from those in the 1980 period. Although financial aid, tax exemptions, retraining courses and different types of assistance were still available, government intervention in immigrant absorption has declined considerably (Doron and Kargar, 1993). Furthermore, the mass number of immigrants have created a serious shortage of jobs and housing. For example, in 1991, there were 30,000 engineers in the Israeli labor market. A flow of 200,000 immigrants brought an addition of about 22,500 engineers. Similarly, 16,000 physicians and dentists were active in Israel by 1991, the Russian immigration brought an addition of 6,500 physicians per year, thus doubling the size of this occupational group (Beenstock and Menachem, 1997). Indeed, most of the newly arrived professionals were unable to find jobs similar to those they left in the former Soviet Union. Thus, from the immigrant point of view this period can be defined as the "worst of times".

We identify three factors that are supposed to increase the occupational hardships and costs among immigrants during the second period as compared to the first one. These factors are not mutually exclusive but rather interrelated. They include: the size of the immigration flow, unemployment rates, and occupational composition of immigrants. A massive influx of immigrants is expected to affect labor force supply. Economists have estimated that a flow of 300,000-400,000 immigrants in 1990-91 (as compared to 57,650 in 1979-1980) implies a growth of 10 percent in the

annual labor force supply (compared to .05 percent during the early 80s), net of the natural growth of the native population (Ofer et al, 1991). High unemployment rates are expected to increase hardships in finding suitable jobs. The 1990 period has been associated with a high (10 percent) unemployment rate (as compared to only 3 percent in the 1980 period). High proportions of highly educated professional immigrants can generate pressure on specific niches in the labor market. Thus, while othimmigrant societies (i.e. US and countries in Western-Europe) are faced with flows of low skilled immigrants, Israel has to deal with the massive flow of high-skill immigrants. Consequently, Israel is in dire need to generate jobs to an immigrant population characterized by specific (high) human capital endowments.

Data sources and variables

The data for the present analysis were obtained from two different data sets. Both data sets were assembled by the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics. The data pertaining to the 1990 period were obtained from a special survey conducted among recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union in 1994. The data for the 1980 period were extracted from the 20 percent sample of the 1983 Census of Population. Each cohort of immigrants, thus, was examined 4 years after arrival in Israel.

In each of the surveys respondents were asked detailed information with regard to social, demographic and labor force characteristics. In the 1994 Survey economically active men and women (age 25-60) reported employment status and occupation both in Israel and in home country (the former Soviet Union). In the 1983 Census respondents were asked about social and demographic attributes as well as about employment status, current (1983) and five years prior to the interview. This information enables us to trace (for new immigrants) employment and occupational status in both country of origin and in Israel. For the purpose of our study we limited the analysis to men and women between the ages 25 to 60 years who immigrated to Israel from the Soviet Union in 1979 and 1990. Each cohort was interviewed regarding their status 4 years after arrival in Israel.

The variables selected for the analysis are those traditionally used in research on labor market activity and status of immigrants. They include: gender (male=1), age (in years), marital status (married=1), education (in years of schooling), place of residence in Israel (major regional categories) and knowledge of Hebrew (do not speak=1). Occupations were classified once using nine major occupational categories and once on Tyree's 100 point socio-economic scale for detailed (2 digit) occupations in Israel (Tyree, 1981).

Analysis

The demographic, social and labor force characteristics of "recent immigrants" from the former Soviet Union classified by gender and by time of arrival are presented in Table 1. The data reveal significant differences between the two groups of Russian immigrants.

Insert Table 1 About Here

The differences between the groups are evident with regard to age and education. Immigrants in the 1980 period were slightly younger than those who had arrived in 1990. The 1990 immigrants, however, had completed more years of formal schooling than the 1980 immigrants. It is worthnoting that both groups of immigrants had considerably higher levels of formal education than the comparable Israeli work-force.

In addition, the data suggest that in the 1980 period, immigrants were more widely distributed across regions in Israel. The 1990 immigrants were more concentrated in the urban center of the country (about a third of them around Tel Aviv compared to 25 percent in 1980). Apparently, when government intervention in the process of immigrants' absorption was minimal, immigrants seem to flow and gravitate toward the urban center where occupational and economic opportunities seem to exist.

The data do not reveal considerable differences with regard to marital status and knowledge of Hebrew (over 80 percent of both groups of immigrants were married and about 30 percent had no command of Hebrew). Rather interestingly, after 4 years in the host society immigrants were able to find employment regardless of the specific period of arrival .[2] In effect, of 90 percent of males and over 80 percent of women who were economically active in country of origin were employed in Israel four years after arrival. Similar to Beenstock and Ben Menahem (1997) we found high rates of employment among recent immigrants to Israel.

The finding regarding differential employment rates desires, however, more systematic analysis. Thus, in Table 2 we estimate a set of logistic regression equations to evaluate the extent to which social and demographic variables exert differential effect on odds for being employed in the two periods. In equation 1 we estimate the relative odds of being employed as a function of age, gender, marital status, immigration-cohort, education, knowledge of Hebrew, and occupation held in the former Soviet Union. In equation 2 and 3 the same model is estimated for males and females, respectively. In equations 4 and 5 separate models are estimated for the 1980 cohort and for the 1990 cohort.

Insert Table 2 About Here

In models 1, 2, and 3, we examine the impact of period of immigration on odds for employment (for the total population of immigrants, and for males and females, respectively). Curiously, in all three models cohort does not exert a significant effect on odds for employment. The chances to become economically active shortly after arrival were quite high and equal in 1980 and 1990. After four years in the host country most immigrants are able to join the economically active labor force. .[3]

Regardless of the model estimated we find that the odds for employment in Israel are likely to decline with age and to rise with knowledge of Hebrew. Odds for employment are likely to be higher for those who were economically active in Russia(

when compared to those who were not economically active) regardless of occupational category . Once occupational status in country of origin is controlled for, education exerts a net significant effect on odds for employment in the 1980 period but not in the 1990 period. Married persons are more likely to find employment than non-married but this effect is more pronounced and significant among males than among females and in the 1990s than in the 1980s. Models 1, 4 and 5 (which include gender in the equation) demonstrate that odds for employment are considerably greater for men than for women in both periods (3.3 times greater in 1990 and 2.5 times greater in 1980).

The findings also suggest that the occupation in country of origin exerts a significant effect on immigrants' chances of finding employment. In fact, the data indicate that those who were not economically active in the former USSR were least likely to be employed in Israel (when compared to all occupational categories). However, the odds for finding employment shortly after arrival were, by far, greater for those who had semi-professional-technical and blue collar jobs in country of origin. This finding holds for both men and women and in both points in time.

It is interesting to note, however, that when comparing the two cohorts, some meaningful differences in the effect of occupation in country of origin on odds for employment are observed. The most noticeable is the decline in the relative odds for finding employment among those who held high status jobs in the former Soviet Union (academic, scientific and managers). More specifically, the relative odds of immigrants in the high status category to be employed (as compared to out of the labor force) has declined from 6.7 to 4.1 between 1980 and 1990 (equations 4 and 5). Apparently, opportunities for finding employment in high status occupations in the new country are considerably lower at the "worst of times" than in the "best of times".

Occupational change

Economic activity is only one aspect of immigrants' incorporation into the labor market of the host society. The literature suggests that when immigrants become

economically active, they do so at an economic and occupational cost (e.g., Borjas 1983; Chiswick 1978a, 1978b; Green, 1995; Raijman and Semyonov 1995, 1997; Semyonov 1996; Beenstock and Ben Menahem, 1997). That is, in the transition from country of origin to country of destination most immigrants experience downward occupational mobility. Thus, the second question this analysis addresses iwhether and to what extent occupational cost (or downward mobility) that immigrants experience was greater in the second period (worst of times) than during the first period (best of times). To this end, we compare in Table 3 the occupational distribution and occupational status of immigrants in the former Soviet Union and in Israel.

Insert Table 3 About Here

The data reveal, rather forcefully, that immigrants' incorporation into the Israeli labor market had been associated with a considerable loss of occupational status. The data further indicate that the loss was especially pronounced among the 1990-immigrants. Although immigrants were able to join the economically active labor force shortly after arrival, most had to change their original occupation. To be exact, over half (56 percent) in 1980 and over 80 percent in 1990, had changed their original (major) occupation upon arrival to Israel. Furthermore, when the occupational status in country of origin was compared to current status, it becomes evident that, on the average, immigrants had lost occupational status. The loss was extreme in 1990 (25.4 and 17.8 status points for women and men, respectively) and lower, but quite substantial, in 1980 (6.6 and 3.4 status points for women and men respectively). In effect, at least a third of recent immigrants had experienced downward mobility in 1980 and about two-thirds (63.7 and 74.0 percent for men and women, respectively) had experienced such downward occupational mobility in 1990.[4] Apparently, although immigrants in both periods had experienced occupational loss upon arrival, the loss was much more dramatic in the latter period.[5]

The findings further suggest that specific patterns of occupational shifts had taken place in the transition from the former USSR to Israel. The data in Appendix 1 indicate that the representation of recent immigrants in high status (professional-managerial and scientific-academic) occupations had declined and their representation in blue collar and service occupations had increased. This trend is more pronounced in the latter period (worst of times) than in the earlier period (best of times) and among women than among men.

The specific patterns of occupational mobility between country of origin and country of destination (presented in Table 4) show the outflow percentages from each of the occupational categories. The data reveal clear differences in mobility patterns between the two periods. During the 1980s the downward movement was mostly within major occupational categories (i.e. engineer to technician); only a low percentage crossed the white collar - blue collar lines. In the 1990 period downward mobility was characterized by a different pattern. The mobility path was mostly across collar lines and was characterized by outflow from white collar positions to blue collar jobs (i.e. from engineer to manual or service occupations). For both periods, clerical and sales jobs are those associated with the highest rate of downward mobility; although the rate is more pronounced in the 1990 period.

Insert Table 4 About Here

When comparing men to women, some meaningful differences are observed. The flow into the "out of the labor force" category, was considerably higher among women than among men in both periods. Likewise, rate of downward mobility was considerably higher among women than among men. For example, in 1990 only 31.8 percent of the immigrant women who had high status occupations in the former Soviet Union had attained professional jobs after arrival in Israel (compared to 37.4 percent among men). Of those who had high status occupations in country of origin 5.2

percent of men were out of the labor force four years after arrival compared with 17.1 percent among female immigrants.

In order to arrive at estimates of both occupational retention (immobility) and downward mobility in both periods we calculated a series of logistic regression models. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 5a and 5b. Table 5a displays estimates of the odds of retaining occupation (major category) held in the former Soviet Union (or immobility rate). Table 5b displays estimates of the odds for downward mobility (from white collar to blue collar) in the transition from the former Soviet Union to Israel.

Insert Table 5a and 5b About Here

The findings presented in Table 5a reveal that odds for (immobility) occupational retention were considerably lower in 1990 than in 1980 (equations 1, 2 and 3). That is, in the period "worst of times" immigrants were less likely to retain the occupation held in country of origin. The negative effect of cohort was more pronounced for women (equation 3) than for men (equation 2). In addition, the odds for occupational retention were much lower for white collar, especially clerks and sales occupations than for blue collar occupations (the omitted category).

Table 5b reveal that odds for downward mobility (from white collar to blue collar) were considerably greater in 1990 than in the 1980 period for both men and women, though the rate was more pronounced for men than for women (equations 1, 4 and 5). In addition, odds for downward mobility tend to decrease with schooling and with knowledge of Hebrew. The effect of age (with one exception) is negligible and insignificant. Rates of downward mobility vary across occupations and across periods.

To provide a clear illustration of rates of downward mobility experienced by recent immigrants in specific occupational categories we estimated the actual predicted

probabilities of mobility to blue collar occupations for different profiles of men and women. [6] The estimated actual probabilities for different profiles of immigrants in both periods are presented in Table 6.

Insert Table 6 About Here

The findings firmly support the argument that downward mobility is more pronounced in the period of mass immigration. In 1990 (worst of times) probability for downward mobility was twice as high than the probability in 1980 (best of times). For example, the probability for downward mobility for a male immigrant with scientific or academic occupation residing in Tel Aviv was 0.21 in 1980 and 0.51 in 1994. In a development town, , the probability for downward mobility for a similar immigrant was 0.29 in the 1980 period but 0.61 in the 1990 period. It is interesting to note that for all occupational groupings, probabilities for downward mobility were higher for those who had clerical and sales occupations in country of origin. When men and wopmen are compared, it becomes apparent that the probabilities for downward mobility were higher for men than for women in all occupational groupings[7]. Finally probabilities for downward occupational mobility were considerably higher in the periphery (where opportunities are scarce) than in urban centers.

Conclusions

The State of Israel, more than any other immigrant receiving society, is committed to the successful absorption of its (Jewish) immigrants. The State not only encourages immigration, but also implements programs and policies that assist immigrants in settling in Israel (mostly in language training programs, housing and employment). The findings reveal that chances of becoming economically active four years after arrival were relatively high in both periods. Nevertheless, the data demonstrate that employment of recent immigrants is associated with substantial rates of downward occupational mobility.

The findings reported in this paper lend firm support to the hypothesis that rate of downward mobility is significantly higher in periods of massive immigration and economic stagnation. That is, despite supportive social policies, context of immigration exerts the most pronounced effect on the rate of downward occupational mobility. The effect of period (context) is most evident even after controlling for social and demographic variables, human capital resources, and labor market experience in couof origin, and regardless of gender.

The data underscore considerable rates of downward occupational mobility in both periods. Nevertheless the rate of downward mobility (or occupational loss) was much more pronounced in 1990 than in 1980. Furthermore, the mobility patterns are different in the two points in time. In the "best of times," the shift took place mostly within high status occupations (i.e. from engineer to technician). In the "worst of times" mobility took place mostly across collar lines (i.e. from engineer to sanitation worker). Indeed, context of immigration exerts the most significant effect on the patterns of labor force incorporation of immigrants.

In light of these findings one may cast doubt on the effectiveness of the State's social policies which are aimed at assisting immigrants. However, when considering the massive immigration (both in terms of volume and time interval) to Israel, and the fact that many of the immigrants (especially during the second period) are actually refugees, one has to entertain the possibility that without government help and support , downward occupational mobility an the social turmoil associated with it could have been substantially greater.

Endnotes

1. For a detailed description of immigration flows to Israel see Della Pergola, 1986; Goldscheider, 1996.

2. It is important to note that after two years of arrival, the labor force participation rate of the 1990s immigrants in Israel was much lower than the employment rate of immigrants in the 1980s. The figures are not reported here for the sake of parsimony.

3. It is interesting to note that we found (in separate analyses not reported here) that two years after arrival cohort had a significant effect on odds for employment. Immigrants arriving in the 1990 period had considerably lower odds for joining the economically active labor force as compared to the 1980 immigrants.

4. It is noteworthy that in 1980 despite the loss, the occupational status of the recent immigrants was not lower than the average Israeli (Jewish) labor force. However, in 1990, despite their relative high education, the average status of recent Russian immigrants was substantially lower than the average status among the Israeli labor force.

5. Additional information and insight into the occupational loss associated with immigration can be obtained from the comparison between immigrants' occupational distribution in the former USSR and Israel presented in Appendix 1. Indeed, the values of the index of dissimilarity presented at the bottom clearly indicate that the differences are far more pronounced in 1990 than in 1980.Specifically, in 1980 22.6 percent of men and 27.5 percent of women would have to change (major) occupational category in order to retain the same occupational distribution they had in the USSR. In 1990, however, almost twice as many immigrants (40.1 percent of men and 50.5 percent of women) would have to change (major) occupations to retain the same distribution they had in their country of origin.

6. In order to estimate actual migration probabilities, independent variables were given values corresponding to different assumed traits, and these values were inserted into the following equation to generate predicted probabilities :

$P = 1/(1 + e^{-\mathbf{BX}})$, where **B** is the vector of coefficients estimated in Table 5b, **X** is the vector of assumed characteristics, and **P** is the predicted probability.

7. This finding can be explained by the different occupational structure of men and women in both country of origin and country of destination.

References

Beenstock, M. and Y. Ben Menahem

1997 "The Labour Market Experience of CIS Immigrants to Israel: 1989-1994". *International Migration*, Vol. 35(2)187-224.

Borjas, G.

1983 "The Labor Supply of Male Hispanic Immigrants in the U.S.," *International Migration Review,* 17:653-71.

Chiswick, B

1978a "A Longitudinal Analysis of the Occupational Mobility Of Immigrants". In Proceedings of the 30th Annual Winter Meetings, Industrial Relations Research Association. Ed. B. Dennis. Madison: IR.R.A Pp. 20-27.

1978b "The Effect of Americanization on the Earnings of Foreign-Born", *Journal of Political Economy,* 897-922.

DeVoretz, D.J.

1995 *Diminishing Returns . The Economics of Canada's Recent Immigration Policy*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute. The Laurier Institution

Doron,A. and H. Kargar

1993 "The Politics of Immigration Policy in Israel". *International Migration,* Vol.31:497-512.

Goldscheider, C.

1996 *Israel's Changing Society: Population, Ethnicity, and Development.* Boulder:Westview Press.

Green, D.

1995 "Intended and Actual Occupations of Immigrants" in DeVoretz, D.J. (ed.) *Diminishing Returns . The Economics of Canada's Recent Immigration Policy*. Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute. The Laurier Institution

Lee, S.

1996 "Issues in Research on Women: International Migration and Labor". *Asian and Pacific Journal*, Vol.5 (1):5-26.

Light, I., P. Bhachu and S. Karageorgis

1993 "Migration Networks and Immigrant Entrepreneurship" in Light, I. and P. Bhachu (Eds.) *Immigration and Entrepreneurship: Culture, Capital and Social Networks.* New Brusnwick:Transaction Publishers. Pp. 25-49.

Ofer, G., K. Flug and N. Kasir
1991 "The Occupational Absorption of Immigrants from the Soviet Union, 1990: Aspects of Occupational Immobility and Change". *Rivon Lekalkala* 148:135-187. (in Hebrew).

Portes, A. and R. Bach
1985 *Latin Journey: Cuban and Mexican Immigration to the United States.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Portes, A. and R. Rumbaut
1990 *Immigrant America. A Portratit.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Raijman, R. and M. Semyonov
1995 "Modes of Labor Market Incorporation and Occupational Cost Among Immigrants to Israel". *International Migration Review,* Vol. 29 (2): 375-93.

Raijman, R. and M. Semyonov
1997 "Gender, Ethnicity and Immigration: Double-Disadvantage and Triple-Disadvantage Among Recent Immigrant Women in the Israeli Labor Market". *Gender and Society.* Forthcoming.

Semyonov, M.
1996 "On the Cost of Being an Immigrant in Israel: The Effects of Tenure, Origin, and Gender," *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility,* 15 Forthcoming.

Semyonov, M. and T. Lerenthal
1991 "Country of Origin, Gender and the Attainment of Socioeconomic Status: A Study of Stratification in the Jewish Population of Israel," *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility,* 10:327-345.

Tyree, A.
1981 "Occupational Socio-Economic Status, Ethnicity and Sex in Israel: Considerations in Scale Construction", *Megamot,* 27: 7-21. Hebrew.

Table 1:
Mean (Standard Deviations) and Percent Distribution of Demographic, Social and Labor Force Characteristics of Russian Immigrants in Israel by Period and by Gender

Variables	Cohort 1980s		Cohort 1990s	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Age	39.8	40.5	41.3	41.7
	(9.6)	(10.7)	(9.2)	(9.5)
Years of schooling	12.0	11.8	14.5	14.4
	(4.4)	(4.2)	(2.7)	(2.5)
Marital Status				
Married	87.4	80.2	87.9	78.6
Divorced-widowed	4.4	16.3	4.0	16.3
Single	8.3	3.6	8.1	5.1
Knowledge of Hebrew				
% Does not speak	30.8	34.6	35.8	29.4
Residential Distribution				
Tel-Aviv and Central	25.3	26.1	35.0	34.7
Haifa and suburbs	14.7	15.1	14.4	14.8
Jerusalem	7.4	6.4	3.3	4.3
South	18.6	18.8	13.4	12.5
Development towns	34.1	33.5	34.0	33.8
Percent in the labor force (Russia)	87.2	72.1	95.7	89.6
Percent in the labor force (Israel)	89.1	71.2	93.2	79.7
Percent in the labor force (of those employed in Russia)	94.5	82.6	94.6	81.3
N	689	812	701	799

Table 2:
Logistic Regression Predicting Labor Force Participation
After Four Years of Arrival

Variables	TOTAL (1)	MALES (2)	FEMALES (3)	COHORT 1980s (4)	COHORT 1990s (5)
Cohort (1990s=1)	-.13 (.13)	-.18 (.25)	-.11 (.15)	-	-
Sex (Males=1)	1.1* (.13)	-	-	.92* (.16)	1.2* (.19)
Age	-.04* (.01)	-.05* (.01)	-.04* (.01)	-.03* (.01)	-.06* (.01)
Marital Status (Married=1)	.52* (.13)	1.6* (.27)	.06 (.16)	.02 (.19)	1.1* (.19)
Knowledge of Hebrew (Do not speak = 1	-.88* (.13)	-.87* (.24)	-.89* (.15) -	-.72* (.18)	-1.0* (.19)
Schooling	.05* (.02)	.04 (.03)	.06* (.02)	.07* (.02)	-.00 (.04)
Occupation in home country[a]					
Scientific-Academic Management	1.4 (1.7)	2.1* (.34)	1.1* (.21)	1.9* (.32)	1.4* (.19)
Semi-Professional and Technical	1.9* (.21)	2.6* (.51)	1.6* (.22)	1.7* (.28)	1.9* (.32)
Clerk & Sales	1.2* (.19)	.1.1* (.41)	1.1* (.21)	1.2* (.24)	1.2* (.34)
Service & Blue Collar Occupations	1.9* (.17)	2.3* (.30)	1.6* (.22)	2.1* (.22)	1.4* (.32)
Constant	1.04	1.5	1.6	.59	2.2
X^2 N	607.1 (2,960)	204.9 (1,372)	313.5 (1,588)	3802 (1,460)	248.0 (1,500)

[a] The omitted category is out of the labor force

Table 3
Labor Force Characteristics (Mean, Standard Deviations and Percentage) of Russian immigrants in Israel by Cohort and by Gender

Variables	Cohort 1980		Cohort 1990	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Occupational Status (Russia)	49.7 (23.6)	51.9 (21.4)	60.3 (23.0)	63.7 (20.2)
Occupational Status (Israel)	46.5 (22.4)	45.8 (23.0)	42.4 (23.0)	38.8 (22.2)
Occupational Cost*	-3.4 (16.0)	-6.6 (15.2)	-17.8 (24.6)	-25.4 (21.0)
Occupational Mobility				
% Immobility	44.0	44.5	19.8	17.5
% Upward mobility	23.8	12.7	16.5	8.5
% Downward mobility	32.1	42.8	63.7	74.0
N	689	812	701	799

* Occupational cost = Occupational Status in Israel - Occupational Status in Russia.

Table 4:
Outflow Percentages (Occupations in Russia to Occupations in Israel)
for Immigrants in Israel, by Period and by Gender

Cohort 1980

		Occupation in Israel 1983				
Occupation in Russia		High Status	Clerical Sales	Blue Collar	Not in labor force	Total
High Status	Males	68.7	4.2	23.8	3.3	100
	Females	64.9	12.5	11.6	10.0	100
Clerks Sales	Males	8.6	20.0	54.3	17.1	100
	Females	3.8	34.3	38.1	23.8	100
Blue Collar	Males	6.5	2.9	86.1	4.5	100
	Females	1.6	8.1	69.4	21.0	100
Not in labor Force	Males	19.8	4.9	23.5	51.9	100
	Females	11.9	5.5	25.2	57.3	100
Total	Males	31.7	4.7	52.2	11.5	(575)
	Females	28.3	13.2	29.9	28.6	(706)

Cohort 1990

		Occupation in Israel - 1994				
Occupation in Russia		High Status	Clerical Sales	Blue Collar	Not in labor force	Total
High Status	Males	37.4	5.2	52.2	5.2	100
	Females	31.8	13.9	37.1	17.1	100
Clerks Sales	Males	19.4	16.1	51.6	12.9	100
	Females	2.2	11.0	63.7	23.1	100
Blue Collar	Males	6.6	4.8	83.4	5.2	100
	Females	3.2`	10.5	61.1	25.3	100
Not in labor force	Males	6.9	6.9	48.3	37.9	100
	Females	15.7	10.8	41.0	31.5	100
Total	Males	25.2	5.6	62.3	6.9	(695)
	Females	23.3	12.8	43.5	20.5	(794)

Appendix 1: Occupational Distribution (Percentage) of Russian Immigrants in Israel by Period of Arrival and by Gender

MALES

	Cohort 1979		Cohort 1990	
	Russia	Israel	Russia	Israel
Academic and Scientific	26.2	20.0	35.0	17.4
Semi professions	13.3	12.0	13.0	8.8
Managers	2.9	22.	13.0	1.1
Clerks	3.4	3.5	1.6	2.8
Sales	4.0	2.4	3.0	3.2
Services	5.1	6.4	1.8	9.4
Skilled-Unskilled in	45.0	53.6	32.6	57.4

FEMALES

	Cohort 1979		Cohort 1990	
	Russia	Israel	Russia	Israel
Academic and scientific	22.5	16.8	42.3	12.1
Semi professions	28.7	22.9	26.7	17.3
Managers	0.8	0.5	4.9	--
Clerks	18.4	15.2	9.1	10.5
Sales	4.0	2.9	3.7	5.5
Services	7.1	13.2	5.1	30.8
Skilled-Unskilled in	18.6	28.4	8.3	23.9

Table 5-A:
Logistic Regression Predicting the Odds for Occupational Retention after 4 years of Arrival

Variables	TOTAL (1)	MALES (2)	FEMALES (3)	COHORT 1980s (4)	COHORT 1990s (5)
Cohort (1990s=1)	-1.1* (.10)	-.96* (.14)	-1.2* (.15)	-	-
Sex (Males=1)	.10 (.10)	-	-	.30 (.15)	.16 (.13) (.00)
Age	.01 (.01)	.00 (.01)	.01* (.01)	-.02* (.00)	-.01 (.00)
Marital Status (Married=1)	-.41* (.14)	-.57* (.23)	-.35* (.17)	-.52* (.21)	-.30 (.18)
Schooling	.08* (.02)	.11* (.02)	.04 (.03)	.08* (.02)	.07 (.03)
Knowledge of Hebrew (Do not speak = 1	-.34* (.12)	-.12 (.15)	-.65* (.20)	-.14 (.18)	-.54* (.17)
Occupation in home country[a]					
Scientific-Academic Management	-77* (.14)	-.82* (.18)	-.53* (.26)	-.02 (.23)	-1.3* (.19)
Semi-Professional and Technical	-.39* (.15)	-.94* (.22)	.15 (.24)	.06 (.21)	-.80* (.20)
Clerk & Sales	-1.2* (.19)	-1.7* (.37)	-.86* (.26)	-.68* (.24)	-2.1* (.35)
Constant	-.43	-.32	-.29	-1.3	-.50
X^2	228.24	114.0	142.2	67.6	91.5
N	(2,082)	(1,099)	(98.3)	(877)	(1,205)

[a] The omitted category = Service & Blue Collar Occupations

Table 5-B:
Logistic Regression Predicting the Odds for downward occupational mobility (from white collar to blue collar occupations) among new immigrants four years after arrival

Variables	TOTAL (1)	MALES (2)	FEMALES (3)	COHORT 1980s (4)	COHORT 1990s (5)
Cohort (1990s=1)	1.3* (.13)	1.3* (.20)	1.4* (.17)	-	-
Sex (Males=1)	.64* (.12)	-	-	.91* (.23)	.54* (.14)
Age	.01 (.01)	.01 (.01)	.01 (.00)	-.00 (.01)	.02* (.01)
Marital Status (Married=1)	.46* (.16)	.70* (.30)	.41* (.18)	-.01 (.29)	.63* (.18)
Schooling	-.18* (.03)	-.21* (.04)	-.15* (03)	-.20* (.03)	-.16* (.03)
Knowledge of Hebrew (Do not speak = 1	.43* (.15)	.37 (.21)	.46* (.19)	.27 (.27)	.48* (.16)
Occupation in home country[a]					
Scientific-Academic Management	-.62* (.18)	.10 (.32)	-.97* (.23)	-.84* (.34)	-.58* (.23)
Semi-Professional and Technical	-.40* (.18)	.38 (.33)	-.74* (.21)	-.46 (.28)	-.36 (.23)
Constant	.69	1.3	.23	2.4	1.3
X^2 N	290.3 (1,662)	118.9 (685)	165.2 (977)	113.5 (611)	104.2 (1,051)

[a] The omitted category = Clerks and Sales Occupations

Table 6
Predicted Probability of Downward Mobility among Specific Occupational Groups in Two Different Settings – Russian Immigrants after four years of arrival

Urban Center (Tel-Aviv)				
	Cohort 1980		**Cohort 1990**	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Scientific-Academic & Management	0.21	0.12	0.51	0.35
Semi-professional & Technical	0.25	0.14	0.56	0.40
Clerical and Sales	0.33	0.21	0.66	0.51

Periphery

	Cohort 1980		**Cohort 1990**	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Scientific-Academic & Management	0.29	0.18	0.61	0.45
Semi-professional & Technical	0.33	0.21	0.66	0.50
Clerical and Sales	0.43	0.28	0.74	0.60

Working paper series
(back issues)

Number	Author(s)	Title	Date
96-01	James W. Dean & Don J. DeVoretz	The Economic Performance of Jewish Immigrants to Canada: A Case of Double Jeopardy?	5/96
96-02	Kris Olds	Developing the Trans-Pacific Property Market: Tales from Vancouver via Hong Kong	8/96
96-03	Krishna Pendakur & Ravi Pendakur	The Colour of Money: Earnings Differentials Among Ethnic Groups in Canada	4/96
96-04	Alan Green David Green	The Economic Goals of Canada's Immigration Policy, Past and Present	
97-01	John E. Hayfron	Language Training, Language Proficiency and Earnings of Immigrants: Lessons from Norway	2/97
97-02	Daniel Hiebert	The Colour of Work: Labour Market Segmentation in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, 1991	3/97
97-03	Abul Shamsuddin & Don J. DeVoretz	Wealth Accumulation of Canadian and Foreign-Born Households in Canada	6/97
97-04	Abul Shamsuddin	The Double-Negative Effect on the Earnings of Foreign-Born Females in Canada	6/97
97-05	Abul F. M. Shamsuddin	Savings, Tax Contributions and Australian Immigration	6/97
97-06	Peter Sheldon	Estimation of Labour Market Participation Rates for Canadian-Born and Foreign-born Families Resident in the Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area Circa 1991	8/97
97-07	John E. Hayfron	Estimating Immigrants' Occupational Choice and Occupational Wages with Selectivity Bias	9/97
97-08	David Ley & Heather Smith	Is there an immigrant "underclass" in Canadian cities?	10/97
97-09	Dominique Gross	Immigration Flows and Regional Labour Market Dynamics	10/97
97-10	Krishna Pendakur & Ravi Pendakur	Speak and Ye Shall Receive: Language Knowledge as Human Capital	11/97

Working paper series

Number	Author (s)	Title	Date
98-01	Karl Froschauer	East Asian Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Vancouver: Provincial Preference and Ethnic Strategy	01/98
98-02	June Beynon & Kelleen Toohey	Careers in Teaching: Participation Rates and Perceptions of Two Minority Groups in British Columbia	01/98
98-03	Iris Geva-May	Immigration to Israel: Any Lessons for Canada?	01/98
98-04	Rebeca Raijman & Moshe Semyonov	Best of Times, Worst of Times, and Occupational Mobility: The Case of Russian Immigrants in Israel	01/98
98-05	Fernando Mata & Ravi Pendakur	Immigration, Labour Force Integration and the Pursuit of Self-employment	01/98
98-06	Gordon Dicks & Arthur Sweetman	Education and Ethnicity in Canada	
98-07	Samuel A. Laryea	Immigrant Wages in Canada	

Back issues of working papers are available for $5 from

Vancouver Centre of Excellence: Immigration, WMX4653, Simon Fraser University, 8888 University Drive, Burnaby, B.C, Canada V5A 1S6. Tel: (604) 291-4575 Fax: (604) 291-5336

E-mail: riim@sfu.ca

http://www.riim.metropolis.globalx.net/