THE AMERICAN DREAM— FOR MEN ONLY?

GENDER, IMMIGRATION, AND THE ASSIMILATION OF ISRAELIS IN THE UNITED STATES

Lilach Lev Ari

The New Americans Recent Immigration and American Society

Edited by Steven J. Gold and Rubén G. Rumbaut

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Lilach Lev Ari

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Preface

Throughout its 60 years of existence, Israeli society witnessed an important double role played by immigration. It was the leading determinant of demographic growth until the moment when – having achieved a sufficient critical mass – population continued to grow mainly through natural increase. Immigration also represented the cornerstone of a normative paradigm that designated Israel as the ethnic core state of the Jewish people. Widespread social norms, public discourse, and consequently the legal system and scientific research devoted much attention to conceptualizing and implementing *aliyah* (in Hebrew, the value-laden *ascent* for the neutral *immigration*), and the related paradigms of the *ingathering of the exiles* (*kibbutz galuyot*) and *fusion of the exiles* (*mizug galuyot*).

While the more recent literature on Israeli society and migration has become increasingly critical, more impatient of apologetic texts, and more attentive to global comparisons, immigration as a focus of research continued to retain a clear edge over emigration. The study of emigration from Israel had to struggle on two fronts. One was the normative attitude shared by the majority which long tended to see in emigration an act of descent (in Hebrew *yeridah*) – a withdrawal from the positive goal of society building. The famous comment by the late Prime Minister Itzhak Rabin in the 1970s that Israeli emigrants were "a fall-out of weaklings" aptly rendered the then widely shared sentiment.

A second problem long was the dearth of solid statistical evidence. The concept 'emigrant' does not exist in the official Israeli statistical system, and only through very indirect computations and imperfect proxies that the quantitative extent of emigration can be assessed. These proxies include the balance of people who enter and exit Israel's borders, and estimates of numbers of Israeli residents who lived abroad for prolonged periods. However, since numerous Israelis have been returning after years of permanence in other countries, in a sense Israeli emigration and its evaluation tend to be 'permanently provisional'.

In recent years, the perception and assessment of emigration evolved under the influence of increased numbers and of the realities of globalization. Part of the past stigma on emigrants-*yordim* disappeared, just to be substituted by a sense of curiosity and sometimes admiration for those fairly numerous Israelis who succeeded in their economic and professional endeavors. But much research is still needed to properly understand the determinants and consequences of Israeli emigration, of its permanent or temporary integration in other countries, and of the mechanisms that may bring some Israelis to return to their home country. This volume represents a highly welcomed contribution in this direction.

Lilach Lev Ari's work on Israeli migrants in the United States focuses on three main issues:

- determinants of the decision by married Israeli couples to leave their native country for more or less extended periods;
- patterns of integration of Israelis in American society from the point of view of economic and occupational success and their changing patterns of Jewish and Israeli identification;
- 3. evaluation of a possible return to Israel within a determined period.

Each issue is examined in the light of the process of negotiation within the married couples that are the object of this study and the premises and constraints inherent in gender differences. Viewed in a broader context, this study deals with three main themes of growing relevance in contemporary migration research:

- 1. the socio-demographic and psychological characteristics of international migrants, and the circumstances that lead people to leave their country of origin;
- the role of gender in complex social processes, namely decision making related to international migration and to the social and cultural integration of migrants in a new country;

3. the interplay of personal and community changes undergone by the migrants in the process of integration in their new host society and in the changing nature of their relationship with the country of origin.

To comply with such a rich agenda the author had first to undergo a massive tour of a research literature extending in quite different topical directions and covering disciplinary areas as diverse as sociology, economics, social psychology, demography, but also political science, cultural studies, and gender. The emerging balance typically reflects an interplay of social structural determinants related to the offerings of a dynamic U.S. labor market, and of identificational propensities and choices tied to the imponderables of sentiment and search for meaning. It would be a mistake to bet in advance on which of the two mutually completing explanatory pillars will eventually emerge with greater explanatory power. It is the powerful influence exerted by both that eventually may provide the key to the puzzle. Was emigration simply a temporary manifestation of an unfavorable contingency in the life of the concerned persons, or a life choice rooted in deeper determinants? Who will more likely return, the more satisfied or the more dissatisfied?

The analysis upon which this volume rests is based on a specially designed survey of a representative sample of Israeli couples in the United States. The study had to solve several, not simple technical problems. As in general in the case of poorly defined sub-populations, the question of who is an Israeli does not lend itself to straightforward answers. People who have spent most of their life in Israel may be born in other countries, so that birthplace is not a sufficient key of entry in census or other survey data. Moreover, some foreign-born former Israeli residents may have settled in that country knowing beforehand that they intended to eventually reach a third country. Israeli official data about movements of residents also include people who return to their country of origin after a period in Israel, which more than defining them as Israeli emigrants, makes them emigrants from their original country who did not integrate in Israel. This study focuses mainly on people born in Israel who hold Israeli citizenship and therefore are supposed to be registered at Israeli consulates in the United States. The main attention is therefore placed on what we might call the hard core of Israeli emigration. Three large U.S. metropolitan areas were selected for the study, under the appropriate assumption that different local conditions would measurably affect the respective characteristics of local Israelis.

Gender differences that are supposed to play a role in decisional processes during the stages of migration and integration in a new context, prove indeed significant – sometimes as such, sometimes through their interaction with other factors. Men are far more prominent than women during the initial decision making about leaving Israel. The less equalitarian the couple in its role allocations in Israel, the more male dominated the decision to emigrate appears to be. Gender also operates significantly during the various stages of integration in the new general and Jewish community contexts in the USA.

Important insights are obtained by looking at whether the immigrant group tends to integrate in multiple social and cultural local frameworks, finally assimilating within the host country; or rather tends to preserve its own unique traits while exploiting occupational advantages gained through migration and through interaction with more veteran peers. Socioeconomic success seems to play as a strengthening factor of Jewish identification. Thus a growing integration in the new environment depends not only on instrumental factors related to work and income but also on the quality and extent of social networks.

Related to these processes to some extent stands the further question of propensity to return to the country of origin. Here gender differences in decision making quite significantly follow the evolution of gender role allocation under the impact of integration in the American context. A more equalitarian approach to gender in the United.States contributes to a greater propensity of women to prolong their stay in America, despite their initial widespread opposition to leaving Israel following a decision that primarily reflected their husbands' occupational and other interests.

Looking at the integrated process covered in this study, significant relations thus emerge between each stage and the next throughout the whole migration process – leaving, integrating, and returning. At each stage, gender differences and relations play a significant explanatory role. While these findings are important in the general context of research on gender and migration, they also lend themselves to a more applied approach connected with policy making and planning. As noted, Israel institutions have a long standing interest in migration to and from Israel, and thanks to Lilach Lev Ari's new findings they can learn how to relate better to Israelis abroad and to returning Israelis. The often forgotten factor of gender differences is bound to emerge as key determinant in migration policies.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

This book examines gender differences among Israelis living in the USA as they immigrate to and assimilate in that country. In a new cultural setting, gender profoundly influences social life, while structuring the world from the gender perspective reflects inter alia, power relations between the sexes. The basic assumption is that immigrants are not a homogeneous group and that gender plays a significant role in elucidating immigration. But gender alone does not explain the variance among immigrants: the processes of immigration and assimilation contribute to it as well. My study looks closely at three components of the immigration and assimilation of Israelis in the USA. The first relates to motives and the decision to emigrate; the second is economic, social and cultural assimilation in the USA, and the third is the respondents' diverse attitudes toward a return to Israel. The perspective of the study integrates the three components, evidently three stages of a single process. It highlights the gender differences at each stage and demonstrates how each component affects the following stage of the immigration process as a whole.

The theoretical framework of this study is anchored in new perceptions of migration research. These attempt to reach a deeper understanding of the migration process as a combination of socioeconomic and cultural influences as related to gender. The process as a whole embodies a number of components affected by social structures linking the society in the country of origin to those in the country of destination. The underlying theories deal with social structuring on a gender basis in economic, social and cultural spheres, comparing the Israeli and American social culture. Due to structural differences, migration to the USA increases the choices for some groups of immigrants, both men and women, while among other groups, differences in status and in the sources of power among Israeli men and women, persist even after they emigrate to the USA.

Following the transnational approach to international migration, motives for migration should be studied as a dynamic process, to include factors on the macro and micro social levels in the country of origin and the country of destination. Migration involves social networks and systems of political, ethnic, community and family relations. Therefore in the course of immigration and subsequently, immigrants maintain social and economic networks in more than one country (Gold, 1997a). According to the cost-benefit model, the interaction between the social and family structures and immigration related individual behavior should be taken into account (Harbison, 1981; Lauby & Stark, 1988; Massey, 1990).

The family constitutes the social structure defining the woman's status, values and motives, it provides the human capital, receives information and processes it, and is the place where many decisions are made. Emigration-related decisions are a test of the woman's status in a specific society; in traditional societies her inferior status vis-à-vis the man is manifested in that frequently he it is who makes the decision for the family to emigrate (Lim, 1995). The gender role division in a specific society will also determine decision-making dynamics and the different level of dominance of the woman and the man within the family. In more traditional families, the man tends to make the decisions, while in modern or more egalitarian families, decisionmaking is largely a shared process. The decision to emigrate may not only be non-egalitarian, but also not always consistent and harmonious. Besides gender difference, factors such as differences in salary, education, ethnic origin and religious belief also affect family's decision-making process (Scanzoni & Szinovacz 1980).

Sociologists in recent research on patterns of immigrant assimilation focus on the interaction between economic and social contexts in the absorbing societies, the resources and expectations of the immigrants and their adjustment to the new structure they are to fit into (Gold, 1997b). Additional factors too affect the immigrants' assimilation: the social-economic and cultural scene in their countries of origin (resources of the country of origin), time of immigration and place of residence in the country of destination, all of which determine the structure of opportunities awaiting them (Friedberg, 1995). Within the family, the women play an important role in socialization. Differently from the men, they play a central role in preserving a continuity of the cultural patterns, family norms and values rooted in the country of origin, within the assimilation by the host country (DellaPergola, 2001; Gold, 1995). While both women and men may enjoy some economic advantages of life in the USA, due to the gender role division that makes childcare mainly the woman's job, the men who benefit most from these advantages. The women, moreover, lose their familiar social and supportive environment in the country of origin (Gold, 1999b; Gold & Phillips, 1996; Lipner, 1987).

One explanation for the success of economic and social assimilation of immigrants in the host country lies in the help provided by the social networks anchored in ethnic and familial ties. Within the family framework, the women play an important role in utilizing these networks for the family's assimilation in the new society. However men and women do not always make identical use of them to meet the need for housing, information and a workplace: they have different resources, motives and patterns of assimilation on arrival at their new destination (Gold, 1992; 1994a; Sabar, 2000)

The return of the immigrants to their country of origin may be the last stage of the process of migration and reflects the degree to which they have achieved their initial aims in emigrating (Belcher & Goldberg, 1978; DellaPergola, 1986; Goldscheider, 1971; United Nations, 1995). Lim (1995) maintained that additional motives to return are related to the different perceptions of men and women as to the change in their status in the wake of immigration, and to their expectations in returning to their country of origin.

AIMS AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This study examines a series of hypotheses within a comprehensive model of interaction between gender and background variables, and factors related to social structures in Israel affecting the differences between the genders in the economic and social assimilation of native Israeli Jewish immigrants in the USA. The study probes the process of assimilation, different for women and men, in terms of the individual, the family, and the social and economic structures, comparing Israel and the USA in these respects. Such influences will be examined along three dimensions:

- a) *Differences stemming from the family structure*, and the difference in men's and women's status within its framework: To what extent was the division of roles in the country of origin equitable, and how did this equality or inequality affect the cumulative process of deciding to emigrate? How was the assimilation process in the USA different for men and for women as a result of the difference in social structure in the two countries? To what extent are there differences in the family between men and women in their occupational status? What are the differences in their ability to get help from social networks in their social and economic assimilation within American society?
- b) Differences stemming from the structure of the labor market, occupational status and higher education between women and men in the country of origin and the country of destination: To what extent do human capital acquired in Israel, knowledge of English, length of stay, employment or unemployment affect the success of assimilation and economic and social satisfaction? How do all these variables contribute to upward social mobility among men as compared to women, and among women differing in social status?
- c) Differences stemming from the cultural structure, the norms and values of women and men in the wake of assimilation: To what extent are economic aspects of assimilation related to processes of social-cultural assimilation? Does a Jewish American identity, different from their 'Israeliness', develop among Israelis, and who is socially absorbed more readily in the USA? Is preserving Israeli identity gender-related, and how is it linked to successful economic assimilation?

This series of hypotheses will be examined along three dimensions related to the process of immigration to the USA: motives for emigration and deciding to emigrate; economic, social and cultural assimilation; and intentions to return to Israel. The underlying hypothesis is that every component is made up of several interrelated factors influenced to a certain extent by the preceding ones. The data analysis seeks to examine to what extent each component and the factors comprising it has a dynamics of its own, and to what extent it is significantly influenced by one or more previous components. In this study the data are derived from a new sample¹ of native Israeli Jewish immigrant couples or those who grew up in Israel from an early age; they are all married, and registered at the Israeli House (Bait Israeli). This serves as a contact between the consulate and the local population of Israelis in matters of employment, return to Israel and social-cultural activity at the Philadelphia and Miami consulates as does the section for returning residents at the Los Angeles consulate.

The research method is mainly quantitative. The data collected in this study are not meant to estimate the size of the population or the diverse weight of the distributions of the subgroups. The sample does presume to make it possible to examine relationships, their strength, and the directions among the variables included in the model of the research. Although the sample does not represent all Israelis living in the USA, it includes respondents from three large cities containing a heterogeneous population. The open-ended questions introduce a qualitative component to be integrated mainly within the concluding chapter.

HYPOTHESES RELATED TO MOTIVES FOR EMIGRATION AND THE DECISION TO EMIGRATE

Basic assumptions

The decision to emigrate stems from factors related to the individual's wishes within the family and social-community frameworks in the country of origin. Men's decisions differ from those of women and depend on their respective status within the family and society, including their occupational and social status. Within the family, men and women weigh the benefit likely to accrue and their ability to reduce the costs of emigration in the light of the opportunities available to them in the country of destination. These include occupational possibilities, social networks in the country of origin that would help assimilation in the new one, and their knowledge of English. The following hypotheses relate to the families represented in the sample, not to families that did not emigrate.

¹ The data in this study were collected for the author's PhD Dissertation (Lev Ari, 2002).

The main hypotheses

The motives of Israeli men and women for immigrating to the USA differ: Men tend to do so for economic reasons like professional advancement and a higher standard of living, while the women do so mainly in the wake of their husbands and for other family-related motives. The higher the socioeconomic status of women is in Israel, the greater is the equality in the division of roles within the family and in the couple's decision to emigrate, as is the congruence between the main motives for emigration. The size of the Israeli family, the age at the time of emigration, ethnic origin and the prevalence of traditional attitudes are also factors influencing the degree of gender equality in this situation. When the women are younger and have more children in Israel, are of European-American (Ashkenazi) origin and secular, they are likely to enjoy greater equality when the decision to emigrate is made as compared to older women Asian-African (Sephardic) origin, who are more traditional and had no children while they were in Israel.

HYPOTHESES RELATED TO ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASSIMILATION

Basic assumptions

The success or failure of economic and social assimilation can be assessed in comparison with the situation in Israel. Structural factors within the family condition successful economic assimilation - to what extent men and women have equal opportunities to utilize their human capital in the USA, as compared to Israel. So do structural factors related to American society, like ethnically-based social networks and the ability to enlist their help for social and economic assimilation. Obviously, length of stay in the USA and command of English also influence economic assimilation measured mainly by mobility related to the level of income, by the prestige of the occupation and education level compared to the situation before emigration, then after a year in the USA, and currently. The success of economic assimilation is also measured by the degree to which aspirations for economic, professional and similar types of success have been fulfilled. The success of social assimilation relates mainly to the extent to which immigrants feel at home, as opposed to those who continue to live in an Israeli bubble and are not involved in the larger society. Cultural assimilation is related to American and Jewish identity, maintaining contact with the ethnic group only (Jewish and Israeli friends), and keeping Jewish customs. The quality of the assimilation also relates to the family structure, given the greater gender equality in the division of roles in the USA. Successful economic and social assimilation will inevitably affect the level of satisfaction with life in the USA, and lead to a more positive perception of cultural, economic, familial and personal aspects of life in the USA as compared to life in Israel.

The main hypotheses

The success of economic assimilation is positively related to the success of social assimilation, but differs according to gender. The structure of economic opportunities will contribute mainly to the success of the men. A difference will be found among the women, depending on their resources in the country of origin: The socioeconomic status and ethnic origin of educated, working Ashkenazi women will act in their favor, although men will still enjoy an advantage in economic assimilation. Gender division of roles will not usually differ from those in Israel, and more egalitarian patterns will appear mainly among women of higher socioeconomic status. The division of roles in the private domain will not influence economic assimilation; moreover, men are likely to utilize the social networks for that purpose more effectively than women. Women will be socially absorbed more easily, and the Jewish Israeli identity will have a stronger hold on them than on the men. Nevertheless, since some women did not really care to emigrate, their attitude to assimilation in the USA will be more negative than the men's. Their socioeconomic status will not affect the successful social and cultural assimilation of women, although an egalitarian gender division of roles will affect it positively.

Hypotheses vis-à-vis the intention to return to Israel

Basic assumptions

The desire to return to the country of origin is generally related to the extent to which motivations regarding emigration are realized. Women

and men whose expectations of upward mobility are fulfilled are unlikely to return to Israel except, for instance, in cases of divorce or marriage. Push-pull factors regarding emigration also relate to the level of cultural and social assimilation. Fewer Israelis who emigrated for economic reasons will tend to return than those who did so for other reasons. The tendency to return to Israel among both women and men is related to the level of their interacting economic and social-cultural assimilation.

The main hypotheses

Women emigrate for different reasons than men (usually not economic ones), and their economic assimilation is less successful. Hence even though their social-cultural assimilation should succeed they will tend to wish to return to Israel more than the men. Nevertheless, since successful assimilation is also conditioned by the socioeconomic status of the women and the equal division of roles in the home, women who have enjoyed a structure of opportunities allowing for socioeconomic mobility in addition to successful social assimilation, will tend not to wish to return home. This contrasts with the attitudes of women whose economic and social assimilation was unsuccessful. That is because the social structure in the USA is more egalitarian than in Israel - for those who succeed in exploiting it. The group of women whose economic assimilation was not successful will preserve their connections to Israel, will not identify with the immigration aims and will seek to return. Men who emigrated mainly for economic reasons, including advancement and higher education, to the extent that they realized their aspirations and yet perceive Israel as preferable for their children's education, will tend to return more than women whose economic assimilation was successful. since those women have fewer opportunities in Israel than men. Successful social assimilation predicts that the women will stay on, while in its absence the opposite outcome prevails.

To sum up, the above hypotheses reflect a process of integrated economic, social and cultural assimilation, while the factors affecting the success of the process differ in the case of men and of women. Reasons for successful or failed assimilation arise from the social structures in Israel and the motives for deciding to emigrate, as well as

Introduction

from structural factors in the USA both in the public and the private domain. A different combination of social and economic assimilation, moreover, impacts differently on the desire of men and women to remain in the USA or return to Israel.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH: EMIGRATION FROM THE STATE OF ISRAEL

One problem of immigration research is defining an immigrant; it is difficult to distinguish between temporary immigrants and permanent ones (Serow et al., 1990) and between various types of immigrants, while differences between them can be plotted on a continuum of social, motivational and demographic characteristics Definition of immigrants coming from Israel is more complex still. Unlike refugees, they come of their own free will, but it is difficult to determine whether their stay is temporary or permanent, both because the formal definition is generally problematic and because of the normative negative Israeli connotations of emigration (Israel, the Central Bureau of Statistics, 1994:113).

This study examines gender differences among Israeli immigrants to the USA. Emigration from Israel is problematic not only for demographic and economic reasons but because it is incompatible with the Zionist ideology and perceived as a failure in the attempted ingathering of the Diaspora Jews in Israel (Eisenbach, 1989). Immigrants to Israel are called "olim" (people ascending) – a concept taken for the sphere of religion; a pilgrim is an "oleh regel" in Hebrew, meaning one who ascends (to Jerusalem) for a festival. On the other hand, emigrants are labeled "yordim" descending from the Holy Land into secular exile. The word itself with its negative emotional connotation condemns emigration from Israel (Avruch, 1981; Friedberg & Kfir, 1988; Ritterband, 1986). Moreover, the prolonged Israeli-Arab conflict results in the perception that loss of emigrating Jewish citizens will make it harder for Israel to maintain the upper hand in conflicts with the Arabs (Cohen & Haberfeld, 1997).

Over half the Jewish emigrants from Israel, like emigrants in general (Hersh, 1976), immigrate to the USA (Eisenbach, 1989; Cohen & Tyree, 1994). Hence I have chosen through my sample to focus on Israelis immigrating to the USA.

Estimating the number of Israeli emigrants is fraught with difficulties. Besides problems with theoretical definitions there are also operative ones, such as calculating the emigrant numbers per year, the direction of migration and its characteristics. Estimating the number of Israeli emigrants was formerly based on official entries made by the Israeli police regarding the movement of inhabitants across the country's borders. These were based on Resident Leaving and Resident Entering forms that travelers filled out, making it possible to assess how many residents who left the country returned within a month, a year or two years, etc. According to this method, an inhabitant's stay abroad starts again when he/she leaves the country once more. Since the 1980s has been possible to follow up recurring visits to Israel and the accumulated length of time spent abroad. Thus an Israeli emigrant is a person who leaves the country for long periods.

As of 1993, the above forms have been discontinued and at all border crossing points, residents' entries and exits are fed directly into computers (Israel, the Central Bureau of Statistics, 1994). The border supervision system is the most reliable and consistent source of information about the number of Israelis who have emigrated. Testing its reliability, the Central Bureau of Statistics compared it with data from other sources. Among these are population growth between the periodic censuses that points to a drop in population congruent with the aggregate number of inhabitants absent from the country, Israel Defense Force data about citizens eligible for reserve duty and long absent, as well as Israeli immigrants listed in population censuses in the target countries (Israel, the Central Bureau of Statistics, 1994:117). However, many Israelis were born abroad, and this too causes a problem (Eisenbach, 1989).

Since the 1980s, the focus has been on native-born Israelis. This group of young people constitutes a growing proportion both of the Israeli population and of the emigrants. In 1983, for example, there were 180,000 Israel born individuals aged 25-29 living in Israel, an increase of 22% in five years and of 170% in ten years. At present, native Israelis comprise 70% of this group. Thus their proportion among Israeli emigrants is also growing (Eisenbach, 1989). In the wake of the waves of immigration, mainly from the Commonwealth of Independent States (the former USSR) since the early 1990s, the proportion of native Israelis has been decreasing, but still comprise

approximately 60% of all emigrants (Israel, the Central Bureau of Statistics, 2005). However, since the current study was carried out in the years 1998-2000, the proportion of this population that emigrated at least three years earlier, was still significant among Israeli immigrants to the USA. This group of native Israeli emigrants was thus chosen to provide the basic data for this study.

In the 1980s Israeli emigrants were estimated to number 100,000 to 120,000 (Herman & LaFontaine, 1982). According to Eisenbach (1989) and the USA census in 1980, there were 67,000 Israel born individuals, including native Israeli Arabs living in the USA, most of the latter since 1948. The researcher presumed that most of the Arabs immigrants born in Israel belonged to the older age group that arrived in the USA before 1960. To derive precise data one must check ancestry, the second language spoken at home and also the country of residence five years before the census.

As opposed to publications in the media to the effect that 300-500 thousand Israelis immigrated to the USA, Eisenbach (1989) maintains that the total number of Israeli citizens living abroad is 270,000. The Appendix to the Israel Statistical Journal, 1994 notes that the total number of Israelis living abroad four years or more, between 1948 and the end of 1992, was 337,900. The number of deceased since 1948 was estimated between 54,000-70,000. Approximately 94% of the total number of Israelis living abroad since 1948 were Jews (Since the mid 1980s the proportion of Christians has increased and the percentage of Jews has decreased to 90%). The estimated number of Israeli origin [deducting some 10% who are Arabs of Israeli origin, and deaths] (Eisenbach 1989). Rosen (1993) estimates that the number of Israelis in the USA is between 100,000 and 116,000, quoting the National Jewish Population Survey that reports 89,000 Israelis living there.

Since the 1990s, estimates of Israeli immigrants have been lower than those published in the 1980s. Gold and Phillips (1996) placed the number of Israelis in the USA at 90,000-193,000. However, the media continued to assert that the number was 400,000-500,000, although these estimates are not congruent with the 1990American census data reporting a total of 90,000 Americans born in Israel. According to research by Cohen and Haberfeld based on that census, approximately 95,000 individuals born in Israel were living in the USA. The researchers estimated that 80,000 were Jews and the others Palestinian Arabs. Besides those born in Israel, there were 30,000 to 56,000 Jews from Israel though not born there. The total number of Israelis living in the USA was thus estimated at 110,000-135,000 (Cohen and Haberfeld, 1997). Gold (1999a) also used the same American census and reported that 90,000 Israeli born persons lived in the USA. According to the census of 2000, 125,325 native Israelis reside in the USA, 21% of whom are of Arab ancestry while the rest (100,000) are presumably Jewish (Gold and Bozorgmehr, 2007).

Persons moving abroad are divided into three groups: 1. Israeli residents designated as new emigrants; 2. Israelis leaving temporarily for an extended period such as representatives of public bodies, academics on sabbatical and students in institutions of higher learning; 3. Former Israeli residents living abroad, who visited Israel for a short period and returned to the USA. This group has grown with the number of Israelis abroad, in particular the native Israelis among them, and as a result of the drop in the cost of flights to Israel. Data from the Bureau of Statistics do not distinguish among these populations, some of whom are evidently temporary emigrants. One can relate to those who did not return to Israel by the end of their fourth year abroad as the lowest possible number of emigrants per year. That period is sufficiently long for the presumption that a former Israeli resident who did not return to or visit Israel for four years is an emigrant (Israel, the Central Bureau of Statistics, 1994). In this study I shall consider a person living in the USA for at least three years continuously an emigrant.

SOURCES OF DATA

The data in this study come from a new sample of immigrant Jewish couples, born in Israel, married, registered with the Israeli House and with the section for returning residents at the consulate in Los Angeles. The data relate to 1998-2000.

The concept "Israeli immigrant" is not clearly defined (Israel, the Central Bureau of Statistics, 1994). It may refer to those born in Israeli, former immigrants from the USA or any other country and also to non-Jews. The chances that specific groups will contact the consulate vary. Different groups presumably need the consulate's services to a different degree. For instance: specific groups of native Israelis, including ultra-Orthodox Jews, will be absorbed mainly with the assistance of Jewish communities rather than official Israeli agencies. Israelis formerly from the USA will be absorbed naturally within their former social frameworks. Those born elsewhere will not always need the services of Israeli institutions. Therefore none of these are included in this study.

The sample, on which this research is based, was derived from the lists of Israelis at the Israeli House at the consulates in Philadelphia and Miami, and the section for returning residents in the Los Angeles consulate. The sample comprises mainly those born in Israel but also natives of other countries who arrived there as children, grew up and were educated there. We also ascertained that the subjects had been living in the USA for at least three years. A questionnaire was sent to each marriage partner individually.

The data collected are not intended to estimate of the sizes of various populations or the differential weight of the distributions of the sub-groups. The sample is meant to make it possible to examine relationships, their strength, and the directions of relationships between variables included in the research model. In this study an attempt is made to overcome the problem of representativeness through comparison with the findings of other researchers based on analyses of censuses in the USA (see Chapter 4). Moreover, although the sample does not represent all Israelis living in the USA, it includes respondents in three American cities, so that the population examined is heterogeneous. Despite the distortion inherent in the sample, it is possible to present an analysis comparing groups according to gender, city, length of stay in the USA and the like.

The complete sampling framework in this study comprised all the American cities with Israeli consulates. Philadelphia, Miami and Los Angeles were chosen deliberately (Keiman, 1976) and we selected these particular cities because recent research studies about their Jewish population enable us to compare the parameters of those samples with the present one.

Sampling from the lists of the Los Angeles consulate was random from the total population of married native Israelis: the first set numbered 400 and the later one 253 couples. In Philadelphia no sampling was carried out owing to the small population, and questionnaires were sent to all 175 married Israel born couples. In Miami questionnaires were sent randomly to 590 couples. There were 500 respondents from all three cities. In most cases both partners filled out the questionnaires, in others only one did so.

To find out which Israelis did not respond to the questionnaire, we were able to examine certain characteristics of those in the Philadelphia and Los Angeles samples. For Philadelphia there is information about three background characteristics of those who did not respond, and in Los Angeles we have all the information requested in the questionnaire regarding those who declined to participate at the second stage of the research. Since we were committed to confidentiality regarding the details, it was impossible to check this in Miami and only partial checking was possible in the other cities. For the Israelis in Philadelphia, the gender, age and length of time in the USA of those who did not reply could be verified (Table 1). In this group the gender distribution was similar to those who did, but the latter were older and had spent less time in the USA than those who did not respond. In Los Angeles the results were similar for those who chose to reply later, at the second stage of the research. Some additional differences were found among the respondents participating at the two stages in Los Angeles, but most were not significant. Israelis who answered at the first stage revealed greater commitment to Israel (significant). Those who participated at the second stage felt more Jewish, had less education, a large proportion were self-employed both in Israel and in the USA, and more were Ashkenazi (not significant). The Israelis who answered at the first stage were, as indicated above, better educated, more connected to America, and more of them were from kibbutzim (not significant). It appears that the sample of those who replied earlier was not significantly different from the one of those who replied later, except for age, length of time in the USA and their connectedness to Israel.

The sample was equally divided between men and women. The average age was 42; half the participants had been living in the USA for 3-14 years, the rest were older and had lived in the USA for 15-44 years; 79% were Israel born, another 13% came originally from European countries and the rest were born elsewhere. More than two thirds of the respondents immigrated to the USA at the age of 19-31. Almost all were married at the time when the research was carried out, over 90% of them to the partner from Israel.

In this study the instruments were mail questionnaires Dillman (1978) and Slant and Dillman (1994) developed steps of proven efficiency in previous studies to increase the response rate. At the first stage a questionnaire is sent with an accompanying personal letter, explaining the aims of the research in greater detail, together with a stamped self-addressed envelope. A week later a postcard is sent to all addressees, thanking those who responded and reminding those who did not. At the third stage, about three weeks after the postcards, a personal letter is sent only to those who did not respond, reminding them again to answer the enclosed questionnaire.

According to Dillman (1978) and Slant and Dillman (1994), the anticipated rate of response is 40%-60%. In this study, besides the first stage as mentioned above, I carried out the following steps:

- a) I contacted the heads of the Israeli House at the Philadelphia and Miami consulates, and the head of the section for returning residents at the consulate in Los Angeles. The aims and importance of the study were explained to them so as to obtain their consent in principle to cooperate.
- b) The lists were received and the selection of the sample of families commenced.
- c) The first lot of questionnaires was sent out with an accompanying letter.
- d) The representatives at the consulates followed up the return of the questionnaires according to previously assigned identification numbers.
- e) A week later letters of thanks were sent out to all the participants, and a first reminder.
- f) After three weeks questionnaires were sent out again with an explanatory letter as a reminder to those who had not replied. This was done only in Philadelphia and in the first, main round in Los Angeles for budgetary reasons. In Los Angeles I also reminded a sample of the non responders by telephone.

The percentage of those who responded was 30%-60% on the average; the proportion of non-updated addresses was 3% in Miami and as high as 12% in Los Angeles and Philadelphia. Thus the proportion of response was much lower than that reported by Dillman (1978) and Slant and Dillman (1994). It was predictable, since we presumed the

population of Israeli immigrants as a whole was not likely to cooperate, apparently owing to the normative value-laden connotations of emigration from Israel. Aware that the low percentage of response distorts the findings of the study, I have tried to overcome this drawback by comparing the data to those from other relevant sources.

	Participants who responded at the second stage in Los Angeles	Participants who did not respond in Philadelphia
Gender	No differences	No differences
Age*	Older	Older
Length of time in the USA*	Less time	Less time
Education in Israel and in the USA	Less education	—
Professional status in Israel and in the USA	More self-employed	_
Ethnic group	More Ashkenazim	—
Current income	Lower	—
Type of location in Israel	Fewer kibbutzniks	
Feels Israeli*	Less connected to Israel	—
Feels American	Less connected to America	—
Feels Jewish	More committed to Judaism	

Table 1. Characteristics of participants who did not respond or responded at the second stage, vis-à-vis earlier respondents

*Differences found significant p<0.05

In undertaking this study it is our hope that the responses our subjects provide will shed light on the role of gender in immigration, and on assimilation processes as they affect Israeli men and women in the United States.

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CHAPTER 2: Gender and Migration

MIGRATION THEORIES

Human migration is defined as the changing of the permanent or quasipermanent place of residence by individuals or families: permanence or quasi-permanence distinguishes migration from tourism. Defining this mobility as irreversible, i.e. as migration, is problematic (Clark, 1986). A cardinal difficulty of migration research stems from the need to define who is a migrant. Generally speaking, most methods of data collection regarding transnational migration cannot distinguish between migration considered temporary and migration intended to be permanent at least at the outset (Serow et al., 1990). Migration can be defined simply as a change of residence, as long as the new location is too far to enable people to reach their former place of work daily under normal circumstances. The greater the distance created by migration, ranging from a move within the same city, through migration to a different region, to international migration, the less the possibility of such daily contact with the workplace.

Migration as a social phenomenon affects all spheres of life and the size of the population, and studying it brings a new understanding of social problems and changes in any location or country. Migration influences both society in general and the migrants themselves. International migration involves changes in political and religious ambience so that migrants must also adjust to a different cultural milieu. In recent years differences between various types of migration have become blurred, when compared to the phenomenon of migration fifty years ago. Crossing from Mexico to southern California, for instance, does not require a drastic life-style change even though it is termed international migration (Clark, 1986).

Present day migration is a sequel to the phenomenon that emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. After the European powers established their first overseas colonies in the 16th and 17th centuries, a new and significant dispersal of the European population set in, to North America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and South America. This migration was drawn by the search for economic opportunities and at the same time was pushed from its countries of origin by population density and religious persecution. The USA was among the first destinations of international migration. Until the 1920s, immigrants to the USA came mainly from Europe while later more immigrants arrived from Latin America and Asia (Clark, 1986).

Most research on the decision to migrate, focuses on its economic aspect. The basic assumption of these studies is that people migrate to improve or stabilize their income and to upgrade educational attainment, career opportunities and standard of living. Neo-classic economic migration studies focus on differences in salaries as reasons for migration. On the macro level, migration is perceived as the outcome of geographic differences in the amount of work available and the demand for labor. Workers leave countries with a plentiful supply of labor and little capital, and migrate to countries with a great deal of capital, high salaries and a limited labor force (Massey et al., 1993). Researchers of migration on the micro level focus on the individuals and on their decisions to migrate to realize their aspiration for a more appropriate return for their work.

Sociological theories analyze migration as a combination of sociological, economic and social-psychological concepts such as stratification, mobility, social change and symbolic interaction. Through these concepts migration is perceived as an interactive process, generally meant to relieve economic tensions (Hans & Hoffman, 1981). Some researchers who examined the phenomenon in the past focused on the individual as a model of migration-related behavior. More recently they have pointed out that families or households are the significant agents in the decision to migrate in pursuit of an improved socioeconomic status, and these should be considered the unit of analysis in migration studies. Thus research should relate simultaneously to social structures, individual and family decisions and motives for migration in space and time (Massey, 1990).

Researchers seeking a perspective enabling them to understand the present-day process of migration better than traditional theories did, developed an additional theory termed transnationalism. The transnational theory perceives migration as a process in several dimensions - the demographic, political, economic, cultural and familial - and integrating within it components other than movement from one country to another. On one hand, this approach focuses on the migrants' ability to combine resources anchored in social and ethnic networks, in the country of origin and the country of destination, to increase their freedom from commitments and limitations tying them to their homeland (military service, traditional attitudes to gender etc.). On the other hand, this approach does not neglect the macro domain of economic, political, familial and other structures within which the immigrants lead their private and community lives (Basch et al., 1994; Dinnerstein et al., 1990; Gold, 2002; Tilly, 1990). These studies focus on interaction between economic and social structures in the host societies, and the resources and expectations of the new immigrants. Against the background of such interactions the researchers examine the patterns of the immigrants' assimilation within the social structure into which they have immigrated (Gold, 1997b; 2002).

In conclusion it may be said that the migration concept includes demographic concepts related to changes in the size of a specific population, and sociological, economic and psychological concepts such as stratification, mobility, social change and consolidation of ethnic identity (Goldscheider, 1971; Hans & Hoffman, 1981). Massey (1990) maintains that the migration process is very dynamic, and to understand it in all its complexity, it should be examined on the individual and familial levels, and also on the level of the interrelated social, economic and political structures affecting each other during the time preceding the decision to migrate and continuing their impact from the transnational perspective after immigration (Gold, 2002). I shall focus on the family unit, on husband and wife, within the familial and cultural framework. I shall examine the interaction between gender and migration both within the settings of the Israeli social and family structure and of the American social structure.

GENDER – THE MEANING OF THE CONCEPT

In this study the concept of gender will be examined, on one hand as structuring the socioeconomic process affecting migration, and on the other hand, assimilation in the country of destination. First a distinction must be made between the concepts of sex and of gender. Gender does not relate to the biological and psychological aspects of the sex concept; but to the cultural expectations of men and women, or the social structuring of the differences between men and women (Friedman, 1999; Lips, 1988; Mooney Marini, 1990).

The division of humankind into men and women is extremely significant for social life; when comparing cultures, this division has significant implications in almost all social spheres: work, family, leisure and the like. Only in recent decades has the significance of this cultural division attracted research attention, as have the concepts of femininity and masculinity, or sex and gender (Lips, 1988). The distinction between the sexes is perceived as a social construction of reality, creating a gender-related social order based on a hierarchical dichotomy of power relations between men and women. The concept of gender opened up the social discourse about the gender-based structuring of the world; the ways in which it is reproduced, who benefits and who loses by it, and about the possibility of changing it. Social structuring varies according to its historical, social and cultural contexts (Friedman, 1999).

Some sociological explanations of the importance of gender to the social order relate to two main theories: the structural-functional theory and the social conflict paradigm. The first perceives society as a system made up of inter-related components. According to this approach, every social structure contributes to the society's activity as a whole. It also deals with the historical aspects of gender. In ancient hunting and gathering societies, women had little influence on biological forces. For instance, lacking contraceptives, women gave birth to many children and had to raise them and therefore remained close to home. Men had greater physical strength translated into functions they carried out far from home. In the course of time this gender role division was institutionalized and became a feature of the social structure (Lengermann & Wallace, 1985). An additional structural-functional theory (Parsons, 1954) suggests that gender differences assist in

preserving family cohesiveness, in particular in traditional societies. Gender has created complementary roles, and relations between men and women that lead to the establishment of family units vital for social activity. By dint of social supervision, men and women learn the social definitions of gender role division they are expected to abide by, and try not to diverge from them to avoid social censure (Parsons, 1954).

The social conflict theory provides another explanation for genderrelated social structuring. It holds that not only do men and women behave differently, but the social sources of their power differ too. Theoreticians of this school of thought explain gender relations not as cohesive but as tense and in conflict, where men are interested in preserving their advantages and women challenge the existing order (Collins, 1971; Lengermann & Wallace, 1985). Engels (in Leacock, 1978) asserts that historically, in hunting and gathering societies, gender roles were indeed different, but similar in importance. The hunt conferred prestige on the men, but most of the family's food came from what the women gathered. Industrialized societies have created stocks of food, while private property has now acquired great importance and creates socioeconomic stratification. At this stage men accumulated a great deal of power inherited by their sons. Capitalism has created greater riches, thus increasing men's power over women, and turned women into consumers responsible for unpaid household work (Eisenstein, 1979).

Feminist theories perceive the personal experiences of men and women from the gender perspective. While these theories differ in emphases and in the actions they propose, they share several principles. Feminism is related to political activity for the purpose of changing the existing gender-related social order. It also seeks to expand the possible choices for all and for women in particular, and to eliminate "feminine" and "masculine" traits such as the emotionality ascribed to women and the rationality ascribed to men. It opposes discrimination against women with respect to education, income, and available opportunities. Feminism supports the right of women to their bodies and to decide the number of children they will bear, and also fights male violence against women (Macionis, 1997).

The three main feminist streams or theories are the liberal, the socialist and the radical. Liberal feminism is rooted in classical liberal thought, maintaining that people have the right to develop their talents and realize their aspirations. Women adhering to it accept the existing social order, but seek to expand the pool of opportunities available to them. They accept and support the family institution, but call for assistance to mothers and their right to make decisions regarding their own bodies. According to this approach, men and of course women as well, are entitled to realize their rights, which is to be achieved not through revolutions but through all individuals acting to improve their status. Socialist feminism, based on the theory of social conflict is more extreme, and maintains that the family as an institution must be restructured. The collective will eliminate women's work in the home, and household and childcare duties will no longer burden them. Socialist feminists maintain that a revolution is needed to achieve such social change, and both men and women will participate in it. Finally there is the radical approach, the most extreme one. Its adherents assert that to achieve gender equality the cultural distinction must be totally eradicated. They call for elimination of the family as an institution and for artificial reproduction, thus liberating women, men and children from the rule of the family (Macionis, 1997).

GENDER AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Women's relative control of resources, their power and their prestige, are related to their roles within the family and community in the country of origin, as compared to the country of destination. Women's roles are the patterns of behavior carried out in practice or expected of them, and their concrete activity. Within the social-cultural context, every role assigned to women has its counterpart in a role assigned to men. Society usually assigns several central roles to women: as productive components of the labor force; as married women; mothers; housewives and as members of the community. In each role, the opportunities for women to migrate will vary; for instance, within the context of family reunion, women will be at an advantage (Lin, 1995).

In the USA, a high proportion of women have entered the salaried labor market, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s. This has led to new developments, though not in the amount of work currently demanded of them. (In the past women in the lower classes also worked, in the fields and elsewhere.) The new development is their involvement in the salaried labor market – especially among middle class women (Epstein, 1987). To illustrate this point, 1980 was the first time since proper work records were kept in the USA that the percentage of women aged 25-29 in the labor market did not drop The rate of working women among mothers of pre-school children has grown steadily, and is today half of those in the American labor market (Epstein, 1987; Etaugh & Poertner, 1991).

Today more women consider their success in the public domain important, i.e. their work outside the home in the labor market. The change has combined housework with outside professional work, and the private and the public domains. Following this change, women in present-day American society have better prospects of forging an independent social status, not dependent on the status of their husbands or fathers. Women have entered occupations considered male, like truck driving or accountancy, and have proved they can do these jobs at least as successfully as men.

Both women and men fulfill social roles as spouses, parents and salaried employees. It appears that an increase in the number of roles does not always lead to negative tension manifested in physical weariness and psychological depression. Under some circumstances, plurality of roles creates tension leading to positive results, while under different circumstances its results may be negative. As long as the social partners within the network of specific roles try to understand each other's expectations, the relationships within the role structure may well be positive. Negotiation is needed to moderate the conflict between, for example, the role of parent, partner and employee. The more educated and the wealthier the person involved, and if s/he also belongs to a supportive social network, the better the prospects of structuring interpersonal relationships different from those customary in the surrounding society, and of relieving tension between the roles. A group of people at a socio-economical advantage, less confined by normative structures than people with fewer opportunities, may be able to restructure relationships and expectations on the basis of a new gender role division. The normative social system changes slowly but constantly. Change seeps down through the social strata. While the more capable will benefit from it earlier, in the long-term women and men from all spheres of society will be able to take advantage of the new role expectations (Epstein, 1987; Thoits, 1987).

Prestige is one of the three social rewards creating social inequality (Weber, 1946). Prestige is relative moral appreciation, expressing shared values and norms that determine the relative value of the assessed variable. Weber emphasizes the uniqueness of occupational prestige compared to the political and economic dimensions that constitute the other two rewards creating social inequality. People of similar social prestige develop similar lifestyles (Treiman, 1977). Social prestige is also related to a person's occupation, and on that concept this study will focus.

One previous structural theory asserted that prestige has developmental characteristics common to complex societies. Firstly, division of labor undergoes a similar development. Secondly, this division of labor creates a typical hierarchy of occupations relative to the power in the hands of that occupational group. Thirdly, the similarity in the hierarchy based on the relative power of the various occupations also creates variance in the advantages and prerogatives of each occupation. And finally, since power and prerogatives are highly valued in every society, this esteem is applied to the professions at the top of the occupational hierarchy (Treiman, 1977). Therefore occupational status is a hierarchic variable and a function of the economic rewards generally granted to those in a specific profession, and of the social status of the individuals in that profession (Tyree, 1981).

In this context we shall distinguish between occupational prestige and the ladder of socioeconomic status. Prestige is a subjective measure, based on the reputation of a social position. The Socio-Economic Index (SEI) is based on the components of income and education within the occupational status. Researchers dealing with social mobility and stratification use both measures, and when they do so, there are few differences in their findings. (Bose, 1985; Tyree, 1981). Today sociologists examine social status mainly within the context of the occupational status of the respondents. On one hand, the person's overall status is examined according to subjective mutual evaluation, based on prestige, and on the other hand status is defined by the person's occupation, education, income and extent of power characterizing this occupation (Nam & Powers, 1983).

The discussion about gender and occupational prestige will mainly focus on the following issues: Do women and men within the same occupational framework enjoy the same level of prestige, in particular in occupations identified stereotypically according to gender? Do income and education contribute equally to occupational prestige among women and men, where prestige is the reputation acquired by the individual in specific social positions. Various types of personal status, such as those stemming from gender, race and age, have differential impacts on prestige. Occupation is an important factor contributing to social status and in particular to prestige. A person's occupation is visible to others; they know what type of work s/he does. Occupation also reflects the relations between the individual and the means of production and determines income, lifestyle and power. When prestige is researched today, the distribution of roles and occupations of men and women must be taken into account, i.e. prestige must be measured along the whole range of male and female occupations, including that of the housewife (Bose, 1985).

GENDER AND STRATIFICATION

Status and stratification are related concepts. According to Weber, status stems from occupational structure. Work and the skills it involves, as well as human resources undergoing changes on the labor market, form the basis for prospects of different life opportunities and place the individual within the social stratification of the society in which s/he lives and acts. Israel, a country of immigration has a higher level of openness in the area of social stratification than other countries of immigration, including the USA (Kraus & Hodge, 1990).

In all societies economic resources and income, education and occupations are distributed differently among various groups of people. This hierarchic distribution creates social stratification. Among immigrants there are additional differences, due to the varied human capital they bring from their countries of origin, and to the economic, social and political circumstances at the time of their arrival in the country of destination (Goldscheider, 1996). The openness of the society and the degree of equality existing in it reflect in the relationship between the parents' education and occupation and that of their offspring. The stronger the relationship between the two, the less egalitarian and open to occupational mobility is the society (Kraus & Hodge, 1990).

Social mobility can be defined as moving from one level of occupation to another within the stratification. Rank on the stratified scale is established along two dimensions: prestige of the occupation and socioeconomic status. People generally aspire to occupational prestige rather than to prestige as such. However, it is the socioeconomic scale that best explains the variance between two different societies. Measures of prestige are more subjective and express the aspiration and desire to enter specific occupations, while socioeconomic measures represent overall indicators of objectively measurable rewards in relation to occupations. The two measures represent different though related dimensions of social stratification (Kerckhoff et al., 1989).

Gender-related roles and status are another source of inequality. Differences between women and men in access to resources, and transformation of human capital into employment and income, are key components of discrimination. Many researchers believe that numerous differences between men and women spring from power and status possessed mainly by men in most societies. It is difficult to say which came first. However one explanation lies in the different roles women and men fulfill in any social system. Due to this division of labor, women have less control over economic resources. Male control is achieved by means of higher salaries, more prestigious occupations and higher rates of participation in the labor market. These differences in power and status structure expectations, disseminated through the socialization process, presume that men should and do provide economic support for women. Differences thus arise in the degree of autonomy, independence and decision-making. Women will therefore tend to adapt their expectations, aspirations and skills to different types of occupations than men. Since the division of labor in most societies places men in a more convenient position for the control of society's main resources, a gender-related social stratification is created in the wake of this division of labor (Goldscheider, 1996; Lips, 1988; Mooney Marini, 1990).

Society is changing constantly, as are definitions of role, status and personal identity (Fowlkes, 1987). These also differ when cultures are compared. Different demands by the labor market, the individuals' age and the socialization they have undergone may create variance in gender-related differences in the stratification of a specific society (Mooney Marini, 1990). Equal power relations in the workplace, in the household, in political and cultural institutions, reflects the **r**elationship to gender as a source of social discrimination (Goldscheider, 1996).

Occupational segregation is examined in connection with gender and occupational differences. It relates to the situation in which women are employed in a limited number of occupations compared to their proportion in the labor market. To illustrate, in 1985, the participation of women in the American labor market was 54%, of which two-thirds worked in occupations where 70% of the work force was women (Jacobs, 1989).

Occupational segregation exists among men too, suggesting that men and women do not compete for the same jobs (Siltanen, 1994). While the occupations attributed to women or men differ from one society to another, and from one period to another, the shared traits are embodied in the concepts of concentration and segregation. In the USA the segregation phenomenon remained relatively stable throughout the 20th century. Although towards the 1980s some progress occurred women's occupations became more varied, women are still concentrated in a more limited number of occupational groupings than men (Jacobs, 1989). Social control as gender-related social structuring is one explanation offered for occupational segregation. The theory of social control relates to all those activities that define and react to deviant behavior when it is perceived as contrary to moral, aesthetic or intellectual positions. The basic assumption underlying the social control theory is that the law or all other mechanisms dealing with conflicts change according to social-structural circumstances (Mullis, 1995). The system of gender-related disparity is anchored in many control mechanisms required to preserve the distinction between occupations where women are dominant, and those largely in the hands of men. When gender-related role definitions change in a society, the weakening of one of these control mechanisms will open more varied opportunities to women. Social control sets in during early socialization, continues during school age and is subsequently manifested through discriminatory processes in the course of women's working life. Prevalent values, education, and occupational experience together create gender segregation. In recent years such boundaries have become blurred, particularly as regards young women, but also to some extent for older ones, since a change in social structuring arises from an accumulation of general social and personal factors (Jacobs, 1989).

Israel and the USA compared: opportunity structure in public and private spheres

In modern American society the main issue is no longer whether women should work outside the home, but rather the roles they fulfill in the private sphere at home and the public sphere in the labor market, and these roles' cost effectiveness (Crosby, 1987). While in the early 20th century, only a fifth of American women had jobs (mainly poor women who had always worked for a living), towards the end of the century the rate of women employed outside the home was constantly rising and was only slightly lower than that of men. In the USA as in other industrialized countries, women wage earners are a widespread phenomenon, and in these countries half the households depend on the incomes of both men and women (Macionis, 1997).

In Israeli society, the former home of Israeli immigrants, the rate of women employed in the labor market has grown steadily since the 1970s. This is due mainly to changes in the structure of opportunities, structural changes of the labor market itself and in the economy, and the expansion of services to assist working women. However, a significant proportion of women as compared to men have part-time jobs (Kraus & Hodge, 1990). Moreover, traditional gender-related differences in daily life still persist (Izraeli, 1990; Goldscheider, 1996).

Fogiel-Bijaoui (1990) maintains that despite the changes in the family as an institution in post-modern countries including Israel, this change has not affected the patterns of gender role division in the family. Career women like fulltime homemakers invest 66%-100% more time in household tasks than their husbands. This situation is similar in other more industrialized societies. Household duties constitute a type of "gender factory" (Fogiel-Bijaoui, 1990: 125).

Israeli immigrants in the USA come from a society where the family is pivotal: the marriage rate is high and the divorce rate low compared to the USA. In Israel gender role division is such that men are expected to provide the funds and women to take care of home and children, and to create a network of social relationships (Izraeli, 1990; Gold, 1994a). This pattern persists during immigration to the USA. It is manifest in the low proportion of Israeli women in the labor market both compared to their participation rate in Israel, and to the rate of participation of women immigrants from other countries (Gold, 1994a). Sabar's study (2000), of kibbutz-born immigrants supports this.

Though socialized in a seemingly egalitarian education system, these women too were responsible for most of the housework even though both partners participated in the labor market.

Gender and migration

Until recently, most theories dealing with migration did not relate to women as a separate group. When making sociological distinctions among migrants, researchers usually ignored gender. This can be explained by the lack of research sources and the relatively unimportant role women played in the economy in the past. Despite their important demographic and economic role within migration worldwide, few studies were carried out (Phizacklea, 1983). Until about the 1970s, women migrants were examined within the family context. In such research literature, women were presented stereotypically as dependent on their husbands economically and outside the productive labor force. These studies dealt chiefly with the process of women's socialization into American society and the new industrial, alienated world, having come from a traditional, intimate village life. They were mainly perceived as joining their migrating husbands or Americans they married, and as passive in the process of deciding to migrate. Therefore most studies did not deal with socioeconomic characteristics or the patterns of the women migrants' participation in the labor force (Cordasco, 1985; Phizacklea, 1983; Lauby & Stark, 1988; United Nations, 1995). They focused on the men, since migrants were stereotypically perceived as male workers.

One reason for research on the migration of women is the recently increasing proportion of women among immigrants, compared to their proportion among immigrants to the USA in the early 20th century). Another is the impact of the feminist movement on academic circles, making women's experiences the subject of research (Gold, 1994a, 1995; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999). In the late 20th century, the proportion of women in the labor force generally, and among migrants in particular, increased (Zlotnik, 1993). Millions of women made the transition from unpaid to salaried work through migration to another district in the same country, from rural to urban areas for instance, or through transnational migration (Phizacklea, 1983). Women migrants were granted social recognition as soon as they became active economically and participated in production. From that point they became subjects of research in their own right, as shown in the

literature since the 1970s. That literature examines women migrants from the psycho-cultural perspective, as individuals, and their migration is explained as personally motivated. Their situation in the new country is described from the point of view of their adjustment to that society (Phizacklea, 1983). Recent researcher has dealt with the ways they and the families actively adapt to the new surroundings, while contradictory findings present them as merely reacting to circumstances (Massey et al., 1987; Mines & Anzaluda, 1982).

Other scholars have expanded their investigations so as to understand how immigrating families function, focusing on the unequal division of benefits and costs between the men and the women. The adjustment of the immigrating family is explained in gender-related terms and by means of social structures such as the labor market, and ethnic institutions and networks. These studies also deal with the patterns of interaction within the family and decision-making by its members, the internal distribution of resources and the changing role division in the wake of immigration. The focus is on the negotiation accompanying the family's adjustment. It appears that the family does not always function as a harmonious unit distributing economic and social resources equitably among its members, and in some cases married women do not automatically enjoy their husbands' income (Honagneu-Sotelo, 1994).

When the focus is on the benefit and cost resulting from migration to the individual within the family, the gender concept becomes significant. For instance, following migration women may experience a higher standard of living and greater freedom, but they bear greater economic responsibility than in their country of origin. They may also feel lonely, cut off from family and friends in the old country (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Kibria, 1993; Min, 1994; Pessar, 1984; Piore, 1979).

Summary

Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) maintains that past migration studies focused on women but not on gender, i.e. subjects were merely "women migrants". This approach allow for an understanding of gender as a social system made up of a whole conglomeration of elements within the process of migration, affecting all migrants. The previous approach to the study of gender and migration presented differences between men and women simply as distinct items, not as related systemic components. Gender and gender roles must be perceived as a dynamic, not a static experience. This author proposes a new research approach, perceiving migration as a lengthy development of gender relations affected by social, economic and cultural factors. Hondagneu-Sotelo adds that in gender-related migration studies, it is not sufficient to examine the family as an institution identified with women. Studies focusing on the family alone do not deal with significant additional spheres such as genderrelated recruitment into the labor market, migration laws, forging ethnic identity and the like. We should avoid applying sweeping conclusions drawn from studies male employment patterns to women, since these are not always identical (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999). This study will examine gender relations and related changes from a more dynamic and comprehensive view of society and the economy, and of gender roles. Pessar's (1999) theory and Hondagneu-Sotelo's (1999) will serve as a basis. They suggest a tendency today to neglect women's experiences worldwide, and studies in this field examine the mutual ongoing relations between social status, country of origin and legal status. The category 'women' and focus on gender relations have been replaced by the recognition of the greater complexity of social life.

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CHAPTER 3: What Motivates Migration Among Israeli Men and Women?

DECIDING TO MIGRATE

The decision to migrate, affected by economic, social and psychological factors, made within the family framework or individually, stems from expectations that it will further certain economic, social-cultural or even normative aims. People decide within a specific structural context involving motives and values, acquisition of human capital and information, leading them to the view that the migration will be beneficial. The process of decision-making may be understood as emanating from the individual, who took the final decision to migrate in the wake of a series of decisions or in structural terms – did structural changes within society impel him or her to migrate?

Another potential focus for research is the family's role vis-à-vis the individual within the process of deciding to migrate. Also important during that process is the amount of information available regarding the host society. The greater that is, in particular if there are relatives or friends already living there, the more likely it is to affect the decision to migrate (Goodman, 1981). The tendency in recent years is to consider individual, family and community variables, combined with social and economic background, as an influence on the decision to migrate (Massey, 1990). This perspective has guided the current study.

According to the approach that highlights human capital, migration is perceived to be due to the desire to increase the reward for investment in its components, such as skills and education. Individuals act under the influence of the society in which they live, which also affects the range of possibilities available for fulfillment of their aspirations (Lauby & Stark, 1988). People considering the possibility of migrating assess its cost effectiveness, comparing the host society to the society in which they live (Stark, 1988). According to the costbenefit model, both family and community variables affect the decision to migrate. For instance, whether the person is employed and the rate of unemployment in the country of origin may be an important factor during decision-making. Thus research should not focus exclusively on the individual as an independent player when deciding to migrate. Interaction between the social and family structures and the individual's behavior must also be taken into account.

In some societies the nuclear or the extended family may provide links to social networks (sets of social relations based on family relationships, friendship and common ethnic origin), greatly affecting the decision to migrate (Massey, 1990; Stark, 1988). In this connection Findley (1987) maintains that families not connected to developed social networks in the host country come mainly from lower social strata and have little to lose by migrating, or they come from the highest socioeconomic strata and can afford to lose by it. Middle class persons will only migrate when the number of immigrants from their country of origin increases and thus will reinforce social networks in the host country - they cannot afford to lose. They migrate only when they feel that their economic future in the host country is more secure (Findley, 1987). The structural impact of such networks is manifested in the migrants' cost effectiveness calculations within the time context considered appropriate for the move. When a person is well acquainted with someone with a positive immigration experience, he or she is more likely to follow (Massey, 1990).

Therefore research on the decision-making process within the family, a particularly dynamic process in case of transnational migration, must consider diverse factors. The socioeconomic conditions in the country of origin and in the host country affecting the decision are also influenced by social, economic and political structures on a national and international level. All these components are inter-related (Massey, 1990).

GENDER AND THE DECISION TO MIGRATE

The family defines the feminine role, and the motives to migrate are forged accordingly. The family constitutes the structural reality within which the status of women in society is defined. The way the decision to migrate is made indicates the status of women in a specific society. In traditional societies their relatively low status compared with men is manifested in that the decision is made by the men (Lim, 1995).

The specific gender division of roles in a society will determine the differential dominance of the man or woman within the family and the dynamics of decision-making. In more traditional families, the decision is mainly made by the men, while in modern or more egalitarian families both men and women are involved. In traditional families men usually expect women to forego their personal aspirations and consider the good of the family as a whole, and women concur. Men and women at the modern and more egalitarian end of the continuum are aware of the importance of fulfilling the women's aspirations while taking the good of the family into account (Scanzoni & Szinovacz, 1980)

In societies where women have greater autonomy and opportunities for social mobility, their higher status and roles will be manifested in the decision-making; a woman who has achieved a high status in the country of origin and in her family will be less eager to migrate. Selectivity in this respect will be greater among autonomous women than among those following the men. Moreover, economic opportunities in the host country pull autonomous women to both ends of the occupational scale; therefore a high status in the country of origin does not necessarily predict selectivity in migration (Lim, 1995).

When a family, traditional or modern decides to migrate in search of maximum benefit from the move, in many cases the benefits for the family as a whole do not meet the needs of each member equally, and a wide gap in this respect may lead to a crisis and even a breakup of the family (Stark, 1988). Clearly, the process of deciding to migrate is frequently not only not egalitarian but also discordant, in not involving the support of all the family members. Besides differences in gender related functions, differences between spouses in earnings and education, in self-esteem, in origin and adherence to religion affect family decision-making. The greater the man's resources and advantages in these respects, the greater the probability that he will be the most influential person in the process. However, even here there are different ways in which gaps in occupational and social status between husband and wife impact on decision-making (Scanzoni & Szinovacz, 1980).

In all types of society, women play a part in the decision to migrate, and their stance depends on the power structure within the family. In societies where women have greater autonomy and more possibilities for social mobility, their status and functions in the country of origin will be manifested too in the decision to migrate. Their attitude relates to the advantages and constraints they encounter in the economic sphere (possession and control of resources like knowledge and funds), in the political sphere (ability or power to make decisions such as to migrate, to enter the labor market and to enjoy their earnings) and also in the social domain (appreciation, prestige). These diverse characteristics enable us to compare women's situations before and after migration, as I shall do in this study.

Deciding to migrate from a gender perspective, as described by Israelis in the USA

Questioned about the decision to migrate to the USA, more women than men considered it to have been made by both spouses in an egalitarian way (54% and 56% respectively). However, a much higher percentage (39%) of men maintained that the decision was mainly theirs, as compared to the women (15%). Moreover, only 5% of the men asserted that the decision was made by their spouses, as compared to 20% of the women, who said that their husbands were mainly responsible for it. Thus it appears that more men believe that the decision was mainly theirs, while women perceive it as largely egalitarian.

Which factors are related to gender equality as regards the decision to migrate? Figure 1 presents a model including the gender role. An egalitarian decision to migrate was defined as dichotomous - either a shared or an individual decision.

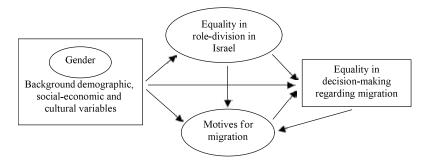


Figure 1: Model of decision-making regarding migration

In the current study, over 80% of the Israelis rated their knowledge of English, both spoken English and reading comprehension, as very good. This finding resembles those of Bozorgmehr and his associates (1996) and Gold (1994b) as to Israelis in Los Angeles, and differs from those of Rosenthal and Auerbach (1992), who maintained that only 40% of Israelis in New York rated their knowledge of English was good.

Previous studies found that in Israeli families making the decision to migrate, the women perceived the USA as a country with greater gender equality, yet most asserted that the decision was made mainly by their husbands due to their occupations and education (Gold, 1995; Sabar, 2000; Sobel, 1986; Shokeid, 1988). Although the decision to migrate to North American was "a family decision" and the whole family enjoys the resulting economic benefits, the decision was in fact made by the men with the aim of increasing their professional opportunities in the USAS (Gold, 1994a; 2002).

In the current study the findings revealed that the variables having the strongest influence (sig<0.05) on an egalitarian decision to emigrate were motives for emigration, equality in gender role division in Israel, number of children in Israel, gender, interaction between gender and ethnic origin, professional status (working in Israel), interaction between gender and professional status, and finally ethnic origin. On the other hand, age at time of migration, educational attainment in Israel and adherence to religion had little impact. In Table 2, ². which follows, the independent variables are: Gender: 0=male 1=female; age at time of migration: 1=19-25 2=26-31 3=32-68; ethnic origin: 0=Sephardic 1=Ashkenazi; Number of children in Israel: 1=no children 2=1-2 children 3=3 children and more; education in Israel: 1=12 years of education 2=13-15 years 3=16 years and more; professional status in Israel: 0=did not work 1=worked; adherence to religion: 0= religious or traditional 1= secular; Equality in gender role division in Israel : 1= non-egalitarian, 2=somewhat egalitarian 3= egalitarian; motives for migration: 1=desire by spouse 2=economic motives 3=other motives. These values apply to as well to Tables 4 and Tables 8-13.

Level of equality in making the decision to emigrate: 0=decision not shared; 1=decision shared. The more egalitarian the gender related division of roles in the private domain was in Israel, the more egalitarian was the decision-making related to migration, supporting my hypothesis on this issue. A greater number of children in the family was related to greater equality in deciding to migrate. Thus among couples behaving in an egalitarian manner in other spheres of life and with one or two children, there was a greater tendency to share in the decision-making than among childless couples. A situation involving more children may be more complex and thus call for greater cooperation and consent across the board, particularly by the wife, for it is usually the husband who favors migration. In the host country, however, the burden of childcare will fall mainly on her, so she will be more aware of the decision's implications. Israelis who emigrated because of economic or other (family, tourism) motives were more egalitarian in their decision-making than those who followed one spouse's desire to emigrate. While Israelis of Sephardic origin made the

² I implement the method of logistic regression, the most suitable for analyzing the effects of a number of independent variables on a dichotomous dependent variable. By logistic analysis the independent variables affecting the dependent variable are measured at other levels. Logistic regression enables researchers to analyze the effects of a set of independent variables on a dichotomous dependent variable with minimal loss of information, since it also measures nonlinear relationship among them, and thus provides a more reliable description of actual effects that is indicated by the S-shape logistic line (Walsh, 1990).

decision in a more egalitarian way, combining the influence of gender and ethnic community reveals that men of Sephardic origin were less egalitarian in this respect than women and Ashkenazi men. Moreover, in the case of men or women who worked in Israel, the decision to emigrate was less egalitarian, but when combining gender and occupational status in Israel, men who worked in Israel were more likely to make an egalitarian decision than women and men who were unemployed there.

Variable	Sig	В		
Gender (men)	0.0060	-1.6422		
Age at time of migration	0.5911			
19-25	0.4296	0.3693		
26-31	0.3101	0.3758		
Ethnic origin (Sephardic)	0.0402	0.7972		
Number of children in Israel	0.0029			
1-2 children	0.0006	1.2250		
3 or more children	0.0382	1.0218		
Education in Israel	0.8361			
13-15 years of study	0.6040	-0.1505		
16+ years of study	0.9633	0.0163		
Professional status (worked in Israel)	0.0111	-1.1147		
Adherence to religion (religious or traditional)	0.7565	0.0887		
Equality in gender role division in Israel	0.0004			
Somewhat egalitarian	0.0011	0.9446		
Egalitarian	0.0030	1.4204		
Motives for migration	0.0001			
Economic	0.0000	1.6500		
Other	0.0039	1.2070		
Interaction: Ethnic origin (Sephardic) with	0.0062	-1.3866		
gender (men) Interaction: worked in Israel with gender (men)	0.0214	1.3957		
2 Log-likelihood	404.71	1.3737		
N	360	360		
1N	500	300		

 Table 2: Factors influencing egalitarian decision-making regarding migration (Logistic Regression)

Model chi²=73.605; sig=0.0000; Definition of the dependent variable:

My hypothesis, postulating that a positive relationship would be found between the occupational status of the men in Israel and their dominance in making the decision to migrate, was supported in part, taking into account that in a group of cases migration was mainly the husbands' decision, and that, in general, the men were less egalitarian in the decision-making process.

The findings of the current study support to some extent those of previous studies maintaining that egalitarian decision-making to migrate constitutes an indicator of the status of women in a specific society; in traditional societies, the relatively inferior status of women is manifested in that their emigration comes as a result of their husbands' decision (Lim, 1995). The specific gender division of roles in a society will determine the differential dominance of the man or woman within the family and the dynamics in the decision-making process. In more traditional families, the decision is made mainly by the men, while in modern or more egalitarian families, both men and women are involved (Scanzoni & Szinovacz, 1980). Indeed in the current study, the decision-making process resembles that of modern families, as the egalitarian gender role division predicts. Yet I did not find that the women's higher education gave them greater equality in decision-making: rather they maintained that their spouses made the decision to migrate. On the contrary, men of Sephardic origin tended to be less egalitarian in making the decision. Men who had been employed in Israel tended to be more egalitarian than those who were unemployed. Finally, economic motives to emigrate led to a more egalitarian decision-making process, since both men and women participated, in comparison with families that emigrated primarily because of one spouse's desire, usually the husband's.

Gender and motives for migration

Migrants within the framework of voluntary international migration, the new migrants, are mainly though not exclusively motivated by desire to raise their living standard through better employment and a higher salary than in their country of origin, and to encounter a broader structure of opportunities (Gold, 1992). Such migrants react to the material and non-material costs and benefits involved, and their decision depends on the web of negative and positive 'push-pull' factors from country of origin to host country, motivating or impeding migration (DellaPergola, 1984). The transnational approach indicates that migration motives anchored in political, ethnic, community and family networks, should be examined as a dynamic process, considering factors both on a macro and a micro-social scale. Therefore in the course of migration and after settling down, migrants remain connected to social and economic networks in more than one country (Gold, 1997a). This approach makes possible research combining structural and personal motives for migration within a dynamic process where immigration is not a final step, but rather an additional move or a return to the country of origin is always possible (Basch et al., 1994; Dinnerstein et al., 1990; Tilly, 1990).

Even when migrating within a family, women like men are motivated by desire to improve their lives and their families' status, their motives at least as numerous as those of men (United Nations, 1995). However, the structure of occupational opportunities for women and men may differ in their country of origin and joining the spouse who has migrated is an important motive for some. Women who acquired higher education early will tend to migrate at a subsequent life stage, such as marriage or entry into the labor market, here too to exploit the opportunities provided by their education (Lim, 1995). A motive for migration, among women rather than men, is desire to escape constraints of subordination in their country of origin. It typifies unmarried women particularly, but also married women in a patriarchal society (Lim, 1995).

In this study I shall relate to motives for migration of Israeli men and women that arise from the social and family structure in Israel. The web of motives for migration to the USA will also be examined from the push-pull perspective when comparing Israel and the USA, and the motives for migration vis-à-vis the desire to return home.

Motives to migrate from Israel

Migration has been intrinsic to the Jewish experience from time immemorial. The attraction of western countries, in particular the USA, rather than desire to leave Israel characterizes the recent emigration of Jewish Israelis (Herman & LaFontaine, 1982). Research on attitudes towards emigration from Israel found that a low level of commitment to and rapport with the state are the main variables predicting willingness to emigrate, besides the desire to raise the standard of living (Damian, 1987). Youth, economic decline and military service in the reserves increase the likelihood of emigration, while war and hostilities reinforce attachment to Israel (Levi, 1992). Another study (Mittelberg & Sobel, 1990), focusing on kibbutz born migrants, found that young kibbutzniks enjoyed economic and social advantages as long as they remained on kibbutz, thus resembling upper middle-class Ashkenazim. They also perceived themselves as belonging to that socioeconomic stratum, colloquially labeled "North Tel Aviv" (Osem, 1991). However, once they left the kibbutz, their economic situation generally deteriorated since their parents were unable to support them financially. In this they resembled lower class youth of North African and Middle Eastern origin. Their weaker ties to Israel, resembling those of upper middle class peers, combined with financial problems of the lower working class, affected their desire to leave the country once they left the kibbutz more significantly than it did their city peers. In the USA the situation of the kibbutz born immigrants usually improved. They were better paid for their work and thus were able to reduce the gap between self-perceived high status and economic resources appropriate to it (Mittelberg & Sobel, 1990; Osem 1991; Lev Ari, 1991; Sabar, 2000).

Sobel (1986) found that Israeli migrants do not leave because life in Israel turned impossibly hard, but rather because the American dream appeared more promising. Americanization of Israeli society and erosion in the status of Jewish identity as a component of Israeli identity, are seen as contributing factors. Ben Ami (1992) related to the migration of young people to the USA perceived as a type of secular pilgrimage, part of the world tour that many Israelis undertake after their army service. Friedberg (1988) also tried to explain emigration from Israel by means of push-pull forces: socioeconomic, psychological and educational factors like the migrants' weak Zionist values. These influences combine with forces attracting them to western countries, in particular the USA, including images of the host country and the base established there that will aid assimilation. Another encouragement lies in the Jewish and Israeli communities in the USA, easing assimilation and creating the chain reaction phenomenon (Herman & LaFontaine, 1982). Additional important motives for Israeli emigration were the need and wish to solve economic problems, to supplement professional and academic studies, to join family members (among those who married Americans), disappointment with Israel and attraction of the great wide world. (Gold, 1992; Sobel, 1986; Shokeid, 1988;). Some, self-employed in Israel, emigrated out of business considerations, since the USA is perceived as more suitable for those with capitalist aims (Urieli, 1994). A recent study of former Israeli emigrants who had returned home, examined their previous motives for emigration. The findings show that approximately a third emigrated for instrumental reasons such as professional advancement, a high standard of living and a higher education, but also for non-instrumental reasons involving family members such as a spouse, parents or children. Other factors like friends or the security situation in Israel appeared to be less important for about 10% of the respondents. The Israelis in that study had reacted mainly to factors enticing them abroad and less to those spurring them on to leave (Lev Ari, 2006). Generally speaking, more than a half of the Israeli immigrants in the USA in the current study mentioned that they had not actually planned to emigrate. As to motives. 22% gave as the main reasons for doing so the opportunity for higher education, the high standard of living, professional advancement and a better paid occupation. These findings resemble those of another study (Shokeid, 1988), which found that the main motives for immigration among Israelis to the USA were the need and wish to solve financial and professional difficulties, and the desire to complete professional and academic studies.

Motives for migration among Israeli men and women

Only a few studies on migrants born in Israel related to differences in motives between men and women. Findings revealed that among Israeli families deciding to migrate, most women perceived the USA as a country facilitating greater gender equality, and yet most describe their migration as due mainly to their husbands' decision, occupation and education (Gold, 1992; Sabar, 2000; Sobel, 1986; Shokeid, 1988). Although deciding to migrate to North America was "a family decision" and the whole family enjoyed its economic benefits, it was in fact made by the men aiming to increase their professional opportunities in the USA, and they benefited most from the move. The women migrated following their husbands (Gold, 1994a). This pattern

shows that Israeli women migrants resemble those from traditionalpatrilineal societies. Studies of Israelis who recently returned home after several years and dividing the respondents according to groups of motives, discerned two main non-instrumental motive groups such as family and friends, and instrumental motives related to economic and professional advancement. Migration for non-instrumental motives typifies women and young people mainly. Instrumental motives like desire for higher education, professional advancement and a living higher standard, motivated mainly men and young people planning to study (Lev Ari, 2006).

As in the above findings, men in the current study mentioned mainly wishes to acquire higher education, an occupation better paid in the USA, a higher living standard and professional advancement. The women, while claiming the decision had been egalitarian, mentioned their husbands' wish as the main motive for migration, followed by desire to acquire higher education in the USA, and family reasons. Thus the decision to migrate seems to have been due largely to the husbands' wishes, while other motives differed in the case of men and women, except for the desire to acquire higher education, shared by both genders.

When the family's migration was mainly due to the motives of one spouse, in most cases it was the husband rather than the wife. Migration following his decision was particularly typical of young Sephardic women without children, living and working in Israeli towns, from traditional families where the role division was not egalitarian – in most cases notwithstanding the level of their education!

Resembling the findings of other studies (Sobel, 1986; Shokeid, 1988; Sabar, 2000), the current study found a group of women who migrated mainly following their spouses whatever their socioeconomic status in Israel. However, we must remember that most Israelis in this study migrated for economic reasons and in these families the decision was made by the family as a whole. In such cases other studies found that in societies where women have greater autonomy and possibility of social mobility, their status and functions in the society of origin will also influence the decision to migrate. For instance, a woman who attained a high status in the country of origin and in her family will be less interested in migrating. Selectivity among women migrants is greater among autonomous women as compared to women migrating

following their husbands (Lim, 1995). The current study found that women with higher education are more motivated to advance economically through migration than women with less education.

Similarly to the new migrants, motivated mainly by the desire to raise their living standard through a better occupation and a higher salary than in their country of origin (Gold, 1992), in the current study most Israelis, both men and women, migrated for these same economic reasons – and their desire for higher education. However, the current study found that Israeli men and women differed in the importance they ascribed to the various motives. Men were mainly motivated by economic factors whatever their age at emigration, ethnic origin, the place they came from, employment status, and to what extent they were traditional or egalitarian with regard to gender role division in Israel. The gender related difference in motives to migrate was smaller with respect to economic motives when there were more children in the family in Israel or when the men's education was 13 to 15 years of schooling, and greater when their education level was higher.

The desire to migrate to acquire higher education characterizes men and women equally, whatever the number of their children, traditional or secular, employed or not, and regardless of their education. The desire to acquire higher education in the USA is typical of very young women and of somewhat older men, of women of Sephardic origin, men from kibbutzim and women from moshavim (cooperative villages), religious women and men from families with moderately egalitarian gender roles. By contrast, the desire to migrate for family reasons marks mainly young Ashkenazi women from rural areas without children in Israel, of little education, from non-egalitarian homes. Being secular and employed in Israel was also characteristic of women migrating for family reasons.

Tourism motivated almost no Israel migrants, and those few were urban, elderly secular Ashkenazi men, with children and a middle level of education (see Table 3).

	Desire by spouse		Education		Advancement		Family reasons		Tourism		Total percentage		Total N	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age at migra	ation													
19-25	(4)	96	38	62	55	45	40	60	60	89	63	37	(18)	(82)
26-31	(18)	82	63	37	(75)	(25)	54	46	81	69	63	37	(20)	(80)
32-68	(21)	79	(67)	(33)	(75)	(25)	56	44	81	63	67	33	46	54
Children														
no children	(8)	92	55	45	62	38	48	52	89	95	71	29	(14)	86
1-2	(15)	85	48	52	(67)	(33)	46	53	76	86	58	42	(40)	(60)
3-4	(17)	(83)	(50)	(50)	(75)	(25)	54	46	37	32	60	40	(46)	(54)
Ethnic origi	n													
Sephardic	(4)	96	(38)	62	57	(43)	46	54	81	94	64	36	(36)	64
Ashkenazi	(22)	78	56	44	68	(32)	52	48	127	118	65	35	(22)	78
Type of loca	tion													
City	(14)	86	51	49	58	(42)	48	52	132	144	61	39	(35)	65
Town	(7)	93	55	45	65	35	50	50	58	57	64	36	(31)	69
Kibbutz	(50)	(50)	(80)	(20)	(50)	(50)	63	37	19	11	(77)	(23)	15	(100)

Table 3: Migration motives according to background demographic-social variables in Israel (percents)

Employment														
Employed	(5)	95	54	46	(56)	(44)	41	59	42	61	58	42	(15)	85
Unemployed	(16)	84	51	49	64	(36)	51	49	168	162	64	36	(30)	70
Years of education														
12 years	(19)	81	50	50	59	41	51	49	95	93	70	30	(20)	80
13-15	(8)	92	46	54	73	27	44	56	68	85	55	45	(39)	61
16+years	(8)	92	59	41	(50)	(50)	53	47	53	47	61	39	(33)	(67)
Adherence to religion	(14)	(86)	(37)	(63)	(71)	(29)	41	59	18	26	(47)	(53)	(20)	(80)
Traditional	(10)	90	56	44	52	(48)	49	51	122	123	65	(35)	35	66
Secular	(21)	79	49	51	68	(32)	50	50	81	80	65	35	(25)	75
Gender role o	livision													
Non- egalitarian	(5)	95	44	56	61	39	44	56	113	146	62	38	(20)	80
Somewhat egalitarian	(15)	85	61	39	(62)	(38)	54	46	80	68	67	33	(46)	(54)
Egalitarian	(100)	-	(53)	(47)	(100)	-	65	35	30	16	64	(36)	(100)	-

* Bracketed percentages indicate ten or fewer respondents in this category.

Factors influencing motives for migration among Israelis, by gender

What factors influence motives for migration? The dependent variable contains three categories: (1) Motives to migrate because of the spouse. (2) Economic motives (professional advancement, standard of living; studies, income). (3) Other motives (family and tourism). A group of demographic-social background variables influencing Israelis indicates that compared to other motives for migration (family and tourism), few men migrate following their spouses, by contrast with women, who migrate for this more than for any other reason. However, regarding motives related to advancement compared to other motives, the rate of men migrating for these reasons is higher than it is among women, and among people younger at the time of migration compared to the those who were older. Moreover, those with higher education and more children in Israel more often decided to migrate for reasons of advancement than did those with less education and fewer children.

Juxtaposing demographic-social variables and traditional background, role division and egalitarian decision-making to migrate, one finds that for the two motives to migrate, the main explanatory variable is the level of shared decision-making, although to a different extent for each motive. Moreover, adding these variables does not impair the influence of the background variables. It appears many Israelis who migrated following their spouses did not share in making the decision, while among those who migrated for advancement motives, the decision was shared more often than among those who migrated for other reasons.

In conclusion, motives for migration following the spouse, compared to family motives or tourism, are mainly typical of women who did not share in making the decision. But those migrating primarily for upward social mobility were mostly men, young at the time, with children, and higher education in Israel, and their decision to migrate was taken together with their wives. In Table 4, which follows and additionally to those in Table 2, is the independent variable: Equal decision to emigrate: 0 = non-mutual decision; 1 = mutual decision.

Table 4: A multinominal logistic analysis: Influences on motives to emigrate to the USA

(Numbers in the table represent the coefficient and bracketed numbers the standard error)

	0	as a result se desire	Migration as a result of economic motives			
Migration motives	Eq. 1	Eq. 2	Eq. 1	Eq. 2		
Background characteristics						
Gender (men)	-2.18*	-2.52*	0.63*	0.68*		
	(0.50)	(0.52)	(0.29)	(0.32)		
Age at migration	0.22	0.25	-0.51*	-0.52*		
	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.23)	(0.24)		
Ethnic origin (Sephardic)	-0.14	-0.14	-0.16	-0.27		
	(0.38)	(0.43)	(0.29)	(0.33)		
Number of children in Israel	-0.02	-0.04	0.79*	0.67*		
	(0.38)	(0.40)	(0.31)	(0.32)		
Education in Israel	0.39	0.3	0.94*	0.94*		
	(0.38)	(0.28)	(0.21)	(0.22)		
Professional status in Israel	0.06	0.38	-0.63	-0.6		
	(0.41)	(0.44)	(0.29)	(0.35)		
Cultural background charact	eristics, gen	der roles				
and decision to emigrate						
Adherence to religion in		0.4		0.36		
Israel religious/traditional		(0.44)		(0.34)		
Egalitarian gender roles		0.51		0.29		
		(0.33)		(0.25)		
Equal decision to emigrate		*0.95		-0.60*		
(non- mutual decision)		(0.41)		(0.31)		
Constant	-0.58	-1.9	-0.8	-0.96		
	(0.72)	(0.95)	(0.57)	(0.68)		

Equation 1: N= 360 (140 missing) pseudo $R^2=0.34$

Equation 2: N= 363 (137 missing) pseudo R^2 =0.28

*B significant at a level of < 0.05

Definition of the dependent variable:

Migration motives: 1= Migration as a result of spouse desire; 2=Migration as a result of economic motives; 3= Other motives

SUMMARY

In this chapter I have tried to answer two main questions: the decision to migrate to the USA, and the motives of Israeli men and women to do so. My hypothesis that a positive relationship will be found between the men's occupational status in Israel and their dominance in the decisionmaking process was partially supported, taking into account a group of women who migrated mainly because of the men, and that, in general, men were less egalitarian in making the decision.

As to equality in that process, clearly the more egalitarian the division of functions within the private domain in Israel, the more egalitarian also was the decision-making to migrate. Thus couples adhering to gender equality in other respects, and having one or two children, tended to make the decision to migrate in an egalitarian way. When there are more children, migration may be more complicated and requires greater cooperation and consensus, in particular vis-à-vis the wife's consent, for the husband is usually the one who favors migration. Since the burden of child care in the host country falls mainly on the woman, she has to be more aware of the implications of the decision.

The findings of the current study support to some extent those of previous studies maintaining that egalitarian decision-making to migrate constitutes an indicator of women's status in a specific society. In traditional societies, the relatively inferior status of women is manifested in that their migration comes as a result of their husbands' decision (Lim, 1995). The specific gender division of roles in a society will determine the differential dominance of the man or woman within the family and the dynamics of decision-making. In more traditional families, the decision is mainly made by the men, while in modern or more egalitarian families, both the men and women are involved (Scanzoni & Szinovacz, 1980). Indeed, in the current study, the process resembles that of modern families, as the egalitarian gender role division predicts. Yet I did not find that a woman's higher education led to greater equality in decision-making among those women who maintained that their spouses made the decision to migrate.

When a family decides to migrate to derive maximum benefit from the move, in many cases the benefits are not shared equally by all its members, and this difference may cause a family crisis or breakup (Stark, 1988). Therefore not only is the process of decision-making not egalitarian; it may not always be harmonious. In addition to different gender related functions, differences between husband and wife in earning and education, ethnic origin and religious adherence all affect decision-making in the family. The greater the man's resources and advantages in these respects, the greater the likelihood that he will be the one who actually decides. However, there may also be a gap between husband and wife in occupational and social status, dictating a different pattern of equality or inequality in decision-making (Scanzoni & Szinovacz, 1980).

It appears that Israeli men and women are not identical as to their main motives for migration to the USA. I have focused on three main groups of motives - economic, family, and following the spouse. The characteristics of people migrating for different motives also differ, particularly in the way their decision was made.

Similarly to the new migrants, motivated mainly by desire to raise their living standard through better and more profitable work than in their country of origin (Massey et al., 1993), and in line with other findings regarding Israeli migrants (Gold, 1992; Shokeid, 1988; Sobel, 1986), the current study too has found that most Israelis, both men and women, migrated for economic reasons, such as the desire to raise their living standard, to advance professionally and to acquire higher education. Women like men, even when migrating within the family framework, are motivated by the desire to improve the family's standard of living and status, and their motives are at least as many as those of the men (United Nations, 1995). However, the current study reveals that Israeli men and women differ in the importance they ascribe to the various motives for migration.

Men migrate mainly for economic reasons, whatever their age at the time, the type of place they come from, whether they were employed in Israel, and no matter how traditional their worldview and gender division of family roles in Israel was traditional. The desire to migrate to acquire higher education is found more equally among men and women, while family related motives are mainly typical of young women from rural locations in Israel, with less education and from non-egalitarian homes as in the findings of Lev Ari, 2006. Israelis very rarely migrated for reasons related to tourism, and those who did were older men.

The findings of other studies show that in Israeli families, when deciding to migrate, most women perceive the USA as making possible greater gender equality, yet most also admit that the decision to migrate was made mainly by their husbands desiring to upgrade their occupation and education (Gold, 1992, 1995; Sabar, 2000; Shokeid, 1988; Sobel, 1986). Although the decision to migrate to North America was "a family decision" and the whole family subsequently enjoyed its economic outcome, it was made mainly by the men and was intended to increase their professional opportunities (Gold, 1994a). And indeed, in the current study, to the extent that the family's migration was due to the wishes of one spouse, in most cases, it was the man who led the way.

As mentioned above, a large group of the men migrated mainly for economic reasons. However they had already acquired higher education in Israel, were young at the time and made the decision to migrate together with the women. Therefore we should differentiate between three groups of Israelis according to their motives to migrate: economic reasons, family reasons and following the spouse.

As in other studies (Sabar, 2000; Shokeid, 1988; Sobel, 1986), a group of women migrated mainly following their spouses, almost despite their socioeconomic status in Israel. However, we must remember that most subjects in the current study migrated for economic reasons and the family shared in the decision to migrate. In such cases in other studies, in societies where women have greater autonomy and more opportunities for social mobility, the influence of their status and functions in their societies of origin was also manifested in making the decision to migrate. One who had attained a high status in the society of origin and in her family, for instance, was less interested in migrating. Selectivity was greater among autonomous women migrants than among those who migrated following their husbands (Lim, 1995). The findings of the current study show that women with higher education are motivated by economic advancement more than those with less education. Therefore the higher women's status in their country of origin, the more their motives to migrate resemble those of the men and the more they are able to influence the decision to migrate. A large proportion of Israeli women in the current study are autonomous, have considerable socioeconomic resources and come from an egalitarian background in the private domain. A comparison of the success of assimilation of women of high socioeconomic status with that of lower status women, together with a change in the gender role division in the private domain and the motives for their migration to the USA, is likely to relate to their willingness to return to Israel. "This page left intentionally blank."

CHAPTER 4: Characteristics of Men and Women Migrants

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW MIGRANTS

A comparison between voluntary migrants who are the focus of the current study, and refugees, can be plotted on a continuum with regard to various aspects of their respective situations. One is the time available for preparation: refugees usually have very little time, sometimes a day or less to get ready to leave their country, while voluntary migrants can prepare an economic and social base over a long period. The groups differ in their demographic characteristics as well: refugees include children and old people, while voluntary migrants are younger and often leave their country without any dependents. Voluntary migrants prepare professionally for an occupation in demand in the host country, while refugees hardly ever have such an opportunity. The only advantage they have is legal: refugee status that in the USA entitles them to the same welfare benefits as American citizens, a right not granted to voluntary migrants, who arrive with personal and economic advantages (Gold, 1994c).

Another type of migrant comes under the brain drain category, defined as the move of students and professionals from less developed to developed countries. This subgroup within voluntary migration differs from that population in the greater human capital of the individuals involved, and also by typically moving from periphery to center. Among students' and professionals' motives we find the desire to realize their potential on a higher professional and technological level than possible in their country of origin, to attain position and prestige in specific spheres through studies and work abroad, and to acquire more knowledge and have more opportunities for specialization: they perceive developed countries as offering such broader opportunities.

Among the countries and regions that have lost capable people in this way are Israel, India, Southeast Asia and South America. Most migration of professionals is directed to North America, England, France and Australia. The exit of such migrants, who received most of their professional training in their countries of origin, is particularly problematic, since they do not contribute their knowledge to the advancement of their own country but to a foreign one (Moore, 1987).

Temporary migration is a widespread phenomenon and possibly dominant within the process of international migration. Temporary migrants are those permitted to enter a country for a specific period or purpose, such as undertaking a specific type of work, and other prospective immigrants who did not obtain permission to stay permanently. Since the 1950s and 1960s such programs have brought groups of workers to Western Germany, Switzerland and France, or from Mexico to the USA. To this type of migration too belong employees of international organizations, members of the diplomatic corps, academics, students and other professionals employed and living temporarily in another country (Kritz & Keely, 1981).

Demographic and socioeconomic studies dealing with migration reveal very few gender related differences in the rate of migration, in particular since the 1970s (Clark, 1986; Morrison & Wheeler, 1978). Immigrants to the USA in particular since the 1960s, as compared to earlier waves of immigration, are young, with a high level of skills and abilities (brain drain). This includes Israeli immigrants (DellaPergola, 1986; Gold, 1992; Kass & Lipset, 1982; Ritterband 1978). Borjas (1988) maintains that migrants to a specific country are not a random population sample of their country of origin. He suggests that two factors are involved in selecting this pool of people with clearly definable socioeconomic characteristics - a level of education, and personal variables difficult to pinpoint, such as competence and productivity. This pool undergoes another selection according to host countries to which it is worthwhile for these people to immigrate. According to this theory, there is a market in which countries compete for potential immigrants. This competition exists, because various countries offer potential immigrants a differential series of economic conditions such as their rates of unemployment and income distribution, and a different policy of immigrant assimilation, benefits for professionals, family reunification and the like.. Potential immigrants consider the cost effectiveness of immigration to specific countries according to the economic and legal limitations there (Borjas, 1988).

People with a high occupational status and a high level of occupational skills, white collar workers for instance, will tend to emigrate more than people lacking those advantages. The higher the level of education of the individual or the family, the greater the chances that they will migrate, and migrate farther. People owning an apartment or a house are less likely to emigrate than those in rented accommodation (Clark, 1986; Morrison & Wheeler, 1978). Piore (1979) deals with another type of migrant, those who react mainly to the attractions of industrialized countries. These migrants are typically of a low socioeconomic background and are likely to do the jobs no longer desirable to the native population in the host country. Most perceive themselves as temporary migrants and are unskilled, they do not speak the host country's language, have little education, and in some cases come from rural regions different from the industrialized urban areas at their destination. According to Piore, despite industrialization and economic growth, industrialized countries still need unskilled labor, much of which comes from other, less developed countries (Piore, 1979).

Among women migrants we find a higher level of selectivity, in particular among the women whose status in their country of origin is higher and their autonomy greater than that of the women who migrate following their husbands. However, economic opportunities in the host country pull autonomous women migrants to the two ends of the occupational scale. Therefore high status in their country of origin does not necessarily predict selectivity in migration (Lim, 1995).

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ISRAELI MEN AND WOMEN IMMIGRANTS

The population of Israeli immigrants in the USA differs on the whole from other immigrants in that the Israelis are usually educated, and come from a democratic industrialized country (Gold, 1997a). Until the 1960s, most Israeli immigrants to the USA were born in Europe. Since the Six-Day War, most Israeli immigrants to the USA were born in Israel. In 1986, the proportion of the Israel born reached 89% and most were Ashkenazim (Rosen, 1993). The demographic characteristics of Israeli immigrants since 1975 resemble those of the new migrants in that they are relatively young; about one third of the Israelis immigrate at the age of 25-34 (Cohen 1989; Gold, 2002; Rosen, 1993). Among the Israeli immigrants who arrived since 1975, 35% are younger than 20, like the population in Israel. A third of those born in Israel and now living in the USA are aged 25-34. Among those 55 years of age or older, the proportion is relatively high (over 10%) when compared to the Israeli population. This age group appears to consist mainly of Arabs born in Israel, whose proportion among Israeli immigrants rises the older they are (Herman & Lafontaine, 1982; Eisenbach, 1989). A study carried out in New York in 1984-1986 found that 64% of the respondents were aged 36-45 (Rosenthal & Auerbach, 1992; Rosenthal et al., 1994). However, unlike the gender division among immigrants in the USA in general, with women totaling 55% (Cohen, 1989), over half the Israeli immigrants in the USA are men Cohen & Tyree, 1994; (Eisenbach, 1989; Gold, 2002; Rosen, 1993). This demographic pattern characterizes immigrants from the Middle East (Cohen, 1989).

By contrast with most findings in the studies mentioned above, the average age of the respondents in the current study is 42, similar to the sample of returning Israelis in Lev Ari's study in 2006. About a quarter of the respondents are aged 20-39, 40% are 40-49, a quarter are 50-59 and another 10% are 60-79 years old. Since the sample in this study was intentional (married couples), the respondents' age is high compared to respondents in other studies, as seen in Table 5 (Gold, 1995; Gold & Phillips, 1996; Rosen, 1993). Nevertheless, in that table the relative weight of the older age groups is even clearer when we remove the group aged 24 and less, almost not represented in the current study, in which the older groups still remain dominant.

About a third of the respondents immigrated to the USA at the age of 19-25, a third at the age of 26-31, 22% aged 32-39, and the remaining 13%, were 40 years old and over. These findings resemble those in other studies, showing that people immigrate at a young age (Clark, 1986; DellaPergola, 1986; Gold, 1992).

	Current Sample	Los Angeles Sample ¹	American census 1990 ² P	
Gender	N=500	N=100	Los Angeles New Yo	
Men	50	54	-	-
Women	50	46	_	_

Table 5: Demographic data on Israelis in the USA: current sample compared to other studies, in percentages

	Cu	rrent	Los Angeles Sample ¹		Population Census 1990 ²			
	Sar	nple			Los Angeles		New York	
Age	All	From 24	All	From 24	All	From 24	All	From 24
24 or less	1	-	3	-	32	-	26	-
25-34	3	4	49	50	24	35	26	35
35-44	14	14	34	35	24	35	27	36
45-54	40	40	10	11	13	19	12	17
55 and above	42	42	4	4	7	11	9	12

¹Source: Gold, 1995;

²Source: The 1990 American Census in Gold and Phillips, 1996

Since the sampling in the current study selected married couples, almost all the respondents (97%) were married at the time of the research, 91% to the partner they had in Israel. The average number of the respondents' children today is 2.39 per couple. 79% of the respondents were born in Israel, and all who were born elsewhere were brought up in Israel, having come as young children with their parents; 13% were born in European or American countries, and 8% in Asia or Africa. I chose Israeli born immigrants, which led to the above distribution of the countries of origin. Even had I not chosen the Israeli born, they have in any case been the majority among Israeli immigrants (52% of the fathers and 56% of the mothers) were born in European or American countries, 28% of the mothers and 26% of the fathers were born in Asia or Africa, and the remaining 16% of the mothers and 22% of the fathers were born in Israel. The current study is fairly similar to

Gold's (1995), with somewhat more fathers born in Europe or America in the current study. More than half the respondents (56%) defined themselves as Ashkenazi, 38% as Sephardi, and the rest (6%) as "other" – usually they wrote Israeli.

Most respondents (61%) lived in Israel in one of the large cities, 23% lived in other urban locations, 7% in kibbutzim (over-representing this population, since the proportion of kibbutz members in the Israeli population is now 2.5%), 5% lived in moshavim or other rural locations, and 4% in development towns. These data, except data about kibbutzim, resemble those of the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (1999), stating that most of the Jewish population in Israel (90%) lives in urban locations.

Israeli immigrants in the USA are dispersed thus: Most (77%) live in seven states, mainly in the large cities: 36% in New York and New Jersey, 23% in California, 6% in Illinois, 5% in Michigan, 4% in Florida and 3% in Texas. Among the 160,000 Israelis living in the USA, 60,000 live in New York and New Jersey, 40,000 in California and 10,000 in Illinois (Israel, the Central the Central Bureau of Statistics, 1994). Gold (1999a) refers to research on the Jewish population in Los Angeles and New York. According to these censuses, the number of the Israeli born in Los Angeles is 14,170 and in New York 22,000. Findings based on the US Census in 2000 indicate that most Israelis reside in the area of New York and New Jersey and in the state of California (Gold & Bozorgmehr, 2007).

In the current study, over half the respondents (51%) lived in Los Angeles when this research was conducted, 31% in Miami and 17% in Philadelphia. Since the sampling of the cities was intentional, this representation does not correspond to the proportions among Israelis residing in the USA. For instance, the population of New York and New Jersey (36% of the Israelis) is not represented (Israel, the Central Bureau of Statistics, 1994). However, the population in California is represented (23% of the total population of Israelis in the USA), and of two other cities such as Miami, with 4% of the Israelis in the USA.

SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND ECONOMIC ASSIMILATION OF ISRAELI MEN AND WOMEN IN THE USA: PREVIOUS STUDIES AND CURRENT STUDY COMPARED

Education attainment, occupational prestige and knowledge of English

Most studies dealing with Israeli immigrants in the USA found them to have a higher level of education and professional skills than the Israeli population as a whole, and higher than most immigrants arriving in the USA in recent years. These characteristics pertain to Israelis participating in the American population census in 1980 (Eisenbach, 1989), and are in line with findings in the 1990s (Cohen & Haberfeld, 1997) and those in 2000 US Census (Gold & Bozorgmehr, 2007).

Education level and occupational prestige are high among Israeli immigrants both when compared to the population in Israel and to the white population in the USA (Cohen & Haberfeld, 1997). For instance, among those aged 25-34, 39% have acquired higher education (16 years and more of schooling), compared to 16% in the corresponding age group in Israel. These data point to the salient tendency to emigrate among Israelis with higher education (Ritterband, 1978, 1986). Yinon Cohen found that a third of the Israeli immigrants in the USA have an academic degree, and their education level is much higher than that of other Americans, including European immigrants in the USA (Cohen, 1988). Cohen's hypothesizes that the Israelis acquired their education for the most part in Israel. In a later article (1989), Cohen mentions that the Israeli immigrants' education is higher than that of Israelis in general. Gold (1999a) presents similar findings. The 2000 US Census (Gold & Bozorgmehr, 2007) found that immigrants of Israeli/ Palestinian origin are a well educated group, 23% having completed a bachelor's degree and 20% a higher one.

Findings in the current study show that the median of the respondents' years of study before emigration was 12 years, and a few years after immigration the median was 13 years. As to the academic degrees they acquired, the proportion of those with advanced degrees is higher among Israelis residing in the USA than in the population in Israel, and higher than the white population in the USA (Cohen, 1989; DellaPergola, 1986; Eisenbach, 1989; Gold, 1999a; Ritterband, 1978). For instance, among those aged 25-34 residing in the USA, 39%

reached the level of 16 years and more of study, compared to 16% of the corresponding age group in Israel (Eisenbach, 1989). These findings resemble those of the current study, although the rate of those with 16 years of education and more is still very high in this study. On the other hand, an additional comparison with Gold's study points to opposite trends, as seen in Table 6, in view of the representation of those with higher education in Gold's sample (Gold, 1995). Cohen (1989) maintained. unlike previous studies. that while the socioeconomic characteristics of Israeli immigrants in the USA are higher than those of the average European immigrant, these socioeconomic advantages diminish in a specific group of Israelis. The Israelis, unlike the Europeans, tend to belong to either of two groups of earners and occupations: groups of high income and occupational prestige, or those where income and occupational prestige are low, some even living on the poverty line. Cohen defines it as "economic dualism". This can be explained in two possible ways: a dichotomous situation among the Israelis before emigration, or a polarization process in a homogeneous group of Israelis in the host country (Cohen, 1989; Cohen & Tyree, 1994). In the 2000 US Census it was found that 41% of Israelis are professionally or managerially employed (Gold & Bozorgmehr, 2007).

Similarly to Cohen's findings (Cohen, 1988, 1989), some economic dualism does exist among the Israelis in the current study: A relatively high concentration of Israeli immigrants have highly prestigious jobs as compared to other Americans and to European immigrants, while a considerable proportion is concentrated in occupations with medium prestige as merchants or owners of small businesses. Rosenthal & Auerbach (1992) maintain that the occupational status of Israelis in New York has dropped, while the current study observes upward trends. Today there are more professionals among the Israelis than there were before emigration or one year after it.

The Israelis' knowledge of English is an important resource in their assimilation in the USA. It can be said that the higher their occupational prestige and their education level, the more successful will be their cultural assimilation in the USA (knowledge of English, reading the American press and exposure to American culture). Yet no correlation was found between socioeconomic status and social assimilation in the USA (Rosenthal & Auerbach, 1992).

			American Census 1990 ¹				
	Current Study		Los Angeles		New York		
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Years of education							
0-11	10	11	18	13	17	20	
12	14	11	26	25	28	29	
13-15	23	29	23	35	22	22	
16+	53	49	33	27	33	29	
Occupations of	employed	l Israelis					
Acad., tech. professionals	34	51	17	33	21	41	
Managers/ administrators	24	11	23	23	23	13	
Clerical/ Service/ sales	17	33	30	43	38	55	
Blue collar	8	2	30	1	16	1	
Occupational status of the employe		d					
Hired employees	41	61	64	84	69	86	
Self-employed	59	39	36	16	31	14	

 Table 6: Comparison between current and other studies of gender related socioeconomic data (in percentages)

¹Source: The 1990 American Census in Gold and Phillips, 1996

In the current study, over 80% of the Israelis rated their knowledge of English, both spoken English and reading comprehension, as very good. This finding resembles those of Bozorgmehr and his associates (1996) and Gold (1994b) as to Israelis in Los Angeles, and differs from those of Rosenthal and Auerbach (1992), who maintained that only 40% of Israelis in New York rated their knowledge of English was good.

PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOR MARKET, PROFESSIONAL STATUS AND INCOME

Most Israeli men (81%) and 45% of the women participate in the labor market. Their income rises with the number of years spent in the USA (Eisenbach, 1989). In the 2000 US Census (Gold & Bozorgmehr, 2007) it was found that about 40% of Israeli women are employed in the

American labor force, which approximates those of foreign-born women generally. But it is lower than the labor force participation rate in Israel, 52% for Jewish Israeli women (Fogel-Bijaoui, 2003). According to studies by Yinon Cohen and Andrea Tyree, 56% of the men and women are concentrated in professional, managerial and technical occupations (Cohen & Tyree (1994). According to Gold (1999a), about a quarter of the Israelis are sales persons.

Among the Israelis living in New York, 26% (31% of the men and 14% of the women) are self-employed. In Los Angeles, 26% of the Israelis (36% of the men and 16% of the women) are self-employed. However, some studies point out that about half the Israelis in the USA are self-employed (Gold, 1994b). Moreover, the 2000 US Census reveals that a third of the Israelis, like other immigrants from the Middle East, are self-employed (Gold & Bozorgmehr, 2007).

The findings of the current study show that while in Israel, 73% of the respondents were hired workers, 13% were self-employed and an additional 14% unemployed, today in the USA 45% are hired workers, 45% self-employed and 10% unemployed. The proportion of respondents working full time is 67%, 14% work part-time and the rest do not work (students, housewives, discharged employees). Similarly to the findings of other studies (Cohen, 1988, 1989; Gold, 1994b; Bozorgmehr et al., 1996), and in view of their high level of education, the Israelis in the current study have a high income. Over half the respondents today earn more than \$60,000 a year, and 83% own an apartment or a house. Gold (1999a) found that in 1989 Israeli men earned \$49,000 a year, earning \$3,000 more on an average than native white Americans. In the current study, the respondents earn similar average sums: in fact the men nominally earn more, but the figures are not corrected for inflation in the USA in the last ten years.

GENDER RELATED COMPARISON OF SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Findings pertaining to Israeli women immigrants born in kibbutzim reveal that their attainments with respect to occupational prestige are higher than those of the men, thus differing from other women immigrants caught in the double bind phenomenon (Lev Ari, 1997). However, despite their egalitarian cultural-social background, even in this group the women generally emigrated to accompany their spouses, a lower proportion are employed and they find refuge in higher studies that compensate them for social deprivation and dissatisfaction with life in the USA (Sabar, 2000). The economic rewards differ among Israeli men and women immigrants; women are less satisfied with emigration to the USA and lose some of the human capital they had in their country of origin (Gold, 1994a).

The current study shows that the level of education of the men and the women was similar in Israel, with a slightly higher proportion of men at the highest level of education. The same is true in the USA, where on the whole there is a rise in the proportion of those with higher education. Although no significant differences were found between Israeli men and women at the higher levels of education, occupational prestige appears to be gender related in Israel, after a year in the USA and also at the time of the research. A higher proportion of the men is concentrated in professions with high occupational prestige. At the same time there are more men than women at the less prestigious end of the continuum. Women are concentrated more in occupations of medium prestige. Thus economic dualism (Cohen, 1989) characterizes more immigrant men than women, as it did before emigration. Correspondingly, income levels among the men are higher than among the women, both a year after arrival in the USA and today. Differences between the men and the women even increase over time. After one year in the USA, 12% of the men compared to 3% of the women reported annual earnings of \$60,000, while during the research 82% of the men and only 25% of the women reported such levels of income.

Differences in occupational prestige also increased, when comparing the situation during the research and the earlier one in Israel. Gold (1999a) maintained that 33% of the women in Los Angeles and 41% of the women in New York were professionals, including teachers. In the current study, from the gender perspective, and similarly to studies by Gold (1999a) and by Bozorgmehr and his associates (1996), women are concentrated in clerical occupations. Table 6 shows that, compared to another study, (Gold & Phillips, 1996), the rate of professionals among men and women in the current study is higher than that of Israelis in the 1990 Census, both in Los Angeles and in New York. Table 6 also reveals that the rate of the selfemployed, in particular among the men in the current study, is significantly higher than that of the women, and of Israeli men and women in the 1990 Census. One explanation may be that ten years elapsed between that census and the current study, during which people changed their type of occupation.

Other researchers characterize the Israelis in the USA as unorganized, temporary and marginal immigrants. Despite the resources of this group – knowledge of English, Caucasian, higher education and property – they are perceived as marginal and alienated in American society (Kass & Lipset, 1982; Mittelberg & Waters, 1992; Sobel, 1986). By contrast, Gold (1997b) points out that within this group are immigrants organized and active within an ethnic community, unlike immigrant professionals from other countries who are cut off from their own communities. Moreover, Gold found little evidence that Israeli immigrants position themselves on the margins of American society or that they are not connected to the ethnic community of other Israelis (Gold 1997b, 1999a).

Nevertheless, there is today a striking difference between men and women in their occupations. The proportion of men in full time high prestige positions is almost twice that of women (88% and 46% respectively), while a significant proportion of women in this category work only part-time. Not a single man reported that he was in charge of the household, while 19% of the women described themselves as housewives. We see that, compared to the situation in Israel today, a lower proportion of the respondents, and in particular women, work full time. These findings resemble those of Eisenbach (1989), reporting a rate of 81% of the men and 45% of the women working, although he does not state whether full or part-time. However, Rosenthal and Auerbach (1992) maintained that in their study of Israelis in New York, 4% of the women declared that they were housewives in Israel and 36% that they were housewives in the USA. In the current research the proportion of the employed women is higher than that in the New York study.

The proportion of women who were employees in Israel was higher than that of men, and this is also the situation today in the USA. However among both men and women the rate of the self-employed has more than doubled (20% of the men and 6% of the women in Israel) as opposed to 58% and 31% of self-employed in the USA today.

A study of Israelis who have returned home in the last five years (Lev Ari, 2006), found two main groups, differing in demographic and

socio-economic characteristics. One group has high socioeconomic characteristics – these are women born in Europe, America and Israel, aged 35-44, secular and employed, who bought a house or an apartment in Israel. The other group is composed of young men, originally from Asian or African countries, with few years of schooling, employed at a lower rate and a lower proportion among them own an apartment or a house. Thus the characteristics of this sample of returnees indicate a socio-economic advantage of the women over the men.

In two components of the knowledge of English, oral expression and reading, the respondents reported that they had attained a similar level. A gender related difference in the knowledge of the language exists with respect to writing, women reporting greater competence. No significant differences exist in spoken Hebrew and English between the spouses, nor among the children.

SUMMARY

In recent years, studies dealing with immigrants describe a young population with high socioeconomic characteristics. Israeli immigrants in the USA are relatively young but with high socioeconomic characteristics, that of the men slightly higher than that of the women. In the current study, the proportion of Israeli men and women was similar, most were married (intentional sampling) and older than the average for Israeli immigrants in the USA, their socioeconomic characteristics even higher. Possibly because they are older, their attainments characterize immigrants who have spent more years in the USA. In the current study the proportion of those with academic education was high, and usually their occupational prestige as well. More than half the respondents defined themselves as Ashkenazi and most came from urban areas in Israel.

When the immigrants were compared according to gender, differences were found in some socioeconomic characteristics. The proportion of men with a high level of education (advanced academic degrees) was greater than that of women, more of the men were employed and more were self-employed. Their income was also higher than the women's, and the gap in this respect even grew wider over time in the USA. The prestige of the men's occupations was higher on the average than that of the women. With that, men were concentrated at the two extremes of the occupational prestige scale, while women generally had jobs of medium prestige. The level of knowledge of English was high and similar among men and women.

In the current study, the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the research population resemble those found in previous studies of Israeli immigrants in the USA. However, this study dealt with married couples and consequently the participants are older and their attainments in education and income greater than those of other Israelis in the USA.

Gender and Economic and Social Assimilation

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASSIMILATION OF MEN AND WOMEN IMMIGRANTS IN THE USA

The USA as a host country facing huge waves of immigration throughout its existence, has had to face the problem of assimilating millions of immigrants. This became a crucial social-political issue. Most sociologists in that field maintained that in several generations, the immigrants would be absorbed into American society (Waters, 1990). At the end of the 20th century, the USA once more became a host country as it had been a hundred years earlier. However, the new migrants of the last three decades were different from the previous group. They differ among themselves in their ethnic origin and social status, and the absorbing American society too has changed in political and economic composition and in its patterns of immigrant assimilation. The recent assimilation of immigrants, as complex as it was previously, is now fundamentally different (Rumbaut, 1997).

Massey (1995) asserts that the model of assimilation of European immigrants at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th is no longer appropriate to the new immigrants from Asia and South America. In his opinion, the new immigrants will be seen to belong to distinct ethnic groups according to their generation, status and identity, with a socioeconomic background different from that of European waves of immigration. Later immigration studies emphasize structural and group factors affecting various groups of immigrants, creating different patterns of assimilation, on various levels of success and failure (Grasmuck & Grosfoguel, 1997). Since the 1930s the rate of immigration has risen by a million each decade. In 1970 the proportion of non-Americans was 5% of the population and in 1988 their proportion in the US labor market reached 9% (Borjas & Freeman, 1992). As a result of this tendency and of the corresponding drop in the proportion of the American born in the labor market, immigrants made up over a quarter of the workers entering the American labor market in the years 1980-1988.

The main sources of immigration to the USA are Europe, Canada, South America and Asia. In the 1950s most immigrants, 53%, came from Europe and 25% from South America. In the 1980s the proportion of immigrants from Europe fell to 11%, while the proportion from Asia and South America rose to 42% each. The change in their countries of origin is the main reason for the drop in the level of the immigrants' skills in comparison with the local population.

Since the composition of the immigrating populations has changed, so have their socioeconomic characteristics. If in the 1950s the typical immigrant had 0.4 years of education more than the average American, in the 1970s the typical immigrant had 0.7 years less. This gap differs according to countries of origin, and since changes have occurred in those countries, the level of education and of their human resources has changed correspondingly (Borjas & Freeman, 1992).

The changes in the immigrant population led many Americans in the 1990s to support 'migration economy', namely control of the type of immigrants permitted to enter the USA. The number of legal immigrants had been growing and in the 1990s was even higher than in 1900. The number of the American born within the labor force appears to be decreasing gradually. The 1950s baby boom generation is aging, and the number of women in the labor market has already reached a maximum. The immigrants impact on two domains: the American economic structure and their countries of origin. It is therefore important to research this field and to plan a clear future-oriented policy (Borjas & Freeman, 1992).

The USA as the main immigration target is a good test case for research on women immigrants. In the USA women are a majority among legal immigrants. Thus they constitute a significant component, and differences between women and men immigrants should be examined on issues like status and gender role division as manifested in American society. Women's role as agents of change is significant in easing the transition from the norms and values in the country of origin to those in the host country (United Nations, 1995). The family plays an important role in creating new ethnic, religious and national identities in the host country, in particular among Jewish families that traditionally play a central role in forging Jewish identity and promoting community involvement (Gold, 1992). Since 1930 over half of the immigrants to the USA have been women. There are significant differences in the economic, political and legal status of the women immigrants compared with any other group. Women immigrants are subject to patterns directing them to specific types of occupations, and thus their exploitation as salaried workers is reinforced (Phizacklea, 1983).

STRUCTURAL EXPLANATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC ASSIMILATION OF IMMIGRANTS

When examining questions of the success of various ethnic groups in the absorbing society and what determines their place within the occupational structure, we find that some groups tend to concentrate in occupations with low occupational prestige.

The Ethnic Succession Model provides one explanation for such ethnic occupational stratification, postulating that every group of immigrants enters the occupational hierarchy at the bottom, engages in the less prestigious occupations, and earns the lowest wages. As a result, other ethnic groups longer within the occupational structure are pushed up one rung on the occupational ladder. This model is appropriate only in times of economic growth and labor shortage. Mobility up the occupational structure, then, is related to the immigrants' time of arrival (Semyonov & Lewin-Epstein, 1987).

On arrival in the host country, immigrants encounter difficulties in economic assimilation, since they are not familiar with the labor market, have not mastered the language nor always the skills fully relevant to local occupations. Therefore some immigrants are ready at first to do jobs that are less in demand and less well paid. In the course of time, many succeed in moving up the socioeconomic hierarchy. They acquire greater knowledge of the host country's language, of the local culture and customs, and of the labor market and its possibilities for advancement. In the course of time, some immigrants attain a standard of living similar to the local population, or an even a higher standard (Borjas & Tienda, 1993; Chiswick, 1978; Raijman & Semyonov, 1997).

Lieberson (1980), who created the basis for this model, tried to explain the inferior status of Afro-Americans compared to white immigrants from Europe and immigrants from China and Japan, in the American labor market. His research question was - Why were Afro-Americans less successful economically than these immigrants? Lieberson found that there were other explanations besides the racial difference related to skin color and their past as slaves. Lieberson compared immigrants from Europe, mainly at the beginning of the 20th century, with Afro-Americans from the southern states migrating north after Emancipation. In both cases migration was voluntary. However, different alternatives and different pull-push factors operate on immigrants from various countries of origin. Those who do not arrive as refugees, from countries with alternatives for a higher standard of living and occupation, tend to seek jobs from a different occupational range than those arriving from countries with a lower living standard. One might expect this gap to close in the course of years, but it did not and it exists to this day (Lieberson, 1980).

Other researchers (Borjas, 1982, Borjas & Tienda, 1993; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990) pointed out the gap between the economic attainments of European and Mexican immigrants, whose attainments were lower. It is assumed that immigrants of the same national origin will have similar skills and cultural backgrounds. This, however is not so when they come from societies made up of diverse ethnic groups (For differences between Arab and Jewish immigrants from Israel, see Cohen and Tyree, 1994). Therefore in the current study we shall also distinguish among ethnic groups from Israel and the differences in their economic and social assimilation in the USA.

Economic structures such as industrial organizations, play a significant role in social stratification, in the creation of differential socioeconomic status and non-egalitarian distribution of rewards (Kraus, 1992). Research and observation of immigrants from less developed countries or areas to more developed industrial regions, and where the distribution of immigrants in the industrial sector is not equal, found the immigrants concentrated in specific types of industry or occupations. Their jobs tended to demand less skilled work where wages and social prestige are low, working conditions are hard or

unpleasant and to offer few opportunities for upward mobility. Workers there are not organized and employer-employee relations depend on personal acquaintance.

How can the demand for this type of labor force be explained? Migration is above all a response to the demand for labor. Migration can provide workers for unpopular jobs at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy, and the immigrants have the characteristics appropriate for the secondary sector in a dual labor market. The dual labor market relates to center and periphery and to capital and labor force relations within the economic system, under conditions of economic growth and uncertainty. The labor force is also dual: less skilled and less organized workers who can be fired or hired as the need arises, as opposed to the permanent and skilled workers (Piore, 1979).

A model dividing the labor market into a primary and a secondary sector explains the secondary labor market concept. Immigrants from less developed to more developed countries are usually found in the secondary sector. Here the jobs are not secure, and are at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. However, a high demand for labor in a specific sphere may make a job less secure and cause it to display the characteristics of the secondary market though in essence it belongs to the primary market. For instance in the USA, qualified foreign born physicians without an American license to practice were employed under secondary market conditions, making it possible to hire and fire them easily. Every state has different laws regarding the dismissal of temporary workers, the demands for their skills, and the relationship between the occupations on the primary and the secondary market and the competition between them (Piore, 1979).

Light and Bonacich (1988) point to another phenomenon, whereby groups of immigrants possessing specific skills succeeded in finding jobs within the stratified system of industrialized societies and in exploiting structural conditions. Replacing the gradually dwindling native born middle class that held such jobs for years, new immigrants were hired and provided services to minority populations (Light & Bonacich, 1988). Additional factors affecting immigrant assimilation in the host country are the socioeconomic and cultural background of the country of origin (resources of the country of origin), time of immigration, and place of residence in the host country, determining the structure of opportunities they will encounter. Immigrants from economically developed countries tend to enjoy a higher occupational status and higher salaries than those from less developed countries. The ethnic succession model mentioned above cannot adequately explain the forging of stratified systems (Larenthal & Semyonov, 1993).

The immigrants' human capital – whether acquired in the country of origin or in the host country – also contributes to their economic assimilation. In research on immigration to Israel, it appears that in most cases human capital acquired in the country of origin provides a lower return than that acquired in the host country. Knowledge of the language, labor market experience in the host country and additional education after immigration raise the return for the education acquired in the country of origin (Friedberg, 1995).

Finally, today's immigrants have variable integration into the US labor market according to class and education Prior to 1960s, even native born ethnic and racial minorities, as well as women of all national origins, even those with high status credentials, were excluded from major corporations, from the higher academic echelons and from similar prestigious employment. While unskilled and illegal immigrants remain marginal, skilled and educated immigrant men and women and US-born minorities now enjoy more rapid social mobility than was possible in the past. Furthermore, due to global competition and the permanent demand for highly skilled technical and professional workers as well as for the unskilled, migrants with substantial capital resources maintain transnational links and thus reinforce their advantage in both country of origin and host society, enjoying the best of both worlds (Gold, 2000b).

Structural explanations of gender differences vis-à-vis immigrants' economic assimilation

Migration usually involves downward mobility. Most immigrants find jobs that are less desirable for them from the point of view of the generally accepted hierarchy in the host country, and women are even more steeply downgraded than men from their status in the country of origin (Boyd, 1984; Phizacklea, 1983; Sullivan, 1984). Marxist and feminist theories, and one that combines both, deal with the working lives of women (Eisenstein, 1979). Women will most probably be exploited both in the labor market and in the household, as they are women, foreign born, and in the case of immigration, they may also belong to races in a minority in the USA. When Marxist and feminist theories compare women and men immigrants in the sphere of work, the hypothesis is that women will be oppressed both due to their position in the labor market and because they live in a patriarchal society. Although the women immigrants' occupational prestige in their country of origin may have been higher, they are still in inferior to the men in occupational prestige in the host country. They have fewer job opportunities than the men. A comparison between men and women regarding similar aspects of their work points to women's double disadvantage, contributing to their inferior position in the labor market in the host country (Eisenstein, 1979).

Clark (1991) predicts the proportions of women in prestigious and influential jobs from three theoretical points of view. The findings in his study supported two of the three perceptions. The modernization approach, and in particular the assertion that industrialization increases the women's chances to find prestigious jobs, was not significantly substantiated in his research. The global-dependent approach was supported to some extent. Global dependence is measured by the frequency of multinational corporations in a dependent country. Investment by such organizations appears to have a significant negative impact on the women's relative attainments of prestigious jobs. One possible explanation is the attempt of the governments of dependent countries to create an environment maximally profitable for foreign investment, and therefore women's jobs are not within the prestigious range. Clark's findings refuted the third approach, that of economic discrimination, maintaining that a rise in women's participation in the labor market reduces their chances to attain more prestigious positions. He by contrast asserted that the higher the proportion of women in the labor market, the greater their chances to enter groups of professional jobs, and the proportion of men and women in those groups gradually becomes balanced.

Evans (1984) proposes an additional explanation for women immigrants' problematic status in the labor market: the commitment of some immigrant families to traditional family roles. The absence of social networks in the host countries but existing in the countries of origin make it hard for women to enter the labor market in the first years after immigration, since they have to look after their children. In general, the studies show that women earn less than men in the labor market. According to the human capital approach, the reason for gender differences lies in the difference between men and women in their human capital; namely occupational attainments, education, labor market experience, part- or full-time working hours and the level of responsibility in the workplace (Kraus, 1992). Neo-classical theories (Amsden, 1980) perceive the working lives of women immigrants as a matter of their choice, on the basis of cost-effectiveness for them. Their inferior status in the labor market compared to American born women results from their own choice: if they choose to take low-skilled jobs, they do so because acquiring skills would reduce the benefits that accrue. According to Mincer and Polachek (1980), the human capital women immigrants, is a function of their choice among alternatives, reflecting a cost-effectiveness approach.

Boyd (1984) examined the occupational attainments of women immigrants in Canada. Their average occupational status is lower than that of men and of the Canadian born. This status is affected not only by age, place of residence, social status and educational attainments, but also by their belonging to two groups with a negative status: women and foreign born women. A sample survey of test cases, dealing mainly with women immigrants from the Third World to North America shows differences among the women immigrants themselves. Some differences in occupational prestige acquired in their country of origin are reflected in their occupational prestige in the host country, even though all these women came from the Third World. Some had professions of fairly high occupational prestige, but their difficulty lies in translating that prestige into the terms of the local market in the host country. The working lives of women immigrants differ from those of men and of women born in the host country. They are likely to belong to the secondary sector in the labor market and to low prestige occupations. The facts point to the double disadvantage of being women and foreign born, leading to their concentration in less prestigious jobs than men immigrants (Boyd, 1984).

Semyonov and Raijman (1994) examined the concept of double disadvantage within the context of immigration and gender in Israel. They found that women immigrants are less successful in finding jobs, and those who succeed found less prestigious jobs than they had in

their countries of origin. The double disadvantage stems from the limited structure of opportunities in the labor market, as a result both of gender segregation and of difficulties in learning the language, as well as their gender role in the private domain that prevents them from exploiting the possibilities of finding jobs appropriate to their skills. Thus their assimilation in the labor market is more costly for them than for the men. Moreover, within the context of the double disadvantage, Raijman and Semyonov (1997) maintain that in the research of men and women immigrants in Israel between the years 1979 and 1983, the women suffered from the double disadvantage both with regard to their rate of labor market participation and their occupational attainments. Lower rates of women immigrants participated in the Israeli labor market than did men immigrants and their jobs had lower prestige. The gender related segregated structure, limiting the variety of opportunities available to women explains their situation. Moreover, women in typically more prestigious feminine professions require a mastery of Hebrew, therefore jobs like secretarial work and teaching are not appropriate for them. Structural family constraints as well limit women immigrants in Israel to jobs typical of the secondary market, as child care is considered mainly their domain. This study found an interaction between gender and ethnic origin. Women immigrants from less developed countries constitute the most disadvantaged among the immigrants, since they suffer from a double disadvantage, at least during the first years after immigration (Raijman & Semyonov, 1997).

Immigrants from economically developed societies tend to enjoy a higher occupational status and higher income than those from less developed countries. Nevertheless, it appears that among women immigrants in Israel, groups that immigrated relatively late from less developed countries, compared to women who came from developed countries, tend to attain a higher occupational status than would be expected judging by their human capital, thus benefiting from their immigration (Larenthal & Semyonov, 1993).

Finally, as mentioned earlier, today's immigrants are integrated into the US labor market in a variable manner, according to class and education. Skilled and educated immigrant men and women, and US born minorities, now enjoy more rapid mobility than was possible in the past (Gold, 2000b).

GENDER AND ECONOMIC ASSIMILATION IN THE USA: FINDINGS OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

The structural approach perceives the situation of women immigrants as the outcome of several forces and processes (Amsden, 1980; Baron & Norris, 1976; Bergman, 1980; Reich et al., 1980). These theories hypothesize that women immigrants will be concentrated in different types of jobs than men. On the macro level, as a group, both men and women will do jobs different from those of the American born. Studies show that both men and women immigrants take jobs that for the most part belong to the secondary market, spurned by the American born.

Long (1980) points out that generally the salary of women immigrants is higher than that of the American born. Nevertheless, although women immigrating with their families work after arriving in the USA to help support them, in the course of time their husbands' salary rises and some of them stop working, so their income then drops. Women immigrants are very likely to belong to the secondary sector of the labor market. As both women and foreign born, they suffer from a double disadvantage that concentrates them in less prestigious occupations than men immigrants (Boyd, 1984; Lim, 1995; Zlotnik, 1993).

When men and women immigrants were compared, studies found that that women tend to concentrate in specific occupations, inferior to those of the men as to the skills required and salaries paid - within the secondary market. Studies dealing with the lives of women immigrants, in particular those from the Third World, found that in the 1970s they and the American born, as well as the men, improved their positions in the occupational structure. Immigrants began to work in the services and blue-collar jobs spurned by the American born. These require few skills and offer limited possibilities of social mobility; they provide workplaces for immigrants and ethnic groups, many of them women (Tienda, et al., 1984). However, the growing rate of women in the labor market gives them access to more prestigious jobs. Women immigrants tend to exploit opportunities to improve their labor market status in the host country, and their economic involvement is usually greater than that of women who did not migrate (United Nations, 1995). A comparison of the women's situation in their country of origin with that in the host country - whether or not they were employed before migration, whatever their age at the time of migration, their knowledge

of the host country's language, the length of their stay there, and their role in the private domain before migration – all point to the extent of their assimilation in the labor market in the host country (Lim, 1995; United Nations, 1995). These aspects will also be examined in the current study.

A new approach to gender related research on immigration focuses not only on gender, but also inter alia on ethnic origin, status. According to this approach, Menji'var (1999) and Espiritu (1999), each studying different immigrant populations, found that higher earnings by the women in the wake of immigration, as compared to the men, leads to various outcomes. Menjivar's study of women immigrants from Central America, found that the American labor market prefers women to men in this group, and their pay is higher than that of the men. However, these attainments of women from Central America do not necessarily lead to greater equality in their families. The nonegalitarian attitude inherent in the cultural norms in their countries of origin make Central American men feel threatened by the women's higher income rather than acknowledging its benefits. While women work in the American household and are exposed to the egalitarian norms in American families, the husbands continue to work with immigrants from their own country, and the norms they brought with them regarding gender equality are reinforced (Menjivar, 1999).

Espiritu (1999), in her study of women immigrants from East Asia, found that although a very high proportion participate in the American labor market, this does not necessarily benefit them, the outcome varying according to their occupational status. Women immigrants from the professional group, such as nurses from the Philippines, are well paid and their legal status in the USA is excellent, even enabling them to bring relatives to the USA legally. Their status in the family in the USA is more egalitarian than it was in the Philippines. However, there is no improvement in the status of self-employed women immigrants or blue-collar workers. The gender attainments of all women immigrants from East Asia are related to their origin and their status in their workplace in the USA.

Kurien (1999) studied only professional women immigrants from India living in southern California. She emphasized the dynamic interaction between gender and ethnic origin. Indian physicians, engineers and accountants experience an improvement in status within the household and their husbands help them more than they did in India. However, in local Indian organizations, the men are in key positions, and the women's status within them is lower than it was in India. This study, like research on women immigrants from Central America and East Asia, demonstrates that in studies of gender relations, different levels of analysis point to a variety of differences.

In conclusion we can say that the immigration of women received little research attention until the 1970s, when many women, immigrants among them, entered the labor market. The lives of men and women immigrants have similar features, at least during the first years after immigration, even though there are differences in their assimilation according to their countries of origin. Besides the similarities in the lives of both genders, there are specific features characteristic of the women, for instance in the sphere of work: Women immigrants are at a disadvantage: even in jobs having high prestige, their pay is lower and their opportunities narrower than those of the men immigrants. Immigrants are an exploited group compared to the American born, and the position of women immigrants is the most marginal. To be a woman and an immigrant is to be doubly marginal, and the situation is exacerbated by the racial and ethnic element. Nevertheless we must remember that the women come from different countries and different worlds, and there may be differences in the patterns of their assimilation.

GENDER AND ECONOMIC ASSIMILATION OF ISRAELI IMMIGRANTS IN THE USA

Few researchers have dealt with gender and occupational mobility among Israeli women immigrants. A study examining this issue among the kibbutz born found that women's attainments with regard to occupational prestige is higher than the men's. Here they differ from other women immigrants who suffer the double disadvantage of being both foreign born and women (Lev Ari, 1991). Another study of kibbutz born immigrants shows that despite their egalitarian culturalsocial background, the women in this group too generally follow the men in migrating, a lower proportion of them are employed and they are compensated by higher education for their social deprivation and dissatisfaction with life in the USA (Sabar, 2000). Among Israeli immigrants the economic rewards of the women differ from those of the men; Israeli women are less satisfied with immigration to the USA and lose some of the human capital they had in Israel (Gold, 1994a).

The current study also found that men's expectations of professional success were fulfilled to a greater extent than those of the women, and their personal satisfaction in the wake of immigration was also correspondingly greater. When they were asked to compare Israel and the USA, the men perceived American society as providing more opportunities for fulfilling their potential than did the women.

GENDER AND SOCIAL MOBILITY OVER TIME AMONG Israeli immigrants in the USA

A cardinal Israeli motive for migration is the desire to fulfill aspirations for social mobility. Social mobility of Israeli men and women in the USA was examined in three domains: higher education, occupational prestige and income. The comparison dealt with the immigrants' situation in Israel and the situation today in the USA, in the above domains. The comparison was also made with the situation after one year in the USA, regarding occupations and income. I examined what happened on the whole to women and men in the wake of immigration at each point in time, and for each gender separately. The figures presented show the findings of the t test regarding the differences between the averages at the various points of time, for the women and the men.

It appears that in the wake of immigration, both women and men attained social mobility in all three domains. As to years of education in Israel and today, men do have a slight, not significant advantage. In this respect the situation at the start and the attainments today are similar and substantial for both genders (Figure 2). However, the men's income is significantly higher than the women's, both after one year in the USA and today. en have almost doubled their income, and although the women's income has also increased, it has not done so to the same extent (Figure 3). Figure 2: Comparison between average years of study in Israel and in the USA: men and women (1 = 12 years of study or less; 2 = 13-15 years of study; 3 = 16+ years of study)

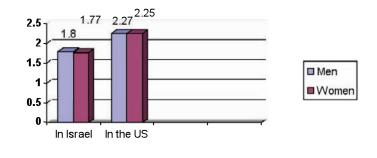
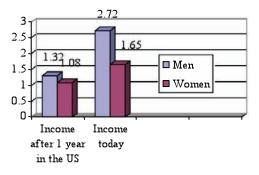


Figure 3: Income after one year in the USA and today: men and women

(1 = \$19,000 - \$39,000; 2 = \$40,000 - \$50,000; 3 = \$60,000 +)



Regarding the prestige of the occupation, the distribution including both men and women (the variable is nominal, therefore the difference between averages was not examined), the findings show that in Israel 22% of the men were academics (most prestigious) and 23% were graded blue-collar (least prestigious). After a year in the USA, 24% of the immigrants were academics, the percentage in the blue-collar category was the same as in Israel. The current occupational prestige situation is such that 30% are academics and only 8% blue-collar workers.

Significantly, the number of self-employed increased threefold, from 11% in Israel to 19% after one year in the USA to 34% today! The self-employed are graded 4 on the prestige scale, so the average appears to have dropped, but in fact a rise in occupational prestige is expressed in a greater number of prestigious jobs and fewer less prestigious ones. Few women are at the bottom of the occupational prestige scale, and most are concentrated in technical and educational jobs (prestige No.2) and clerical jobs (prestige No.5). This situation is similar at the three points in time, with a tendency for a small rise in occupational prestige a year after arrival in the USA. There is also a rise in the rate of academization, from 9% in Israel, 8% a year after immigration, but 16% today, double what it was after the first year in the USA. Immigration generated less social mobility among women than among men. (See Table 7).

	Men			Women			
Occupation	In Israel	After 1 year in the USA	Today	In Israel	After 1 year in the USA	Today	
Academic	22	24	30	9	8	16	
Technical & educational	12	13	4	31	41	34	
Managerial	12	5	7	3	2	5	
Self-employed	11	19	34	3	9	13	
Clerical	19	16	17	48	34	30	
Blue-collar	24	23	8	6	6	2	

Table 7: Occupational prestige at three time points: in Israel, after one year in the USA, and today – men and women (in percentages)

Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Ν	192	195	233	174	145	191

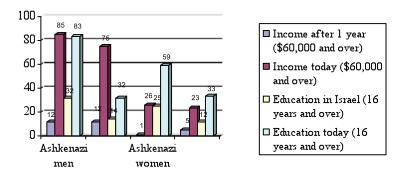
INTERACTION BETWEEN GENDER, ETHNIC ORIGIN, AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Among Israeli immigrants in the USA, belonging to a sub-ethnic group has a significant effect on social mobility, and among women we find interaction between gender and sub-ethnic origin (Larenthal & Semyonov, 1993; Raijman & Semyonov, 1997). In the current study, the educational level of Ashkenazi men and women was higher, both in Israel and in the USA today, than among the Sephardic men and women. However, the difference between Ashkenazi and the Sephardic men increased in the wake of immigration to the USA, whereas among the women, the difference decreased somewhat (see Figure 4). These findings support previous studies that maintained, that while socioeconomic differences related to ethnic origin were very significant among the men (controlling for human capital variables), they were negligible among the women (Almquist, 1975; Semyonov & Kraus, 1983).

There was no significant difference on occupational prestige between Ashkenazi and Sephardic men in Israel, and a year after immigration. However, the difference increased in favor of the Ashkenazi men after a number of years in the USA and reflects the difference in education level. For instance, in Israel 15% of the Sephardic men were academics (the highest level of prestige on a scale of 6) and another 10% did technical and educational work (second prestige level); 28% of the Ashkenazi men were academics in Israel and another 11% did technical and educational work. In the USA today, 16% of the Sephardic men are doing academic work and another 7% technical and educational work, as opposed to 38% and 3% respectively among Ashkenazi men.

Among the women the situation is just the opposite: Today there is no significant difference in occupational prestige between Ashkenazi and Sephardi women. However in the past, both in Israel and after a one year in the USA, occupational prestige among Ashkenazi women was graded significantly higher. For instance, in Israel no Sephardi woman was an academic and 24% did technical or educational work, while 15% of Ashkenazi women were academics and 32% did technical or educational work. After some years in the USA, 10% of the Sephardic women defined themselves as academic and another 36% as doing technical or educational work, compared to 21% and 30% respectively among the Ashkenazi women.

Figure 4: Differences in average levels of education and income, according to gender and ethnic group



FACTORS INFLUENCING SOCIOECONOMIC ASSIMILATION OF ISRAELI MEN AND WOMEN IMMIGRANTS IN THE USA

In the current study, the first sphere chosen to represent success of Israelis' socioeconomic assimilation in the USA was their income. Table 8 shows a comparison at four stages, with a number of independent variables at each stage, differing in content. When only background variables in Israel are involved, gender is the main variable influencing current income, thus showing that Israeli men are more successful than women in their economic assimilation. Additional factors explaining different income levels are home locations in Israel, showing that those who lived in a rural location have a income higher level. A high education level in Israel also leads to a income high level in the USA. An additional factor explaining economic success relates to motives for migration; those who migrated mainly for economic reasons apparently attained their objectives.

	Equation Number					
Variables	1	2	3	4		
Gender	-1.020**	-1.033**	-1.006**	-1.030**		
	(0.15)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)		
Ethnic origin	-0.095	-0.038	0.034	-0.039		
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)		
Location in Israel	0.113*	0.088	0.114*	0.126*		
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)		
Education in Israel	0.098*	-0.059	-0.031	-0.018		
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)		
Migration motives	0.198*	0.16	0.183*	0.153		
	(0.09)	0.10))	(0.10)	(0.10)		
Equal decision to	4.971	0.109	0.093	-0.07		
migrate	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)		
City of residence in the	_	0.316*	0.275*	*0.263		
USA–Philadelphia	_	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)		
City of residence in the	_	0.170*	0.176	0.175*		
USA–Los Angeles	_	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)		
Current level of	_	0.071	0.064	0.073		
education	_	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)		
Length of time in the	_	0.107	0.018	0.03		
USA	_	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)		
Professional status in	_	0.352**	0.305**	0.279**		
the USA	-	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)		
Level of knowledge of	_	0.357**	0.317**			
English		(0.08)	(0.08)			
Equality in current	_	_	0.029	0.026		
gender role division			(0.06)	(0.06)		
Feeling at home in	_	_	0.194**	0.171*		
USA			(0.05)	(0.06)		
Feeling Jewish	_	-	0.201	0.193		
			(0.13)	(0.13)		
Using social network	_	_	0.024	0.025		
for economic assimilation			(0.05)	(0.05)		

Table 8: Factors affecting the level of income in the USA (standard error) N = 246

	Equation Number					
Variables	1	2	3	4		
Using social network	_	_	-0.016	-0.02		
for social assimilation			(0.04)	(0.04)		
Israel preferable to	_	-	-	-0.146		
USA as labor market, income				(0.16)		
Israel preferable to	_	_	-	-0.059		
USA for fulfillment of potential				(0.07)		
Satisfaction with USA	_	-	-	0.041		
				(0.08)		
R2	0.37	0.5	0.53	0.54		

* P<0.05; ** P<0.01.

Definition of dependent variable Level of current income:

1 = \$19,000-\$39,000; 2 = \$40,000-\$50,000; 3 = \$60,000-\$80,000

Adding the variables related to human capital enables one to examine whether the socioeconomic status acquired in the USA can be considered a variable mediating between the background variables in Israel and successful economic assimilation in the USA. In this equation the gender effect still exists, but the effects of the other background variables in Israel have disappeared, while the additional explanation of the dependent variable is now mediated by background variables in the USA. The residents of Philadelphia and Los Angeles are more successful than those living in Miami and indeed, the socioeconomic status of the Philadelphia residents is higher than residents of the other cities. The self-employed are more successful economically than employees, and knowledge of English is obviously significant for economic success, as noted by Chiswick (1978).

When variables relating to assimilation in the USA are also included, the gender effect is again felt, as well as the effect of the home location in Israel and the motives for migration. The place of residence in the USA, professional status there, and knowledge of English also continue to have an effect. Additional mediating variables are related to the assimilation process itself, and mainly to social assimilation.

Finally, variables relating to attitude to assimilation in the USA were included. The effect of gender is still very strong and contributes

greatly to the explanation of the dependent variable. Attitude to assimilation did not mediate an additional explanation beyond those presented in Equation 3, predicting the various levels of income, but the effect of the motives for migration disappeared. Economic success, manifested in the current level of income, is explained mainly by gender, socioeconomic attainments in the USA, and success of social assimilation Additional factors to those in Tables 2 and 4 are location in Israel: 1=city 2=town 3=rural settlements; migration motives: 0=non-economic 1=economic; current level of education: 1=12 years of education 2=13-15 years 3=16 years and more; length of time in the USA: 1=3-14 years 2=15-44 years; professional status in the USA: 0=employee 1=self-employed; level of knowledge of English 1=small degree 2=medium 3=high degree; equality in current gender role division 1=non-equal 2=equal to some extent 3= equal; feeling at home in USA/ feeling Jewish: 1= not at all/to a small extent 2= to some extent; 3= to a large/very large extent; using social network for economic/ social assimilation: 0=did not use 1=used 1 component 2= used 2 component 3= used 3 component or more; Israel preferable to USA as labor market, income/ fulfillment of potential: 1=USA preferable 2= no difference 3=Israel preferable; satisfaction with USA: 1= not at all/to a small extent 2= to some extent; 3= to a large/very large extent. (see Table 8)

The second sphere of economic assimilation is the subjective domain, displaying to what extent the person has fulfilled his/her desire for economic success; the respondents' reports are measured on the Likert Scale (1 = not at all; 5 = to a great extent). We used a statistical method similar to that in Table 8 and found that, ultimately, the fulfillment of desire for economic success, such as the current level of income, was related to gender – the men felt they had fulfilled their desire for economic success in the wake of migration. However, unlike level of income, we found no significant effect of the background variables in Israel, the main factor in this respect was successful social and cultural assimilation in the USA, so that whoever was well absorbed socially and culturally also felt that his/her desire for economic success was fulfilled by migration to the USA.

In conclusion regarding the success of economic assimilation as manifested in the Israelis' income and their sense of having fulfilled their desire for economic success, gender can be said to be the decisive factor. In this respect, similarly to previous findings, the double disadvantage phenomenon (Boyd, 1984) is manifested in the effect of being both women and immigrants on the women's economic success compared to their husbands'. Although both women and men benefited from immigration in terms of social mobility, the men benefited more especially in terms of income level, when comparing Israeli men and women today rather than a year after immigration.

Social assimilation among immigrants

The immigration process disconnects the immigrants from their familiar world and transfers them to a physically and socially unfamiliar environment. They sense the loss of the world they know and gradually adapt to the new one. Naturally, the old familiar world is not totally erased; to what extent depends on age, environment, individual personality and the like (Jackson, 1969). The changes the immigrants experience in their contacts with the new society may occur inter alia in the domains of attitudes, behavior patterns, sense of belonging to a group, language, social roles, beliefs, personal identity (Lerer, 1993).

A distinction must be made between settling in the host country and the immigrants' integration within it. The former includes the community and social factors related to decision-making leading to migration. Integration comprises adjustment to the new society and the acculturation and assimilation of individuals or groups in the new society (Kritz & Keely, 1981). Gordon (1964) maintained that cultural assimilation is only the first stage in the assimilation process, while its final stage is social-structural assimilation, manifested by extensive entry into the institutions and organizations of the host society.

'Sojourner' is another concept related to immigrants' assimilation. Such immigrants do not intend to absorb into the host country; they perceive immigration as temporary and intend to return home in the near future (Herman & LaFontaine, 1982; Kass & Lipset, 1982; Shokeid, 1988). Park (in Weisberger, 1992) defined another assimilation related concept – 'social marginality'. This situation arises when people are trapped between two or more cultural worlds, the concept defined in relation to Simmel's concept 'stranger'. The stranger is one who lives simultaneously both near and far, the one who "arrived today and stayed on tomorrow". Marginality is a phenomenon

accompanying urbanization and industrialization. Marginal people, according to Park, are the strangers who are confused on their way to successful assimilation, who connect to the dominant culture by sacrificing their ethnic distinctness to the melting pot, as opposed to Simmel's stranger, who is always in a state of tension between distance and closeness. The concept 'marginal' according to Park is not sufficiently complex, since the marginal person cannot disconnect from the old world to be absorbed in the new, but nor can s/he return to the country of origin and shake off the influence of the host country (see in Weisberger, 1992).

Marginality can be defined by four ideal behavior types: maintaining a balance, return, relocation and assimilation. All four together describe marginal people's attempt to solve the complexity of their ambiguous situation. Assimilation means being absorbed within the new society by giving up the cultural beliefs and customs of the country of origin. The concept 'return' designates the person's return to his/her original cultural group, after confronting the host culture. This return already includes elements of the new culture and a different interpretation of the previous culture. 'Relocation' reflects the choice of a third way, bridging the contradictions between the two cultures (Weisberger, 1992).

Immigrants differ in their willingness and aspirations to undergo a cultural and social change and resemble the absorbing society; some prefer to preserve their own culture and avoid change and assimilation. Absorbing societies too differ in the extent of their expectations of cultural change, witness the difference between the melting pot approach with its expectation of total cultural change in the direction of the host society, pluralism that anticipates a less significant cultural change and marginality involving very little contact with the immigrants. Cultural similarity between the immigrants and the absorbing society also affects the extent of assimilation, adaptation and cultural change (Lerer, 1993). One should distinguish between assimilation processes, because on arrival, many immigrants intend to remain only temporarily, and in time, for various reasons, their immigration becomes permanent (Kritz & Keely, 1981). Settlement and assimilation processes affect the host society too, influencing, for example, social stability as against various degrees of social conflict. Immigration can widen ethnic divisiveness and exacerbate conflicts and social instability in the host country. Its size, similarity to the host society and the extent of that society's permissiveness towards immigrants are factors determining the success of an immigrant group's assimilation (Kritz & Keely, 1981).

SOCIAL ASSIMILATION OF ISRAELI IMMIGRANTS IN THE USA

A model in the ethnic-social domain parallels the ethnic succession model in the economic sector. The new group "inherits" the social, geographical and ecological roles of the groups longer in the country, while some former elements are preserved and additional ones appear, bringing the subsequent group some new acquisitions. For instance, when groups of Jews in the USA became professionals and moved to the suburbs, their stores in the city were sold to the Chinese, some synagogues were turned into Baptist churches, and immigrants from Haiti, India and South America moved into Jewish neighborhoods (Gold, 1992).

The assimilation process of Israeli immigrants in Los Angeles has features resembling the ethnic succession model, with certain differences. Like earlier waves of immigration, the Israelis enter the occupational structure, the neighborhoods and social roles of established ethnic groups that have moved on. The Israeli immigrants thus participate in American Jewish life, preserve some previous socioeconomic structures and also contribute to changes in these structures within the community where they live. Older Jewish neighborhoods may change with the entry of Israelis, when not all the Jews leave the old neighborhoods, Jewish institutions or occupations, as in other cities in the USA. In Los Angeles, as an illustration, the process combines preserving Jewish hegemony in housing, religion, society and the economy and integrating the Israelis into the old institutions even as new ones are created (Gold, 1992).

The current study revealed, as regards social ties between Israelis and American Jews, that Israelis in Philadelphia consider it less important than those in other cities to live in neighborhoods where there are many Israelis. The older the respondents are, the less important it is. Most respondents have Jewish friends – the longer they are in the country the more they have. Moreover, the majority report that most of their friends are Israeli, while in Los Angeles the Israeli connection is more widespread than in the other cities.

Women immigrants' social assimilation and their roles in the private domain

Women play an important role in the family's socialization by preserving cultural patterns, norms and values inherent in the family's life from the society of origin, alongside the process of assimilation within the host society (Gold, 1995). Assimilation of women immigrants in the labor market and their socioeconomic mobility have interested researchers more than their social assimilation owing to the high rate of the women's participation in the host country labor market, and their role as initiators of contacts there, creating a foothold for husbands, brothers and fathers (Lim, 1995).

Studies found that Israeli women like other women immigrants, act as the main agents of socialization into the new society. However, immigration to the USA causes some married women to lose positions they held in Israel and they are thus less satisfied in the host country.

Unlike the attitude towards assimilation in the USA of the Israeli men immigrants in this study, more than half the women (54%) were satisfied with their lives in Israel. In this they differ from the men; only 43% of whom expressed great satisfaction on this variable. The findings show that today in the USA the situation has changed completely, the men being generally more satisfied than the women (74% compared to 66% – the difference is not statistically significant). Similarly there is a difference in that the men reported that their wives were satisfied with their life in Israel, and the women stated that their husbands are satisfied with their lives today, in the USA.

Moreover, when the Israelis were asked to compare the USA and Israel in various areas, few gender differences were found. As to possibilities of personal fulfillment, while most respondents preferred the USA, the proportion of men exceeded that of women (72% and 64% respectively). Similarly regarding the question whether Israel was preferable, very few respondents agreed, but more women (9%) did so than men (3%). The rest, approximately a quarter of both the men and the women stated that in this respect there was no difference between the two countries.

Although both men and women are likely to benefit from the economic advantages of living in the USA, due to the gender division of roles, with childcare left mainly to the women, most economic benefits are actually enjoyed by the men, while women lose the family and social environment of the country of origin (Lipner, 1987; Gold, 1994a). Indeed the findings of the current study show that the gender role division in the private domain is not at all egalitarian. The traditional role division existed in Israel and even more so today in the USA. In this sphere the gender difference is greater than in any other variables examined. The traditional feminine roles are still consigned mainly to the women, as reported by the women and the men.. Cleaning, cooking and the purchase of food are carried out mainly by women. There is greater equality in childcare, in household routines and in establishing social connections, but most of the burden still falls on the women. However, in Israel the men bore the main responsibility for the family's livelihood, and this is even truer today in the USA.

As claimed in other studies (Fogiel-Bijaoui, 1999), despite the changes in the family as an institution in post-modern societies, they have not affected its internal gender role division. Household tasks constitute a type of 'gender factory'. Israeli immigrants in the USA come from a society where the family occupies a cardinal place. In Israel, even though both men and women appreciate the value of the family, gender role division dictates that men are to provide the family's livelihood and the women are responsible for the household, the children, and creating social networks (Gold, 1994a; Izraeli, 1982; 1990). This pattern persists after immigration to the USA (Gold, 1994a) and even among the kibbutz born, who were socialized into a society aiming at gender equality (Sabar, 2000).

In general men who did not adhere to egalitarian gender role division in Israel continue to behave in the same way in the USA. Only a few men report that the gender role division between them and their wives was egalitarian in Israel, with no significant change in the wake of migration. A high proportion of the women consider the gender role division both in Israel and today in the US non-egalitarian, while only half the men consider the gender role division in Israel to have been non-egalitarian. Today in the USA, 44% of the men and 48% of the women consider it non-egalitarian; thus the perception of lack of equality in gender role division has dropped slightly in the course of assimilation in the USA.

Does lack of equality in gender role division pertain to all women immigrants, or does it differ according to socioeconomic status? Not totally in line with the assertions of other researchers (Izraeli, 1982; 1990; Gold, 1994a), it appears that for some women, immigration to the USA led to a more egalitarian division. Obviously, in families where it was egalitarian in Israel, it remained so in the USA. However, the socioeconomic status acquired by the women in the USA also led to more egalitarian division; the higher the women's level of education, the more egalitarian the gender role division in their homes in the USA. Several researchers (Epstein, 1987; Thoits, 1987) explain this finding by changes in the normative social system penetrating down through the social hierarchy, so that those higher up will enjoy them first, but in the long run women and men from all the strata will benefit from the structuring of new role expectations.

There are also interactions between equality in gender role division and success in social assimilation. This is manifested in a positive relationship between social assimilation and intensive involvement with Israelis in the workplace and more egalitarian gender role division in the USA. However, women with more Jewish friends reported less egalitarian gender role division in the USA. A tangential explanation may be that mainly women with a middle or low level of education have Jewish friends. This resembles Uriely's findings (1995) that Israelis in lower socioeconomic strata more frequently seek contact with the Jewish community to improve their chances of social mobility.

In spite of the change in gender role division for some of the women in the USA, that division remained, in the words of Fogiel-Bijaoui (1999) "a factory for gender", in particular in the men's eyes. Unlike the men, women with a higher socioeconomic status, involved at work with Israelis and well absorbed socially are those who improved their status in the private domain. Few men changed their perception of the role division in their homes after immigration to the USA.

INTERACTION BETWEEN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASSIMILATION OF ISRAELIS IN THE USA

To understand the interaction between the social structure in the host country and the immigrants' human resources, expectations and aspirations during the process of assimilation, the immigrant group divided theoretically into three basic categories: should be professionals, entrepreneurs, and unorganized marginal immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). Professionals possess abilities and skills easing their assimilation in the labor market in the host country, and their ethnic ties are less significant in their assimilation process (Liu, 1992; Markowitz, 1993; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). Entrepreneurs possess economic and community resources, but are unable to find well-paid work. Most become self-employed and need extensive activity in the ethnic sphere to fulfill their economic and social aims (Light & Bonacich, 1988; Light et al., 1991). The third type of immigrants are those whose immigration process left them without any resources, and their contacts with the host society and their ethnic group are weak and marginal (Gold & Kibria, 1993; Rumbaut, 1989).

According to various studies, Israelis in the USA belong to all three groups: Some are professionals in a variety of spheres, academics, musicians and others who feel the need to develop their abilities to the full in the USA (Sobel, 1986). Other studies deal with the entrepreneurs (Freedman & Korazim, 1986). However, most studies of Israeli immigrants describe them as belonging to the third category, as unorganized, temporary and marginal. Despite the resources of this group (knowledge of English, Caucasian origin, higher education and income), they are perceived as marginal and alienated within American society (Kass & Lipset, 1982, Lipner, 1987; Mittelberg & Waters, 1992; Sobel, 1986).

In a later article Gold (1999b) maintains that contrary to most studies asserting that the Israeli immigrants can be divided into professionals, entrepreneurs, and marginal immigrants – mostly the last – his findings point to a somewhat different classification of their assimilation. For instance, in the professional group there are immigrants active within their ethnic community, unlike other professionals who are alienated from it. Gold found almost no evidence that Israeli immigrants fit the definition of most other studies, that they are on the margins of American society and not connected to the ethnic community of other Israelis. Far from being alienated from other Israelis, the immigrants are interested in cooperating with them on both socially and economically in order to give their children an Israeli identity (Gold, 1997b, 1999a).

Rosenthal and Auerbach (1992) found no relationship between socioeconomic status and social assimilation in the sense of close friends among Americans, invitations to their homes, and desire for a social relationship with them among Israelis living in New York., Contrary to these findings, the current study found economic and social assimilation to be related

FACTORS INFLUENCING SOCIAL ASSIMILATION OF ISRAELI MEN AND WOMEN IMMIGRANTS

The current study examined social assimilation of Israeli men and women immigrants by means of the variable 'feeling at home' in the USA, as reported by the respondents on the Likert scale (ranging from 1 = not at all, to 5 = to a great extent). Similarly to the analysis presented in Table 8, the influence of the independent variables was examined hierarchically.

When the demographic-social variables related to the situation in Israel before migration were analyzed, social assimilation, tested by 'feeling at home', differed according to gender. From the social point of view, men were absorbed better than women. Ashkenazi immigrants with a low level of education, living in Israel in the cities, were also absorbed socially. However, when background variables in the USA were added, the influence of gender and ethnic affiliation disappeared. With that, the original location and the level of education in Israel still had an effect. The current level of income and the length of time in the USA are the main explanatory factors; a high income and a long stay predict successful social assimilation.

When the variables pertaining to egalitarian gender role division in the USA, cultural assimilation and Israeli identity were added, the influence of all Israeli background variables disappeared. Income and length of time remained influential and an additional variable appears: Israeli identity. Those having a strong Israeli identity fail to absorb socially. It appears too that the more the Israelis drew on assistance from components of the social networks in their cultural assimilation, the more successful it was.

Finally, all the variables pertaining to attitude towards assimilation in the USA were analyzed together, as well as the influence of interactions between gender and ethnic origin and between gender and current level of education. The effect of the original location in Israel again surfaced; Israelis from the cities were absorbed better socially, while the influence of income and length of stay in the USA persisted. The negative influence of Israeli identity continued, as did invoking a great deal of assistance from social networks for the sake of social assimilation. Those who perceived the USA as preferable to Israel for fulfilling their potential, were also more successfully absorbed socially. Israelis who were generally satisfied with their lives in the USA also succeeded in their social assimilation. In an examination of interaction between gender, ethnic group and education, the effect of gender disappeared completely as an explanation of the variance in the dependent variable. Social assimilation is not gender related, as opposed to economic assimilation. In Table 9, which follows, are independent variables additional to those in Tables 2, 4 and 8: Current income: 1 = \$19,000-\$39,000; 2 = \$40,000-\$50,000; 3 = \$60,000-\$80,000; feeling at home in Israel: 1 = not at all/to a small extent 2 = tosome extent; 3= to a great/very great extent; great extent.

It may be said that social assimilation, unlike economic assimilation, is unaffected by gender. Successful social assimilation first and foremost relates to a high level of satisfaction with life in the USA, and obviously we cannot assume mono-directional causality, since it is unclear what came first. However, a general feeling of satisfaction in the USA contributes to and is intensified by successful social assimilation. Those who felt more at home in Israel have not succeeded in their social assimilation in the USA, have preserved their Israeli identity or live in an Israeli bubble. More successful social assimilation is typical of Israelis from cities in Israel, as opposed to those from smaller places. Successful social assimilation is positively affected by successful economic assimilation. This points to an interaction between the two, while those whose economic assimilation in the host country failed, feel gradually more marginal and alienated from the new society (Liu, 1992; Markowitz, 1993; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). A contradiction thus arises vis-à-vis the findings of Rosenthal and Auerbach (1992) regarding Israelis in New York, where no connection was found between these two types of assimilation.

	Equation number			
Variable	1	2	3	4
Gender	-0.142*	0.135	0.108	0.255
	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.26)
Ethnic origin	0.157*	0.132	0.093	0.053
	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.11)
Location in Israel	-0.123*	-0.163	-0.087	-0.143*
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)
Education in Israel	-0.111*	-0.121*	-0.052	-0.046
Education in Israel	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Migration motives	-0.078	-0.115	-0.076	-0.093
Migration motives	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Equal decision to	0.07	0.093	0.077	-0.081
migrate	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Current education	_	0.012	-0.024	1.96
Current cudeation		(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Current income	_	0.247**	0.206**	0.122*
Current meome		(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Length of time in the	_	0.327**	0.328**	0.217*
USA		(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Professional status	-	0.144	0.113	0.041
Tiolessional status		(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Level of knowledge of	_	0.09	0.085	0.086
English		(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Equality in current	_	-	0.093	0.07
gender role division			(0.06)	(0.06)
Feeling Jewish	_	-	0.029	
			(0.01)	
Feeling at home in Israel	_	-	-0.352**	0.249**
reening at nome in Israel			(0.07)	(0.06)

Table 9: Factors influencing social assimilation in the USA (standard error)***, N= 244

	Equation number			
Variable	1	2	3	4
Using social network for economic assimilation	-	_	-0.063	-0.016
			(0.05)	(0.04)
Using social network for	_	-	0.120*	0.076*
social assimilation			(0.04)	(0.04)
Israel preferable to USA				0.248
as labor market, income				(0.15)
Israel preferable to USA for fulfillment of potential	_	-	_	-0.128*
				(0.07)
Satisfaction with USA	_	-	_	0.532**
				(0.06)
Interaction between gender and ethnic origin	_	-	_	0.036
				(0.17)
Interaction between gender and education	_	-	_	-0.036
				(0.17)
R2	0.03	0.18	0.28	0.47

* P<0.05; ** P<0.01; ***See comments regarding Table 8

Definition of the dependent variable, Feeling at home in the USA:

1 = not at all; 2 = to some extent; 3 = to a large extent.

SUMMARY

Research on immigrants' assimilation patterns have recently focused on interaction between the economic and social structures of the absorbing societies, and the new immigrants' resources and expectations and their compatibility with the society in the host countries (Gold, 1997a). This chapter sought to examine the gender differences in economic and social assimilation vis-à-vis background variables in Israel, structural differences between the Israeli and American labor market and in the family domain, as predicting the structure of opportunities encountered by the immigrants (Friedberg, 1995).

The main findings show that economic and social assimilation indeed affect each other. Immigrants absorbed successfully by the economy are also successfully integrated in society, and are satisfied with their life in the USA. For those not successfully absorbed in the economy the opposite is true. Gender appears to predict mainly high levels of income and a sense of fulfilled aspirations for economic success in the wake of migration. While the structure of opportunities in the USA contributes to social mobility of both men and women, men's advancement is more significant. Although both men and women benefit from immigration in terms of social mobility, men derive the greater benefit, in particular when comparing their level of income with that of Israeli women today vis-à-vis their situation relative to the men one year after immigration. The findings of the current study support those of Gold (1994a) and of Sabar (2000), showing that the economic rewards of men and women differ, while Israeli women are less satisfied with immigration to the USA and lose some of the human capital they had in Israel. This counters the findings of another study, dealing with kibbutz born women, showing that their attainments in occupational prestige are higher than those of men, and in this respect they differ from other women immigrants who suffer from double disadvantage (Lev Ari, 1991).

When comparing the structure of opportunities in Israeli society and in the USA, many women today consider success in the public domain more important, i.e. their work outside the home in the labor market. The new element in this change is the combination of household work with a professional job outside the home – combining the private and the public domain. As a result, women in contemporary American society have better prospects of building a social status not dependent on husband or father (Epstein, 1987; Etaugh & Poertner, 1991).

In the current study, women also improved their prospects in the wake of immigration, though less so than men. The change in their status within the family or private domain also reflects their rise in status due to immigration to the USA, but this occurs mainly among women of high socioeconomic status. These findings support the claims of Epstein (1987) and Thoits (1987) that the higher a person's level of education and the wealthier s/he is and if s/he has a supportive social framework, s/he has greater prospects of structuring personal relations different from those customary in the surrounding society and of relieving the tension between multiple roles. People with a socioeconomic advantage, less affected by structural and normative limitations, may be able to structure personal relationships and expectations related to their new roles and gender related expectations.

The normative system changes frequently and change may penetrate down the social hierarchy. While those higher up will be the first to benefit, in the long term men and women from all strata of society will benefit from the structuring of these new role expectations (Epstein, 1987; Thoits, 1987).

Raijman and Semyonov (1997), and Larenthal and Semyonov (1993) asserted that gender and ethnic origin interact, so that women immigrants from less developed countries suffer from a triple disadvantage compared to women immigrants from more developed countries. The women in the current study arrived from the same country, but with different country of origin resources: Israeli women of Sephardi origin had less education and lower prestige than Ashkenazi women. However, while among the men the gap between Sephardi and Ashkenazi grew in favor of the latter, among the women the gap diminished. These findings support previous studies that asserted that while socioeconomic differences related to ethnic origin (when human capital variables are controlled) are very significant among men, they are negligible among women (Almquist, 1975; Semyonov & Kraus, 1983). The apparently limited influence of their ethnic origin on the women's attainments is because fewer women are employed and more are discriminated against economically just because they are women (Lieberson & Waters, 1988). As for interaction between economic and social assimilation. Rosenthal and Auerbach (1992) asserted that no statistical relationship was found between socioeconomic status and social assimilation, while I claim that social assimilation is related to economic assimilation. Regarding social assimilation, Gold (1995) and DellaPergola (2001) maintain that women immigrants play a significant role as socialization agents in the transition between the culture of the country of origin and that of the host country and are in fact responsible for the social assimilation of the whole family. The findings of the current study do not show that the women were substantially more successful in their social assimilation than the men, even though it is considered their sphere of activity.

Nor does the women's ethnic origin or education level help explain the variance in the success of their social assimilation. However, a more egalitarian gender role division does affect social assimilation positively. Thus women enjoying greater equality in the private domain are also absorbed more successfully in the new society. In the current study, immigration enables Israeli men and women to attain social mobility in the economic sphere. All enjoy the structural advantage American society provides in the public domain. However, women are less affected by it than men. Immigration to a society presumed to be more egalitarian in the private domain too does indeed effect a change in a more egalitarian direction, but only among women of high socioeconomic status.

CHAPTER 6: Cultural Assimilation and Ethnic Identity

ETHNIC IDENTITY OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE USA

Generally speaking, it is possible to distinguish between personal and social identity. Personal identity involves the characteristics specific to a certain individual, like personality traits. It includes attitudes, perceptions and beliefs that people have about themselves, like the perception of being the children of their parents. Social identity embodies the characteristics people share with others through belonging to social groups, while the groups' characteristics and the significance they ascribe to them affect their self-perception. Every person belongs to several social groups, among them a family, a nation, and an occupational group. The significance of belonging to each group affects his/her identity. One aspect of social identity is ethnic identity (Tur-Kaspa Shimoni et al., 2004).

Assimilation or Americanization was a common goal in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Immigrants were expected to abandon Old Country traits and replace them with traits from Anglo-American culture (Anglo conformity). That policy of immigrant assimilation was the Melting Pot, meaning that the immigrants' ethnic identities and identifications were supposed to dissolve and assimilate into American society. Another school of thought was pluralism. The first asserted that in the course of time, the ethnic identity issue is no longer relevant for the immigrants. The second, pluralistic approach did not consider ethnic assimilation inevitable, and granted more respect to immigrant cultures than Americanization does (Gold, 1997c; Waters, 1990).

Until the 1960s researchers perceived ethnic identity as permanent and socially it was clearly defined, while in recent years they have considered it to depend on circumstances (Gold, 1992), a social process in flux for part of the population, in particular when the origin of the respondents is multi-ethnic and white. Today research focuses on the ethnic identity of the individual, not of a group (Waters, 1990).

Unlike the waves of immigration to the USA in the early 20th century, when the immigrants learnt English and were absorbed in the developing labor market, recent waves of immigrants are more diverse integrate less readily into the labor market and into American society. The melting pot concept of the early 20th century has given way to assimilation of immigrants that is best defined as cultural pluralism or multiculturalism. Immigrant assimilation in the USA today is typified by preservation of distinctive identity rather than by integration (Clark, 1993).

When dealing with the ethnic identity of immigrants, one must differentiate between race, based on physical differences creating significant racial profiles and social hierarchy, as opposed to ethnic borderlines involving a blend of personal perceptions of a shared origin and shared symbols. Ethnic borderlines are today perceived as a process of individual negotiation as to the definition of ethnic identity in relation to the rest of society (Kibria, 2000).

An ethnic group can be defined on the macro level of historical and geographical borderlines of ethnic groups; cultural features, characteristics typical of the group; and the power relationships placing groups in a hierarchical order (Mittelberg & Waters, 1992). On the micro level, an ethnic group is defined through the dynamic interaction between ethnic identity and identification, preserving borderlines and moving within them, and how the individual decides personally regarding the importance of the ethnicity concept. On this level we examine the ethnic options people choose as a component of their identity, and to what extent they involve ethnic identity in their daily life.

Another concept related to ethnic-cultural identity is 'proximal host', the group to which the absorbing society is likely to assign immigrants arriving in the host country, in view of their appearance, national origin and language; how the immigrants perceive themselves within the ethnic concept; and whether the group closest in its characteristics will accept the new immigrants as suitable members (Mittelberg & Waters, 1992). Steinberg (1981) defines ethnicity as a concept involving ways of thinking, feeling and acting belonging to the essence of the particular culture. Since culture does not exist in a vacuum, frequently undergoes changes and depends on broader social processes, ethnic patterns must also be studied within their broad social context. Ethnicity is not a totally independent concept; its development must be examined in a broader historical-social context. How do social forces affect the form and content of ethnic identity; what is the specific relationship between ethnic factors on the one hand and broader economic, political, social and historical factors on the other (Steinberg, 1981)?

Various types of ethnic identity that can be plotted along a continuum according to the amount of influence ethnic identity has on individual behavior, and the extent to which the individual is able to choose ethnic identity. At one end of the continuum is the group of founders and their offspring, who do not claim to share a history or ethnic origin and define themselves as having a national identity in their country of origin. The second group - Irish Americans for example - has symbolic ethnic identity (see Gans, 1978) and identifies with a specific history, origin and nationality. Another type of group preserves its borderlines more closely and its ethnic components are not only symbolic. Such components determine marriage procedures, and membership in specific organizations, as among Jewish Americans. Yet another group of immigrants, composed of sub-groups, feels more separate from the host society and usually lives in specific neighborhoods. Two additional groups are defined as minorities and differ from the rest of society in physical and cultural characteristics. These are less involved in society and usually suffer from or complain of discrimination (Mittelberg & Waters, 1992).

COMPONENTS OF ISRAELI IDENTITY IN THE USA

Despite the secular Israeli image prevalent among Israeli immigrants, the identity of many has a Jewish religious component. For instance, Israelis living in New York reported that most of their friends are Jewish, and that they identify mainly with the Orthodox stream in Judaism, they keep most of the traditional precepts and belong to Jewish organizations in addition to a synagogue (Ritterband, 1986;

Rosen, 1993). Other studies of Israelis in Los Angeles and New York also point to strengthening adherence to Jewish precepts and more frequent attendance at synagogue than before immigration (Herman & LaFontaine, 1982; Rosenthal & Auerbach, 1992). A study carried out in New York (Rosenthal et al., 1994) showed that the first generation of Israeli immigrants in the USA was not assimilated within American society and culture. The authors maintain that a type of ghetto has been created. The measures of social assimilation revealed, inter alia, that only 35% defined themselves as greatly exposed to American culture and over half the respondents had not been to a synagogue. By contrast, most continued to speak Hebrew within the family, rejected the idea of adopting American names, and declared that they intended to return home. Over 80% stated that their closest friend was an Israeli, and that they preferred Israeli neighbors. Only 5% of the respondents belonged to any organization within the Jewish-American or non-Jewish community (Rosenthal et al., 1994).

Rosenthal and Auerbach (1992) distinguish between Israelis assimilated into Jewish-American, and those assimilated into non-Jewish American society, between four types of assimilation: Israeli, American-Israeli, American-Jewish and American. Their study of Israelis in New York shows that most respondents do not belong to any of these categories. This finding is congruent with the extent to which they perceive themselves as Israelis (70%), Israeli-Americans (23%), Jewish Americans (4%) and Americans (3%). While the first generation has not yet assimilated into American society, either Jewish or non-Jewish, their children define themselves as Americans, Shokeid, (1998), who also focused on Israelis in New York, found that Israelis avoid close contact with Jews in the USA and do not join their organizations, both for fear of being identified as Diaspora Jews and of being shunned by Jewish Americans. Unease about emigration from Israel as a collective phenomenon also deters them from participating in ethnic-Israeli organizations. Israelis in New York also expressed reservations about fellow emigrants who in their opinion display the negative characteristics of Israeli society (Shokeid, 1998).

According to Herman and LaFontaine (1982), a place where Jewish Americans and Israelis can gather and feel their affinity are Jewish community centers that are social-cultural in orientation and without a religious underpinning. Israelis feel more at ease there, since their programs are in essence like the activities of secular Israelis. The researchers maintain that these centers can bridge the gap between Israelis and the Jews of America. Similarly, Sabar (2000) found that it is abroad, in Los Angeles, that the kibbutz born immigrants discover their Jewishness. The traditional Jewish community in Los Angeles and the quality schools they run attract certain types of secular Israelis, who feel greater affinity with the traditional Jewish community on the west coast than with religious Jews in Israel.

Rosenthal and Auerbach (1992), who like Shokeid (1988, 1998), studied Israelis living in New York, found a relationship between their socioeconomic characteristics and their assimilation process. The higher their occupational prestige and education, the better their cultural assimilation as shown in knowledge of English, reading the American press and exposure to American culture.

'Subethnicity' among Israeli immigrants

In a specific group of immigrants there may be 'subethnicity', even though all these subgroups share ethnic characteristics with others, since each may have its own national identity and particular traditions. Besides, there may be socioeconomic differences between the subgroups. A case in point is the Iranian community in the USA composed of Moslems, Jews, Bahais and Armenian Christians (Der-Martirosian et al., 1993). Thus when research on identity according to ethnic origin should not ignore ethnic identity differences between subgroups. Another study found that subgroups that felt as a minority in their country of origin, will be less well absorbed and assimilated in the host country than subgroups that constituted the majority (Bozorgmehr, 1997).

Over the last 50 years the ethnically based social stratification of Israeli society has become enmeshed with religious and ideological streams. The main sub-ethnicities among Israeli Jews has been between Sephardim, now about a third of the Israeli population and Ashkenazim, (See Introduction, 7) who are some 40%. A third group, those born in Israel, are about 27% (Barzilai 2003). Members of the first group still dominate the working class and the unemployed, are relatively observant in terms of religion and tend to be right wing in political ideology. The second group have higher educational attainments and tend to be secular in their religious orientation and left

wing politically. Although there is a slight change in educational and occupational status among the new generation of Sephardim, Ashkenazim are still better represented in higher educational attainment and better paying jobs (Hart, 2004; Ben Porat, 2001).

Uriely (1995) found that Israeli immigrants in Chicago differ in ethnic origin and adherence to Jewish customs. More Sephardim belong to synagogues, observe Jewish holidays and keep the dietary laws than Ashkenazim. Uriely (1993) maintained that Israeli immigrants in Chicago differ in their ethnic affinity according to their status and the community origin. Those of high occupational status and education, of Ashkenazi origin, tend to be reluctant to assimilate in American society or in the Jewish-American community. By contrast, the group of eastern origin and lower status is more interested in becoming assimilated in American society or in the Jewish-American community. In this context Waters (1990) asserts that among white immigrants in the USA, the choice of ethnic identity is also related to social mobility, in particular when they connect ethnic identity less to discrimination than do non-white immigrants. Thus when in time the Israelis become more established, they can also choose an ethnic identity that gives them a feeling of belonging to a community, without paying the price of their individuality, a quality so highly valued in the USA.

In a study examining the behavior patterns of Jews in the USA as a community (DellaPergola & Rebhun 1997), there is additional evidence that like Israeli immigrants, the Jews in the USA are not a homogeneous community. Jews of European origin were compared to those born in the Middle East and North Africa. Groups of Jews living in the USA were compared to those living in Israel and were found to be ethnically heterogeneous. It appears that in the USA ethnic identity is significant; those who defined themselves as Jews from the religious standpoint also felt an affinity to a specific community. Sub-ethnicity is a separate though secondary component in the structure of the Jewish sense of identity. Similarly to the findings of the study related to Israel, the family and community component is central in the individual's place in the social structure, particularly among Sephardic Jews (DellaPergola & Rebhun 1997).

Ambivalence in the ethnic identity of Israelis in the USA

A study of developing an ethnic identity among Israeli immigrants to the USA calls for a comparison between Jewish identity in the two countries. Sociologists who dealt with Jewish ethnic identity in North America developed three types of measures: a) activity related to religious ritual and identification with the Jewish religion; b) level of social involvement and belonging to Jewish organizations; c) level of support for Israel. Nonetheless, comparing Israel and North America on these three measures is problematic.

In Israel, living as a Jew is an integral part living: communal life, work, Jewish nationality, the Hebrew language and the Jewish holidays, culture and the sovereignty are all components of national and public life. American society enables ethnic groups within it to preserve a separate citizenship and religious-ethnic identity. Thus the seminational identity of Israelis in the USA stems from a subjective secular feeling, as opposed to American Jewry's ethnic-religious identity based on attending synagogue services. Another difference lies in keeping to Jewish religious practice not followed by most Israelis in Israel. Secular Israelis in North America define themselves as Jews in the secular sense of the word and do not belong to Jewish religious organizations (Mittelberg & Waters, 1992). The definition of Israeli immigrants' identity is in fact ambivalent. It relates to the definition of nationality as different from religion, and the Zionist ethos that "the place of Israelis is in Israel" (Shokeid, 1988; Gold, 1992; Uriely, 1993).

Even after several years in the USA, most Israelis do not define themselves as Americans. For the most part they befriend other Israelis and talk of returning to Israel (Gold, 1997a). The identity of secular Israelis in the USA is rooted in nationality. Those Israelis concerned with religious adherence prefer the ultra-Orthodox and Chassidic stream to those of American Jewry. Some Israelis, who were secular before their immigration, become somewhat religious in the USA and even send their children to Jewish religious schools (Gold, 1999a). Some wish to be 'bi-national', and thus to enjoy temporarily the opportunities and openness of American society together with the warmth and intimacy of Israeli life (Gold, 1992). For Israeli immigrants to define themselves as Israeli-Americans is a problem: it admits that leaving Israel is final (Mittelberg & Waters, 1992; Rosen, 1993). Israelis in New York avoid ethnic enclave activity in economic, political or cultural spheres, apparently owing to the problem intrinsic in emigration from Israel. They are involved rather in sporadic meetings of small groups, a type of 'occasional ethnic gatherings' (Shokeid, 1998).

Uriely (1994) maintains that some Israelis that he studied in Chicago behave as 'temporary-permanent' immigrants and develop 'rhetorical ethnicity', similar in its characteristics to symbolic ethnicity (see also Gans, 1978). This type of immigrant, unlike those whose assimilation process displays greater identification with their place of residence in the USA, experiences a dynamic process of 'temporariness'. At the first stage they are similar to other sojourners in perceiving immigration as temporary. In the second, they become permanent sojourners, remaining in the host country, but not developing the identity of permanent settlers. During the second stage Israelis experience feelings of unease, confusion, guilt and desire to return to Israel. They develop rhetorical ethnicity, similar in its expression to symbolic ethnicity, but display somewhat greater ethnic involvement. Symbolic ethnicity also characterizes the third or fourth generation of immigrants from Europe who seek the their ethnic roots, while rhetorical ethnicity is typical of first generation immigrants threatened by the loss of ethnic or national identity (Uriely, 1994).

According to Kimhi's study (1990), Israelis living in the USA continue to define themselves as Israelis and share in Israeli culture. Many immigrants live in an Israeli bubble where they can continue to speak Hebrew and preserve Israeli culture (friends, music, Jewish holidays, dances, etc.). Several researchers (Kass & Lipset, 1982; Kimhi, 1990) maintain that they do not perceive themselves as part of American society nor as permanent residents, but rather as sojourners. Nevertheless, in the course of their stay in the USA, self-perception changes: they perceive themselves less as Israelis and more as Jews (Kimhi, 1990).

A study dealing with Israelis recently returned to Israel after several years abroad (Lev Ari, 2006), found that culturally, within the context of preserving Jewish culture, the Jewish custom observed most among most respondents was the Passover Seder (82%), while the other customs were kept mostly by the traditional or religious. Cultural assimilation in other countries did not preserve ethnic-Jewish borderlines, in particular not among secular respondents.

This study found that respondents spoke Hebrew at home, in particular with spouses (40%), and friends (11%). Using Hebrew at home was prevalent particularly among those living in North America (a large majority of the Israeli born), compared to those in European countries (a large proportion of those born abroad), who also used another language at home. Obviously, the use of another language is prevalent outside the home among all those living abroad. Preserving Israeli identity is manifested through speaking Hebrew within the family and with friends, in particular among those returning from North America (Lev Ari, 2006).

An explanation of the assimilation processes of immigrants according to the transnational theory states that immigrants having a large network of social, cultural and economic ties will avoid most obstacles characterizing transnational migration. However, some immigrants are deeply involved in the life of their country of origin even though they no longer live there (Piore, 1979; Light & Bonacich, 1988). By preserving a transnational identity, Israeli immigrants solve the problem of double obligation – both to Israel and to the USA. They keep up their ties with the state of Israel by speaking Hebrew, through interaction with other Israelis, by telephone contact with and frequent visits to the country, and through contributions to Israeli causes (Gold, 1994b, 2000a).

Gender and ethnic identity among Israelis in the USA

In a study dealing with Jewish women worldwide, DellaPergola (2001) maintains that Jewish women's role in preserving Jewish identity and as agents of socialization of the younger generation has recently become more significant. The family plays an important part in creating ethnic, religious and national identities in the host country, in particular among Jewish families, who by tradition are deeply concerned with forging Jewish identity and involvement in the community (Gold, 1992). Very few studies have focused on gender and the cultural-ethnic identity of Israeli immigrants. Kimhi (1990) did not focus on gender differences, but pointed out that the cultural-ethnic identity of Israeli women immigrants as Jewish and Israeli was more marked than was that of Israeli men. In other studies, also focusing on the kibbutz born (Lev Ari, 1991, 1997; Sabar, 2000), the findings revealed that women

immigrants have more marked Jewish and Israeli identity than kibbutz born immigrants.

In the current study, no gender related differences were found regarding Jewish identity, but with regard to American identity, over half the women and 41% of the men immigrants feel they are American only to a small extent. This study also found that the longer they live in the USA, the more pronounced their Jewish identity becomes, and their feeling that they are Americans. Israelis in Miami feel less at home in the USA than those in the other cities, and more at home in Israel. Young Israelis and those in the USA only a short time feel less at home there than older immigrants and those living in the USA longer.

Religious adherence differs according to place of residence. In Philadelphia more immigrants belong to Jewish-American streams, in particular the Conservative. Religious-Jewish adherence is more marked among those living in the USA longer than among Israelis living there a shorter period. In the course of time more join a synagogue and attend it more often. In general, few Israelis belong to Israeli organizations, but more do so in Miami.

The current study found no difference between Israeli men and women as to feeling Jewish. Over 90% reported that they feel Jewish to a great or very great extent. A similar proportion reported in the same way about feeling Israeli, also without any gender difference. Some 40% of the men and of the women reported that they feel at home in the USA. In general, they feel more at home in Israel: about two thirds reported feeling at home there to a great extent, without any gender difference. However, a larger proportion of women than men (52% and 41% respectively) stated they do not feel American.

The respondents' Israeli identity is on a high level like their Jewish identity, while they feel more at home in Israel than in the USA 66%). Those with a strong Israeli identity consider it important to have many Jews and Israelis living in their neighborhood, even though they do not have special ties with them. They belong to a synagogue, attend it frequently, and belong to Israeli organizations. Obviously when they compare Israel and the USA in a variety of economic, familial and personal spheres, they prefer Israel. Men and women are religious or traditional to a similar extent. This points to involvement in local activities and also reflects a certain level of assimilation. Approximately half of respondents stated that in Israel they were brought up in traditional homes and over a third in secular homes, the rest, some 10%, in religious homes. Regarding the atmosphere in their homes today, the number of Israelis defining themselves as traditional has risen as compared to secular and religious, without a gender difference. Over half the respondents do not belong to any Jewish-American religious sector, some 10% identify with the Reform movement over 20% with the Conservative, and less than 10% to the Orthodox, men and women to an equal extent.

As to Jewish customs, only a quarter of the Israelis actually belong to a synagogue, and most, both men and women, reported that they attend mainly during the High Holidays. As regards Jewish customs like lighting candles on Sabbath Eve (over 60% do so), celebrating Passover (almost all), keeping kashrut (over 40%) and fasting on Yom Kippur (over 70%), there is no gender difference. Few Israelis, only 10% of the men and 14% of the women, belong to Jewish organizations, and the difference between the genders is only marginally significant. An even smaller proportion belongs to Israeli organizations, both among men and women. About half the women and 43% of the men believe it important to live in a neighborhood where there are many Jews (no significant gender difference), and only about a fifth of the Israelis, men and women equally, consider it important to live in a neighborhood with many Israelis. As to close friends, a higher proportion of the women (82%) than men (69%) stated that most or all of their friends are Jewish. However, some 70% of both men and women reported that most or all their friends are Israeli.

Factors affecting cultural assimilation

Cultural assimilation has been seen to affect economic assimilation (Chapter 5). In this section we shall examine which variables predict successful cultural assimilation. The variable chosen to represent cultural assimilation is the level of Jewish identity Israelis feel in the USA; their ethnic identity is measured on the Likert scale (1 = not at all -5 = to a very great extent). Table 10 analyses the data as described in the findings in Tables 8 and 9. An additional independent variable was added to those of previous tables (Tables 2, 4 and 8): desire to influence the community: 1=not at all/to a small extent 2=to some extent; 3=to a large/very large extent.

When only the demographic-social variables are posted, characterizing the respondents while in Israel before emigration to the USA, gender has no effect on Jewish identity. With that, ethnic origin, the original home location in Israel, and equal share in the decision to emigrate are variables that do affect Jewish identity. Jewish identity is more pronounced among Sephardi Jews living in cities in Israel, and among those whose decision to emigrate was taken in a non-egalitarian way.

When current demographic-social variables in the USA are added, only the effect of ethnic identity remains, while at this point the motives for migration become additional mediating variables, showing that the Jewish identity of those who migrated mainly for economic reasons is low. A long stay in the USA helps to strengthen Jewish identity.

Next variables related to assimilation in the USA are added. The effects of ethnic origin and motives for migration are still evident, as well as the influence of longer stay in the USA. No mediating explanations were added by means of the various assimilation variables.

Finally, when attitudes towards assimilation in the USA and interactions between gender, ethnic origin and education were added to all the previous variables, the effects of motives for migration and prolonged stay in the USA were still evident, while the influence of ethnic origin disappeared. The desire to influence the community is now displayed as a mediating variable; those for whom it is important also possess a more marked Jewish identity. Gender has no effect on the level of Jewish identity, even when the interaction between gender, ethnic origin and current education is examined.

Background variables in Israel do not predict cultural assimilation. Nevertheless, the nature of motives for migration in the pre migration context helps explain the dependent variable; Jewish identity depends mainly on the length of stay in the USA and also on the current desire to influence the community. Economic or social assimilation do not predict success or failure of cultural assimilation.

Gender does not affect the sense of Jewish identity, meaning that the cultural assimilation of women resembles that of the men. This model provides few explanations. Unlike the previous models that showed a relationship between cultural and economic and social assimilation, in this model three variables explain variance in cultural assimilation: (1) length of stay in the US: the longer the stay, the stronger the Jewish identity; (2) Israelis coming from the cities have a stronger Jewish identity than those from peripheral or rural areas; (3) Israelis who consider it important to influence their community also have a strong Jewish identity.

	Equation Number			
Variable	1	2	3	4
Gender	0.056	-0.023	-0.015	0.284
	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.28)
Ethnic origin	-0.233**	-0.291**	-0.281**	-0.193
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.12)
Location in Israel	-0.087*	-0.073	-0.082	-0.084
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Education in Israel	0.01	-0.075*	-0.092	-0.081
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Migration motives	-0.111	-0.256**	-0.263**	-0.262*
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Equal decision to	-0.142*	-0.096	-0.084	-0.048
migrate	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)
Current education	-	0.033	0.034	0.024
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Current income	-	0.011	0.019	0.044
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Length of time in the USA	-	0.247**	0.260**	0.256**
		(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Professional status	—	-0.147	-0.152	-0.136
		(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Level of knowledge of	—	0.039	0.049	0.046
English		(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)

Table 10: Factors affecting Jewish identity (Standard Error)⁶ N= 242

	Equation Number			
Variable	1	2	3	4
Equality in current gender role division	-	-	0.043	0.043
			(0.06)	(0.06)
Feeling at home in USA	_	-	-0.035	0.041-
			(0.01)	(0.01)
Using social network for economic assimilation	-	-	-0.04	-0.055
			(0.04)	(0.04)
Using social network for economic assimilation	-	-	_	-0.016
				(0.16)
Israel preferable to USA	-	-	-	-0.006
for fulfillment of potential				(0.07)
Satisfaction with USA	-	-	-	0.015
				(0.08)
Desire to influence the community	-	-	-	0.145**
				(0.05)
Interaction between gender and ethnic origin	-	-	-	-0.124
				(0.18)
Interaction between gender and education	-	-	-	-0.086
				(0.11)
R2	0.06	0.13	0.13	0.17

P<0.05; **P<0.01

Definition of the dependent variable, Feeling Jewish:

1 =not at all; 2 =to some extent; 3 =to a large extent.

FACTORS INFLUENCING ISRAELI IDENTITY

Even after several years in the USA, most Israelis do not define themselves as Americans; their friends are mainly other Israelis and they talk of returning to Israel (Gold, 1997a). Israeli immigrants have a problem in defining themselves as Israeli-Americans, since this is an admission that they have left Israel for good (Mittelberg & Waters, 1992; Rosen, 1993). Uriely (1994) maintains that some Israelis he studied behave like 'temporary-permanent' immigrants and develop 'rhetorical ethnicity', similar in its characteristics to symbolic ethnicity. This type of Israeli immigrant, unlike those whose assimilation process displays greater identification with their place of residence in the USA, experience a dynamic process of 'temporariness'. Another aspect of developing an ethnic identity is through preserving a transnational identity (Gold, 1994b, 2000a). In this way Israelis resolve their double obligation to Israel and to the USA. According to research by Kimhi (1990) and Rosenthal and her associates (1994), Israelis living in the USA continue to define themselves as Israelis, share in Israeli culture, and in fact live in an Israeli bubble. One component of the immigrants' ethnic identity is their rapport with their country of origin.

Having examined the Israelis' cultural assimilation by means of their Jewish identity, I shall examine their Israeli identity and the factors affecting it. The variables explaining the potency of Israeli identity relate mainly to not feeling at home in the USA. which is the principal explanation for the variance in Israeli identity. (This was examined by means of multiple linear regression although the regression is not presented in a table, since Israeli identity does not figure as a central aspect of cultural assimilation.) There is no gender difference in Israeli identity. Nevertheless, examining the interactions between gender and ethnic origin, and between gender and education, revealed that a strong Israeli identity is for the most part characteristic of Sephardic women. They are the ones who tend to preserve the Israeli bubble when their socioeconomic status is lower than that of Ashkenazi women and certainly lower than that of the men, and their ethnic identity is rhetorical. Additional variables explaining Israeli identity are a strong desire to influence the community, and the perception that Israel is preferable to the USA as a place to fulfill personal potential.

Rhetorical ethnicity, transnationality, and an Israeli ghetto are concepts relevant in defining a proportion of the Israelis in this study. The concepts do not appear unequivocal when the identity and characteristics of those with a pronounced Israeli identity are examined. Such an identity sometimes contrasts with an American identity and successful assimilation, mainly among Sephardic women.

SUMMARY

Gender does not predict cultural assimilation, differently from the findings of other studies of Israeli women (Lev Ari, 1991, Sabar,

2000), according which the component of Jewish identity is no more pronounced than among Israeli men. In the current study the Jewish identity of men and women immigrants is similar, as well as the level of their adherence to Jewish customs. In general, feeling American though not prevalent is gender related; fewer women than men define themselves as American.

Those who preserve the Israeli bubble are not successfully absorbed in the USA, and these tend to be Sephardic women. This supports assertions by Bozorgmehr (1997) and Der-Martirosian and his associates (1993) that the ethnic identity of a group of immigrants may be divided into sub ethnicities who also differ in socioeconomic status that may stem from their countries of origin. Significantly, Israelis whose Jewish identity is pronounced are interested in influencing the community they live in. The same is true for Israeli identity; those with a marked Israeli identity consider it important to influence their community. Rosenthal and Auerbach (1992) found no relationship between Israelis' socioeconomic status and their social assimilation. Such a relationship exists in the current study: income level and place of residence in Israel favorably affect social assimilation. Israeli identity counteracts social assimilation in the USA and moderates it. offering some support for the findings of Mittelberg and Waters (1992) and Lipner (1987), which maintain that most Israelis even those whose income and education level are high, are marginal and alienated from American society.

Nevertheless, as in the findings of Rosenthal and Auerbach (1992), showing that the higher the occupational prestige and education, the more successful is cultural assimilation, the current study indicates that Israelis with a marked Jewish identity have experienced successful economic absorption.

In this connection Waters (1990) maintains that for white immigrants to the USA, the choice of ethnic identity is also related to social mobility, in particular since such identity is less connected to discrimination than it is among non-white immigrants. Hence the longer the Israelis remain in the USA and establish themselves, the more they are able to choose the ethnic identity giving them a sense of belonging to a community, without forfeiting the individuality so greatly esteemed in the USA.

CHAPTER 7: Social Networks and Assimilation of Men and Women Migrants

Social networks and their role in the assimilation of immigrants

An all-important factor in successful economic and social assimilation of any group of immigrants is their social network. Family relationships, friendships and shared ethnic origin lie at the base of this network that is a broad social structures affecting the individual and family decision to migrate. Social networks create links between immigrants and the local population, and reduce the risks and costs of migration for the immigrants. They provide information and assistance with housing and jobs (Massey, 1990; Gold, 1992). A social network is also defined as a system within which the relationships range between the personal and the collective, encompassing personal and family relations, relations between economic companies, and even entire states. Ties in a social network may be social, economic and political, between individuals and groups, and they enable resources, goods and ideas to circulate by means of specific repositories of social and symbolic ties (Faist, 2000). The concept 'social network' provides a partial explanation for the economic success of specific groups of immigrants, and to some extent for differences according to ethnic origin (Bonacich & Modell, 1980; Wilson & Portes, 1980). Moreover, in recent years, some migration studies have examined the patterns of immigration and assimilation together with the maintenance of ties with the country of origin. Here migration is perceived to be influenced by interaction between the political, economic, community and family structures of the society in the country of origin and those of the host country. In migration studies social networks are in fact perceived as social capital (Gold, 2005).

The ethnic labor market offers members of its group greater benefit from their education than they would have were they employed in the dominant labor market. The ethnic labor market, or the ethnic group of immigrants is a provider of opportunities for employment and higher salary and status, while reducing discrimination related to gender and origin (Semyonov & Lewin-Epstein, 1994; Semyonov & Raijman, 1994).

The 'ethnic enclave' and immigrant assimilation

In addition, a minority group participates in the economic system through the labor market by means of the ethnic enclave. When the ethnic group is sufficiently large and concentrated in one geographical area, it is possible to establish businesses owned by the group, serving it and employing its members. An ethnic enclave differs from economic entrepreneurship on an ethnic basis, or an occupational niche. The latter term describes individual firms varying in size, owned and managed by members of a minority sharing a national or cultural origin. An ethnic enclave is created by a specific minority sufficiently large and living in a specific, usually urban area, to allow its members to set up a variety of businesses serving the group and providing jobs for members (Bonacich & Modell, 1980; Portes & Jensen; Waldinger & Bozorgmehr, 1996; Wilson & Portes, 1980;).

Entrepreneurships based on an ethnic enclave are established through social networks of an ethnic group and family (Portes & Jensen, 1989). Bonacich and Modell (1980) also maintained that owners of businesses in the enclave rely economically on group solidarity for capital, for goods and to keep their businesses profitable. Wilson and Portes (1980) point out that another economic advantage of an enclave is that the socioeconomic attainments of the members of a minority are derived from the economy of its ethnic enclave. That structure protects the minority from discrimination within the economic system of the host country. For instance, immigrants and ethnic groups figure to a greater extent among small-scale businesses relying on ethnic solidarity, and are therefore capable of competing against businesses established earlier (Light, 1984; Model, 1992). With that, ethnic enclaves and ethnic solidarity have their limitations. A study of Cubans in Miami and Chinese in California (Sanders & Nee, 1987), revealed that within this type of labor market, the ethnic and economic solidarity of the enclave is advantageous mainly for the employers. Those employed in the enclave economy would benefit from employment outside it. Ethnic solidarity, assisting them during the first period after immigration may constrain them by demanding that they continue to work within the enclave under conditions less favorable than in the external labor market, to fulfill obligations to employers who helped them on arrival. These are no less likely to exploit workers for a profit than other employers.

According to Sanders and Nee (1987), the differences of interest between employers and employees should therefore be taken into account when considering the advantages of employment of immigrants and ethnic groups within the economy of their ethnic enclave. Ethnic solidarity may strangle, economically speaking, in particular in cases of immigrants in low status jobs earning low wages, who tend to be exploited by employers inside the enclave as they are outside it.

In this context Shavit (1992) maintains that even when ethnic solidarity is great, the advantages of occupational mobility within the enclave may be limited. On one hand, workers are protected from exploitation in the external market; on the other hand, they are restricted as to opportunities, since the enclave economy is generally limited to jobs such as providing personal services and small-scale industry. The less developed the enclave economy, the more restrictive it is for those employed within it. However, in a society discriminating against the ethnic group in the external market, a developed enclave economy and a high level of ethnic solidarity compensate for the limited mobility outside. All societies differ in the relationship between these factors, and so then do the advantages of employment in the enclave economy for members of the ethnic group.

Israeli immigrants in the USA and the ethnic enclave

According to Cohen and Tyree (1994), Israeli immigrants, despite geographical concentration, are not characterized by any particular tendency in the employment sphere, and are distributed among a variety of jobs. Jewish Israeli immigrants are unable to benefit from an occupational-ethnic niche, differently, for instance, from Palestinians.

Shokeid (1998), in an anthropological study of Israelis in New York, also found that, unlike the great wave of Jewish immigration to

the USA in the late 19th century and ethnic groups that immigrated in the 1960s, Israelis were not concentrated in specific economic branches. Not withstanding, Gold (1994b), in his study of the Israeli Angeles, found they community in Los had organized entrepreneurships and religious, cultural, political and leisure activities, as well as housing close to other Israelis, cooperation in the sphere of work and the purchase of goods and services provided by their own group. Gold maintains that the Jewish Israeli community has the characteristics of an ethnic enclave in all its economic, geographical and social components. Israeli immigrants are involved in economic activities together with other Israelis or with American Jews (Gold, 1992). Nevertheless, both Israeli employers and employees are concerned as to the possible abuse of the ethnic social network. Therefore the occupational enclaves of Israeli immigrants are typically of groups from the same cultural and economic background in Israel, such as former kibbutz members or Israelis from Persian origin (Gold, 1994b). In a later article Gold asserts that an Israeli niche has developed in real estate, in construction, security, engineering, communications, and in the diamond trade (Gold, 1999a). Israeli immigrants have also created community organizations and events for the benefit both of Israelis and the Jewish American community, for example the Israeli Film Festival in Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York (Gold & Phillips, 1996). Gold (1999a) suggests that Israelis tend to orient their niche so it will enable them to interact with familiar surroundings. Gold identified some 27 organizations in Los Angeles and a large number of informal social networks in the occupational, religious and leisure spheres.

A study of Israelis who had returned home in recent years examined their social assimilation abroad. The respondents' contacts with social networks abroad were not particularly close, although two thirds of the respondents did belong to a Jewish or Israeli community if there was one where they lived, but their involvement in its activities was slight. Most respondents (62%) did not feel a strong attachment to the country in which they had lived, fewer than half felt at home there, and their influence on the American community in which they lived was small (only 28% said they exerted a great influence). From the social standpoint, the assimilation of Israelis in foreign countries was only partly successful (Lev Ari, 2006). The transnational model of migration sheds light on the situation of Israeli immigrants in the USA who maintain social and economic ties both in the host country and in the country of origin. Israeli immigrants wish to preserve their social-ethnic-community ties in Israel and at the same time exploit the economic advantages and the personal freedom in the USA (Gold, 1997a). Nevertheless, not all can avail themselves equally of the help of transnational social networks. Israelis with higher education and of European origin belong to different social networks from those with less education and originally from Asian and North African countries. Middle class Israelis have better opportunities to migrate, and to return home (re-emigration), than those with less human and economic capital (Gold, 1999b).

Israeli immigrants and Jewish-American social networks

For many years, until the late 1980s, the institutionalized Jewish American community ignored the existence of Israeli immigrants and was sometimes even hostile to them. The proximal host group of American Jews did not welcome the Israeli Americans, and the Israelis were defined as a marginal group in American and Israeli society. The role of Israelis, as perceived by Jewish Americans, was to defend Israel and not to emigrate from it. American Jewry preferred that the Israelis should join the Jewish American group and not create a separate one whose presence appeared symbolically detrimental to the ideology promoting the existence of Israel and their support for the state. This attitude has changed recently, the Israeli immigrant community has attained recognition and ties with it have been created (Gold & Phillips, 1996; Gold, 1992, 2002). American Jewry has understood that Israel and Jews in the Diaspora are mutually dependent in ensuring the continued existence of Judaism and of Jewish values in Israeli society (American Jewish Committee, 1995). Due to the change in the attitude of the Israeli government, now less harsh in criticism of its emigrants, the attitude of American Jews has also become more supportive. Today, instead of perceiving Israeli immigrants as a marginal and alienated group, the proximal host group of American Jews accepts them as part of their community. In recent years, Jewish-American organizations have become aware of how beneficial this group can be for the Jewish community and are making a greater effort to absorb Israelis into it (Gold, 2000a, 2002). Israeli immigrants play a role in

preserving the Jewish character of the Jewish-American neighborhoods as other Jewish immigrants did in the past. Israelis enter businesses, open new ones, rent and buy houses in Jewish neighborhoods and participate in the activities of synagogues and schools (Gold & Phillips, 1996; Gold, 1999a). Israeli immigrants enable the Jewish community to expand and to reduce intermarriage with non-Jews (Gold, 1999a). Then too their shared origin and history as Jews constitutes a component of the identification, in particular of Jewish Americans with roots in Eastern Europe with Ashkenazi Israelis (Mittelberg & Waters, 1992). Despite the new ambience in relations between Israelis and Jewish American social networks, researchers only a little more than a decade ago (Shokeid, 1998; Rosenthal et al., 1994) asserted that most Israeli immigrants in New York do not feel at all close to American society, nor to the Jewish community in their place of residence. In this context Rosenthal and Auerbach (1992) claimed that most Israelis in the USA (80%) live within Jewish-American communities. This also compels them, apart from learning English, to adopt American norms and conform to norms related to the Jewish religion within Jewish social networks and Jewish-religious educational institutions. Therefore the fact that Israeli immigrants belong to American-Jewish communities may contribute to their assimilation in the wider American society within which Jews figure as mainstream Americans.

Regarding the proximal host group, Uriely (1995) found that relations between Israeli immigrants in Chicago and the Jewish community varied according to the socioeconomic status of the Israelis. Israelis from the lower socioeconomic stratum wished to be closer to the Jewish community and be absorbed within it as against Israelis with a higher status and the second generation of Israelis from both social strata, who were not interested in close relations with the Jewish community. Uriely explains it mainly by suggesting that close relations with the Jewish community give Israelis of low socioeconomic status an opportunity for social and economic mobility, whereas Israelis of higher status, and members of the second generation, reach that higher socioeconomic stratum without the Jewish community's help, but rather owing to occupational competence (Uriely, 1994).

Social networks and assimilation of Israeli men and women immigrants

The transnational theory elucidates the situation of Israeli immigrants in the USA who maintain social and economic networks both in the host country and in the country of origin. Israeli immigrants wish to preserve social-ethnic-community networks in Israel, and at the same time exploit the economic advantages and the personal freedom in the USA (Gold, 1997a). Nevertheless, not all can avail themselves equally of help from transnational social networks. Israelis with higher education and of European origin belong to different social networks from those with less education and originally from Asian and North African countries. The components of the social networks are not identical in their power and their effectiveness in providing assistance (Macionis, 1997). Gold therefore maintains that different degrees of closeness to transnational social networks, Israeli and American, lead to different levels of assimilation. Israelis with a high socioeconomic status and a profession can afford greater mobility between countries than those with lower socioeconomic status (Gold, 1999b, 2002).

Success of economic and social assimilation among immigrants in the host country can thus be partly explained by help from social networks based on ethnic and family relations. Within the family framework, women play an important role in utilizing these networks. However, the amount of help received with housing, information and employment is not identical for men and for women, since women immigrants have different resources, motives for migration and patterns of assimilation in the host country (Gold, 1992, 1994a; Sabar, 2000). Economic entrepreneurship based on the ethnic enclave is particularly advantageous to men and provides them with a route to social mobility, even though women too benefit from the economic attainments of the enterprises created (Portes & Jensen, 1989; Wilson & Portes, 1980). Gilbertson (1995) and Zhou and Logan (1989) maintain that in some jobs within the ethnic niches, women are exploited and their status is marginal.

Gold found that Israeli immigrants have initiated a variety of enterprises and of community, religious, cultural, political and leisure activities. Israeli immigrants also tend to live in neighborhoods with other Israelis, cooperate with them at work, and purchase goods and services from them (Gold, 1994c). In the Israeli community as among other immigrants, mainly the men exploit the social networks for economic and occupational purposes, which gives them a greater sense of belonging and more support than the Israeli women have.

Israeli women immigrants remain isolated mainly because a large proportion of them are not employed in the USA (Gold, 1992, 1994a, 1997b). Those who were ambivalent about migration, both as Israelis and as women following their husbands, compensate for their deprivation by a sense of belonging to a community, and for the decrease in their status as breadwinners by forging formal and informal social networks in economic and community spheres (Gold, 1992, 1994a, 1997b).

Indeed, the findings of the current study show a significant gender related difference in the sense of possessing an American identity. More women (52%) than men (41%) mentioned that they do feel American. However, regarding their relationship to American Jews, a higher proportion of women stated that they have close Jewish friends (82%) than did the men (69%).

On the whole less than a half the Israelis used the assistance of any ethnically based social networks for their economic and social assimilation. This is also true as regards working with Israelis or using services provided by Israelis - only half did so. A gender related comparison revealed that almost twice as many women than men reported being greatly involved with Israelis in their work (30% and 17% respectively are helped in this way, while the rest were not helped at all.) However, 44% of the men immigrants compared to 34% of the women were helped to assimilate economically by relatives living abroad. Men also received more help than women in their places of work or studies in the USA (32% and 24% respectively were aided this way). Thus women developed a social network of American Jews and Israelis, but it appears that in the economic sphere, men received more help than women from the six components of the social networks presented to the respondents (relatives abroad; relatives in Israel; Israeli friends; places of work or studies in Israel; places of work or studies in the USA). Differences in the amount of help from the social networks stem mainly from the respondents' occupational prestige. Israelis whose occupation is very prestigious needed no help from relatives in the USA or from Israeli friends. If they had the help of social networks, it came from their places of work or study in Israel and the USA. The level of income was not found to be related to assistance from economic networks. Economic success on a subjective level (fulfillment of economic and professional aspirations) points in the same direction. It was the professionals who were helped by their places of work and studies in Israel and the USA. Work with Israelis or using services provided by Israelis is more typical of those less successfully absorbed economically.

Social assimilation, by contrast, is more closely related to help from social networks both at work and in society. The greater the help from components of the social networks like places of work and of study, relatives abroad or American friends, the more successful the social assimilation. However, work with Israelis or use of services provided by Israelis is related to less successful social assimilation in the USA.

Factors influencing aid from social networks in the economic assimilation of Israeli immigrant men and women

To examine aid from social networks in economic assimilation. I have used the method presented in Tables 8-10. The level of assistance from social networks was defined quantitatively, according to several factors assisting economic assimilation (ranging from no help to help from three or more factors (see Table 11). The men received help from at least one factor in social networks in their economic assimilation, while women received little help. These quantitative findings resemble those of Gold, 1994a; Portes and Jensen, 1989 and Wilson and Portes, 1980 as well as descriptive findings. Israelis from peripheral locations needed more assistance from social networks than residents of Israeli cities. Those who came from Israel with higher education needed less help on arrival. As mentioned before, such assistance came not from ethnic or family factors, but from places of work or study in Israel or in the USA. However, a rise in education level in the USA increases the amount of help from components of social networks. This may be explained by ties strengthening in the course of time, and assistance from additional factors in the USA due to the rise in education level. This supports the findings of Portes and Rumbaut (1990) that it is easier for groups of immigrant professionals to enter the labor market in the host country owing to high skills, and they are in less need of ethnic ties.

Table 11: Factors influencing assistance in economic assimilation from components of social networks (Standard Error) ***, N=298

	Equation Number			
Variable	1	2	3	4
(i) Gender	-0.343**	-0.291**	-0.299**	-0.243*
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Age at time of emigration	-0.192**	-0.138*	-0.117*	-0.108
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Ethnic origin	-0.063	-0.065	0.002	-0.004
	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Location in Israel	0.073	0.12	0.140*	0.163*
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)
(ii) Education in Israel	0.029	-0.151*	-0.138	-0.157*
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
(iii) Motives for	-0.078	-0.047	-0.013	-0.032*
migration	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)
(iv) Equal decision to	0.111	0.051	0.037	0.026
migrate	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Current education	-	0.274**	0.252**	0.252**
		(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Equality in current	-	-	-0.056	-0.048
gender role division			(0.08)	(0.08)
Feeling at home in the	-	_	0.037	0.018
USA			(0.06)	(0.06)
Adherence to religion	-	_	-0.296*	-0.316*
			(0.12)	(0.12)
Having Jewish friends	-	-	0.163*	0.178*
			(0.08)	(0.08)
(v) Desire to become a	-	-	—	0.206*
better professional				(0.10)
(vi) R2	0.05	0.08	0.11	0.12

*P<0.05; ** P<0.01; ***See comments to Table 8.

<u>Definition of the dependent variable:</u> Using social network for economic assimilation: 0=did not use 1=used 1 component 2=used 2 component 3= used 3 component or more.

However, Gold (1997b), unlike other researchers (Kass & Lipset, 1982; Lipner, 1987; Mittelberg & Waters, 1992; Sobel, 1986), maintained that there are also groups of professionals active within the ethnic group. Gold then asserts that entrepreneurial, and unorganized marginal groups of Israelis develop an affiliation to their ethnic group. Related to some extent to Gold's findings (1997b), we see that the greater the number of Jewish friends, the greater the assistance provided by the social networks. Moreover, the more traditional Jews receive assistance from additional components of the social network. An additional mediating variable are the motives for migration. Those in need of greater assistance are those who did not migrate for economic reasons. Finally, the greater the desire to become a better professional through migration, the greater the help in economic assimilation received from social networks. In Table 11 which follows, two independent variables are added to those in Tables 2, 4 and 8: desire to become a better professional: 1= not at all/to a small extent 2=to some extent; 3=to a large/very large extent; having Jewish friends: 1=none/few: 2=some: 3=most/all.

Factors influencing aid from social networks in the social assimilation of Israeli immigrant men and women

Assistance in social assimilation received from social networks in the USA was examined in a way similar to that affecting economic assimilation (see Table 12). Unlike assistance furthering economic assimilation, in the social assimilation sphere it is not gender related, as the descriptive findings above have shown. Nevertheless, examining the gender variable in interaction with education shows that assistance in social assimilation from social networks is gender mediated. As with assistance from social networks in economic assimilation, men also received greater assistance than women in their social assimilation. The interaction of gender and education revealed a similar pattern; men with higher education received assistance from more components of social networks than men with a medium or lower level of education (38%, 36%, and 19% respectively). The situation among women is similar, but the differences between groups according to level of education is greater: 42% of women with a higher education level as against 21% with a medium level and 21% with a lower level of education received assistance from sources other than their relatives. The relative advantage of women with a higher education level is greater than that among men, and twice as great as that of women with a lower level of education. Thus at least regarding social assimilation some women did benefit from the assistance of social networks.

The stronger that desire to improve professional standing, the more the immigrants avail themselves of such aid. As in economic assimilation, mainly those with a low education level in Israel received such assistance, but the current level of education does not appear as a mediating factor in any type of assistance. However, gender and socioeconomic status have a differential effect on assistance from networks, as do current professional status and the level of professional aspirations. Immigrants with such aspirations avail themselves of as many components of the social networks as possible, like those who seek assistance from social networks for economic purposes.

In Table 12 which follows, an independent variable added to those in Tables 2, 4, 8 and 10: Utilizing services supplied by Israeli emigrants: 1=not at all/to a small extent 2=to some extent; 3= to a great/very great extent.

Table 12: Factors influencing assistance in social assimilation from components of social networks (standard error) *** N= 260

	Equation Number			
Variable	1	2	3	4
Gender	-0.168	-0.195	-0.154	-0.980*
	-0.1	-0.12	-0.13	-0.4
Age at time of emigration	-0.217**	-0.183*	-0.161*	-0.071
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Ethnic origin	0.037	0.047	0.023	0.15
	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.18)
Location in Israel	-0.102	-0.124	-0.104	-0.111
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Education in Israel	0.107	-0.210*	-0.213*	-0.256*
	(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Motives for migration	-0.106	-0.157	-0.153	-0.172
	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Equal decision to migrate	0.204*	0.149	0.141	0.124

	Equation Number			
Variable	1	2	3	4
	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Current education	_	0.269**	0.241*	0.06
		(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.12)
City of residence in the	_	0.221*	0.243*	0.205
USA (Los Angeles)		(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Current professional status	-	-0.261*	-0.304*	-0.304*
		(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.14)
Equality in current gender	-	-	0.093	0.057
role division			(0.09)	(0.09)
Feeling at 'home' in the	-	-	0.168*	0.163*
USA			(0.08)	(0.08)
Adherence to religion	_	-	0.116	0.014
_			(0.14)	(0.14)
Having Jewish friends	-	-	-0.033	-0.071
			(0.09)	(0.10)
Utilizing services supplied	-	-	-0.047	
by Israeli emigrants			(0.08)	
Desire to become a better	_	-	-	0.400**
professional				(0.12)
Desire to influence the	-	-	I	-0.025
community				(0.07)
Interaction between gender	_	-	_	-0.399
and ethnic origin				(0.26)
Interaction between gender	_	_	_	0.464**
and education				(0.17)
R2	0.04	0.1	0.12	0.18

* P<0.05; ** P<0.01; ***See comments o Table 8.

Definition of the dependent variable:

Using social network for social assimilation: 0=did not use 1=used 1 component 2= used 2 component 3= used 3 component or more.

SUMMARY

Assuming that assistance from social networks to further economic assimilation characterizes immigrants in the early days after their arrival in the host country, it appears that men tend to receive assistance

from more components of the social networks, and those who come from a relatively small location in the periphery more so than former residents of the three cities. Moreover, those with higher occupational prestige, if they avail themselves of help from social networks, it is through their places of work and study in Israel and in the USA. The model in Table 6 presents a similar picture: Those with professional aspirations and higher education in the USA are those who tend to get help from several factors related to the social networks, and not from relatives, unlike the Israelis whose occupational prestige and education are lower. Finally, those having Jewish friends and greater affinity to tradition, at least at the beginning of assimilation have a stronger tendency to avail themselves of help from social networks in their economic assimilation. Regarding social assimilation by means of social networks, the pattern is similar although the picture is somewhat different when gender is taken into account: Gender interacts with education, and men are again tend to receive help from a greater number of social network components. Macionis (1997) also maintained that social networks constitute a significant resource in finding employment, for instance. Some immigrants' social networks have stronger and more powerful components. The current study shows this for men with higher education and extensive social networks less based on family ties and more on professional connections - as compared to men with a less education, and certainly compared to women, who also rely mainly on family relationships.

In economic assimilation too, men receiving more assistance from social networks are those with high socioeconomic status, who have extended their connections beyond family and therefore benefit from greater assistance in their economic and social assimilation. This finding resembles those of Gold (1999b), showing that Israelis have differential access to social networks, depending on their education and their origin. Those with a high level of human capital have greater access to transnational networks than those with a lower status. The situation of women is similar to that of men. Women too may receive assistance from many components of social networks in their social assimilation especially if they have higher education. However, among the women the difference between those with higher education and those with medium or little education is prominent; the first receive assistance from many more significant components of social networks. Thus our findings resemble those of Moore (1992), indicating a tendency to gender related equality in the assistance of social networks, the greater the gender equality per se. Tendencies towards greater equality exist among Israeli women with higher education with regard to social mobility, and therefore they benefit from the networks in their social assimilation. The better educated and richer the person is, with the addition of a supportive social network, the greater are opportunities for creating personal relations different from those customary in his or her society, and of alleviating the tension between many roles. Changes in cultural norms may trickle down the social ladder, those higher up benefiting first. Nonetheless, in the long-term women and men of all strata of society will benefit from the new social construction of role expectations (Epstein, 1987; Thoits, 1987).

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CHAPTER 8: Gender and Return to the Country of Origin

PREVIOUS STUDIES OF GENDER AND RETURN TO THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

This article challenges the perspective of several surveys, namely that since American society offers a more egalitarian social structure than does Israel, some women might prefer to fulfill their economic and social aspirations through emigration and thus will tend not to return to Israel. Another group of women, not successful in their economic and social aspirations, will preserve their Israeli identity, will not identify with the country of destination, and will tend to return.

Gender related studies on motives for return to country of origin, Israel in particular, are scant within the research on immigration and assimilation. A thorough study of gender as an integral component of migration and assimilation processes in the host country is therefore important.

A predisposition for return migration to the country of origin is connected with emigration tendency. In each stream of migration there is also re-emigration to the country of origin. The return of migrants to their homeland is the final possible step in the migration process, and attests to the degree to which the purposes of migration have been accomplished (DellaPergola, 1986; Goldscheider, 1971; United Nations, 1995). There are, for instance, migrants who emigrated for economic reasons but returned due to family or other motives without having utilized their opportunities for socioeconomic mobility (Goldscheider, 1971). On the other hand, some return migrants are those with higher occupational status that resulted in relatively greater human capital to begin with, and those more skilled were more likely to return (Nutter, 1986; Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991).

The few existing studies, focusing on women's motives for returning to their country of origin as compared to men's, found that their return stemmed from family considerations such as marriage or divorce (United Nations, 1995). Lim (1995) maintains that other motives for returning relate to the male and female migrants' different perceptions of the change in their status as a consequence of migration and their expectations of it, and of its impact on possible return to the country of origin. For example, a woman migrant who has gained in the economic and social spheres as a result of migration will not be interested in returning to the country of origin. In that context, Grusmuck and Pessar (1991) claimed that Dominican women emigrants to the United States struggle to maintain the gains migration has brought them through new employment opportunities, and tend to postpone return. They perceive the Dominican gender ideology and gender-based division of labor as less egalitarian than those of the United States. Dominican men, by contrast, tend to return home as soon as possible since in the Dominican Republic patriarchy is salient both in private and public domains (Grusmuck & Pessar, 1991). These findings are consistent with others like Kibria, (1993) and Hondagneu-Sotelo, (1994) showing that gains in gender equity are central to women's desire to settle in the host country to protect their advances, while men seek to return home to regain the status migration itself challenged (Pessar, 1999).

Israelis in the USA: gender and predisposition to return

Looking at Israeli migrants' predisposition to return to Israel within the phenomenon of Jewish migration in the 20th century, we find that until the 1950s, a low rate of return to the country of origin characterized Jewish as compared to non-Jewish migration (Hersh, 1976; DellaPergola, 1986). Jews cut themselves off from their past and hastened to adapt to the host country's customs. That pattern has changed in recent decades, in particular with regard to migration to and from Israel. Changes in patterns of assimilation and the tendency among Jews to return or remain are affected by broader developments in the migration policy of countries of origin or host countries on the macro and on the intermediate level, and on the micro level by

characteristics of the migrants themselves. Ideological factors, level of Jewish identity, and socioeconomic and demographic factors together constitute the pull-push or push-pull forces in the decision to remain in the country of origin or to migrate. A combination between these and national and international factors determine the tendency of Israelis, like that of other Jews (see also Hersh, 1976), to emigrate from Israel or to return to it (DellaPergola, 1986).

In his study of Israelis in Chicago, Uriely (1994) maintains that while some Israeli immigrants have set no date to return home, generally speaking they wish to go back. These he calls permanent sojourners., Others display deeper attachment to their place of residence in the USA. The Israelis' tendency to return to Israel depends inter alia on the social structure and their perception of opportunities for higher education and good jobs in either country (Ritterband, 1978). Toren (1976) distinguishes between two groups of returnees, the successful and the less successful in the host country. The decision to return by the more successful is mainly affected by job opportunities in Israel: the decision to return made by the less successful mainly by patriotic feelings and loyalty to the state.

A study of returning Israeli academics and their re-assimilation in Israel (Moore, 1987) found differences along a continuum, ranging from those who tend to remain abroad, through those who tend to return, to those who actually did return. The continuum reflects differences in demographic variables, in occupational characteristics, and in personal values. Those who tend to remain abroad express a preference for material rewards and the fulfillment of economic aspirations. Those who migrated mainly to study, feel that they do not belong and wish to bring up their children in an Israeli and Jewish atmosphere, tend to return home (Moore, 1987; see also Mittelberg & Lev Ari, (1991). Gold (2002) maintains that Israeli immigrants with little education are concerned about their ability to be absorbed economically on returning, although they wish to return. This study also revealed through individual interviews with 30 returned Israelis that their main motives related to their desire to bring up their children in Israel, and to concern about their parents.

Israeli women migrants are less satisfied with the benefits that accrued while living in the USA, have developed a weaker occupational identity than the men and will therefore prefer to return to Israel. The gendered division of labor followed by Israeli families explains the greater tendency to return among women (Gold, 1999b; 2002; 2003; Kimhi, 1990; Lipner, 1987; Sabar, 2000). Since a significant fraction of Israeli migrant women go abroad mainly to accompany their husbands who emigrate seeking socioeconomic mobility, women have a more difficult time adjusting to the new society and are more inclined to return home (Gold, 2002). Israeli men and unmarried women prefer the life abroad, while married women, in particular those with children, wish to return (Gold, 1999b).

Lev Ari (2006) found that among Israelis recently returned to their native land, their return was essentially different from their migration abroad. While migration abroad was influenced by both instrumental factors and family-related ones, return home was non-instrumentally motivated by factors such family, and to some extent friends too. Deciding to return home stemmed from forces pulling them toward Israel and less from those pushing them away from other countries, anti-Semitism for instance.

This study finds mixed motives for returning home, instrumental considerations combined with non-instrumental ones. Those with higher education focus mainly on instrumental aspects (professional advancement and the economic situation in Israel), but also consider the non-instrumental ones such as their friends. Non-instrumental considerations influence women more than men, as in the situation before emigration (Lev Ari, 2006). The current study goes on to examine factors related to the tendency to return, among them the profile of Israeli women immigrants who tend to return and their main motives for doing so, compared to Israeli men immigrants and to those Israeli women who do not tend to return to Israel. Is there a gender related perception of opportunities for fulfilling personal economic and social expectations in Israel as contrasted with the USA? The intention to return to Israel will be examined as complementary to the understanding of assimilation processes as perceived today by Israeli born immigrants, men and women, in the USA.

Gender and tendency to return to Israel: descriptive findings

Economic, social and cultural assimilation processes are very complex, interdependent and differentiated by gender, as the preceding chapters show. Israeli men and women arrived in the USA with the resources of their country of origin and reacted differentially to the push-pull forces operating between the USA and Israel. The structure of opportunities differs in the two countries, and as a result most Israelis did indeed benefit from migration. Nevertheless, migration was not equally successful in all cases. Women's economic assimilation was less successful than men's, they received less economic assistance from social networks and only some availed themselves of help from social networks in their social assimilation.

The women derived no advantages from their social and cultural assimilation, by contrast with the men, and some women preserved a strong Israeli identity, apparently increasing their alienation from American society. In the private sphere, for some women, the more equal structure of opportunities in the USA did not improve their pre migration status, and the role division at home remained 'a gender factory' (Fogiel-Bijaoui, 1999). Did this difference in the economic, social and cultural assimilation process affect their willingness to return to Israel? Did the motives for migration and the level of cooperation in making the decision to migrate also influence the intention to return to Israel? Would women tend more to return than men, because they benefited less from assimilation, though most did benefit from migration, if less so than men? The findings in this chapter, unlike those in the preceding ones, are based on a forecast regarding return to Israel, not on past events (motives for migration) or current ones (assimilation processes). However, I shall point out tendencies and attitudes displayed by Israeli men and women, and the effects of previous components of the migration process and assimilation in the USA, as they impact on the decision to return to Israel.

The current study revealed that Israelis are almost equally divided regarding their general intention to return: 56% are considering returning to Israel and 44% are not. Moreover, when a time for the return is specified, it appears that only 20% intend to return within one to five years; while 75% are unwilling to commit themselves to that time period. Most are unwilling to commit themselves to any time span, and 6% do not intend to return at all.

There are no gender differences regarding general intent to return to Israel, with 59% of men and 53% of women intending to do so. However, when asked to define the time of return, gender difference has more although limited significance (Pearson Chi Square=2.36, sig.

0.076). Twenty-two percent of the men and only 17% of the women defined the possible time of their return to Israel in terms of years. Even though these findings are not very significant, they disclose a trend opposite from what was anticipated. Whereas the men derived greater socioeconomic mobility from migration, and the women were less satisfied with life in the USA and derived no benefits from their social-cultural assimilation, differently from the men, the men express greater willingness to return to Israel.

FACTORS AFFECTING WILLINGNESS TO RETURN TO ISRAEL

Willingness to return to Israel was examined by means of statements regarding willingness to return within a clearly defined or an undefined period. In Table 13 which follows, two independent variables were added to those in Tables 2, 4, 8 and 10: Israel preferable to USA in equality of opportunity for women: 1=USA preferable 2=no difference 3=Israel preferable; important to live near parents: 1=not at all/to a small extent 2=to some extent; 3=to a large/very large extent. The hierarchy of the factors supporting the tendency to return to Israel revealed (following the method used in the preceding tables) that the younger the respondents (aged 20-39), the more willing they are to return within a clearly defined period, while the older the respondents are, the less willing they are to do so. House ownership is related to willingness to return; when the Israelis live in rented housing, they intend to return within a more clearly defined period than those who own their apartment or house. Motives for migration to the USA are related to willingness to return; those who migrated for non economicinstrumental reasons (family, their partner or others) are unwilling to commit themselves to a specific time for their return.

The level of assimilation in the USA in itself influences the tendency to return; those absorbed to a small or moderate extent are more willing to commit to returning within a clearly defined period than those absorbed successfully and do not incline to return. The willingness to return of those whose social assimilation was unsuccessful is ten times greater than that of those successfully absorbed. Similarly the Israelis not absorbed culturally, namely those who rarely go to the synagogue, by contrast with those who attend regularly, are not willing to commit to a specific time.

Gender is a factor influencing willingness to return to Israel; men are willing to commit themselves to a more clearly defined period than women. In fact, ten times the number of men is willing to do so. Sephardic men are more willing to do so than Ashkenazim. An examination of interaction between gender and community reveals that Sephardic men are actually those unwilling to commit themselves, compared to women and Ashkenazi men. Thus Sephardic women appear to be more willing to return to Israel, while Ashkenazi men are more willing to do so than Ashkenazi women.

Another variable related to the respondents' background, affecting the willingness to return to Israel, is their place of residence in the USA. Those living in Philadelphia are more willing to commit themselves to return within a specific time. Finally, the attitude to assimilation also affects willingness to return to Israel. Two main pushpull factors were examined: the perception of equal opportunities for women in Israel and in the USA, and the desire to live near parents in Israel. The minority believing that Israel offers more opportunities for women than the USA are more willing to commit themselves to return within a specific period than those who consider the USA preferable in this respect. Those who do not feel it important to live near their parents in Israel are less willing to commit to returning within a specific time than those for whom it is important.

To probe the gender effect in greater depth, the final model was examined separately for men and women. As in the entire sample, both rented housing and the immigrants' age predict return to Israel in both genders. However, regarding the other variables, when comparing Israeli and American society, among women attaining their rights plays an important role when they consider returning to Israel. The women who believe that Israeli society is structured in a more egalitarian way are ready to consider returning to Israel within a specific period of time. Sephardic women are more willing to commit themselves to a definite time span than Ashkenazi women. Yet Israeli women in Philadelphia are less willing to do so than those in Los Angeles and Miami. Women who have fulfilled their desire for economic and social success to a moderate extent are more willing to commit themselves to return within a specific period than those who did so very successfully, who are unwilling to do so.

		Equation Number			
Variable	1	2	3	4	
Gender	0.461	0.293	0.524	2.306**	
	(0.32)	(0.34)	(0.43)	(0.79)	
Age					
20-39	0.776*	0.265	-0.053	-0.763	
	(0.40)	(0.43)	(0.53)	(0.70)	
40-49	-0.864*	-1.045*	-1.521**	-1.607**	
	(0.39)	(0.41)	(0.50)	(0.60)	
Ethnic origin (Sephardic)	0.51	0.503	0.231	2.097*	
	(0.34)	(0.36)	(0.45)	(0.91)	
Place of residence	0.278	0.09	0.276	1.408*	
(Philadelphia)	(0.39)	(0.44)	(0.52)	(0.66)	
Current number of	-0.751*	-0.56	-0.2	-0.128	
children (one or more)	(0.34)	(0.35)	(0.41)	(0.49)	
Ownership of housing	1.295**	1.238**	1.502**	2.710**	
(rented)	(0.39)	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.72)	
Current education					
12 years	-1.009*	-0.777	-0.765	-0.851	
	(0.46)	(0.49)	(0.61)	(0.67)	
13-15 years	0.129	0.326	0.187	-0.077	
	(0.38)	(0.41)	(0.50)	(0.62)	
Motives for migration	-	-1.039*	-1.163*	-1.630*	
(not economic)		(0.43)	(0.52)	(0.65)	
Equal decision to	-	0.138	0.353	0.425	
migrate (not mutual)		(0.35)	(0.41)	(0.47)	
Equality in current gender ro	ole division				
Equal to some extent	-	-	-0.273	-0.347	
			(0.41)	(0.49)	
Equal to a large extent	_	_	-0.616	-0.185	
			(0.64)	(0.69)	
Fulfillment of economic success aspirations					
To a small extent	-	-	-0.214	-0.623	
			(1.01)	(1.21)	

Table 13: Factors affecting the intention to return to Israel within a specific time (Standard Error) *** N= 253

		Equation Number			
Variable	1	2	3	4	
To some extent	_	-	0.517	0.765	
			(0.44)	(0.56)	
Attending synagogue					
Frequently	-	-	-2.970**	-3.261*	
			(1.11)	(1.29)	
On Jewish holidays and	-	-	-0.282	-0.408	
special events			(0.48)	(0.53)	
Feeling at home in Israel					
To a small extent	-	-	0.379	1.789	
			(0.94)	(1.09)	
To some extent	-	-	1.046*	0.976	
			-0.56	-0.68	
Feeling at home in USA					
To a small extent	_	-	2.347**	2.662**	
			(0.63)	(0.74)	
To some extent	-	_	1.935**	2.800**	
			(0.54)	(0.71)	
Using social network for					
Help from one factor	_	-	-0.172	-0.155	
•			(0.54)	(0.66)	
Help from two factors	_	-	0.175	0.251	
· r			(0.64)	(0.80)	
Help from three or more	_	_	1.156	1.192	
factors			(0.77)	(0.94)	
Using social network for	social assimi	lation		. ,	
No help received	-	-	-0.094	-1.02	
- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			(0.79)	(0.99)	
Help from one factors	-	-	0.738	0.667	
			(0.60)	(0.69)	
Help from two factors		_	0.668	0.592	
			(0.59)	(0.69)	
Israel preferable to USA in for women	equality of c	opportunity			
No difference		-	-	0.403	
				(0.49)	

	Equation Number			
Variable	1	2	3	4
Israel is preferable		_	-	5.373**
				(1.64)
Important to live near parents				
To a small extent		-	-	-1.476*
				(0.66)
To some extent		_	_	-0.603
				(0.57)
Interaction: Ethnic origin		-	-	-2.622*
(Sephardic) with gender (men)				(1.14)

P<0.05; **P<0.01; *** See comments to Table 2.

<u>Definition of the dependent variable</u>: intention to return to Israel within a specific time 0=not specific; 1=specific

Among the men, apart from the ethnic issue, the level of their social assimilation most clearly predicts their willingness to return; those who failed to assimilate socially are more willing to return within a specific time than those who succeeded. Israeli men whose motives for migration were not economic, are less willing to indicate when they would return to Israel than those who migrated for economic reasons. The group of men whose Israeli identity is moderate are unwilling to commit themselves to return within a specific period, unlike those whose Israeli identity is stronger. The group for whom living near their parents is not important are unwilling to commit themselves to return to Israel within a specific period.

SUMMARY

The intention to return to Israel is the last component of migration examined in the current study, and indicates to what extent the aims of migration have been attained (Blechler & Goldberg, 1978; DellaPergola, 1986; Goldscheider, 1971; United Nations, 1995). Uriely (1994) calls those who have no plans to return on a certain date, but generally speaking wish to go back, 'permanent sojourners', unlike others who express a strong attachment to their place of residence in the USA. The tendency of Israelis to return to Israel depends inter alia on their perception of opportunities for higher education and

prestigious occupations in the USA, as compared to Israel (Ritterband, 1978).

This component of willingness to return to Israel is more complex to explore and more speculative than their decision to migrate to the USA as it considers a process that has not yet actually occurred. Nevertheless, a pattern similar to the findings of studies described previously becomes evident, with about half the Israelis expressing a general desire to return, though most are unwilling to commit to a definite time. Moreover, apart from gender, the main explanations for the willingness to return are not consistent. The economic motive is affected by factors such as ethnic origin, motives for migration, home ownership and place of residence in the USA. The level of social and cultural assimilation has a more direct influence on willingness to return. Chapter 7 indicates that all types of assimilation are interdependent and depend as well on background variables. The gender effect on willingness to return to Israel differs somewhat from the initial presumption: One hypothesis stipulated that since women migrate for different reasons from men (usually not economic ones), their economic assimilation will be less successful and their social and cultural assimilation will not be substantially better than that of men. Hence they will tend to be more willing to return to Israel. Nevertheless, since successful assimilation depends also on women's socioeconomic status and equality in the role division in their homes, those for whom the structure of opportunities in the USA afforded greater socioeconomic mobility and successful social assimilation, will tend less to return to Israel than women whose economic and social assimilation was unsuccessful.

The main findings indicate that Israeli women are indeed less satisfied with their life in the USA than men (Kimhi, 1990). However, the findings of the current study point in a different direction to Kimhi's, who maintained that Israeli women immigrants develop a weaker occupational identity than men and prefer to return to Israel – and Gold's (1999b), who found that men prefer to stay in the USA, and married women, particularly those with children, wish to return to Israel. In this respect Lim (1995) suggests that women's perceptions differ from men's regarding the change in their status in the wake of migration, as do their expectations of their return to their country of origin. Therefore women successful in their economic and social assimilation in the host country will not wish to return to their country of origin. Findings of the current study indicate that immigrants who have fulfilled their potential and their expectations mainly in the economic, occupational and educational spheres through migration are willing to commit themselves to return within a specific period. This is mainly true of Ashkenazi men of fifty and older living in Philadelphia whose socioeconomic status is above average. On the other hand, women, in particular those of Ashkenazi origin and men of Sephardic origin, have apparently not yet fulfilled their potential and expectations. They and are also younger and perceive the USA as a society that will enable them to advance more than Israel, are therefore unwilling to commit themselves to return within a specific time. The men in particular did not migrate for economic reasons, and may not have come to a decision yet regarding the fulfillment of their aspirations, by contrast with Israelis whose migration was motivated specifically by hopes of advancement, studies and raising their living standard. The current number of children does not affect willingness to return to Israel, among either men or women.

Additional support for my hypothesis regarding willingness to return relates to the perception of most Israelis that the USA is preferable to Israel in offering equal opportunities for women or that the two societies are equal in this respect. Only a small group believes that Israel is preferable. This is the group willing to return and consists mainly of women.

It was assumed that the group of women not successfully absorbed economically would keep in touch with Israel, would not identify with the host country and would wish to return. Successful social assimilation would predict that women successful economically would remain in the USA, while women who failed in this respect would return.

The main findings indeed support this hypothesis with regard to Sephardic women, whose socioeconomic status in the wake of migration did improve, but is lower than that of Ashkenazi women and of the men. The women of Sephardic origin identify less with American society, keep their Israeli identity and are willing to return to Israel even though their advancement may be arrested there. A recent study of Israelis who returned to Israel points in a similar direction; former women immigrants do not wish to migrate again, they have been successfully absorbed economically and socially in Israel and enjoy high socioeconomic status (Lev Ari, 2006). Therefore women immigrants, once successful in the host country in different spheres, tend not to migrate again so as not to lose the relative benefits acquired there.

Moore (1987) maintained that immigrants who tend to remain abroad express preference for material rewards and fulfillment of their economic aspirations. By contrast, those who migrated for study purposes tend not to feel that they belong and prefer to bring up their children in an Israeli and Jewish atmosphere, so tend to return (Moore, 1987; Mittelberg & Lev Ari, 1991). The current study revealed that even successful cultural assimilation predicts great willingness to return. In Chapter 6 we saw that those with a strong Jewish identity were well absorbed in the USA and those without it were not. Therefore those with a strong Jewish identity seem to have fulfilled their American dream and are hence more willing to return than those who have not done so yet. Thus pull factors like the desire to return and live close to parents become operative. Israelis to whom this family framework is important are also those who intend to return to Israel, rather than those for whom it is not important. "This page left intentionally blank."

CHAPTER 9: Summary and Conclusions

THE AMERICAN DREAM - FOR MEN ONLY?

A new approach to migration, the transnational theory, has developed in the wake of globalization. The current study has employed it to examine migration as a process involving economic, familial and cultural structures both in the migrants' country of origin and in the host country. In accordance with this theory, migration was examined as a dynamic process involving micro and macro level factors. Therefore, as they migrate and afterwards, immigrants maintain their social and economic networks in more than one country (Gold, 1997a, 2002).

The main research hypothesis in the current study dealt with the role of gender as structuring on one hand, the socioeconomic process affecting migration, and on the other, the process of assimilation in the USA. These interactions were examined in the light of theories dealing with gender related social structuring in economic, social and cultural spheres, comparing the culture of the country of origin, Israel, to that of the USA, the host country.

The main contribution of this study is the attempt to examine cycles of thinking and acting in the respondents' lives as these relate to their migration to the USA: the decision to emigrate from Israel, assimilation processes in the USA, and the level of their willingness to return to Israel. These three cycles were examined in the light of the new social structuring in the USA. It appears that within the context of liberal feminist theories, a social change has indeed occurred. According to these theories, women do have a place in the existing social order, but the range of opportunities of some immigrants has been expanded by migration both in the occupational sphere, and to some extent in the family's gender role division. Thus through migration, certain structures increase the possibilities of choice for some men and women immigrants, while for other groups the differences in status and in resources of social power between men and women continue to exist.

The three components of migration are interconnected and the gender related social construction is significantly related to each component. The initial component was experienced differently by men and women and not always harmoniously, when in some cases motives for migration differed and the decision to migrate was not usually egalitarian. This aspect is connected to the second one, assimilation in the USA, when background variables again affect the success of economic and social assimilation, and men and women avail themselves of assistance from social networks to a different extent. The gender role division in Israel affects the situation in the USA and has implications for the quality of assimilation of Israeli immigrants. Obviously, this affects successful assimilation and gender related differences were found in the economic, social and cultural areas. Success or failure in the various spheres of assimilation predict developments at the third migration aspect of possible return to Israel, when subgroups among women and men are willing to remain in the USA owing to their successful assimilation and different initial motives for immigration. The level of gender equality in private domain role division continues to affect the attitude of men and women towards returning to Israel differently. Thus, when we relate each aspect to the previous one and become aware how gender distinguishes between the behaviors and attitudes of Israeli men and women, we can trace the entire migration process among Israelis living in the USA.

In all its components, the process is experienced differently by men and women. Even though most Israelis migrated to the USA for economic reasons, these motives are more typical of the men, while a large proportion of the women migrated for other reasons or to follow their husbands. The decision to migrate is not always harmonious and not all respondents reported that it was egalitarian, with demographic and socioeconomic variables affecting the level of equality. Although it was presumed that more women than men would wish to return to Israel, this was not so for women belonging to subgroups that benefited from migration in the private and the public domain. It appears that in the private domain, egalitarian or non-egalitarian gender role division in Israel is preserved almost entirely in the USA, except for women with a high socioeconomic status.

In the public domain, the American structure of opportunities enabled women and men from various strata to benefit, though not equally from social mobility. The very complex interaction between successful economic assimilation and social and cultural assimilation suggests that successful cultural assimilation and social assimilation are related to one another, and to forging a new Jewish ethnic identity in the USA.

Some women benefited from migration to the USA, though less than the men. They were absorbed economically and socially, and do not wish to return to Israel and lose their relative advantage. Other women less successfully absorbed economically and socially wish to return.

Expectations that the women's social and cultural assimilation would be relatively more successful were only partly fulfilled. Women who succeeded in their economic assimilation, similarly to men, were also assimilated socially. Women who did not assimilate economically failed too in other aspects of assimilation both in American society and in the Jewish community.

Successful economic and social assimilation depend inter alia on social networks. Men received help from more significant agents within the social networks to further their economic assimilation, and even expanded their connections in the course of time. Only Israeli women, of high socioeconomic status received such help, and mainly for the purpose of social assimilation. This group will presumably lead the change in the status of Israeli women immigrants in the USA.

Israelis who wish to return to Israel belong, in fact, to the two ends of the economic continuum: older Ashkenazi men who have fulfilled their American dream, and Sephardic women who have not yet entirely fulfilled their aspirations, some of them having migrated mainly due to their spouses' wishes.

The more clearly defined and concrete were motives for migration, like higher education, professional advancement and a higher standard of living, the more explicit their decision to return to Israel. The vaguer the motives for migration, such as family reasons, following husbands, tourism, the less certain the decision to return to Israel. Finally, the prospect of the immigrants' return diminishes as time passes, their stay in the USA is prolonged, and their sense of belonging to American society and the Jewish community there grows. Women and men who may wish to return to Israel for family reasons must choose between two worlds. This was very well expressed by an Israeli in Los Angeles answering an open question in the questionnaire: "When you live in the USA, you are homesick all the time and long for your family, and above all you feel lonely. But when you return to Israel, you begin to long for the fleshpots and recall how good it was in the USA, and how wonderful your standard of living was over there".

GENDER, DECISION TO MIGRATE AND MOTIVES

The current study partly supports the findings of previous studies, describing the decision to migrate as an indicator of women's status in a specific society. In traditional societies women's relatively inferior status is manifested in that they migrate following the men's decision to do so (Lim, 1995). Moreover, the gender role division in a specific society determines the decision-making dynamic and who plays the dominant role. In more traditional families, the decision is made mainly by the husband, while in modern families it is a process shared equally by husband and wife (Scanzoni & Szinovacz, 1980). The Israelis in the current study generally reported that the decision to migrate was taken in an egalitarian way. Nevertheless, we identified subgroups according to the motives for migration, where the decision was made differently. In general, the men led the way, in particular men of Sephardic origin., without an occupational anchor in Israel.

When a family decides to migrate and wishes to derive maximum benefit from this step, in most cases the benefits derived by the family as a whole are not shared equally by its members. This difference may cause a crisis or even break up the family (Stark, 1988). Not only is the process of deciding not egalitarian, then, but it may also be neither shared nor harmonious. Besides the gender role division, other factors such as gender related differences in income and education affect it. The greater the husband's resources and advantages in these respects, the greater the likelihood that he will make the decisions for the family. However, there is also diversity in the differences between husband and wife in their occupational and social status, dictating different patterns of decision-making (Scanzoni & Szinovacz, 1980). Similarly to the new immigrants mainly motivated by the desire to raise their standard of living through better, more profitable work than is available to them in their country of origin (Gold, 1992), and similarly to Israeli immigrants examined in previous studies (Elitzur, 1984; Gold, 1992, 2002; Shokeid, 1988; Sobel, 1986), in the current study most subjects, both men and women, also migrated for economic reasons like a desire for a higher living standard, for professional advancement and higher education. An Israeli immigrant in Miami wrote: "The opportunities for a Technion graduate like me in the USA are unlimited, compared to the occupational opportunities and economic and personal advancement in Israel". Another wrote: "In the USA it is much easier to advance professionally".

Motives for migration to the USA appear to be gender related. According to other researchers, it is clear that women immigrants are motivated as men are, even when they migrate with their families. They wish to improve their family's standard of living and status, and their motives are as diverse as their husbands (United Nations, 1995). However, the current study revealed gender related subgroups, whose motives for migration differ in their importance. Men migrate mainly for economic reasons, almost without any connection to their background characteristics. The desire to migrate for family reasons is typical mainly of young women without children in Israel, with a low level of education, from families where the gender role division in Israel was extreme.

In another subgroup the decision to migrate was made mainly by one spouse. In previous studies women reported that they migrated in the wake of their husband's decision and his occupational and educational motives (Gold, 1992; 1995; 2002; Sabar, 2000; Shokeid, 1988; Sobel, 1986). Although deciding to migrate to North America was 'the family's decision' and the whole family benefits economically from migration, the decision was actually made by the husband to increase their professional opportunities (Gold, 1994a). And indeed, the current study also found that when the family's migration was mainly due to the motives of one spouse, in most cases it was the husband. Similarly to the findings of previous studies (Sabar, 2000; Shokeid, 1988; Sobel, 1986;), there is a group of women that migrated mainly in due to the husband's decision, with little connection to their socioeconomic status in Israel. However, as mentioned above, most

Israelis in the current study migrated for economic reasons and their decision to do so was shared. In other societies, where women have greater autonomy and more opportunities for social mobility, the influence of the women's status and their roles in the country of origin is also manifested in deciding to migrate: a woman who has attained a high status in the country of origin and in her family will be less interested in migrating. Selectivity is greater among autonomous women than among those who migrate following their husbands (Lim, 1995). The current study found that women with higher education are motivated by their desire for advancement, as evident from the statement of an Israeli woman in Philadelphia: "...It was my wish to study for an advanced degree that does not exist [her emphasis. L.L.] in Israel that led to our continuing our studies in the USA... However, after several years in the USA with no resources whatsoever, we shall have to remain there". Or another woman in Los Angeles: "I came to the USA in 1991 to study for a PhD in biology. I intended to complete my studies within five to six years and return home... The longer we stay, the more complicated it seems to go back".

GENDER AND ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASSIMILATION

Sociologists, studying patterns of immigrant assimilation, have recently been focusing on the interaction between the economic and social context in the host countries and the resources and expectations of the new immigrants, and their adjustment to the host country's new and different social structure (Gold, 1997b). The current study too shows that economic assimilation and social and cultural assimilation affect each other. Those successfully assimilated economically have also been successfully absorbed socially. Likewise, successful economic assimilation is related to a high level of satisfaction with life in the USA, and vice versa. However, when we factor gender into the assimilation process, the situation is more complex. While the opportunity structure in the USA contributes to social mobility of both men and women, as American society is committed to equal opportunity (Kerckhoff et al., 1989), the advancement of men immigrants was significantly greater. Women did not benefit significantly from social networks in their economic or social assimilation, it was the men who did so. However, a change now emerging for women of high socioeconomic status. They have succeeded in broadening their connections for the purpose of improving their social assimilation, like their male peers.

Social assimilation, unlike economic assimilation, does not differ according to gender. In this respect the hypothesis underlying this study was not endorsed; women have not been more successfully absorbed than men. Similarly, in the sphere of cultural assimilation, where women were expected to have an advantage, no gender related difference was found. Women were not only not absorbed more successfully, but they it was who preserved an Israeli rhetorical ethnic identity, particularly Sephardic women of low socioeconomic status.

When comparing opportunity structures in Israel and the USA, more women today ascribe greater importance to success in the public domain, namely, working outside the home in the labor market. Thus women in modern American society now have greater prospects of building their own social status independently from their husbands or fathers (Epstein, 1987; Etaugh & Poertner, 1991). In the current study women improved their prospects in the wake of migration, although less than men. Their status change in the family or in the private domain reflects an improvement in their prospects through migration to the USA, but mainly among women of high socioeconomic status. These findings are similar to Clark's (1991), showing that the greater their participation in the labor market, the greater their prospects of social mobility are similar to those of men, although occupational segregation is still significant and women are concentrated in a more limited occupational group (Jacobs, 1989).

The change in the status of Israeli women immigrants upon immigration to the USA can be compared to the findings of several previous studies. For instance, the attainments of women immigrants from Central America do not necessarily lead to greater equality in their families. The husbands feel threatened by their wives' higher salaries, owing to the cultural norms in their countries of origin. The women work in American households and are exposed to the egalitarian norms in American families, while their husbands continue to work with immigrants from their country of origin, reinforcing the gender related norms they brought with them (Menjivar, 1999). In the private domain, the findings of the current study about Israeli women appear similar except to some extent for women of high socioeconomic status; the Israeli gender role division persists. Espiritu (1999), studying women immigrants from East Asia, found that although a high proportion participates in the American labor market, they are not necessarily rewarded according to the changes in their occupational status. Women immigrants in the professional group, like nurses from the Philippines, benefit from high income and legal status, enabling them to bring relatives to the USA. Their family status is more egalitarian in the USA than it was in their country of origin. However, self-employed women or hired workers do not attain a higher status. Kurien (1999), who studied Indian professional women as immigrants (doctors, engineers and accountants) in Southern California, also found that in the household their status improved in that their husbands help them more at home than they did in India. This resembles the findings of the current study that Israeli women with of high socioeconomic status also benefit from more egalitarian role division in the private domain more than those of lower status. Raijman and Semyonov (1997), as well as Larenthal and Semyonov (1993), maintain that there is an interaction between gender and ethnic origin. Women immigrants from less developed countries suffer from a triple disadvantage. While the immigrants in the current study came from the same country, they brought the resources of different origins. Israeli women of Sephardic origin have a lower level of education and occupational prestige than Ashkenazi women. Unlike the Sephardic men, however - the gap between them and Ashkenazi men widened in the USA in favor of the latter - the gap among the women decreased. Thus the triple disadvantage is not as potent in this case, apparently because Israeli women coming from the same country belong to two different ethnic groups. Another possible explanation lies in the attitude of the absorbing society, perceiving them all a single Israeli group and ignoring their ethnic origin, whose effect is thus eliminated to some extent . These findings also support those of previous studies that socioeconomic differences related to ethnic origin (when human capital variables are controlled) are very significant among men, but less so among women (Almquist, 1975; Semyonov & Kraus, 1983).

On arrival in the host country, immigrants confront difficulties in economic assimilation unrelated to gender. They are not familiar with the labor market or the language and their skills are not always entirely relevant to the locally available occupations. Therefore at first some immigrants are willing to take jobs that are less profitable and less in demand. In the course of time, however, a large proportion succeeds in climbing the socioeconomic ladder, and some attain a standard of living similar to or even higher than the local population (Borjas & Tienda, 1993; Chiswick, 1978; Raijman & Semyonov, 1997). According to Chiswick, knowledge of English is an important resource for economic assimilation; Nevertheless, it is not related to social and cultural assimilation, either in forging a Jewish-American identity, or in preserving Israeli identity. Level of knowledge of English is almost unrelated to gender except for a higher level of written English among the women. Alongside the acquisition of English, replies to the open questions reflect a drop in the quality of expression in Hebrew, displayed in grammatical errors and abundant quotation marks.

The components of assimilation – economic, social and cultural – interact. Rosenthal and Auerbach (1992) maintained that the higher the occupational prestige and education level, the more successful is cultural assimilation (knowledge of English and exposure to American culture). The current study found that Israelis with a strong Jewish identity also have a high income. In this respect Waters (1990) asserts that among white immigrants in the USA, the choice of ethnic identity is related to social mobility, in particular when ethnic identity is less related to the discrimination existing against non-white immigrants. DellaPergola (1991) adds that, given the change in the American mainstream social reality, Jewish identity and socioeconomic status may overlap. A change has occurred in the hierarchy of these two variables, and identity related to social status now tends to dominate ethnic-cultural identity. Therefore Jewish identity is becoming a common feature in the higher strata of American society.

In the light of the above claims by Waters (1990) and DellaPergola (1991), the current study found that as time passes and immigrants establish themselves, they are able to choose an ethnic identity granting them a feeling of belonging to a community, without giving up the individuality so greatly esteemed in the USA. The fulfillment of the American dream is manifested in the Israeli immigrants' success in their economic aims, leading them to feel connected to the USA and interested in belonging to the Jewish community. It appears that cultural identity is subservient to American identity and related to the economic aspect.

DellaPergola (2001) and Gold (2002) mentioned that women immigrants play a significant role in preserving continuity between the culture of the country of origin and that of the host country, and are actually responsible for the social assimilation of the entire family. The findings of the current study do not indicate that women are more successfully absorbed socially than men, even though that is the arena they are supposed to dominate. Neither does women's ethnic origin or their level of education help explain the differential success in social assimilation. Nevertheless, a more egalitarian gender role division does relate to better social assimilation. Unlike other studies (Kimhi, 1990; Lev Ari, 1997; Sabar, 2000), the component of Jewish identity among the Israeli women in this one is not stronger than among the men. However, preserving the Israeli bubble or Israeli identity is typical mainly of women of Sephardic origin, who develop rhetorical ethnicity (Uriely, 1994), similar in its characteristics to symbolic ethnicity (Gans, 1978). Their assimilation is characterized by low identification with their American place of residence, and they experience a dynamic and ongoing process of transience. Or as expressed by an Israeli woman in Miami: "It is really difficult to decide where it is preferable to live... The question is – where do you really belong"?

The success of immigrants' economic and social assimilation in the host country is partly due to social networks based on ethnic and family relations. Within the family, women are important in utilizing these networks to aid assimilation. However, women and men do not avail themselves equally of such assistance to obtain information, housing, and employment. Women immigrants have diverse resources, motives and patterns of assimilation on arriving in the host country (Gold, 1992; 1994a; 2002; Sabar, 2000). Assistance from social networks is typical of immigrants at the first stage of immigration. In the current study we also see that those who tend to get help in their economic assimilation from many components of the social networks are young men from small locations in Israel, compared to those from the cities, who also brought with them a low level of education. On the other hand, those with greater professional aspirations tend to exploit such assistance to improve their economic assimilation as time passes. Expanding relations with many Jewish friends and stronger connection to Jewish tradition also increase the tendency to receive help from social networks in this sphere.

Social assimilation by means of social networks appears to resemble economic assimilation. It is the men who avail themselves of more components of social networks. According to Macionis (1997), social networks constitute, among other factors, a significant resource for finding employment. Moreover some people have stronger and more powerful social networks. The current study shows this among Ashkenazi men with a high education level. The components of their social networks are more extensive, less based on family and ethnic relations, and more on mainstream American professional ones, compared to Sephardic men of low education, and certainly compared to women, who rely mainly on their relatives.

This finding supports Gold (1997b), who maintains that access to transnational social networks varies; Israelis of Ashkenazi origin and with higher education belong to different social networks than Israelis of Sephardic origin, with less education. Previous studies also mentioned that women's assimilation strategies differ from men's, so that men and women from the same family may use resources from different social networks (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Kibria, 1993; Zhou & Logan, 1989). Therefore in economic and social assimilation men of high economic status are at an advantage in the use of social networks, since they expand their connections beyond the family circle and thus benefit from more assistance in their economic and social assimilation. Economic entrepreneurship based on the ethnic enclave is advantageous mainly for men and serves as a route to social mobility (Wilson & Portes, 1980; Portes & Jensen, 1989).

There appears to be a change in the sphere of assistance from social networks among Israeli women with higher education. Their situation is similar to that of men with higher education who receive assistance from significant components of social networks in their social assimilation. The difference in the utilization of social networks between women with higher education and those with a moderate or low level of education is striking. Such differences are less salient among men. In this respect the findings of the current study resemble those of Moore (1992), indicating a tendency towards greater gender equality in assistance from social networks, with growing overall gender equality. We have already pointed out that professional women also enjoy greater equality in various spheres of life than do other groups of women. These findings partly support those of Epstein (1987) and Thoits (1987), who maintained that the more educated and the wealthier the immigrants, and the more supportive social networks they belonging to, the better their prospects of building interpersonal relations different from those customary in their society, and to relieve the tension between their various roles. People at an advantage socioeconomically are less bound by structural and normative limitations than those with lower capability. Thus they have more opportunities to restructure relationships and expectations related to new gender roles. The normative system changes constantly, and the change may trickle down the social hierarchy. While those with greater capability benefit first, but in the long term men and women of all strata benefit from the new role expectations (Epstein, 1987; Thoits, 1987).

The role expected of women in social and cultural assimilation is not clear and they certainly do not reap any benefit from it when compared to men, as we might expect they would. It appears that structural advantages in American society improved most men's prospects for economic mobility and for assimilation in American society. The change felt in social assimilation relates to high status women. This appears to be the group benefiting from migration to a social structure different from that in Israel. However, these advantages have not yet accrued to women of lower socioeconomic status.

GENDER AND DIFFERENCES IN WILLINGNESS TO RETURN TO ISRAEL

The immigrants' return is the possible third component of the process of migration and indicates the extent to which the aims of migration were attained (Blecher & Goldberg, 1978; DellaPergola, 1986; Goldscheider, 1971; United Nations, 1995). Regarding Israeli immigrants, Uriely (1994) maintains that some have no plans to return on a specific date, but on the whole they do wish to return. He calls them permanent sojourners, as opposed to other Israeli immigrants who express a deeper connection to their place of residence in the USA. The Israelis' tendency to return depends, inter alia on the social structure and their perception of opportunities for higher education and suitable jobs in Israel, vis-à-vis the USA (Ritterband, 1978).

The current study like earlier ones, points to a specific pattern in willingness to return to Israel. Approximately half of the Israelis express a general desire to return, even though most of them are unwilling to commit themselves to a specific time limit. Their answers to the open questions, some of them quoted later, display their longing for Israel and other pull factors, in particular those related to their families, as opposed to factors pushing them from Israel, like the type of regime, military service in the reserves, and lesser opportunities for social mobility. Apart from gender, the main explanations for willingness to return are diverse. The economic motive is affected by factors such as ethnic origin, motives for migration to the USA, home ownership and the place of residence in the USA. The level of social and cultural assimilation directly affects willingness to return to Israel.

Gender seems to have a somewhat different influence on the willingness to return than I presumed. Israeli women are indeed less satisfied with life in the USA, according to Kimhi (1990) as well. However, unlike Kimhi, who maintained that Israeli women develop a weaker occupational identity than men and prefer to return to Israel, and unlike Gold (1999b), who asserted that men prefer to remain in the USA and married women prefer to return, the findings of the current study indicate different directions. An Israeli woman in Miami wrote: "Even though today I can't say I am very satisfied with my life in the USA, I don't think I am ready at this point to go back to Israel, because I feel more secure here economically than I'll feel in Israel". A woman in Los Angeles, wrote: "During the first years I wanted to go back because I was homesick... In the last two years that dream has vanished... Our careers are here, mine and my husband's too. The sky's the limit". 3 (1995) believes that women's perceptions differ from men's regarding the change in their status in the wake of migration, and also their expectations of the return to their country of origin in this respect. Thus women who have been successful in the economic and social spheres following migration are unwilling to return to their country of origin. Similarly, the findings of the current study indicate that those who feel they have exploited to the full their ability and aspirations through migration to the USA are also ready to commit themselves to a definite time for their return. These are mainly men with a high socioeconomic status and at least 50 years old. Women, mainly of Ashkenazi origin, and Sephardic men, have apparently not yet exploited their abilities to the full nor fulfilled their expectations. These women and men are also younger and perceive the USA as a society that will enable them to advance more than Israel, and so they are not willing to commit themselves to returning within a specific time. The men in this group migrated mainly for other than economic reasons. They tend to remain in the USA mainly because they cannot make a definite decision like those who migrated for the concrete motives of professional advancement, studies or raising the standard of living. From Miami a man wrote: "The essential difference [between Israel and the USA. L.L.] is peace of mind and social calm and the possibility to advance in life in various ways without the Israeli bureaucratic obstacles". Or another man, also in Miami wrote: "The only reason keeping Israelis in the USA is economic prosperity".

Moore (1987) maintained that the immigrants who tend to remain abroad are those who express a preference for financial remuneration and fulfillment of economic aspirations. By contrast, those who migrated mainly to study and suffer from their lack of a sense of belonging and of an Israeli and Jewish atmosphere for their children, will tend to return to Israel (Moore, 1987; Mittelberg & Lev Ari, 1991). Successful cultural assimilation also predicts a high level of willingness to return to Israel. Those with a strong Jewish identity are apparently also those who have fulfilled their American dream and are therefore more willing to return than those who have not yet done so. The children's education and future identity are also an important factor manifested mainly in their answers to open questions. A woman in Los Angeles wrote: "I am constantly troubled by the dilemma of whether to live here in the USA, in maximum economic prosperity, or in Israel, close to my parents and the family, and where my children will get the education I got, if they grow up in Israel as I did". A man in Los Angeles wrote: "... I feel really rather trapped. I am afraid to leave what I built up and created here and return to Israel to a kind of unknown (mainly economically), and on the other hand, I don't have a sense of satisfaction, I feel isolated socially and far from my family, especially from my parents, who are getting older. Something is lacking, incomplete... in that my children are growing up here and developing far from my family and my culture, like Americans in every way". Another woman, in Miami, wrote: "And as time passes, and your children grow, it becomes difficult to go back, especially when the children study at universities and all they know is life in America". An Israeli woman living in Philadelphia asserted that "the journey to the USA and the move were due to studies at an institution of higher learning. The question if to return or not is not an issue; it's clear to me and to my husband that we'll live in Israel and that our children will grow up there and not here".

Family considerations besides those related to children, such as the wish to live near the parents in Israel, affect the intention to return, in particular among women but also among men, who feel they have fulfilled their American dream, and family motives pull them to return.

Regarding this last aspect of the migration and assimilation process, it appears that Israeli women successfully absorbed economically and socially will not wish to return to Israel, since the structure of opportunities there apparently does not offer them the same possibilities for social mobility as America does. Only if these women become convinced that Israeli society offers them good opportunities, or at least the same range of opportunities, will they consider returning. This was expressed by a woman in Philadelphia: "In Israel people still relate to women in a personal (non-professional), contemptuous and disrespectful way in the workplace". Or another woman in the same city: "In the USA one can undoubtedly find professional fulfillment".

That group of women, then, has in fact been able to live by the principles of liberal feminism, calling for the expansion of opportunities for the individual within the occupational and family framework (Macionis, 1997). On the other hand, women less successful in the USA both economically and socially, tend to return to Israel. Support for these findings can be found in recent research on Israelis who returned after several years abroad (Lev Ari, 2006). The current study suggests that women who succeeded in their economic and social assimilation, most of them of Ashkenazi origin, do not wish to migrate again.

The desire to live close to their parents may influence women to return; this factor has less effect on men. Another component of the fulfilling the American dream relates to building a new Jewish-American identity, and among successful men, a strong Jewish identity also predicts a high level of willingness to return to Israel.

Finally, the length of time in the USA is an additional factor influencing a possible return to Israel. As an Israeli woman living in Los Angeles states: "For 18 years I felt that my home was in Israel and suddenly everything changed, and I see the USA as my home. Apparently feeling at home changes as the years pass".

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The current study raises theoretical issues and also practical questions, mainly regarding the policy towards Israeli men and women living in the USA. Emigration from Israel – in Hebrew called 'yeridah', meaning descent – as opposed to aliyah, meaning ascent – is seen by the relevant authorities as a phenomenon with negative connotations. This attitude ignores the complex, multi-faceted nature of migration from Israel, which is not a consistent mono-directional process. It is desirable for the authorities to become acquainted with findings like those of this study, in particular so they can distinguish between subgroups of Israelis. Policy towards Israelis living in the USA should be more diversified and has to become more aware of the factors involved as it formulates new policy.

For instance, if the relevant Israeli institutions are interested in bringing Israelis home, such persons are more likely to be men who have fulfilled the economic aspirations that led them to migrate to the USA. These are men in their fifties who have apparently fulfilled their potential in the USA and may also be successful in Israel.

There are two groups that may be difficult to persuade to return: women who have succeeded in their economic assimilation and men who have failed. The women (provided they have not been living long in the USA), will have to be convinced that Israeli society offers them similar opportunities for social mobility. However, men who have not yet fulfilled their aspirations by migration are the most difficult to persuade, since they are most unwilling to return. A paradox emerges: on one hand, they find no relative advantage in the structure of opportunities in the USA; on the other hand, they not yet fulfilled their American dream, so they nevertheless wish to stay there.

Although the current study encompassed several components of the migration process, it relied mostly on quantitative findings. The answers to the open questions contain some qualitative information. To expand our understanding of migration from Israel, this study should be followed up by research focusing on personality differences and background variables not contained here. An Israeli living in Miami wrote: "The questionnaire does not deal with the home background, place of birth, school, youth group, Scouts, army service, kibbutz. Such questions may provide more insights into why people leave and immigrate to the USA".

In-depth interviews with Israeli men and women living in the USA will make it possible to investigate additional dimensions in the motives for migration, such as opinions about the Israeli government, military service, norms and values as compared to American society, the desire to vote in Israeli elections and satisfaction with the treatment received from Israeli authorities.

Answers to the open questions provided some information on these issues. A man in Philadelphia wrote: "Until the people change and begin to think like[they do] in America, when they learn to behave...". Or a woman from Los Angeles wrote: "One thing that makes return to Israel difficult is the change in the culture and politics of the state of Israel since I left". From Miami a man wrote: "I am a disabled IDF veteran and the Ministry of Defense has behaved unfairly to me in all matters concerning assistance and rehabilitation. I was very bitter and still am about the way they assign disability rights to Israeli born soldiers like me, who were wounded and sacrificed themselves for the country, and got a slap in the face for it!" [exclamation mark in the original, L.L.]. A woman from Miami stated: "I'd like to see the consulate behave more civilly and fairly to ordinary Israeli residents, and not only to 'the favored ones'" [internal quotation marks in the original. L.L.]. I'd like to see more community events free of charge [underlined in the original. L.L.] for children, to encourage solidarity... In every modern country a citizen living abroad is allowed to elect the government at the consulate; when will Israel become a modern state"? In this context a woman from Los Angeles wrote: "I think that an Israeli 'returning resident' [internal quotation marks in the original. L.L.] ought to have the same rights as a new immigrant". A woman from Miami wrote: "In the USA there is less pressure, less income tax, VAT, military service ...". While such statements in answer to open questions transfer responsibility for remaining in the USA to the state of Israel, they do express feelings not reflected in the closed questionnaire and some may be worth considering. A recent study of former Israeli immigrants who had returned (Lev Ari, 2006) documented similar complaints regarding differences between foreign countries and Israel.

Since many Israelis mentioned their children's present and future education (mainly in answers to open questions), as significant when they consider returning to Israel, a future study should also examine the success of the children's assimilation in the USA and its effect on the parents' assimilation. For instance, from Miami a woman wrote: "When my husband retires, we would very much like to spend a part of the year in Israel, the problem is the children and the grandchildren". Or another woman from Miami: "... Today I am the mother of three students; the two boys have gone back ... the girl is at a university here and it's very difficult to go back". A woman from Miami wrote: "We are the *yordim* [emphasis in the original. L.L.]. We left the country, and I in particular because I had to, not because I wanted to ... But why are the children to blame? My sons can't go back and there is no institution that takes care of it". However, another woman from Miami wrote: "Our four children and three grandchildren live in Israel, so we are getting ready to return in the year 2000".

Finally, what the participants in the current study actually did should be followed up: who returned to Israel and what are their gender characteristics, and what processes characterize migration and assimilation of Israeli men and women in the USA?

Research questions and practically applicable conclusions derived from the current study reinforce the main contention evident throughout the previous chapters, that it is imperative to relate to gender when discussing any type of migration, and in particular the migration of Israelis to the USA.

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