The Earnings of Foreign-Born Men and Women in Israel

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Abstract

The study describes and accounts for gender differences in earnings among the foreign-born in Israel and how these differences vary according to origin countries. Results of OLS regressions from the 1995 population census show that, *cetris paribus*, immigrant woman incur no earnings penalty beyond the gender disadvantage that all women in Israel share. A detailed analysis reveals important stratification by country of birth. I suggest that the unexplained differences are influenced mainly by a combination of the immigrants' socio-economic characteristics, the structure of economic opportunities in the host society, and cultural patterns of family commitments. The results are discussed in close connection with observations from a similar investigation on employment status.

Keywords: Earnings; Foreign-born; Israel; OLS regression; Women

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1. Introduction

The scholarly literature on immigrant adaptation proposes the term "double disadvantage" as a way of describing the economic inferiority that results from being both foreign-born and female in host societies (Antecol 2000; Boyd 1984; Pekin 1981; De Jong and Madamba 2001). This postulate emphasizes the intertwining of two independent factors in determining the weak position of immigrant women in the destination labor market: limited familiarity with the new country, including labor opportunities, language proficiency, and personal contacts (Chiswick 1979; Walters et al. 2006), and the gender-based economic discrimination that limits the job opportunities and wages of women at large (Philzacklea 1983). The working experience of immigrant men and women has been examined in several economic aspects including work sector (employee/self-employed), occupational status and mobility, and wage (Boyd 1984; Pekin 1981; Chiswick et al. 2003; Kossoudji and Ranney 1984). This corpus of research reveals considerable variations among immigrant groups and destination countries. Consequently, other explanations relating to a "single" or "triple" disadvantage of immigrant women have been proposed (Raijman and Semyonov 1997).

In a recent article in Eur. J. of Population, Rebhun (2008) examined the double-disadvantage effect on the employment status of immigrants in Israel. He found that being an immigrant woman, as against a native-born man, had a positive effect on full-time employment in the reference week. There was, however, much stratification by country of birth, reflecting different levels of disadvantage or advantage for women. Rebhun attached this stratification to cultural and social background as well as to origin-specific economic and religious considerations. The purpose of the current investigation is to invoke a similar analytical strategy to describe and account for an important complementary economic outcome, earnings. By so doing, I follow the lead of Schoeni (1998), who focused on the labor-force participation of immigrant women in the United States and suggested that the most obvious direction in which his research might head is the examination of wages.

I am motivated by the wish to assess the consistency of immigrant women's status through various stages of economic incorporation. I rely heavily on human-capital theories that view personal migration, for both economic and non-economic ("political" or "ideological") reasons, as an investment that aims to maximize economic condition and well-being (Borjas 1982; Chiswick and Sullivan 1995; Polancheck and Horvath 1977). Hence, more than employment status which often hinges on an occupational standing that does not correspond to professional qualifications and does not take working conditions into account, earnings attest to the extent to which labor characteristics such as occupation, working experience, amount of work, and human capital are economically rewarded.

Accordingly, earnings better reflect the general success of immigrants, and of immigrant women in particular, in overcoming the devalued status associated with ascribed traits of national origin and ethnicity (Hoffman-Nowotny 1978). They also reflect immigrant women's affiliation with trade unions that protect them by means of labor legislation (Boyd 1984). They may also attest to how immigrant women adapt to the social patterns in their destinations, including those of ethnicity and gender (Adsera and Chiswick 2006; Antecol 2000). Earnings underscore employers' recognition of immigrants' credentials that may differ by gender and ethnic origin. Among other things, this includes employers' motivation to acquire information about

the productivity of immigrant job applicants, and employer investments in job-specific training (Chiswick 1978).

Insofar as migration is a family act involving married couples, the female partners are most likely "tied movers" (Mincer 1978) whose motivation for economic success is relatively low. It is true that if the husband's prospects of employment are poor or if an investment in his local-context human capital has to be financed, women often exhibit initial levels of labor-force participation that decline later (Long 1980; Baker and Benjamin 1997). Yet any improvement in the effect of nativity status on earnings for those who are employed may attest to their internalization of the idea of permanence in the new country, familiarization with the possibilities of receiving wage increases, and, perhaps, employers' expectation of a long-term attachment of immigrant women to the workplace. Thus, earnings involve many factors directly associated with the process of immigrants' economic incorporation.

To examine the gender and ethnic factors that effect income inequality in Israel, I introduce analytical models that incorporate the individual's human capital, family structure, area of residence, immigration characteristics, and labor attributes. I develop aggregate models of the total immigrant population as well as detailed composition by country of origin. The specific questions guiding the empirical analyses are: (1) Does income attainment corroborate the "double disadvantage" of immigrant women relative to both native-born women and native and foreign-born men? (2) How do the gender differences in income attainment evolve over time? (3) Does the combined effect of being both an immigrant and a woman operate similarly among the various origin groups? I discuss the findings in close connection with the observations by Rebun (2008) for a similar set of questions on employment status.

2. Existing Evidences

This section reviews earlier studies on earnings differences by birthplace and gender. In his study on employment status, Rebhun (2008) provided a conceptual theoretical background for the interplay among nativity status, gender, and specific country of origin that combine to influence the economic attainments of immigrants. Here I focus on the empirical evidence with special attention to earnings. To ensure coherency of the general context and appropriate anchorage in the time framework of the present investigation, I limited this discussion of migration to the last three decades of the twentieth century.

These studies focused on various immigrant-hosting countries including the United States, Canada, Australia, European countries, and Israel. Some studies treated immigrants as a homogenous group; others distinguished the immigrant population by area or country of origin. Moreover, some scholars were concerned mainly with ethnicity and conflated foreign and native-born persons of a given ethnic background. Some examined earnings differentials between men and women by nativity; others chose to focus on only one gender group and discussed the findings in reference to existing evidence for the other gender. Immigrants economic attainments are sometimes evaluated in relation to stayers rather than to native-born peers. The literature also reflects the use of different methodological approaches, especially involving the nature of independent variables including individual characteristics, macro-structural conditions, and attributes of the immigrant reference group. Hence, the patterns that emerge are not always uniform; apart from the double disadvantage effect, other explanations have been proposed involving single and triple levels of disadvantage or advantage for women.

Two separate but complementary studies, one focusing on men (Chiswick 1978) and the other on women (Long 1980), found that immigrants in the United States out-earn their native-born gender counterparts. Differences between the foreign-born and the native-born were wider among women. Especially interesting, perhaps, is the different trajectories of the advantage of immigrants: immigrant women out-earn native-born women upon arrival but their continuing tenure in the United States either has no effect on their earnings or may even diminish them among married women. Among men, immigrants initially have lower earnings than the native-born but the difference reverses itself as the immigrants gain tenure in the new country. Insofar as immigrant women's earnings fall short of those of native-born men, they are at a single disadvantage that, for those who are married, is likely to evolve over time into a double disadvantage. Notably, Chiswick (1980) challenged Long's conclusion showing a positive and significant effect of tenure on the earnings of immigrant women of different racial/ethnic groups, and that women attain parity with their native-born counterparts sooner than men do.

Beach and Worswick (1993), using data from the 1973 Job Mobility Survey in Canada, present results that do not corroborate the double negative effect on the earnings of immigrant women, although this effect is quite marked among highly educated women. The long-term improvement in immigrant women's earnings is negligible, statistically insignificant, and much flatter than the corresponding adjustment among immigrant men. Basing themselves on data from the 1986 and 1991 Canadian Survey of Consumers and Finances, Baker and Benjamin (1997) show that immigrant husbands and wives start out at lower wages than those of comparable natives. Over time, however, they converge with local patterns and eventually exceed the native level. The effects of assimilation (measured in terms of years since migration) are very similar for both sexes. Nevertheless, immigrant women's assimilation varies by type of family, and those who are married to foreign-born husbands (immigrant families) are more dependent on the husband's negative assimilation effect than those who have native husbands (mixed families).

In a three-country comparative study, Antecol et al. (2003) found that immigrant women in Canada and Australia out-earn their native-born gender peers while immigrant women in the United States are at a disadvantage. The authors trace this cross-country variation to the ethnic composition of immigrants to the United States and its preponderance of Latinos. The exclusion of the latter from the sample significantly reduces the inferior position of immigrant women in the United States. In fact, after controlling for education and language skills, the relative income disparity between immigrant women and native-born women improved more in the United States than in Canada and Australia. After ten or more years in the country, immigrant women in the United States are expected to out-earn native-born women. This team of researchers obtained very similar results in an earlier study that focused on immigrant men (Antecol et al. 2002).

A more recent study compared the earnings of immigrants and native-born in fifteen destination countries in Europe (Adsera and Chiswick 2006). The earnings of immigrants, men and women alike, were found to be lower than those of their native peers. The disparities were smaller for immigrants from European Union (EU) countries. Among non-EU migrants, the differences vis-à-vis natives were particularly salient among men. Within the same gender, the differences between immigrants and native-born varied by country of destination, with those settling in Nordic countries faring the worst. Immigrant women from EU countries who moved to Germany were outliers in that they out-earned native German women. Importantly, the comparison of

earnings between immigrants and the native-born was conducted for each gender group separately, thus limiting the evaluation of economic performance to a single level of ethnicity (but not of gender). Zaiceva (2007) documented East-West migration in post-reunification Germany. Using a longitudinal dataset with information on pre- and post-migration characteristics, as well as information on stayers, she shows that newly settled immigrant women did not experience a drop in hourly wages as compared with the changes in the relative wages of stayers. Their annual income, however, was lower than that of stayers and of immigrant males. This negative effect is associated with the substitution of "some market work with home production, in particular childcare" (4).

In Israel, Haberfeld (1993) categorized the population into twelve demographic groups differentiated by ethnicity, immigration status, and gender. He suggests that the immigration process and gender are much more important in determining earnings than ethnic origin. Thus, women who immigrated to Israel when they were of eligible working age (15+) had the lowest premium, with a slight disadvantage for workers of Asian-African origin relative to peers of European-American origin. Semyonov and Kraus (1983) also performed important research, although they used an ethnicity dichotomy – Europe-America (considered the superordinate ethnic group) and Asia-Africa – instead of distinguishing between foreign-born and native-born. After controlling for socio-economic background, education, and occupation, they found that men out-earned women within each ethnic group. Within each gender group, however, while men of Asian-African origin were at a disadvantage relative to their European-American peers, ethnic differences among women were not statistically significant; if anything, women of Asian-African origin were likely to our-earn European-American women. Similarly, Semyonov and Lerenthal (1991) classified foreign-born and native-born together to identify forty-four origin groups in Israel. In all groups (with the exception of the Ethiopian) men out-earned women. The average income of ethnic groups from highly industrialized countries surpassed that of ethnic groups from less developed countries, with much larger differences among men than among women. When human-capital characteristics were taken into account, however, the socioeconomic effect of country of origin became insignificant among both men and women (as did time of arrival and group size).

Factors other than gender are also potentially confounding determinants of immigrants' earning patterns in their host country. These factors, which may operate differently among immigrant men and women, include marital status, children, educational attainment, working experience, and area of residence, and they should be controlled for.

In sum, it is quite consistently evident that men earn more than women. The effect of nativity, however, is somewhat confusing: some studies show immigrants as being at a disadvantage to the native-born while other studies argue the contrary. Various studies also suggest different patterns of economic assimilation by gender and origin, either toward greater similarity with the native population or widening of the initial disparities. Likewise, the effect of gender and birthplace varies by country of destination. More crucial, perhaps, is the fact that few studies directly and systematically examine the combined effect of gender and birthplace. The present study attempts to provide insights about the earning attainments of foreign-born men and women in Israel and to show how the effect of these two factors varies by country of origin. By so doing, it hopes to further our understanding of an important dimension of the labor-market adjustment of immigrants in destination economies (Chiswick and Adsera, 2006).

3. Working Hypotheses

How may the combination of birthplace and gender affect the earnings of immigrants in Israel, and how does this effect vary across origin countries? I develop three hypotheses for this question. I define these hypotheses as the "absorption climate" effect, "immigration motivations", and the "socio-cultural norms" effect.

Immigration and the ingathering of Jews from around the world to Israel is a core ideal of nation-building in the Zionist agenda and the State of Israel (Goldscheider 2002). The formal immigration policy proclaims the right of every Jew to come and settle in Israel. That only Jews are eligible for citizenship upon immigration suggests that they share the religious identity and historical heritage of the majority population. The collective identity of Israel as a Jewish state suggests that Israel, and not nativity status or ethnicity, is then source of Jewish-national identity. Furthermore, origin is not significant for any kind of social or economic opportunities. Moreover, since immigration to Israel is viewed as a matter of high ideological and social value attached to, the immigrants may be defined as a "Returning Diaspora". Hence, both the formal and the informal reaction to and treatment of immigrants is warm and sympathetic overall (Amit and Semyonov 2006; Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein 2003). Likewise, immigrants in Israel have some political, either via independent immigrants' parties or via immigrants who, by being selected to parliament on behalf of a non-sectarian party, limit the economic exploitation of their constituency (Semyonov and Kraus 1983). The *absorption climate* hypothesis postulates that nativity status, i.e., native-born versus foreign-born, is not a significant determinant of earnings generally, and of immigrant women particularly, in Israel.

Immigrants vary in their motivations for moving to the new country. The motives span a continuum that ranges from the reactive to the proactive, with the former responding to push factors at origin and the latter abetted by economic or ideological pull factors at destination (Lee 1966; Richmond 1993). Immigrants driven mainly by strong push motives usually have constraints that deter them from returning to their country of origin and, therefore, may have stronger incentives to incorporate and accept such labor conditions as they are offered (Borjas 1982). "Ideological" migrants, in contrast, may allow themselves to "try out" the new country for several years and decide to stay only if their expectations, including economic returns, are satisfied. Furthermore, many "ideological" migrants have prior knowledge and direct acquaintance with the destination society, including relatively strong language proficiency. "Ideological" migrants are highly motivated and also tend to be positively selective for the more able and the economic opportunities of their new locality (Haberfeld 1993; Rebhun and Waxman, 2001). This, in turn, implies quick earnings adjustments that may sometimes even exceed those of native-born counterparts (Chiswick 1978).

We may draw a rough distinction between immigrants from Asia and Africa who came to Israel due to "push" factors such as social alienation and political repressions, and, on a much smaller scale, immigrants from North America and Western Europe, who were driven by religious and nationalistic motives and were therefore "ideological". Even the immigrants who arrived from the USSR in the late 1970s, as well as their peers who arrived from the former USSR in the 1990s, should be seen not as stateless refugees but as rational decision-makers who chose to leave their country of residence and settle in Israel (Cohen 2002). The *immigration motivation* hypothesis anticipates divergent patterns of relations between origin country and earnings. Specifically, I expect to find immigrant women who were "pushed" to Israel, i.e. those from Asia and Africa, at a "triple disadvantage" as women,

immigrants, and people from less developed countries, and immigrant women motivated by "pull" factors, those from America and Europe, at the "single disadvantage" of being women.

This effect may be strengthened or altered by origin-specific social and cultural attributes. These background characteristics include, among other things, experiences and perceptions of differences in labor conditions by gender and ethnicity. In this respect, immigrants from America and Europe originated in countries that have high levels of women's participation in the labor force and great similarity in labor conditions across gender and other social groups, including earnings. The socialist ideology practiced in Eastern Europe and, especially, in Soviet areas enforced these matters with even greater vigor. Hence, the *socio-cultural norms* hypothesis suggests that immigrant women from America and Europe will suffer no earnings hardship relative to native-born women and may even exceed their gender counterparts and move toward greater similarity with native-born men. That immigrants from Asian and African countries originated in societies that had limited experience with women in the labor market, and that offered generally low gender equality, is expected to aggravate the "triple disadvantage" suggested above.

My data, described below, do not allow me to measure these effects directly. Any net differences in earnings by birthplace and gender may be accounted for, at least in part, by these unobserved social and immigration factors. In the Discussion, I link these working hypotheses with the empirical results in order to enhance our understanding of immigration adaptation and gender and ethnic stratification in Israel.

4. Data, Variables, and Description

4.1 Data

This analysis is based on the 20% sample (the "demographic version" file) of the 1995 Israel Census of Housing and Population conducted in November of that year. I restricted the sample to men aged 25-65 and to women aged 25-60, the upper bound reflecting the mandatory retirement age for the respective gender groups. The question on earnings referred only to employees; thus, I had to exclude self-employed respondents. This restriction may affect our findings about earning disparities between groups, especially given earlier observations according to which Israelis of Asian-African extraction are dis-proportionally concentrated among the self-employed (Yuchtman-Yaar, 1985). Nevertheless, the focus on paid employees makes this study more comparable with other studies in the field, most of which also examined only employees. Additional sample restrictions were imposed to exclude people whose employment status is known to be unstable, i.e., those who met any of the following conditions: (1) arrived in Israel during the census year, (2) were enrolled in school or in the military in the month preceding the census, (3) did not work at all during the last twelve months, (4) did not work "last week", and (5) reported no positive earnings in the reference month.

The immigrant population was aggregated into forty-eight countries or areas of origin, each of which meets the criterion of having a minimum of 100 sample cases.[1] The origin groups cover people from Western Europe, Eastern Europe, North America, Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania.[2] Group sizes range from 100 persons from Spain to 6,491 from Morocco. Three native-born groups were included for comparison: Israel-born persons whose ethnic background, based on father's place of birth, could be identified as Asia-Africa, Europe-America, or Israel. After applying these criteria, I obtained a sample of 48,431 immigrants and 52,722 native-Israelis.

The attribution of people to origin groups was determined solely by their answer to the country-of-birth question. The geo-political transformation that Eastern Europe underwent in the early 1990s seems to have created some confusion, as a few reported terms that still refer to general units like the former Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia. When these met the minimum threshold, I maintained the respondents' specifications and did not merge them into any inclusive country categories.

4.2 Variables

The dependent variable is the respondents' gross salary income in September of 1995. Absolute values in local currency (the New Israeli Sheqel/NIS) were inverted to their natural log.[3]

The explanatory variables were clustered into five major blocs: demographic and human-capital characteristics, family status, area of residence, immigration factors, and labor attributes. The vast theoretical and empirical literature on the topic provides solid ground for the variables included in the models. In the first bloc I included gender and schooling. Gender was set to 1 for females; males are the reference category. Schooling was operationalized as a categorical variable to allow for nonlinear effects and 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 status was evaluated by three variables of marital status, distinguishing between married persons and persons currently not married (the omitted category, which includes singles, separated or divorced, and widowed); the presence of children under age 18 at home, with the omitted category having older children or no children at all; and headship status, i.e., whether the respondent is the head of household versus otherwise, the latter being the omitted category. The area-of-residence variable divides the country into four major geographic units: Jerusalem, metropolitan Tel-Aviv, 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 that have strong socio-economic 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 and rural areas, mainly in the far north and far south.

Immigration factors include age upon immigration, tenure in Israel, and nativity concentration. Age at immigration distinguishes among five interval groups: 0-14, 15-24, 25-34, 35-49, and (as the omitted category) 50+. Tenure in Israel reflects the time from immigration to the end of the period studied (1994) and distinguishes among up to 1 year, 1-2 years, 3-5 years, 6-10 years, and (the omitted category) 11+ years in Israel. 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 the numerator and the denominator refer to the entire population, i.e., people of all ages. Nativity concentration is treated as a continuous variable. The native-born population was distinguished between second-generation (the omitted category) and third-generation in the country.

Labor characteristics include employment status, labor-market experience, occupation, and hours worked. Employment status distinguishes between two groups of people: those who worked less than twelve months during the past year (the

omitted category), and those who worked throughout the year. Labor-market experience is measured in the conventional way: age minus years of schooling minus 5; it is introduced in linear term along with its square. Occupational status is presented in terms of the 100-point scale that Semyonov, Lewin-Epstein, and Mandel (2000) developed for occupations of the two-digit classification in the 1995 Israeli census. Although occupation is strongly associated with education, evaluation of the role of occupation is essential in any investigation of earnings variation across social and ethnic groups (Haberfeld, 1993). A final control is the number of hours worked per week, which is introduced as a continuous variable.

4.3 Description

Descriptive analysis of the data shows that immigrants had lower earnings in the reference month than native-Israelis and that men, immigrant and native-born alike, out-earned women (Table 1). Immigrants exhibited smaller gender differences than the native-born. Nevertheless, immigrant women had the lowest earning implying they are the most disadvantaged group. Detailed findings, not shown here for lack of space, point to sever variation in the earnings of various origin groups, from as low as NIS 2,534 for Ethiopian men to NIS 9,275 for immigrant men from Lebanon, and from NIS 1,714 for Ethiopian women to NIS 4,961 for immigrant women from Poland.

(Table 1, about here)

Judging by the proportion of those who have academic degrees, immigrants in Israel are better educated than the native-born population. There are salient variations among the former, with the proportions of degree-holders small among immigrants from Asia-Africa (up to about 20%), medium among immigrants from Western Europe and Latin America (25%-50%), and high among immigrants from North America (more than two-thirds). This rough classification holds true for both men and women and, generally speaking, recurs among second-generation Israelis by aggregate origin groups of Asia-Africa versus Europe-America. 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 women, whereas immigrant women from many former USSR republics, Central European countries, and Argentina surpass their male counterparts in schooling.

A higher proportion of immigrants than of native-born gender counterparts were married at the time of the census. This is presumably associated with the immigrants' older age composition. However, the proportion of married immigrants varied by country of origin: a difference of more than 20% among both men and women between the groups with the lowest marriage rates (75.4% of men from Canada and 60.9% of women from South Africa) and those with the highest rates (96.5% of men from Kazakhstan and 86.7% of women from Spain). In all groups, men were more likely than women to be married. On the whole, immigrants were less likely than native Israelis to reside in Tel Aviv. However, there were substantial differences among the immigrant population according to origin. The findings do not attest to any clear pattern of strong or weak preference for residence in Tel Aviv by groups from a given continent or by gender. The existing 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 their 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.

Inter-group comparison, by origin and gender, reveals substantial differences of immigration characteristics. Immigrants from Asia and Africa (with the exception of Ethiopians), and from East and Central European countries such as Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Germany, arrived in Israel at young ages, as children or adolescents; their mean age ranges from a low of 7 (Austria) to a high of 20 (Other Eastern Europe) among both men and women. To a large extent, they belong to the massive waves of immigration that shortly followed the establishment of the State of Israel, which in large part depopulated the Jewish communities in these countries. The older age upon immigration of Soviet/former Soviet Jews, at a mean of around the mid-thirties, is associated with the large recent influx from these countries, coupled with the lower bounds 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 upon immigration is small but age is often lower among women than among men. When women's mean age upon immigration is higher than men's, this is always associated with immigration from Western Europe and America. Origin groups that immigrate at young ages have longer tenure in Israel, and vice versa.

On the whole, native-Israelis have more prestigious occupations than immigrants. Immigrant men have a somewhat higher occupation score than immigrant women while gender differences among the native population are negligible. Among all immigrant groups but one (Other Eastern Europe), men outscored women counterparts on occupation with especially high gender differences (more than ten points) among immigrants from Kazakhstan, the Netherlands, Spain, and Brazil. Nevertheless, women from more than a dozen of countries had higher occupational scores than native-women; all of these women arrived from European countries (including former Soviet republics), the Americas, or South Africa. Immigrants had longer experience in the labor market than native Israelis (which may well be associated with their older age profile). Men spent a longer time in the labor market than women and the gender gaps were more salient among the immigrant population than among native Israelis. Exceptionally long working experience was characteristic of immigrants from several Asian and African countries. Among respondents who were economically active during the reference year, and within each gender group separately, no differences were found between immigrants and native Israelis in the extent of work, be it year round (all twelve months) or part of the year (less than twelve months). Men, immigrants and native-born alike, were slightly more likely to work throughout the year than their women counterparts. Several groups, however, exhibited relatively large gender differences (9%-13%); they originated in Asia, northern Africa, and former Soviet republics. Finally, within each gender, no significant differences were found between immigrants and native Israelis in mean hours worked during the week preceding the census. Men worked more hours than women; these gender differentials were characteristic of all immigrant groups as well as native Israelis by generation and ethnic origin.

5. Findings

5.1 Comparison of Foreign- and Native-born Regression Coefficients

Table 2 presents the results of ordinary least-squares (OLS) regressions for evaluating the effect of various factors, or interaction terms, in explaining variation in (ln) earnings. The results are unstandardized coefficients (b) that show the value of each

independent variable, hence the amount of addition to, or subtraction from, "constant" earnings. Separate equations were calculated for immigrants, native Israelis, and the total sample. I employed the method of entering all independent variables into the multiple regression equations (a "confirmatory perspective"). All models are statistically significant.

(Table 2, about here)

Among immigrants, being a woman has a negative effect on earnings. The coefficient in Column 1 implies that, net of other characteristics, immigrant women earned .291 fewer measurement units than their male counterparts on the natural logarithm of monthly earnings in INS. Even after I introduced interaction terms of gender by each of the family variables, i.e., headship, marital status, and presence of children at home (Column 2), immigrant women still had lower earnings, albeit at a smaller differential of -.114. Native women also exerted a negative effect on earnings, the differentials relative to men being very similar to those among the immigrant population (Columns 3 and 4). Accordingly, in the pooled regression, the interaction term of gender (female) by birthplace (immigrant) did not produce a statistically significant effect on earnings (Column 6). Thus, immigrant women do not incur earning penalties beyond the gender disadvantage that all women in Israel share.

Several other variables in the earnings models played a noteworthy role. Education, while it operates in essentially the same way for immigrants and natives, shows that the former group obtains a somewhat lower return on standard human-capital skills. This may be attributed to differences in schooling appreciation and relevance between origin country and destination country, less employer familiarity with the significance of foreign schooling for immigrant workers' productivity, or, perhaps, weaker language proficiency and knowledge of local institutions (Beach and Worswick, 1993; Chiswick, 1978). Of particular interest are the effects of family characteristics that involve household responsibilities, which traditionally vary by gender. Both being head of household and being married were found to increase earnings. The interaction terms, however, show that this does not apply to women, be they immigrants or native-born, among whom being head of household or having a spouse is negatively associated with income level. My hypothesize is that the headship status of women reflects the absence of a male spouse at home or some kind of social and/or economic disability on his part. Women who live under such circumstances have limited social contacts and employment-related awareness, to the possible detriment of their employment conditions including earnings. That the earnings loss associated with marriage is somewhat smaller (less negative) for foreign-born women than for native women may attest to differences in ability or work motivation (Long, 1980). The presence of children at home depresses the earnings of native women but has no statistically significant effect on the earnings of immigrant women. Among members of the former group, however, this is strongly influenced by the marital status of the mother, as seen in the elimination of statistical significance after interaction terms were introduced.

Analysis of the effects of labor characteristics reveals that higher occupational rank is positively associated with earnings. The similarity in additional earnings among immigrants and natives suggests that the former are not routed to low-paying jobs within occupations or industries. Greater experience in the labor market is rewarded by higher earnings but natives receive substantially higher returns. This may be an indication that (i) some aspects of labor-market experience are country specific, meaning that a year experience before immigration brings a smaller reward than a year of experience for the native-born; (ii) continuity in the labor force, which is

disrupted for the foreign-born around their time of immigration, is important; (iii) there are differences in post-schooling investment in vocational training and other human-capital resources (Chiswick 1978; Beach and Worswick 1993). The importance of continuity in the labor force is confirmed by the gains in earnings for those who worked throughout the reference year (as against those who worked less than twelve months), with natives and the foreign-born enjoying very similar rates of return. Obviously, the number of hours worked implies higher earnings.

As for the effects of the immigration factors, the younger the immigrant upon immigration, the higher h/her earnings are. Concurrently, the gap relative to veteran immigrants or natives (the omitted category) narrows commensurate with tenure in the country. This process, however, is not linear, raising the possibility that the most recent immigrants enjoy some kind of special sympathy and benevolent treatment from employers, which declines thereafter, forcing the immigrants to negotiate their labor conditions and earnings more independently. Under such circumstances, even though immigrants who have been in Israel for six to ten years are quite well adapted to the Israeli labor market, they still do not fare as well as the reference population.

An in-depth analysis of the effect of tenure on earnings, by single year, shows that immigrant men and immigrant women follow very similar trajectories (Figure 1).[4] All other factors being equal, the most recent immigrants – those with tenure of less than one year in Israel, men and women alike – have earnings that are .374 and .385 measurement units less, respectively, than native men (the omitted category). Among both gender groups, the differential increases slightly over the next year or two and then, with fluctuations, begins to decline to -.129 among immigrant men and -.147 among immigrant women after ten years in Israel, and to less than -.1 after approximately twenty years, after which it again increases slightly. After twenty-five years in the country, both men and women immigrants are still at a disadvantage in earnings in the Israeli labor market. The fact that immigrant women who have been in Israel for twenty-five years or more exhibit coefficients that strongly resemble those of native women further refutes the double disadvantage effect in economic returns in Israel.

(Figure 1, about here)

5.2 The Role of Origin Country

I found that nativity status does not affect women's earnings. Practically speaking, all other things being equal, gender differences are very similar among immigrants and natives. To marshal enough income to meet the household's budgetary needs (Boyle et al. 2001) and, more generally, because migration, especially family migration, "is in the direction of economic growth" (Cooke and Bailey 1996), immigrant women are encouraged to demand appropriate economic conditions. Their insistence on receiving remuneration resembling that of their native gender counterparts may attest to a high degree of social confidence, since immigrants do fulfill a central ideal of the destination country. It may also reflect an equally valued status that is associated with ascribed affinities such as national origin and ethnicity, and Israel's strong appreciation of the immigrants' professional qualifications. It is also possible that the findings reflect differences in the ethnic composition of the immigrant and native populations. This is especially crucial if the former contains a sizeable proportion of people whose cultural and ideological background fosters social and economic equality for women. To verify this conjecture, I must determine whether the effect of gender on earnings is similar among all immigrant groups or if there is some stratification by country of origin.

To this end, I inserted each of the forty-eight immigrant groups into a regression equation. Since immigrants to Israel come from a large number of countries that have different levels of development and modernization, I first compared their employment status in reference to the total native population and then only to their native peers. For immigrants from Asia and Africa, peers were defined as native Israelis whose fathers were born in Asia or Africa, and for immigrants from Europe-America (including South Africa), the native-born were those whose fathers were born in either Europe or America. Due to space limitations, Table 3 presents only statistically significant coefficients of the interactions between country of origin and gender (i.e., these coefficients were extracted from an analysis including both sexes), but they are controlled for all other independent factors including demographic and human capital characteristics, family status, area of residence, immigration factors, and labor attributes.

The interaction terms of birthplace by gender reveal that one-fourth (12) of the immigrant groups has a statistically significant effect on earnings. Immigrant women from six countries out-earned native men. All of these women originated in developed countries including America (North and South) and Europe (Western and Eastern). The unstandardized coefficient is exceptionally high for immigrant women from France. This is somewhat striking since many immigrants from this country are of north African extraction; thus, the finding that they more closely resemble immigrants from Western societies attests to the rapid socio-economic adjustment that they had achieved in their intermediate destination (France). By contrast, immigrant women from six other countries had lower earnings than native men. Four of these groups originated in Asia or Africa and a fifth group came from Turkey, which is also a Muslim country. Somewhat surprisingly, immigrant women from Poland were also at a double disadvantage. Polish Jews accounted for a plurality of immigrants to pre-statehood Israel under the British Mandate (1919-1948) and in the early statehood years (CBS, 1950). Much of the Israeli political and social leadership originated in Eastern Europe, mainly Poland, and envisaged the development of the new country largely in conformance with Western patterns. Accordingly, many immigrants from these countries were socially and economically well absorbed. I speculate that the disadvantage of Polish immigrant women is partly associated with their unique occupational profile: their representation in the teaching field is more than twice as high as that among all immigrant women from Western countries (4.4% and 9.2%, respectively), and they are less concentrated in cleaning services (8.5% and 2.2%, respectively). Teaching salaries are characterized by substantial gender differences, as men teachers often receive the more remunerative administrative responsibilities, while such differences in cleaning services are very limited. I also suggest that cultural norms, especially the "good manners" for which Polish Jews are renowned, may diminish the passion that they may employ in bargaining for economic returns.

(Table 3, about here)

When I restricted the comparison to ethnic peers, I obtained very similar results. In fact, they refined more sharply the distinction between advantaged and disadvantaged groups following the dichotomy of European-American as against Asian-African origin. The tendency of immigrant women from several countries to out-earn native-born men reflects unique social and economic patterns and does not stem from the ethnic composition of the native population.

5.3 A Single Disadvantage

Finally, I repeated the foregoing procedure for women alone in order to classify the various groups of immigrant women by whether they had higher or lower earnings than their native gender counterparts and by the size of the differentials. This complementary analysis allowed me to evaluate the single disadvantage of ethnicity among the female population. The results, shown in Table 4 (which correspond to an analysis run for women only), show that most immigrant women who out-earned native women originated in Europe. Immigrant women from France out-earned native men and were also at an advantage over native women. Immigrant women from Iraq and Poland had lower earnings than native men but were at advantage over their native-born gender peers. Additional immigrant groups that outperformed native women in earnings were those from Latvia and Romania. In contrast, most immigrant women whose earnings fell short of those of native women originated in Africa and Asia, including the Asian republics of the former Soviet Union. Interestingly, these immigrant groups did not exhibit lower earnings than native men. To a large extent, this classification persisted after I restricted the analysis to ethnic (women) peers.

(Table 4, about here)

6. Discussion

This paper examined gender differences in earnings among immigrants in Israel and asked how these differences vary across origin groups. I was motivated by the desire to provide complementary economic insight to an earlier investigation of the effect on employment status of being a woman and an immigrant. I argued that earnings are a better proxy than employment status for the returns on human capital and labor characteristics such as occupation, working experience, and amount of work performed. Hence, earnings better reflect the success of immigrants in general, and of immigrant women in particular, in overcoming various social obstacles, acquaintance with the social and economic opportunities at destination, and the strengthening of employers' appreciation of immigrants' credentials that may differ by ascribed characteristics such as gender and ethnicity. I ventured three complementary hypotheses: (1) nativity status (foreign-born vs. native-born) is not a significant determinant of earnings; thus, immigrant women will not encounter any disadvantage beyond that associated with their gender; (2) the effect of being both foreign-born and female will differ in accordance with the motivation for immigration, as those who were "pushed" to Israel, i.e., those from Asia and North Africa, are expected to be at a triple disadvantage while women who were "pulled" to immigrate, those from America and Europe, will be at a single disadvantage; and (3) gender gaps in earnings are stratified by birthplace, reflecting origin-specific economic conditions for men and women.

The results of OLS regressions from the 1995 Israel census show that after demographic and human-capital characteristics, family characteristics, area of residence, immigration factors, and labor attributes are controlled for, being an immigrant woman did not exert a negative effect on earnings as against native men. Therefore, immigrant women incur no earnings penalty beyond the gender disadvantage that all women in Israel share. A detailed analysis by country of birth suggests that immigrants are not a homogenous population. Membership in slightly more than one-third of the immigrant groups (19 out of 48) had a statistically significant effect on earnings. Based on the reference population of native Israelis, the effect of immigrant groups on earnings may be classified into six different patterns:

(1) immigrant women out-earn native men and native women (France); (2) immigrant women have an advantage over native men but their earnings do not differ significantly from those of native women (Argentina, former Soviet Union, Moldova, Russia, USA); (3) there are no significant differences between the earnings of immigrant women and of native men, but women have an advantage over native gender peers (Latvia, Romania); (4) immigrant women are at a disadvantage relative to native men but are likely to out-earn native women (Iraq, Poland); (5) immigrant women are at a disadvantage vis-à-vis native men but not vis-à-vis native women (Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, Turkey); (6) immigrant women have no significant disadvantage in relation to native men but earn less than native women (Azerbaijan, Ethiopia, Iran, Other former Soviet Union, Uzbekistan). Immigrant women who out-earn natives (men and/or women) originated mainly in America or Europe (with the exception of those from Iraq). By contrast, all immigrants who are at a disadvantage relative to the native-born are from Asia or Africa (with the exception of those of Polish provenance). This distinction between advantaged and disadvantaged groups follow the dichotomy of Europe-America and Asia-Africa (including the Asian republics of the former Soviet Union) and largely remains valid even after the comparison is restricted to ethnic or gender peers, respectively.

The stratification of earnings by birthplace can be associated only partly with cultural background and the social values of country of origin. Immigrants from Asia-Africa originated in societies that exhibit substantial gender inequality in various social, economic and political spheres; therefore, they may accept gender and ethnic discrimination in their new country as well. All Asian and African countries discussed in this study had substantially lower Gender Empowerment Measures (GEM)[5] than Israel's. Likewise, the ratio of men's earnings to women's earnings is lower in Muslim countries than in Israel. Nevertheless, after controlling for individual characteristics, immigrant women from many Asian-African countries, including Algeria, Ethiopia, Iran, Libya, Tunisia, and Yemen, were not disadvantaged relative to native men. Similarly, with the exception of the United States, all countries in America and Europe from which immigrant women out-earned native men (Argentina, former Soviet Union, Moldova, and Russia), have lower GEMs than Israel's. However, immigrant women from countries that have higher GEMs than Israel's, such as Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and the United Kingdom (to mention only a few), do not enjoy a positive effect on their earnings. The uniformity in motivation for immigration is somewhat more robust: origin groups in which women have an advantage over native men are guided by rational decisions and ideological incentives (America-Europe), whereas all origin groups in which women are at a disadvantage to native men were pushed by social and political persecution (Asia-Africa).

Social and cultural background may influence the earnings patterns of immigrants and gender differences in these patterns; so may immigration motivation. Both, however, play a limited role. Consequently, I argue in favor of the "absorption climate" hypothesis, which rules out discrimination on the basis of nativity status in general, and specific origin in particular, in the working conditions of immigrant men and women in Israel. The slight differences found among immigrant women according to country of origin should be interpreted in view of the unique combination of human capital and destination characteristics that is not fully indexed by the census data. Reflecting the educational and occupational profile of the Western Jewish Diaspora generally (Goldstein 1992; DellaPergola 1993), and the positive selectivity of immigrants to Israel particularly (Goldscheider 1974; Rebhun and

Waxman 2001), immigrants from the United States and Europe congregate on the upper rungs of the socio-economic hierarchy. The white-collar professional jobs that they held before immigration are often not female-typed. Insofar as immigrant women from these countries penetrate these domains in Israel, their remuneration resembles men's. In fact, I speculate that these women hold certificates or degrees from prestigious academic institutions, especially in the case of women immigrants from the United States, where Jews disproportionately attend Ivy league universities (Karabel 2005), and may have working experience with world-renowned corporations in economic and technological fields. This supplementary capital may be used to negotiate various aspects of working conditions at the destination, increasing these immigrants' economic rewards. I further contend that immigrants from Western countries, irrespective of gender, have foreign-language proficiencies that may be useful in jobs involving international relations. Indeed, immigrant women whom this study found to out-earn native men were proficient in four foreign languages - English, French, Spanish, and Russian – that are badly needed in Israel's political, economic, and cultural international system. Mother- tongue proficiency in a foreign language may well serve as a factor in high earnings.

The advantage of French-origin women over both native men and native women is of special interest. Most immigrants from France are of north African extraction. They first moved to France, where they experienced substantial socio-economic mobility and were able to take advantage of their achievements in Israel. Thus, they are an exceptional group in the Israeli scene, being of Eastern ethnicity but having advantages over immigrant counterparts who arrived directly from north Africa and Asia. Given the emphasis in Israel on the ideal of the "melting pot" and ethnic equality, this group of immigrants from France generally, and of the women among them particularly, is positioned to claim high economic premiums. Employers, in turn, especially in governmental or large public companies, may have used these immigrants to show that salary is determined by human capital and qualifications rather than by ethnic origin. Though not as blatantly as those from France, immigrants from Lebanon, Egypt, and Turkey are also characterized by strong socio-economic achievements relative to other immigrants from Muslim countries (Amit 2005) but are at a disadvantage relative to native men. The achievements of these immigrants, including immigrant women, may have allowed them to join more desirable segments of the labor force than other Asian-African immigrants and to practice occupations in which they compete with both men and European-American women. This integration and competition is likely to aggravate economic discrimination on the basis of gender and ethnic origin among other things (Semyonov and Tree 1981).

Moroccan-born women, who are also at a disadvantage relative to native men, languish at the very bottom of the socio-economic ladder (Amit 2005; Kazzom 1998). Presumably they are concentrated in undesirable and highly segregated jobs. Thus, their disadvantage may derive partly from being employed by personnel companies instead of the firms for which they work; this is a vehicle for joining the labor force under unfavorable economic conditions. Immigrant women are also differentiated in their commitment to traditional family roles, as such commitments are strongest among women, especially mothers, who populate the low social and economic strata. Such commitments may apply further restrictions to various labor characteristics that are reflected in low rewards.

The previous study on employment status and the present study on earnings consistently refute the notion of double disadvantage among immigrant women in the Israeli labor market. Generally speaking, immigrant women in Israel do not suffer

from economic discrimination beyond the gender disadvantage that their native counterparts share. Stratification by specific origin countries is especially important in employment status, as membership in many country origin groups has strong effects on the likelihood of being employed due to social and cultural influence of their birthplace and, to a lesser extent, due to alternative economic resources and religious orientations. From the moment immigrants enter the Israeli labor force, however, the role of their ethnic origin in explaining earnings differences diminishes greatly. I suggest that the unexplained differences are influenced mainly by a combination of the immigrants' socio-economic characteristics, the structure of economic opportunities in the host society, and cultural patterns of family commitments.

Israel is a unique case in that immigration is a central component of its national ideology and its nation-building process. Immigrants share the religious identity of the majority host population. Most of the young state's population is composed either of immigrants or of the offspring of immigrants who have a strong awareness of the hardship that accompanies migration. Under such circumstances, the nativity status of immigrants has little effect on their economic absorption. In other Western countries today, immigration policy is guided largely by economic considerations and the need to assure different types of labor force. Such immigration may be temporary or permanent. Concurrently, immigrants whose characteristics do not match the economic needs of the host country may enter legally or illegally. Insofar as these immigrants differ from the host society in key social and cultural patterns, this may foment ethnic tension and discrimination. In addition to other factors, the present study treats immigration climate as a factor of significant importance in the economic integration of immigrant men and women. Future studies, in Israel and elsewhere, should attempt to incorporate more closely direct indicators of immigration climate, such as immigration policy, settlement assistance, public attitudes, and type of visa, into the empirical testing framework.

7. References

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Notes

[1] For a detailed description of immigrants in Israel, see: Rebhun 2008, pp. 93-94.

[2] Countries/areas of origin include (in alphabetic order): Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Other Asia-Africa, Other Eastern-Europe, Other Latin America, Other former Soviet Union, Other Western Europe, Poland, Romania, Russia, South Africa, Spain, Syria, the Netherlands, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, former Soviet Union (with no specification of republic of birth), Uzbekistan, Yemen.

[3] In September 1995 (the earnings reference month) the exchange rate was approximately NIS 3 to the USD.

[4] All coefficients are statistically significant at the .05 level.

[5] GEM "focuses on three variables that reflect women's participation in political decision making, their access to professional opportunities, and their earning power" (United Nations 1995: 72).

Table 1. Selected characteristics of immigrants and native-born Israelis

	Immigrants		Native-born Israelis	
Variable	Men $n = 25,433$	Women $n = 22,998$	Men $n = 25,821$	Women $n = 26,901$
Mean earnings (NIS)	5,833 (5,168)	3,432 (2,830)	7,152 (6,435)	3,934 (2,950)
Natural log of earnings	8.67	8.14	8.87	8.27
Percent with B.A. degree	29.4	30.8	25.2	26.8
Percent married	88.8	82.2	82.2	73.2
Percent living in Tel Aviv	50.1	50.3	57.1	57.9
Mean age at immigration 21.6 (15.1)		20.7 (14.4)	-	-
Mean years since migration	24.1 (16.4)	23.1 (15.8)	-	-
Mean occupational score	44.1 (28.4)	40.5 (26.5)	50.2 (26.9)	49.5 (22.6)
Mean labor market experience	28.1 (11.0)	25.8 (9.9)	20.3 (9.5)	19.3 (9.1)
Percent worked 12 months	90.1	86.1	90.8	86.0
Mean number of hours worked last week	47.2 (12.6)	36.1 (12.8)	47.9 (13.6)	34.2 (12.4)

a) Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

Table 2. Unstandardized OLS coefficients for regressions of earnings on demographic and human capital factors, family structure, area of residence, immigration factors, and employment characteristics: 1995 Israel census of housing and population

Independent variable	Immigrants		Native-born		Total sample	
	Model 1 (1)	Model 2 (2)	Model 1 (3)	Model 2 (4)	Model 1 (5)	Model 2 (6)
Gender						
Reference category: man						
Woman	-.290***	-.114***	-.281***	-.115***	-.290***	-.117***
Schooling						
Reference category: primary/intermediate						
High school diploma	.120***	.119***	.159***	.159***	.135***	.136***
Matriculation diploma	.209***	.210***	.284***	.288***	.244***	.247***
Postsecondary diploma	.299***	.300***	.325***	.326***	.307***	.308***
Academic degree	.363***	.363***	.454***	.456***	.404***	.406***
Headship status						
Reference category: not head of household						
Household head	.047***	.076***	.042***	.055***	.046***	.065***
Marital status						
Reference category: not married						
Married	.102***	.165***	.113***	.193***	.106***	.182***
Family composition						
Reference category: no children or children aged 18+						
Children < 18	-.014	-.016	-.051***	-.023	-.026***	-.017
Area of residence						
Reference category: Tel Aviv metropolitan area						
City of Jerusalem	.015	.014	-.027**	-.029**	-.002	-.004
Metropolitan Haifa	-.044***	-.045***	-.072***	-.072***	-.053***	-.054***
Rest of the country	-.089***	-.090***	-.132***	-.132***	-.107***	-.108***
Age at immigration						
Reference category: age 50+						
Age < 14	.506***	.504***	-	-	.526***	.521***
Age 15-24	.443***	.440***	-	-	.467***	.462***
Age 25-34	.390***	.386***	-	-	.407***	.400***
Age 35-49	.231***	.227***	-	-	.231***	.226***
Tenure in Israel						
Reference category: 11 years+						
1 year or less	-.257***	-.254***	-	-	-.247***	-.246***
1-2 years	-.301***	-.300***	-	-	-.294***	-.294***
3-5 years	-.259***	-.259***	-	-	-.255***	-.256***
6-10 years	-.093***	-.092***	-	-	-.084***	-.084***
Nativity concentration	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Occupation	.010***	.010***	.009***	.009***	.009***	.009***
Years of experience	.029***	.028***	.041***	.039***	.034***	.033***
Experience ^{2}	.000***	.000***	-.001***	-.001***	.000***	.000***
Employment status						
Reference category: worked < 12 months						
Worked all 12 months	.290***	.288***	.304***	.301***	.299***	.296***
Hours worked last week	.016***	.016***	.015***	.015***	.015***	.015***
Generation						
Reference category: second generation						
Third generation	-	-	.005	.007	-	-
Nativity status						
Reference category: native-born						
Immigrant	-	-	-	-	-.002	-.007
*Interactions Female**						
Household head		-.105***		-.079***		-.091***
Married	-	-.161***	-	-.193***	-	-.183***
Children < 18	-	.011	-	-.002	-	.007
Immigrant	-	-	-	-	-	.006
Constant	5.919	5.852	6.314	6.172	5.839	5.786
R^2- adjusted	.48	.48	.42	.42	.46	.46
Number of Observations	45,691	45,691	50,047	50,047	95,738	95,738

*** p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05

Figure 1.
Interaction Effects (Unstandardized Coefficients) from OLS Regression of Tenure in Israel by Gender on Earnings

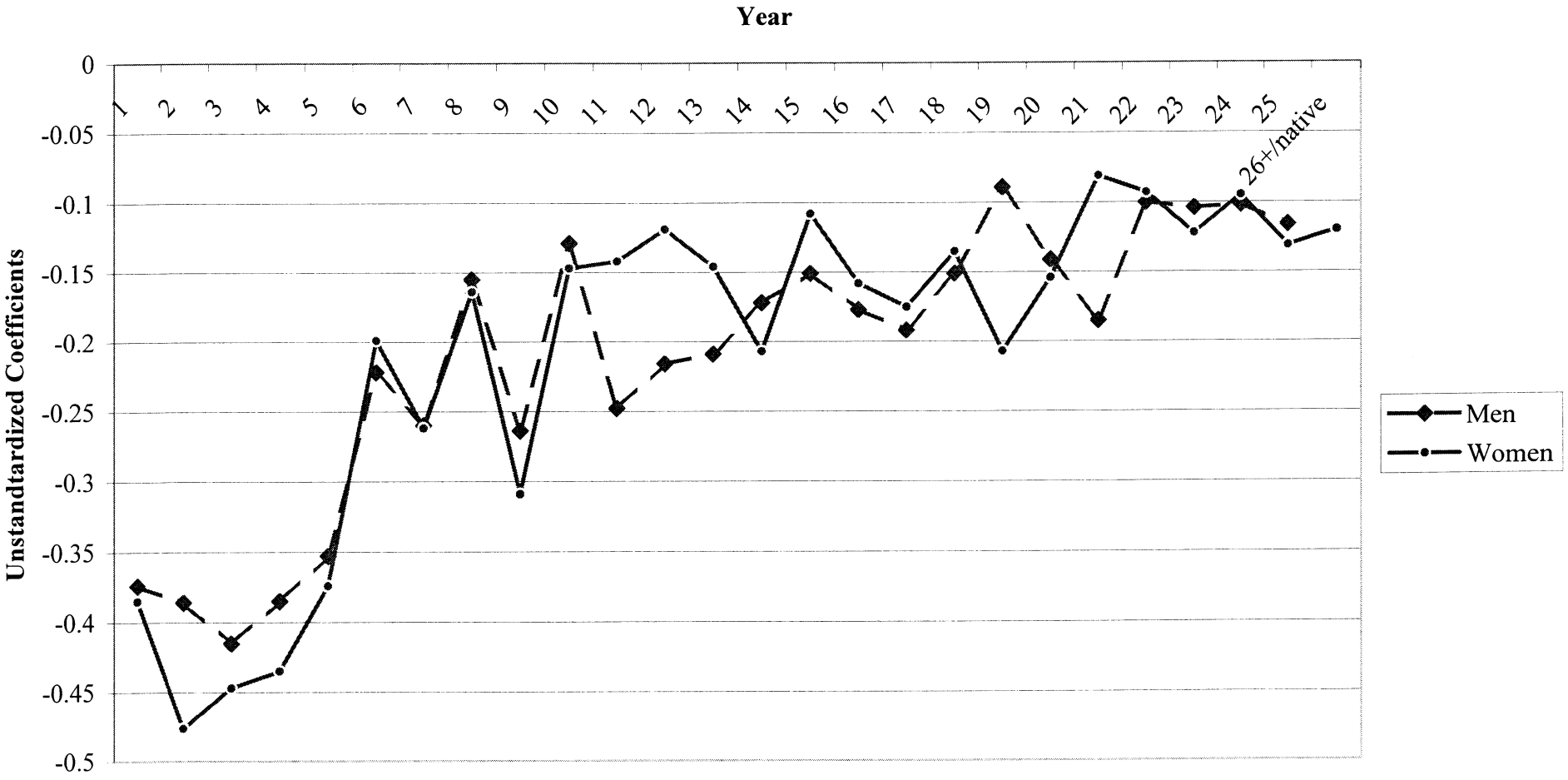

Table 3. Summary of statistically significant unstandardized coefficients associated with earnings (OLS regression) for country of origin: Estimates for women, 1995 Israel census of housing and population

Interaction effects[a]	No. of groups	With reference to all native-born Israelis	No. of groups	With reference to native-born ethnic peers
Unstandardized coefficients > 0	6	Argentina (.099**); former USSR (.080**); France (.168***); Moldova (.086*); Russia (.042**); USA (.090**).	8	Argentina (.117***); former USSR (.095***); France (.185***); Moldova (.101**); Rest Latin America (.135*); Russia (.057**); United Kingdom (.108*); USA (.105**).
Unstandardized coefficients < 0	6	Egypt (-.100*); Iraq (-.070**); Lebanon (-.242***); Morocco (-.060***); Poland (-.069*); Turkey (-.171***).	6	Egypt (-.114**); Iraq (-.080***); Lebanon (-.254*); Morocco (-.068***); Tunisia (-.076*); Turkey (-.153***).

***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05

Note : Numbers in parentheses are unstandardized coefficients.

a) Unstandardized coefficients were obtained after controlling for the independent variables in Table 2.

Table 4. Summary of statistically significant unstandardized coefficients associated with earnings (OLS regression) for country of origin: Stratified analysis for women, 1995 Israel census of housing and population

Interaction effects[a]	No. of groups	With reference to all native-born Israeli women	No. of groups	With reference to native-born ethnic peers
Unstandardized coefficients > 0	5	France (.069*); Iraq (.040*); Latvia (.096*); Poland (.057**); Romania (.067***).	5	France (.064*); Iraq (.040*); Latvia (.097*); Poland (.061**); Romania (0.64***).
Unstandardized coefficients < 0	5	Azerbaijan (-.060*); Ethiopia (-.101*); Iran (-.074***); Other former Soviet Union (-.133*); Uzbekistan (-.060*).	6	Azerbaijan (-.120**); Ethiopia (-.118*); Georgia (-.071**); Iran (-.074***); Other former Soviet Union (-.130*); Uzbekistan (-.061*).

***p<0.001; **p<0.01; *p<0.05

Note: Numbers in parentheses are unstandardized coefficients.

a) Unstandardized coefficients were obtained after controlling for the independent variables in Table 2.