



# IMMIGRANT ABSORPTION IN ISRAEL

*Selected Research Papers from  
the JDC-Brookdale Institute*

**Editor: Gila Noam**

*Prepared for the World Conference  
of Jewish Communal Service  
Jerusalem, July 3-7, 1994*



MARKING THE 20TH  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
**JDC-BROOKDALE INSTITUTE**  
OF GERONTOLOGY AND  
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

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Immigrant absorption in Israel :

Noam, Gila



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## **20 Years of Research at the JDC-Brookdale Institute of Gerontology and Human Development**

The JDC-Brookdale Institute of Gerontology and Human Development is a national center on aging, health policy and social welfare in Israel, with a corresponding responsibility to promote its findings and influence policy, field practice, and education on a national basis. It provides a meeting ground for policymakers, researchers, and professionals throughout the country.

The Institute was established in 1974 as a national research center in the area of aging. It is an independent, non-profit organization which operates under the auspices of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC) and the Government of Israel.

Its work began in the context of a country experiencing a particularly rapid rate of population aging and grappling with the social implications of this phenomenon. There had been very little substantive work analyzing public policy as it affected the elderly, and this became the main thrust of Brookdale's research programs.

Over the years a unique approach to the methodology and application of research has been developed, based on the message that policymakers need to be provided with relevant and specific basic inputs if the policymaking process is to be informed, innovative and dynamic.

In view of this expertise, and the special models that the JDC-Brookdale Institute developed in the field of aging, it was subsequently requested to broaden the scope of its activities to include other critical areas of health and social welfare.

The strong partnership that has emerged between the Institute and Israel's policymakers continues to promote an ongoing dialogue about research priorities and the effective use of research findings.

Added to its ability to work with individual policymakers and organizations and ministries, the Institute has excelled in its ability to work on issues that cut across a number of ministries and to establish a common and coordinated framework for exploring issues of mutual concern, despite the fact that these issues are controversial and sensitive.

Implementation of the research program is based on the long-range planning and continuous work of a full-time core staff, committed to making the link between research, practice, and policy. The approach to each issue is interdisciplinary and draws on the input of the entire staff, and the professional contribution of the best outside researchers, practitioners, and consultants available.

Twenty years on, our research work focuses on five major areas: aging, children and youth with special needs, health policy, immigrant absorption, and disability.

Among the notable achievements of Brookdale are:

- creation of databases for planning services at the national and local levels
- evaluation of services, intervention programs and alternative service models
- support to legislative procedures and efforts to set standards in the health and social services
- development of management tools
- assisting in the development of effective education and training
- promoting the establishment of cross-national links and cooperation

We hope that past performance and current efforts will be a prelude to even greater contributions to the quality of life of Israel's citizens.

Jerusalem  
June 1994

Meir Elran  
Director  
JDC-Brookdale Institute  
of Gerontology and Human  
Development

## Foreword

The State of Israel has a deep-rooted commitment to the absorption of immigrants. In the period between January 1990 and April 1994, 548,000 immigrants arrived in the country. With this commitment as a backdrop, the recent period of almost unprecedented immigration has presented Israeli society with one of the most formidable challenges it has had to face in the course of its history. Since late 1989 over half a million immigrants have arrived in Israel, the vast majority from the former Soviet Union. These immigrants bring with them rich vocational and cultural resources and the promise of a significant contribution to the fabric of Israeli society. Nevertheless, considerable inputs are required in order to update their skills and training and ensure their relevance to the demands of the Israeli labor market. At the same time, the relatively small number of Ethiopian immigrants (among them 22,000 who have arrived since 1991) are requiring very intensive assistance in order to assure their successful absorption.

Many changes in absorption policy have recently evolved with perhaps the most dramatic of them being the transition to a policy of direct absorption. Such a policy places considerable responsibility on the shoulders of municipal decision makers and planners who must organize themselves to ensure that the newcomers quickly become integrated into the local community.

The deep commitment to absorption as a social goal has been accompanied by the demand from policymakers, planners, and service providers for reliable up-to-date information on the needs of the immigrants, the extent to which these needs are being met by local and national services, and the degree to which the absorption process is progressing in various areas.

At the request of its Boards of Directors and the Israeli government the JDC-Brookdale Institute has responded to this challenge and has conducted a series of studies which are aiding both municipalities and the national government in developing policies for effective absorption. These studies have focused on several major issues: Identifying needs among immigrant groups "at risk" (such as the elderly and youth), monitoring the absorption of immigrants into the labor market and evaluating the contribution of vocational training programs to this process, examining the transition of immigrants from temporary to permanent housing, and examining the ways in which

immigration has impacted on the service system and service utilization among immigrants.

This selection of readings, prepared as background material for the participants in the 1994 World Conference of Jewish Communal Service in Jerusalem, reflects several of these themes and presents selected findings from recent studies (1992-1994).

It is hoped that these papers will stimulate discussion on the issues presented, many of which are common to other countries absorbing immigrants, and will be useful to communal service professionals, policymakers, and all those involved in coping with the challenging task of absorbing newcomers and integrating them into the fabric of the host societies.

## **Acknowledgments**

Thanks are extended to those colleagues working in the area of immigrant absorption at the JDC-Brookdale Institute, who offered valuable assistance during the course of preparing these readings for publication.

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# **The Impacts of Immigration: Towards a Research Agenda for Israel**

**Allan Borowski\***

This report was published as a JDC-Brookdale Institute Discussion Paper, D-203-93, in January 1993.

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## **Introduction**

The current scale of the international movement of peoples is unprecedented in human history. The composition of this international movement is very diverse. It includes refugees and those seeking refugee status (asylum seekers), legal and illegal temporary labor migrants, tourists, "transilients" (i.e., highly skilled workers and professionals employed under short-term contracts by multinational companies, businessmen, entrepreneurs, etc.), short-term cross-border commuters from among residents of adjacent countries, and students studying abroad. It also includes those people who are moving from one country to another with a view to permanent settlement.

Numerically, this last category is among the smallest. There are only a handful of countries in the world that encourage permanent settlement. These countries are Israel, the United States, Canada, Germany, Australia and New Zealand. Of these countries, only Israel and Germany have essentially non-selective immigration policies and place no limits on the numbers that will be accepted for permanent settlement. The others accept only a small proportion of permanent settlement applicants.

### **The Purpose of this Paper**

At the global, regional, national and local levels the international movement of peoples has had major effects. The intent of this paper is to describe some of the major effects of only one form of international movement, viz., permanent settlement, at only one level, i.e., the national one. In doing so, this paper seeks to provide Israeli immigration researchers with a resource document which they may find useful for generating their own research agenda. Clearly, the salience of the issues and research questions which are raised by the addition of large numbers of permanent settlers to a nation's population will differ from one country to the next. Among the factors that may bear upon their salience are the country's prevailing economic climate and public attitudes towards immigration. It is up to the Israeli researchers to draw out those issues and questions that are of greatest immediate interest and relevance to this country.

### **The Structure and Content of this Paper**

It is a fairly easy task to identify the broad areas which encapsulate virtually all of the major issues and questions which may potentially challenge researchers who are interested in the effects of immigration. These are:

- (1) the demographic effects;
- (2) the economic effects;
- (3) the social effects, including the domestic political effects;
- (4) the environmental effects, and
- (5) the international relations effects.

It is a much more complex exercise, however, to identify the variables considered relevant for identifying the effects of immigration in any one of these areas. Identifying the relevant variables presupposes the existence of clearly articulated and universally accepted conceptual frameworks that capture the key dimensions of a nation's demography, its economy, its society (including its polity), its ecology or its international relations. Even if such frameworks for each of the broad areas and their key relevant variables can be identified, it would be inappropriate to treat the areas as if they were independent of one another. Thus, to distinguish the realm of what may be considered narrowly economic from that which may be considered narrowly social ignores the social significance of economic phenomena. For the purposes of presentation, however, it is necessary in this paper to treat the broad areas of the effects of immigration as if they did not interact with each other.

Although it is possible to identify a set of variables which have been commonly used by demographers and economists to assess the impacts of immigration, in general there are no clearly articulated, universally accepted conceptual frameworks. Rather, there are typically several different ways of looking at the impacts of immigration. This is especially true of the social impacts of immigration. This paper does not claim to be exhaustive in its analysis of the various frameworks and the variables which they highlight as important for an understanding of the effects of immigration. Indeed, it is quite selective in its approach, a selectivity shaped by the availability of relevant literature, the research themes and approaches reflected in the literature and the writer's own experience as an immigration researcher. Thus, while the paper is not exhaustive in its coverage it does attempt to convey a strong sense of the flavour of the relevant issues and variables.

The rest of this paper is divided into four major parts. The first deals with the demographic effects of immigration, the second with the economic effects and the third with the social effects. The last part of this paper draws the preceding ones together and attempts to develop a list of questions which Israeli researchers may wish to address.

This paper does not deal with the environmental and international relations effects of immigration. As noted above, some immigration-related issues are more salient in some countries than others. For example, the environmental impact of immigration is an important issue in Australia but a non-issue in Canada while the impact of immigration on foreign relations is a reasonably prominent issue in the United States but a relatively minor one in Australia. In the case of Israel, the environmental impacts of immigration (e.g., the demands that additional people place on the country's limited water supply) and the international relations effects are quite prominent issues and, therefore, should be addressed in this paper. However, in order to contain the scope and length of this paper and in view of the fact that the environmental and foreign relations effects of immigration are unlikely to have any bearing on Israel's non-selective immigration policy (the Law of Return) the impacts of immigration in these two broad areas are not dealt with here.

## **1. The Demographic Impact of Immigration**

Demographic analysis is concerned with the study of the components of population variation and change. The major components of population variation and change are:

- (1) population size and growth;
- (2) age structure;
- (3) population distribution (including internal migration), and
- (4) population composition (household formation patterns, religion, birthplace, gender balance, etc).

The central issue for demographers of immigration is to assess the impact of immigration on each of these components.

### **1.1 Population Size and Growth**

The three basic factors affecting the size and growth of the population are net migration, fertility and mortality.

**a. Net migration.** Depending on the size of the annual intake of immigrants, immigration programs can have a major impact on annual population growth. Thus, Israel's population grew from 4.82 million in 1990 to 5.05 million in 1991. Immigrants accounted for 170,500 (almost 75 percent) of the

approximately 230,000 people who were added to the population during 1991 (Keinon, 1992a). Despite very high levels of fertility by comparison with other industrialized countries (total fertility rates of 2.7 for Jews, 4.7 for Moslems and 2.65 for Christians) immigration still contributed substantially more to Israel's population growth rate in 1991 than did natural increase. Indeed, the combined effects of high fertility rates and exceptionally high levels of immigration over the last two years saw Israel's population grow by 5.7 percent in 1990 and 4.7 percent in 1991. Israel is among the fastest growing countries in the world today. With high levels of immigration expected to continue in 1992 (Keinon, 1992a, 1992b), Israel's population will continue to grow very rapidly.

It is of interest to note that while one other immigrant-receiving country, viz., Australia, recently experienced a higher contribution to population growth from immigration than natural increase (in 1987, 1988 and 1989), the population growth rate in these years at no time exceeded a relatively modest 1.8 percent (in 1988) (Borowski and Shu, 1992).

The other side of the "immigration coin" is emigration. Indeed, it is net migration (immigration less emigration) that is the precise determinant of the contribution of people flows to population growth. Some countries have experienced such massive outflows over the years that it is only large immigrant intakes that have obviated declines in the size of the population. New Zealand is an example of such a country.

Emigration has always been an important component of net migration in the immigrant-receiving countries. An important determinant of emigration is immigration itself insofar as the level of permanent departure of former immigrants is related to the level of immigrant arrivals several years previously. But not all emigrants are former immigrants. Natives are also often well represented among those departing permanently, especially young adult singles and couples with young families who are leaving their native country in search of "greener pastures".

**b. Fertility and mortality.** In addition to the direct contribution of migration to annual rates of population growth immigration can also influence patterns of mortality and fertility where a large proportion of the population is overseas-born and has distinctive fertility and mortality patterns. Differences in morbidity and mortality between the major groups of overseas-born may impact upon overall mortality levels and also on the demand for different

kinds of health services. The contribution of the fertility of migrant women after arrival to population growth is a function of their characteristics, in particular their age structure, marital status and religion. Thus, the recent moderate upturn in the fertility rate in the United States after many years of continual decline has been attributed to the high fertility rate among segments of the Hispanic community. However, the impact of the new society in which immigrants find themselves on their attitudes and behaviour towards fertility and on their aspirations and lifestyles may also have a bearing on fertility levels (Hugo, 1990).

## **1.2 Age Structure**

The term "age structure" refers to the age composition or age distribution of a population. The special interest social scientists have in the age structure derives from the fact that the numbers and proportion of the population at each age affects social relationships within a community. Further, because the level and demand for most goods, services, income security benefits, infrastructure and the like tends to vary with age (e.g., schools, health services, social security, housing, etc.), many types of planning, both private and public, require data on the age structure of a nation. Immigration can have an important impact on this component of population variation and change.

Countries with selective immigration programs have tended to favour immigrants of working age, i.e., people in their twenties, thirties and forties. This has typically resulted in immigrant waves that are younger than the population at large. Thus, large numbers of young immigrants who enter a country within a given time period serve to reduce the median age of the population. This is especially true of young immigrant couples who come with large numbers of children. This "youthening" effect of the immigration inflow on the age structure may be somewhat offset by the admission of immigrants under family reunion provisions where age is a less salient consideration in immigrant selection and, thus, the intake is likely to be older.

In contrast, countries with non-selective immigration programs are unable to "control" the immigration intake in a way that serves public policy ends as far as age structure is concerned. Indeed, the Soviet immigrants who arrived in Israel during the first two years of the current aliya wave comprise fewer children (26 percent are 0-18 years compared to 41 percent in the general

population) and more elderly people (14 percent are 65 years of age or over compared to 9 percent in the general population) and, thus, have contributed to the aging of the Israeli population (Keinon, 1991b).

Population aging is now the dominant feature of the age structure of many of the industrialized nations. Israel is no exception in this regard even though it has a very sizable young population. Among the immigrant-receiving countries, the size, composition and problems encountered by the older population is influenced to an important degree by the experience and timing of earlier migration waves. Thus, the age structure (and other characteristics) of the contemporary total stock of natives and those born overseas bears the "historical imprint" (Hugo, 1990:43) of past waves of immigrants.

### **1.3 Population Distribution**

Another component of population variation and change is the distribution of the population over geographic, political or other regions and areas of a country. Changes in the distribution of the population can have a major impact on population numbers and composition in different locations, on housing and labour markets, and on the demand for infrastructure and public and private goods and services. The major factors shaping changes in the population distribution of the immigrant-receiving countries are internal migration (of natives and former immigrants) and the settlement location decisions of immigrants from abroad (Borowski and Shu, 1992).

Internal migration is both the cause and consequence of economic and social change and occurs in response to perceived opportunities and constraints in both the place of destination and the place left behind (Bell, 1991). As far as new arrivals' settlement location decisions are concerned, there is a link between their characteristics and their settlement patterns. Perhaps most important among the immigrants' characteristics is their place of birth. Immigrants from certain countries often manifest a greater propensity to settle in some areas than others. Thus, an important influence on this propensity is the location of fellow countrymen and women who arrived earlier and relatives. Other factors that have a bearing on the settlement locations chosen by immigrants are the port of disembarkation, housing and employment opportunities. For refugees and other immigrant groups with special needs (e.g., Ethiopian Jews), where they ultimately choose to settle may be determined by the location of the refugee hostel or absorption centre that they are sent to upon first arriving in their new country.

With regard to the immigrants who have arrived in Israel over the last two years, over 46 percent have chosen to settle in the Tel Aviv and central area, 33 percent in the north, 12 percent in Jerusalem and just under 8 percent in the south. Some of the towns which have grown the most from the current wave of immigration are Nazareth, Karmiel, Safed, and Arad which have increased their populations by between 20 and 27 percent as a result of the new arrivals (Odenheimer, 1991).

#### **1.4 Population Composition**

It is a truism to say that immigration affects the composition of the population. Some of the characteristics of immigrants and the way these impinge upon the composition of the population have already been referred to, e.g., morbidity, mortality, fertility, age and country of birth. Immigrant intakes can vary between countries in terms of such other factors as gender mix, family composition and religion. Even in Israel where the sole criterion for admission to permanent residence is either being a Jew or the spouse or child of a Jew, different immigrant waves have had different proportions of Jews among them. Thus, the proportion of the current wave of Soviet olim who are considered Halachically Jewish has been estimated at between 60 percent and 75 percent (Keinon, 1991b). The net result of all these other characteristics is an increasingly diverse population. Some of the implications of this growing diversity are explored elsewhere in this paper. (See the discussion below on social cohesion.)

There is perhaps one implication of the composition of the migrant intake that warrants special mention. The aliya wave of the last two years has demanded a huge investment in housing and infrastructure. The requirements for housing and infrastructure are shaped perhaps less by the absolute numbers of immigrants than they are by the demand for separate households. Household formation is determined by a range of factors, some of which have been referred to earlier, viz., the rate of population growth and the age structure of the population. Other characteristics of the population also play a role, e.g., marital status and household income. The large number of single-parent families among the Soviet olim suggests that the rate of household formation induced by the Soviet aliya is perhaps faster than would be the case if intact nuclear families were more highly represented among the intake.

## 2. The Economic Impact of Immigration

Population growth due to immigration impacts upon both aggregate supply (the productive capacity of the economy) and aggregate demand (the demands made on that capacity). The interaction between the changes in aggregate supply and aggregate demand can result in important macroeconomic effects. The study of these macroeconomic effects has been a major preoccupation of immigration researchers in those countries which have a selective immigration policy.

The research question that has preoccupied economists of immigration in these countries is: Does immigration bring favourable net economic benefits or does it result in net economic costs? This is an important question for these countries because the answer can have direct implications for both community support of immigration and immigration policy itself in terms of the future size and composition of the migrant intake. Although the answer to this question has no import for Israel's immigration policy – the Law of Return – and *aliya* enjoys widespread support notwithstanding the demands that it makes on Israeli society and the economy, it is still of interest and value to examine conceptually what is involved in addressing this question. This is because addressing this question demands, in turn, identifying the variables which describe both the economic processes and outcomes, or consequences, of immigration. Undertaking research with a view to understanding the scope and magnitude of the economic processes and consequences of immigration may have implications for allied policy domains which are amenable to change by the Israeli Government, e.g., policies on labour market programs for *olim*, wages policy, policies designed to combat inflation, etc..

This part of the paper on the economic impact of immigration begins by examining the supply- and demand-side processes that are set in train when a nation's population grows as a result of immigration. The next section of this part focuses upon the economic consequences of immigration stemming from the interaction of both demand- and supply-side effects. The last part of this section deals with the economic impact of immigration on the migrants themselves.

## 2.1 An Analytical Framework

A rather simple but quite useful analytical framework for examining the processes by which immigration influences supply and demand was formulated by Parai (1974) and appears in Wooden (1990). This framework has been substantially elaborated upon by Foster and Baker (1991). Elements of it also appear in Simon (1989) and Economic Council of Canada (1991). The description of the supply- and demand-side effects presented is adapted mainly from Wooden's and Foster and Baker's presentations.

### 2.1.1 Aggregate Supply-Side Effects

It is possible to identify several aggregate supply-side effects of immigration. The supply-side effects which immigration sets in train are:

1. *Labour supply.* In countries with large intakes of settler arrivals, immigration will increase the size of the labour force which, in turn, will lead to an expansion in potential output. Because the income from that output will be spread over a larger population, whether net economic benefits per capita will accrue will depend upon a number of factors including: 1) the rate of migrants' labour force participation. This has a bearing on the ratio of workers to dependents and, in turn, output per capita; 2) the availability of jobs to migrant labour force participants; 3) the level of the migrants' productivity which, from a supply-side perspective, is a function of their motivation and skills; 4) the long-run growth prospects of the sectors of the economy in which migrants are mainly employed; and 5) the spillover effect of the productivity of the immigrant work force on the productivity of the pre-immigration work force.

2. *Capital stock.* Immigration can have a bearing on the funds that go towards investment in capital stock. If immigrants are able to bring funds from abroad and undertake at least some saving after arrival the flow of funds available for adding to the stock of "production" capital will increase. However, if the funds are insufficient to maintain the capital-labour ratio, capital widening or "capital dilution" may ensue – the spread of the capital stock over a larger population. Capital widening will be contained if immigration leads overseas investors, encouraged by prospects of economic growth, to expand the pool of available investment funds (Arndt, 1964).<sup>1</sup> (It should be noted that a more significant source of capital expansion is demand-side-induced

1 It is of interest to note that the business migration programs of the United States, Canada and Australia are intended, in part, to attract immigrants who can bring with them enough capital to add to the level of production capital per worker in the economy. For further

investment. Expanded domestic markets induce expanded production which usually requires increased investment in productive capital.)

Immigration may also result in either the widening or the growth of "demographic capital" – urban infrastructure (roads, bridges, sewage and drainage, etc.) and services such as schooling and medical care – depending on the balance between investment in productive capital and demographic capital.

3. *Economies of scale.* Another supply-side effect of immigration comes through the improvements in productivity that flow from economies of scale in production (lower unit production costs). An increase in population due to immigration may permit producers to reap the advantages of large-scale operations (e.g., the use of larger and more efficient machinery) and specialization (the division of labour and hence an increase in skill) made possible by a larger domestic market. In manufacturing, large outputs are required to ensure economic efficiency and certain specialized firms or industries need a large domestic market to survive (e.g., the automobile industry). Where scale economies arise, they will have a favourable effect on industry productivity and competitiveness and on per capita incomes.

Certain government services (e.g., transport, defense, and communications) may also be provided more cheaply on a per capita basis if the population is larger. On the other hand, congestion costs may outweigh any positive scale economies (Simon, 1989:170).

It is important to note that scale effects can be disaggregated in various ways. For example, they can be disaggregated according to whether they are based at the firm or plant level, the industry level or the regional or national level (Meikle, 1985).

4. *Technological change.* Yet another contributor to expanded output may come through technological change. Productivity is a function of the amount of capital equipment available to workers and the efficiency with which it is used. But it also depends on production techniques which, in turn, are influenced by the state of technical knowledge, i.e., technology (Simon, 1989:165). Migrants may contribute to the stock of useful knowledge through

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information on business migration to Canada and Australia see Borowski and Nash (in progress).

contributing new ideas, new production methods and techniques and new products.

5. *Entrepreneurial skills.* Immigration may lead to an increase in the stock of entrepreneurial skills. Immigrants may undertake new business ventures involving the application of their conceptual, organizational, managerial and risk-taking skills to the economic opportunities they find before them thereby contributing to the spread of entrepreneurial skills and attitudes across various industries and, indeed, the economy (Foster and Baker, 1991:77).

### 2.1.2 Aggregate Demand-Side Effects

As noted above, the economic effects of immigration on the host country depend upon the interaction between changes to aggregate demand and supply. The possible effects of immigration on aggregate demand can be traced through the conventional division of aggregate demand into household consumption, investment and government expenditure.

1. *Household consumption.* Immigration adds to the total population and, thus, can be expected to increase the size of total household expenditure. However, whether aggregate per capita demand actually increases with immigration depends upon: 1) whether the extra households generate additional income (i.e., whether immigration adds to the size of the working population) and 2) the composition of the immigrant intake (i.e., if the propensity to consume among migrant households is relatively higher than the pre-migration population).

In general, migrants can be expected to manifest a relatively higher propensity to consume in the early years of settlement because of the need to form new households (establish new residences). Those migrants who come with limited funds, however, will obviously be constrained in their consumption behaviour.

2. *Investment.* Because of the need to form new households, it follows that the major aspect of direct investment demand, and the one that overlaps the most with consumption spending, is housing and household-related items. More generally, however, immigration typically requires substantial investment by employers and governments to meet the considerable investment demand for both industry capital and social infrastructure. If investment is insufficient, capital widening will ensue. If the imbalance between the growth in labour and production capital is too great, productivity and, thus, economic well-being and living standards, may be affected.

3. *Government expenditure.* Immigrants use goods, services and infrastructure provided by governments. The composition of the migrant intake has an important bearing on the level of additional demand and, hence, additional public expenditure generated by immigration. The more immediate public costs of immigration include the costs of operating the immigration program itself and the provision of immigrant-specific settlement/absorption services (e.g., transportation, housing, language classes, extra tutoring hours allotted to immigrant children in schools, grants or loans, social welfare services, etc.). In the longer term, however, there are additional public costs associated more generally with the increase in population resulting from immigration, e.g., education, hospitals and other health and mental health services, labour market programs, and income security provisions. Studies of some of these costs have been undertaken by Jensen (1988), Jones and McAllister (1991), Kliewer, McCallum and Mathers (in progress), Simon (1989) and Whiteford (1991), among others. The scope of demand and, hence, cost for these key items of "general" government expenditure is closely related to the composition of the migrant intake.

4. *External balance.* A fourth aspect of the demand-side effects of immigration is the impact of immigration on the external balance. Thus, immigrants may add to the demand for imports. The demand may stem from a relatively high propensity to consume imports (e.g., produce of their countries of origin). Further, if the funds needed to provide the additional capital stock requirements generated by immigration are unavailable from domestic savings, they will need to come from abroad.

## **2.2 The Economic Consequences of Immigration Stemming from the Interaction of Supply- and Demand-Side Effects**

As noted earlier in this paper, the key research question as far as economists of immigration are concerned is: Does immigration bring favourable economic benefits or does it result in net economic costs? In order to answer this question, economists must choose from among a number of variables which capture the economic consequences of the supply- and demand-side processes of interaction set in train by immigration. But even before selecting the outcome variables which they believe to be most important, they must deal with two other issues, viz., the issues of the time frame and, second, the relevant group.

### **2.2.1 The Time Frame**

The conclusions reached concerning the economic effects of immigration will be shaped not only by the outcome measures that are chosen but also by the time frame that is used.

The distinction between the short term and long-term economic effects of immigration emphasized in the literature is typically constructed in terms of the stock of capital. The short term is considered to be the initial period after immigrants' arrival when the stock of pre-immigration capital remains unchanged. In contrast, the long-term perspective incorporates capital adjustment to the increased population as well as the flow-on of scale effects, immigrant skill effects and other externalities that affect the supply and production of goods and services (Foster and Baker, 1991:12, 15).

### **2.2.2 The Relevant Group**

The assessment of the economic impact of immigration will also be shaped by the population group that is chosen for the focus of assessment. A distinction can be made between the impact of the addition of immigrants to the nation on either the non-immigrant, or 'native', population or upon the whole national population (natives plus immigrants).

However, choosing between the native population and the total population requires, as a prerequisite, clarity about the definition of the term "immigrant". Or, put in another way: After what period of settlement can the immigrant abandon immigrant status for the purposes of association with subsequent economic outcomes? The conventional wisdom is that a fairly lengthy period of time (perhaps up to a few decades) needs to be allowed for in order to fully capture the impact of migration on the national economy (Foster and Baker, 1991:8, 9; Simon, 1989:10).

Of course, researchers may also be concerned with identifying the economic outcomes for migrants themselves. In Simon's (1989) view, however, the effect of immigration upon immigrants themselves is only relevant if it has a potential bearing on immigration policy (the size of the intake and its composition).

### **2.2.3 Measures of Economic Outcome**

The economic consequences of immigration largely depend on the relative strengths of the supply- and demand-side effects. Economists of immigration have undertaken research on a wide range of these effects. Different countries,

however, appear to have been more concerned with some economic effects than with others.

Thus, in Canada the most important economic outcomes have been economic efficiency (flowing, for example, from economies of scale), tax and dependency levels and employment levels (Economic Council of Canada, 1991). In the United States the most important outcome has been employment levels (Simon, 1989) while in Australia researchers have tended to focus upon economic growth (CIE, 1988; Withers, 1988).

*1. Economic growth.* A perspective common among economists is that the prevailing level of aggregate real income per capita (or equivalent output per capita, i.e., productivity) is a suitable proxy for society's economic welfare and that society's fundamental long-term economic goal is the maximization, over time, of the growth in real income (or output) per capita (Foster and Baker, 1991:10). To put it more simply, society's fundamental long-term economic goal is economic growth. Consequently, the impact on economic growth has been seen as an important indicator of the desirability or otherwise of immigration in some countries which have selective immigration policies.

But economic growth is not a sufficient indicator. Other outcomes are also of considerable importance. Thus, for example, the effects of immigration upon real wages, inflation, unemployment and external balance cannot be ignored. To this could be added the effects of immigration, for example, on the government fiscal deficit (or surplus), the distribution of income and wealth, and the distribution of regional economic activity.

From a research point of view, it is a good idea to have a range of measures of economic outcome. The extent and variety of indirect and feedback effects of immigration can make it quite difficult to identify the precise contribution of immigration to any one outcome measure – to empirically disentangle the separate factors contributing to any one of the economic effects of immigration.

In the balance of this section, we confine our discussion on the economic effects of immigration to its effects upon wages, inflation, unemployment and the external balance.

*2. Wages.* Because immigration impacts on the supply of and demand for labour it may also have consequences for the price of labour, i.e., wages (nominal and real). In the short term, the additional labour supply stemming

from migration may contribute to a reduction in its price, i.e., a decrease in wage levels.

It is important to note that because wages represent a major cost of production (labour) and, thus, have a bearing on the demand for labour, the possible effects of immigration on inflation and unemployment are thus linked through wages.

3. *Inflation.* Inflation may be the result of either excess demand ('demand pull' inflation) or increases in production costs, especially wages ('cost push' inflation). Where immigration does not affect wage levels, it will have inflationary consequences if the demand-side effects are greater than the supply-side ones in an economy with little excess capacity.

4. *Unemployment.* According to some observers, immigration exacerbates aggregate unemployment. By increasing labour supply immigration either forces down wages or, where there is real wage rigidity, creates an excess labour supply and hence unemployment. Indeed, concerns about the impact of immigration on unemployment have typically led those countries with selective immigration programs to reduce their migrant intake during periods of recession.

This argument, however, seems to ignore the fact that immigration also affects the demand for goods and services which requires additional labour. Thus, the impact of immigration on unemployment depends on the extent to which the expansion in labour supply is compensated for by the impact of immigration on demand.

The labour market outcomes for immigrants themselves, as distinct from the impact of immigration on aggregate unemployment is dealt with further below.

5. *External balance.* With regard to the trade effects of immigration, the impact of immigration on the balance of trade depends on the balance between immigrants' demands for imports and their contributions to exports. As Foster and Baker (1991) point out, immigration can influence export performance through raising general industry efficiency and hence international competitiveness, through technological transfer and through entrepreneurship and knowledge of foreign markets. Indeed, because of its pool of veteran and new immigrants from the now independent republics of the former Soviet Union, Israel is well-placed to build on the personal and

professional contacts of its immigrants to develop new export markets in these republics (Keinon, 1991a).

## **2.3 Immigrants and the Labour Market**

Compared to the immigrant intakes of other countries, the Soviet aliya of the last two years is distinguished by the very high quality of the human capital that it embodies. (In contrast, the Ethiopian olim embody rather low levels of human capital.) As a group the Soviet olim are highly qualified and skilled and enjoyed high status occupations in the Soviet Union. The Soviet aliya is also distinguished by its size relative to Israel's total population. Recent months, however, have witnessed a downturn in the number of Soviet olim arriving in Israel. While suitable housing in those areas where most olim prefer to settle remains a problem, the major reason for the downturn appears to be the anxieties prospective Soviet olim have about securing employment in Israel. [At the end of 1991 about 72,000 immigrants, or more than 40 percent of immigrant adults, were seeking employment (The Jerusalem Report, 1992).] The importance of immigrant employment for sustaining the hitherto high levels of the Soviet aliya suggests that the impact of immigration on the employment of the immigrants themselves warrants special attention in this paper.

### **2.3.1 Immigrant Labour Market Outcomes**

As noted above, one of the major impacts of immigration is upon the supply of labour. The more skilled the work force the more efficient it is likely to be resulting in improvements in output per capita and real income per capita. If the immigrant intake adds to the skill level of the 'native' work force then, *ceteris paribus*, improvements in productivity, income and living standards will ensue. This presupposes, of course, that immigrants of working age will, in fact, find employment, i.e., that their skills will be recognized and used, within a reasonable period of time after arrival.<sup>2</sup>

In a macroeconomic environment of sluggish or even negative economic growth, both natives and immigrants are likely to have difficulties in securing employment. Irrespective of the state of the labour market, however, one way of assessing the extent to which immigrants' skills are recognized and properly utilized is to compare immigrant and non-immigrant labour

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2 Relatively high levels of unemployment in the initial period after arrival are almost "normal" among immigrants who are not sponsored by employers because of the disruptive effects of settlement.

market outcomes drawing on such indicators as labour force participation, unemployment, earnings, occupational status and the quality of work life. If these indicators do not differ substantially between otherwise comparable native and immigrant groups, then it is possible to infer that immigrant skills are being appropriately used (Foster and Baker, 1991:69). Any significant differences suggest that the opposite is the case and begs the question of "why?"

There are two possible explanations invoked by labour economists to account for differences in the labour market outcomes of immigrants and natives. The first, human capital theory, attributes it to differences between immigrants and natives in productive capacity due to actual differences in educational or trade qualifications, the value attached to educational qualifications gained abroad compared with those gained in the new country of residence, prior work experience, language proficiency, familiarity with the local labour market, etc.. Put more simply, individuals receive economic rewards commensurate with their skills, qualifications and experience. A second explanation of immigrants' labour market outcomes points to the systematic structural disadvantages faced by immigrants in the labour market. Thus, immigrants are systematically discriminated against within the labour market because of their race and/or ethnicity and this may contribute to higher unemployment levels among immigrants. Another consequence of this discrimination may be consignment of immigrants within a segmented labour market to the secondary labour market (Jones and McAllister, 1991).

### **2.3.2 Native Labour Market Outcomes**

While the above discussion has focused on immigrant labour outcomes, it should be borne in mind that the impact of immigrants on the labour market outcomes for the native population may also be of some concern. In the discussion above on the analytical framework reference was made to the view that immigration may aggravate unemployment. Thus, another impact of immigration on the native population is that their occupational choice and mobility may be substantially blocked by the infusion of immigrant skills through either a relative reduction in natives' skills or adding to the numbers competing for the available skilled positions. In the absence of sufficient skilled positions, however, competition for unskilled positions may ensue and the more skilled may replace the less skilled in unskilled employment. Thus, in Israel there is some evidence of Soviet olim displacing Arab workers from the Territories in unskilled jobs. Indeed, the job displacement of natives

by immigrants is another concern voiced by opponents of immigration in countries with selective immigration policies, especially during recessionary times (Simon, 1989).

In the United States, unskilled illegal immigrant workers, especially those who cross into California, Texas and other states of the United States from Mexico, are seen as greatly intensifying the competition for unskilled work among American Blacks and other minorities (Muller and Espenshade, 1985; US General Accounting Office, 1986 and 1988). Israel also has a sizeable number of illegal immigrants and may be faced with the need to take more stringent action to stem the inflow of illegals seeking work if the unemployment situation deteriorates even further, e.g., imposing sanctions on employers who hire illegals (Fix and Hill, 1990).

### **3. The Social Impacts of Immigration**

Sociologists and other social scientists appear to have invested little effort in attempting to develop broad conceptual frameworks which seek to capture the key dimensions of the social impacts of immigration. Rather, the literature on the social impact of immigration spans a range of topics many of which reflect those issues which, at one time or another, have featured prominently in national debates over immigration. For example, to varying degrees all of the immigrant-receiving countries – whether they have selective or non-selective policies – have been concerned about the impact of immigration on such major social institutions as the health and mental health, welfare and income security, educational and settlement/absorption systems (for example, see Bullivant, 1981; Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988; Foster, 1988; Jayasuriya, Sang and Fielding, 1992; Kalantzis, Cope, Noble and Poynting, 1990; Simon, 1980 and 1989; Simmons and Buttrick, 1987; Troyna and Carrington, 1990; Whiteford, 1991). Some studies have sought to estimate the financial impact of immigration on these institutions. Other studies have focused on the impact of immigration on their structure and functioning, i.e., how well they have responded to the needs of their client populations, needs which, because of changes in the composition of the migrant intake, vary over time.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The assessment of the response of these institutions to the changing needs of their client populations, i.e., to the needs of successive waves of immigrants, demands, as a prerequisite, an understanding of the impact of migration on people's functioning in light of the challenges presented by the settlement process. For example, for an analysis

Still other studies have been concerned about the impact of immigration on different groups within the immigrant population. The literature is replete with studies which have focused on particular age groups (e.g., immigrant youth), immigrants from select countries of origin, immigrant women, immigrants trained in particular occupations (e.g., overseas-trained doctors), immigrants of different generations (e.g., first-generation immigrants compared with their second-generation offspring in studies of social mobility), immigrants living in households of a particular composition (e.g., single-parent households, "unattached" immigrant youths who have migrated without their parents, etc.), and so on. Clearly, then, researchers have "sliced" the broad subject of the social impact of immigration in many different ways.

There has been at least one, albeit limited, attempt to conceptually analyze the social impact of immigration. In a relatively short paper, Wild (1990) draws on the interpretations of immigration offered by several schools of sociological thought (structural-functionalist, Marxist, symbolic interactionist, and Weberian) in order to examine the role played by immigration in the formation and development of Australian society. He provides an assessment of the adequacy of these interpretations and then presents a list of concepts and variables which he believes best contribute to a coherent understanding of the social impacts of immigration. Prominent among these are social class, social status and political party. To enhance its usefulness, Wild's analysis requires still further development.

There has been a much greater investment in efforts to assess the impacts of immigration on social cohesion and the polity because of the importance of these two issues in public debates on immigration. And as far as studies of different groups within the immigrant population are concerned, aged migrants have received particular attention. This is because the dominant characteristics of the migrant population have been an important influence on the topics chosen by social researchers. Thus, in the United States and Australia, for example, where a number of migrant groups are aging much more rapidly than the population at large, the impact of migration on the experience of aging, on people who migrate late in life, and on the receiving society itself have been major areas of research (Gelfand and Barresi, 1987;

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of the impact of immigration on immigrants' mental health see Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, (1988) and Jayasuriya, Sang and Fielding (1992). Conceptualizations of the migrant settlement process are offered by Cox (1987) and the National Population Council (1988).

Rowland, 1991). Indeed, Israel provides fertile ground for doing further research along these lines. The current wave of Soviet olim is not only uniquely rich in the human capital that they embody but is also older than the general population. As noted above, almost 14 percent of Soviet olim are over 65 years of age (compared with 9 percent of the total population) and only 26 percent are 18 years of age or under (compared with 41 percent of the population as a whole) (Keinon, 1991b).

### **3.1 The Impact of Immigration on Social Cohesion**

Western Europe is currently experiencing a resurgence of extreme rightist political parties. In Germany, Belgium, France, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland and Italy, where immigration is fast becoming the dominant political issue (Riding, 1991), these parties have profited from growing anti-immigrant sentiment. In Germany, for example, this sentiment has resulted in many instances of violent attacks on immigrants and asylum-seekers. Indeed, in Europe and elsewhere – in both the immigrant-receiving countries and those countries which do not encourage immigration but which, nevertheless, are experiencing large inflows of asylum-seekers and illegal immigrants – one of the most controversial aspects of immigration is its impact on social cohesion. The controversy over this aspect of immigration has its roots in the fear that the cultural diversity arising from immigration produces conflicts between ethnic groups and the ‘native’ population and reduces social cohesion.

In the major immigrant-receiving countries of the United States, Canada and Australia, assumptions about the relationship between immigration and social cohesion have varied considerably over time. All three of these countries have selective immigration policies. At some time during the early history of their immigration programs, these countries assumed that the immigration of people of diverse origins would produce major social divisions. Consequently, immigration policies were typically quite restrictive in terms of prospective immigrants’ country of origin and race. At a later stage in the history of immigration, these countries assumed that social cohesion could be preserved in the face of immigration provided ethnic differences could be removed over time – the notion of assimilation or, in American parlance, the ‘melting pot.’ More recently, policies of multiculturalism in Canada and Australia have emphasized the value of cultural diversity and the role of government policies in remedying social conflicts that may arise as a result of cultural dissonance (Cope, Castles and Kalantzis, 1991; Richmond,

1991). Even in Israel, where being Jewish (or the spouse or child of a Jew) is the sole criterion for admission and permanent settlement, assumptions about the immigration-cohesion relationship have also varied since the founding of the State over 40 years ago.

As Cope, Castles and Kalantzis (1991) point out, social cohesion and social conflict, although quite common terms, are often used in a less than precise way. Consequently, it is not always clear what measures should be used as indicators of these phenomena. Conceptual clarity is necessary for planning immigration and multicultural and community relations policies as well as for identifying the most appropriate indicators of ethnic conflict and social cohesion.

### **3.1.1 Theories of Social Cohesion and Ethnic Conflicts**

In their recent effort to outline a research agenda on issues of social cohesion, ethnic conflicts and immigration, Cope, Castles and Kalantzis (1991) provide a succinct overview of some of the major theoretical perspectives on social cohesion and ethnic conflict. They examine the theories which emphasize individual attitudes and behaviour and those which look at ethnic conflict and racism as closely related to social structure and institutions. They also point out that some forms of social conflict may, in fact, be quite functional in pluralist societies. The Israeli theoretical literature on social cohesion and ethnic conflict is overviewed by Isralowitz and Abu Saad (1992).

### **3.1.2 Indicators of Conflict and Cohesion**

One of the most commonly used indicators of the impact of immigration on social conflict and cohesion has been attitudes to immigration reflected in public opinion surveys. Negative attitudes to immigration have been taken as indicators of prejudice. However, the relationship between attitudes and behaviour (e.g., negative attitudes spilling over into discrimination against immigrants in employment or violent and non-violent incidents of conflict) is a tenuous one. While the extent of employment discrimination or of violent and non-violent incidents (e.g., assaults and hostile graffiti, respectively) might suggest themselves as self-evident indicators of social conflict, collecting reliable data on such incidents is very difficult.

Another possible indicator of the social conflict that may be engendered by immigration is the propensity of immigrants to engage in criminal activity. Studies of crime among immigrants have been carried out in the United States, Canada and Australia. In general, these studies have found that immigrants

are under-represented in crime statistics. At the same time, many of these studies have been plagued by conceptual and methodological difficulties (Borowski and Thomas, in progress).

But what of the other side of the coin, the indicators of social cohesion? The extent to which immigrants take up citizenship is sometimes used as an indicator of social cohesion because citizenship is taken as an expression of commitment to the new country of residence. However, it is important to bear in mind that where citizenship confers on the new citizen some instrumental advantages (e.g., refugees would otherwise remain stateless, citizens may be better placed than permanent residents to facilitate the migration of their relatives – the “chain migration” phenomenon), commitment to the new country may not be a relevant consideration.

Another indicator of social cohesion is the degree to which immigrant groups intermarry with members of the dominant ethnic group or with members of other ethnic groups. Cope et al. (1991) and Gray (1987), for example, point to complex conceptual and methodological problems in using intermarriage data. But more importantly Cope et al. express some major reservations about the appropriateness of this indicator given contemporary views on the immigration-cohesion relationship. Thus, in immigrant-receiving countries which now legitimate ethnic differences within a democratic and pluralist society the “disappearance of ethnic differences through intermarriage can ... hardly be seen as a desirable goal” (Cope et al., 1991:41).

### **3.2 The Impact of Immigration on the Polity<sup>4</sup>**

According to Parkin and Hardcastle (1990), political science is fundamentally concerned with the definition, nature and purpose of public life. This fundamental concern can be pursued in different ways. One approach involves studying the state/the government/the public sector as systems in their own right, as centres of power which impact through public policy on the civil society (i.e., private life) and as products of the civil society to which they are linked by political parties, interest groups, elections, etc.. An alternative approach is to focus on the processes of interaction between people, i.e., politics understood as either conflict, cooperation or involving the exercise of power. As a scholarly discipline, political scientists are involved in

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4 The major sources drawn upon in preparing this section are Holton (1990) and Parkin and Hardcastle (1990).

either observing and recording political phenomena, processes and events (describing what happens), attempting to explain the causal factors producing political phenomena or evaluating the desirability of political arrangements.

The departure point for any analysis of the impacts of immigration on the polity – the public life of a society – demands, first, being able to conceptualize the nature of a particular society from a political science perspective and, second, choosing from among the approaches referred to above.

### **3.2.1 A Political Model of Society**

The world's major immigrant-receiving countries may all be described as liberal-democratic states. Such states are characterized by the general acceptance of the rule of law, a strong private sector of the economy, basic civil liberties and individual rights, representative political institutions, and an effective state sector providing a basic social infrastructure.

There are several variations of the liberal-democratic model within political science – pluralist democracy, elitist democracy and corporatism. They differ from one another in terms of their views concerning the distribution of power (i.e., the extent to which power is shared among a plurality of groups or concentrated in the hands of select, dominant ones).

### **3.2.2 The Impacts of Immigration**

Perhaps the basic issue for political scientists with an interest in the impacts of immigration is the distinctive ways in which immigrants participate in the political system. The approaches to the study of political science together with the liberal-democratic model and its variants point to some major dimensions along which this distinctiveness may be analyzed.

One dimension of analysis is the nature and extent of immigrants' engagement in the inter-group struggles over the distribution of power. This involves examining immigrants' membership in political parties and their representation in legislatures. It also involves consideration of the operation of immigrant (or ethnic) political lobby groups. The existence of such lobbies presupposes that immigrant groups have engaged to some considerable extent in the process of community formation, a process which itself is of inherent interest. The impact of these lobbies on the processes of immigration policy-making and those public programs and services which impact most on the lives of immigrants has been of great interest to political scientists in Canada (Parkin, Hardcastle, Simmons and Suyama, in progress)

and Australia (Betts, 1988) and, to a lesser extent, in the United States (Freeman and Betts, in press).

Another dimension of the distinctiveness of immigrants' political participation is their voting patterns. Thus, for example, Keinon (1991b) and Sawicki (1991) have speculated about the likely voting patterns of those of voting age among the almost 330,000 Soviet olim who have arrived in Israel in the most recent migration wave which began in September 1989. Distinctive voting patterns clearly presuppose mutualities of interest among immigrants. This begs the question of the nature of any common interests – are they particularistic and material, universalistic and ideological (Parkin and Hardcastle, 1990) or do they perhaps derive from underlying class patterns (Holton, 1990)?

There are other major issues for the polity raised by immigration. Perhaps the most important of these is the policy response to the social, religious, cultural, racial and ethnic diversity that has resulted from immigration. As noted in the earlier discussion on social cohesion, immigrant-receiving countries are confronted with the need to make policy decisions designed to assure social cohesion in the face of growing diversity. In Canada and Australia policies of multiculturalism have been adopted.

There are, of course, still other issues for the polity raised by immigration but these are more pertinent for countries where immigration is selective, permanent settlement and citizenship are not as intimately related as they are in Israel, and where immigration is largely for reasons of material advancement and, thus, is not as ideologically imbued as the notion of aliya is for Jews. One of these issues, for example, is the take-up rate of citizenship – the rate, pattern and personal calculations underlying the decision to take on citizenship.

## **Towards a Research Agenda**

This paper has identified some of the major effects on immigrant-receiving societies of the addition to their populations of large numbers of permanent settlers. These effects suggest a wealth of questions which may be of potential interest to immigration researchers in Israel. Clearly, the more immediate challenges presented by the current wave of Soviet and Ethiopian olim will mean that some research questions will have higher priority than others.

Indeed, research geared toward evaluating the various initiatives in the area of klita (what works best for which olim and under what circumstances?) is arguably the most pressing area of needed research. However, other questions also need to be addressed because the answers can shape policy responses in the short term which may serve to obviate major problems in the long term, e.g., studies of the impact of aliya on social cohesion may suggest various responses which may obviate any possible future social tensions between olim and the native population.

The last part of this paper identifies many of the research questions that flow from the analysis of the earlier parts. The list of questions is not intended to be exhaustive. The questions are grouped under the three broad headings of the demographic, economic and social impacts of immigration. It is up to Israeli researchers in consultation with the policy-makers and service providers in the area of klita to determine the priority that should be accorded to these questions.

### **Demographic Research Questions**

Population size and growth. 1) What is the scale of emigration from Israel? What are the characteristics of emigrants? What impact does emigration have on the Israeli economy and society? 2) Do immigrants manifest different morbidity and mortality patterns than the native population? If so, why and what are the implications? Do these patterns endure over time or do they converge with the native population? 3) Do fertility rates of immigrant women differ from the native population? If so, why and what are the implications? Does the fertility rate endure over time or does it converge with the native population? Age structure. 1) What is the impact of the current aliya wave on the future age structure of Israel's population? Population distribution. 1) What factors shape the settlement location decisions made by immigrants? 2) What are the implications of their settlement location decisions? 3) Are there shifts in the settlement locations of immigrants over time (i.e., secondary, or internal, migration)? Why do they occur and what are their implications? Population composition. 1) What are some of the other major distinguishing characteristics of the current immigrant intake? 2) What are the implications for current and future household formation rates? 3) What are some of the other implications?

### **Economic Research Questions**

Labour supply. 1) What is the rate of immigrants' labour force participation? 2) How does migrants' productivity compare with that of native workers?

3) What are the growth prospects of the sectors of the economy in which migrants are mainly employed or, given the nature of the human capital which they embody, could best contribute to? Capital stock. 1) What has been the impact of immigration on the investment in productive and "demographic" capital (infrastructure, public services, etc.)? Economies of scale. 1) Is it possible to attribute to immigration improvements in productivity flowing from economies of scale? 2) If so, how are the scale effects distributed? Technological change. 1) To what extent can technological change be attributed to the contributions of immigrants? Entrepreneurial skills. 1) What indicators, if any, are there that immigrants have contributed to the stock of entrepreneurial activity? Household consumption. 1) Has immigration resulted in an increase in aggregate per capita demand? Investment. See question above on capital stock. Government expenditure. 1) What is the impact of immigration on the size and distribution of public expenditure in both the short and long term? Economic outcomes. 1) What is the impact of immigration on the external balance, economic growth, wages, inflation and unemployment? Immigrant labour market outcomes. 1) How have immigrants fared in the labour market? 2) To what extent have their skills been recognized and properly utilized? Native labour market outcomes. 1) What has been the impact of immigration on the labour market outcomes for the native population?

### **Social Research Questions**

Social institutions. 1) What has been the impact of immigration on the structure, functioning and cost of the health and mental health, welfare and income security, educational and settlement/absorption systems? Immigrant groups. 1) What has been the impact of immigration on such groups as women, the aged, highly skilled immigrants (e.g., doctors) and the second-generation offspring of immigrants? Social cohesion. 1) What has been the impact of immigration on social cohesion? 2) Has immigration impacted upon the religious mix of the country and, if so, what are the implications of the changing mix? The polity. 1) To what extent are immigrants members of political parties? 2) To what extent are immigrants represented in legislatures? 3) To what extent have immigrants formed lobby groups with a view to influencing the policy-making and policy implementation processes? 4) Is it possible to identify distinctive voting patterns among immigrants?

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# ***RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS***

## **Survey of Soviet Immigration in the City of Lod The Road to Successful Absorption**

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This report was published as JDC-Brookdale Institute report S-61-92 in October 1992, in cooperation with the City of Lod.

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## **Introduction**

Lod is a working-class city in the central part of Israel, not far from Ben-Gurion Airport. Its population numbers about 45,000, including more than 3,000 new immigrants from the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup> Immigrants in Lod were given the opportunity to tell their own stories in the course of in-depth interviews with each Soviet immigrant family in the city.

The Municipal Strategic Planning and Information Unit (MPU) in Lod was established in 1988 as part of a national program initiated by JDC-Israel in cooperation with the Ministry of the Interior to create units that would serve to enhance the capacity of local government for effective city planning. These units have begun to play a major role in addressing the challenge of absorbing new immigrants. The MPU took responsibility on behalf of the city of Lod for assuring that the survey would directly address the city's planning needs and for the utilization of the findings in practice.

Considerable numbers of immigrants from the last wave of immigration from the Soviet Union, which began towards the end of 1989, have now been in Israel for over two years. The Lod survey was conducted in January 1992, and included all Soviet immigrants who came to Israel from September 1989 and settled in the city. The survey provides us with one of the first opportunities to observe the success of those immigrants who have completed the initial stage of the absorption process.

The following report presents selected findings on the characteristics of the immigrants, their satisfaction with Lod, their absorption in major areas of life, and their patterns of utilization of local services.

The results of the Lod survey – the first of its kind ever undertaken in Israel – indicate that the Lod municipality has succeeded in laying the groundwork for successful absorption of the city's immigrants and in generating a desire among them to continue to live in Lod. While not satisfied with all of aspects of life in the city, almost all of the immigrants are interested in remaining in Lod, and a large proportion of them have already purchased apartments in the city.

An issue that has been a major focus of public concern is the degree to which immigrants are succeeding in finding employment and moving towards

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<sup>1</sup> "Soviet Union" is used to represent the countries formerly included in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

economic independence. This process is influenced by overall economic as well as local conditions in the various communities in which the immigrants settle. It is influenced by national policy and by local efforts and inputs. In contrast with the impressions shared by many, the data indicate that after two years in Israel, 87% of the men and 61% of the women aged 25 to 64 are employed, and that in some age groups (aged 35-44) over 90% of the men are employed.

While Lod is an area of Israel in which unemployment rates tend to be low, a national survey conducted in 1992 (JDC-Brookdale, forthcoming) substantiates the major conclusions of the Lod survey. Even nationally, the employment rate among Soviet immigrant men who have been in Israel for over two years is about 80%. In the future it will also be true that the immigrants' situation will improve the longer they are in Israel. However their overall success will also depend on factors related to the general state of the country's economy.

Despite the generally promising picture of immigrant absorption in the city, the census data reveal several potential problems. Substantial numbers of older immigrants are not finding employment and face severe economic and personal hardships as a result. Moreover, many of the immigrants are still not employed in jobs that utilize their skills and training. Meeting the needs of those groups which lag behind and progressing with the task of creating appropriate jobs constitute major challenges lying ahead.

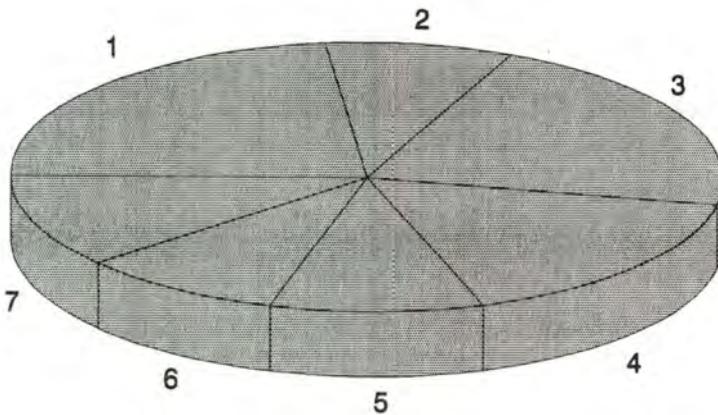
The findings of this survey are already contributing to the efforts of the municipality in assisting the immigrants in their absorption. At the same time the findings make an important contribution to understanding the overall process of absorption of immigrants in Israel and to the formulation of appropriate national policies.

### **The Lod Survey: What Was Done?**

The city of Lod, a working-class city in the central part of Israel, has about 45,000 residents. Lod was one of the first in a series of municipalities which approached JDC-Israel and expressed the need for our help in conducting a survey of immigrants residing in the city. The Lod municipality, as other municipalities in Israel, lacked even the most basic data on their new citizens in order to plan services and target municipal programs and efforts to those areas and those groups where their contribution would be

most meaningful. The survey described in this report included only Soviet immigrants in the city. Other surveys are being conducted on Ethiopian immigrants in various communities in Israel. Comprehensive data on the immigrants and the process of their absorption were gathered by means of a census of all Soviet immigrants. In a house-to-house survey of all 10,200 housing units in the city, 3,205 recent immigrants from the Soviet Union living in 780 apartments were located. Subsequently, 1,250 heads of each immigrant family<sup>2</sup> were interviewed by means of a questionnaire in Russian administered by census-takers who were themselves immigrants. Only seven heads of families refused to be interviewed. Each family head was asked to provide information on both their own and their spouse's education and employment before immigration and in Israel, children's schooling, social absorption, health, ownership of housing, and household goods and housing conditions. Other areas covered in detail in the questionnaire were the immigrant's socio-demographic characteristics, satisfaction with Lod as a place of residence, and familiarity with and utilization of the local system of services.

### Immigrants in Lod by Age



1 Age 0-14	23.1%	5 Age 45-54	9.7%
2 Age 15-19	8.5%	6 Age 55-64	9.2%
3 Age 20-34	21.4%	7 Age 65+	11.4%
4 Age 35-44	16.7%		

2 In the case of couples, the male was identified as the head of the family. In cases in which the male was absent from the household for more than three consecutive weeks, the female was interviewed as the head of the family. Unmarried adults age 22 and over were also defined as heads of families.

## **Who are the Immigrants from the Soviet Union Living in Lod?<sup>3</sup>**

### **A. How old are they?**

Approximately 30% of the immigrants are children and youth up to age 19, 9% are between the ages of 55-64, and approximately 11% of them are elderly over the age of 65.

### **B. How long have they been in Israel?**

A significant proportion of the immigrants have passed the stage of initial absorption. More than one-third of them have been in Israel for a year and a half or more; 38% of them have been in Israel for between one and one and a half years; 16% of them have been in Israel for between six months to one year; and 12% have been in Israel for fewer than six months.

### **C. How long after their arrival in Israel did the immigrants arrive in Lod?**

More than half of the immigrants came directly to Lod, and approximately one-fourth of them came to Lod during their first year in Israel.

### **D. What is their educational background?**

Like Soviet immigrants elsewhere in Israel, those in Lod are highly educated: about two-thirds of the adults studied in institutions for higher learning (universities or other post-secondary institutions).

### **E. What were their occupations before immigrating to Israel?**

Over half of the adult immigrants have professional, or scientific occupational backgrounds. For example, of the immigrants in Lod, nearly 400 are engineers, 100 are physicians, and 200 are teachers. Nearly 20% were employed in industry as skilled or unskilled workers.

### **F. How many of the immigrants suffer from chronic illnesses or disability?**

Approximately 14% of the immigrants suffer from chronic illnesses. Of these, 7% are aged 18 or under, nearly half of them are aged 19-64, and 45% of them are elderly (aged 65 and over). The findings indicate that 77 immigrants suffer from some form of disability: impaired mobility, vision or hearing problems, mental illness, or a developmental handicap. Ten of the 77 are aged 18 or under, 32 of them are between the ages of 19 and 64, and 35 of them are elderly.

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3 All findings presented below refer to heads of households except where otherwise noted.

## How do the Immigrants Feel about Lod?

### A. What brought the immigrants to Lod?

Almost half of the immigrants arrived in Lod in order to live near relatives. The relatively low cost of housing, and the hope of finding employment also drew immigrants to Lod.

### B. How many of the immigrants want to stay in Lod?

Almost all of the immigrants (94%) intend to stay in Lod.

### C. How many of the immigrants would recommend living in Lod to friends?

A very large percentage (70%) of the immigrants would recommend living in Lod to friends.

### D. What are the most common complaints of immigrants living in Lod?

The most common complaints are that the cost of apartments is too high, there are not enough jobs in the city, the cultural life of the city is underdeveloped, and city sanitation and cleanliness are insufficient.

## How are the Immigrants being Absorbed in Lod?

Absorption is a dynamic process which can be fully understood only if examined over time. The degree to which absorption is successful is a function of the amount of time the immigrant has been in Israel, with the nature of this dynamic varying according to the immigrant's age and other background characteristics. This process is exemplified in Table 1. The Table contrasts the situation of immigrants who have been in Israel for less than a year with that of immigrants who have been in the country for over two years. The process of absorption over time is compared for two age groups: those in the prime working ages (35-44) and those at ages in which greater difficulties in absorption can be expected (55-64).

### A. Do the immigrants manage to achieve proficiency in Hebrew?

About 80% of the adult immigrants have studied in an *ulpan* (Hebrew language class). About one-fifth of the immigrants report being fluent or nearly fluent in Hebrew; one-fourth have only "little difficulty" in Hebrew; over one-third have "many difficulties"; and one-fifth have no proficiency in Hebrew at all. However, almost 40% of immigrants who have been in Israel for two years or more are fluent or nearly fluent in Hebrew. Age is also a factor in attaining proficiency, and among immigrants aged 35-44, after two

years almost 60% are fluent or nearly fluent. The percentage of immigrants with little or no proficiency declines over time as well.

**B. How many immigrants have purchased apartments?**

Forty-three percent of the immigrants live in apartments which they or a member of their family have purchased. An additional 11% of the immigrants are planning to purchase apartments during the coming year. More than two-thirds of the immigrants who have been in Israel for two years or more have purchased apartments. Almost 90% of the immigrants aged 35-44 have purchased apartments (see Table 1).

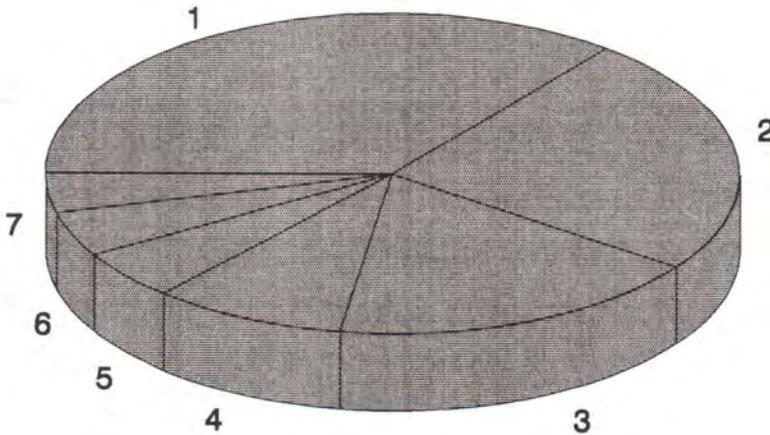
**C. How many are employed?**

Among immigrants of working age (25-64), 74% of the men and 41% of the women are employed.

**D. Who is most successful at finding a job?**

1. The younger an immigrant is (under age 45), the better his chances for becoming integrated into the labor force. For example, a significant majority (82%) of the men and half of the women immigrants aged 35-44 are employed.
2. The longer an immigrant has been in Israel, the better his chances for becoming integrated into the labor force. For example, almost all men (97%) aged 35-44 and 80% of men aged 45-54 who have been in Israel for two years or more are employed.
3. The older immigrant faces greater difficulties in integrating into the labor force, and it is generally felt that few of the older immigrants will be able to overcome the obstacles they face. Somewhat contrary to these expectations, however, after two years in Israel 67% of the men and 30% of the women ages 55-64 are employed. Nevertheless, the non-employment of many immigrants in this age group has significant implications for the immigrants, their families and the economy. Overcoming the obstacles they face represents one of the major challenges in the area of absorption into employment.
4. Immigrants in some occupations have a relatively difficult time finding employment. For example, more than two-thirds of male engineers and teachers are employed, compared with less than half of the artists and only one-third of the physicians (see Table 2).

## Occupation in Soviet Union of Adult Immigrants



- 1 Scientific and Academic 35.4%
- 2 Professional and Technical Occupations 24.0%
- 3 Industrial Workers 17.6%
- 4 Clerical Workers 9.0%
- 5 Service Workers 5.0%
- 6 Sales Workers 4.5%
- 7 Other (including Agricultural) 4.0%

### E. Who is most successful in finding appropriate employment?

Among male immigrants the vast majority of physicians who are employed, work as physicians. By contrast, only 15% of the teachers, and one-fourth of the artists are working in their professions (see Table 2). An additional 10% of the engineers are employed in positions similar to those they held in the Soviet Union, as technicians or junior-grade engineers. The percentage of immigrants employed in their profession rises as their length of stay in Israel increases. For example, about 25% of immigrant engineers who have been in Israel for two years or more work in their profession, and about 20% of them work in related professions, as junior-grade engineers or technicians.

Data from a recent national survey of Soviet immigrants (JDC-Brookdale forthcoming) confirm that after two years in Israel, about half the immigrants are employed in jobs that utilize their skills and training.

Table 1: Heads of Immigrant Families by Indicators of Absorption, Age, and Length of Time in Israel, Lod 1992 (in %)

Indicators of Absorption	Age and Length of Time in Israel				Total Immigrants*
	Aged 35-44		Aged 55-64		
	<1 year	>2 years	<1 year	>2 years	
Live in an apartment they or a relative own	10	89	14	78	43
Employed: Men**	64	97	36	67	74
Employed: Women**	22	74	2	30	41
Have enough income to meet basic needs	12	43	11	35	26
Have social contact with Israelis	28	76	27	57	43
Can turn to an Israeli for help with a personal problem	23	58	20	52	34

\* Data refer to all immigrants, regardless of age or length of residence in Israel.

\*\* The percentage in the total column refers to ages 25-64

#### F. How many immigrants are not employed and looking for work (unemployed)?

Unemployed immigrants are defined as those who are not working but who are seeking work. About 18% of the immigrants aged 22 and over are unemployed.

Table 2: Immigrant Men Over Age 22 in Selected Professions: Percentage Working and Type of Work, Lod 1992

	% working	Of those working % working in:						
		Previous Occupation	Services	Skilled work in Industry	Unskilled work in Industry	Sales	Clerical	Other
Engineers	71	15	17	31	11	3	4	19*
Physicians	35	83		17				
Artists	45	26	19	15	27		4	9
Teachers	69	19	14	19	38	5		5

\* Including 9% who are working as junior-grade engineers or technicians.

### G. Who are the unemployed immigrants?

More women are unemployed than men (22% and 13%, respectively). Immigrants aged 22-34 have the highest unemployment rate – 32%. Many immigrants not employed at older ages are not even seeking work. The rate of unemployed immigrants is highest among those who have been in Israel between one and one and a half years. This is the period in which many immigrants complete their participation in *ulpanim* and training courses and begin to actively search for employment.

### H. Are immigrants interested in starting their own businesses?

Three hundred and fifty immigrant heads of households are interested in starting their own businesses. More than 40 of them are in the process of establishing businesses, and seven have already established businesses.

### I. What help is needed by immigrants who want to start their own businesses?

The vast majority of immigrants who want to start their own businesses need financial assistance, guidance concerning administrative matters, and counseling about the laws that apply to running a business.

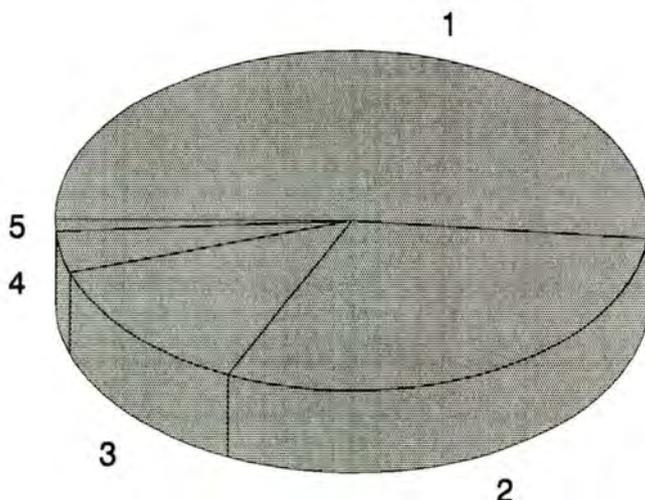
### J. How are the immigrants managing financially?

About one-third of the heads of households reported that their income does not enable them to meet their daily needs. An additional 40% claimed that their income enables them to meet daily needs “with great difficulty”.

The economic difficulties of the immigrants are related to several factors. Those families who do not have a source of income from employment live on very minimal welfare and unemployment benefits. Many of those employed are working at low-level jobs, and those in better jobs are often paid low-level starting salaries. Furthermore, as immigrants they have special expenditures. Most brought with them little capital and must take out large loans to buy an apartment and consumer goods which they have left behind. The immigrants are under considerable pressure to make such purchases during the first period of absorption, as this is the time they are legally entitled to tax reductions on the purchase of such items as cars and electrical and household appliances.

**K. Which immigrants are finding it most difficult to adjust financially?** Among immigrants who have been in Israel for less than a year, only 12% of those aged 35-44 and 11% of those aged 55-64 reported that their income was sufficient to meet their basic needs. Even after two years, less than half of the younger immigrants and about one-third of the older immigrants reported that their income covered their basic needs. An additional one-third of the younger immigrants, and an additional one-quarter of those aged 55-64 report that their income covers their basic needs with "great difficulty".

### Immigrant Heads of Households by Housing Type



- 1 Private Rental 51.0%
- 2 Owned by Head of Household 30.0%
- 3 Owned by Family Member 13.0%
- 4 Absorption Center or Caravan 3.9%
- 5 Rental of Public Housing 1.1%

**L. Are the immigrants becoming integrated socially?**

*1. Do the immigrants have social relationships with Israelis?*

The immigrant heads of households were asked if they had social activities. About half indicated that they have such relationships at least to some degree. Elderly immigrants find it especially difficult to form such relationships. The longer an immigrant has been in Israel, the more likely he is to have social relationships with Israelis, and after two years, about 60% have such relationships.

*2. Can the immigrants turn to Israelis for help?*

One-third of the immigrants reported feeling they could ask an Israeli for help with a personal problem. However, this situation improves with length of stay: about half of the immigrants who have been in Israel for more than two years reported they could turn to an Israeli for help.

*3. Would the immigrants recommend immigration to Israel to a friend?*

More than one-third of the immigrants from the Soviet Union in Lod would recommend *aliya* (immigration to Israel); about another quarter of them would recommend delaying the decision on immigration, and less than 10% would recommend remaining in the Soviet Union.

**M. What are the major problems facing immigrants?**

For 40% of the immigrants finding employment was the most difficult problem they had encountered since their arrival in Israel. One-fourth of the immigrants reported that finding housing was their most pressing problem.

The immigrants' perception of their most difficult problem changes in accordance with the length of time they have been in Israel. Initially, the housing problem seems most serious. However, after having been in Israel for one year, immigrants tend to see finding employment as their most pressing problem. Immigrants who have been in Israel for two years often cite bureaucracy and "red tape" as their most difficult problem. In this sense their perceptions have become more similar to those of veteran Israelis.

**N. How are elderly immigrants being absorbed?**

One-fifth of the elderly immigrants live alone or only with their spouses (5% live alone and 16% live with a spouse). Elderly immigrants find it more difficult to learn Hebrew and to make contact with Israelis. About 60% of the elderly know no Hebrew at all, compared with 20% of the total immigrant population. More than 70% of the elderly immigrants have no social contact with Israelis, compared with half of the total immigrant population. Elderly

immigrants living alone or only with their spouses face particular economic difficulties.

**O. Are the immigrant children becoming integrated into the educational system?**

Relatively fewer immigrant children are enrolled in day care centers, nursery schools, and kindergartens than are Israeli children. About one-fourth of the immigrant children aged 3-4, and about three-fourths of those aged 5, are in day care centers, nursery schools, or kindergartens. In contrast, 90% of the Israeli children these ages are enrolled in pre-school education programs. Ninety-six percent of the immigrant children aged 6-14 attend school. Ninety-one percent of those aged 15-18 attend school, while 9% of youths aged 15-18 neither study nor work. The great majority of immigrant heads of households reported being satisfied with the integration of their children into the educational system (82%).

**How are Immigrants Utilizing Local Services?**

**A. Are the immigrants familiar with local services?**

While Lod has an extensive and well-developed system of services, many of the immigrants were not aware of the existence of various services.

For example, about half did not know that the municipality has a Department of Absorption despite its many efforts on behalf of this population. About half did not know about the municipal library, and practically three-quarters did not know that special activities are offered at the community center. The proportion of immigrants who were unaware of the existence of the local welfare bureau, family counseling services, and well-baby clinics was even greater.

Immigrants who had been in Israel a longer period of time were somewhat more familiar with local services. However, the percentage that was unaware of the existence of various services was still high. It was also found that target populations were unaware of the services geared to them. For example, 95% of the heads of young families, aged 22-44, did not know about the center for young children or about family counseling services. These data suggest the need for information about services to be more actively disseminated and targeted. In light of the finding that only 8% of all heads of families knew about local services from information publicized by the municipality, the need to disseminate information seems even more pressing.

**B. What problems do immigrants encounter when using the services?**

About 100 immigrants reported problems in using services. These focused on bureaucracy, high costs, and discourteous treatment. Some 100 immigrants reported that cost precluded them from enrolling themselves or their children in special activities at the community center, or in nursery schools. About one-fourth of the chronically sick and disabled immigrants are not receiving medical care.

**C. What additional assistance do the immigrants need?**

The response to this question focused on several areas. About one-fourth of the immigrants indicated needing more help learning Hebrew.

About one-fourth reported they would like information about available apartments, help in translating documents, and guidance on how to negotiate with landlords and contractors. About 5% of the immigrants reported wanting guidance pertaining to religious matters, including help in learning the laws, practices, and customs of Judaism.

**D. How many of the immigrants have health insurance?**

Almost all of the immigrants (97%) are members of one of Israel's four sick funds.<sup>4</sup>

**E. Are the immigrants satisfied with the health services in Lod?**

About three-quarters of the immigrants are satisfied with the medical care they receive through the sick funds. Their most common complaints were that physicians do not readily make house calls and do not spend sufficient time with each patient, and that specialists do not have office hours in primary care clinics.

## Summary

The most recent wave of immigration from the Soviet Union has brought more than 3,000 immigrants to Lod. These immigrants have similar basic characteristics to those who have settled elsewhere in Israel, and have the potential to contribute significantly to the economic and social development of the city.

The Lod survey provides insights into absorption as a dynamic process. Evaluating the success of this process requires a more focused look at specific groups among the immigrants, differentiated primarily by age and by

<sup>4</sup> A sick fund is similar to a Health Maintenance Organization.

duration of residence in Israel. The situation of the more veteran immigrant is considerably different from that of his newer counterpart. Such a perspective enables us to identify those immigrants who may be lagging behind, and who require more time and additional inputs on the part of the service system to ensure their integration into Israeli society. It is important for the immigrants themselves to understand the dynamics of the absorption process as they measure their own success and develop their expectations for the future.

As the chances for employment increase over time, so do the chances for working in the occupation held before immigrating to Israel, though even after two years in Israel most immigrants are still not employed in their previous occupation. Absorbing immigrants into the Israeli labor force in such a way as to allow them to put their training and skills to use and maximize their contribution to Israeli society is one of the major remaining challenges on the absorption agenda. In turn, the development of appropriate jobs is intimately related to the process of investment and requires a longer period of time to allow these investments to bear fruit.

The difficulties with which immigrants must cope also change over time. When they first arrive in Israel, immigrants cite housing as their biggest problem. Immigrants who have been in Israel for at least one year cite employment as their most serious problem.

After having been in Israel for two years, immigrants are less troubled by problems associated with housing and employment, but are more frustrated by problems encountered in interaction with bureaucracy and service providers. The immigrants' economic status does not improve as quickly as does their employment status. After two years in Israel, 42% report that their income enables them to meet their basic needs. Another 33% indicate that their income enables them to meet basic needs with "great difficulty".

Alongside many encouraging findings, the data gathered have enabled decisionmakers and planners to identify those who lag behind or who face particular difficulties in becoming absorbed in Israeli society, and to note specific areas which merit special attention. For example, the data have shed light on the older immigrants' more problematic situation in the Israeli labor market.

On the municipal level the findings of the survey indicate the generally positive attitude of immigrants toward the city. This is reflected in the desire of 94% of the immigrants to stay in the city, and in the willingness of 70% of

them to recommend settling in Lod to a friend. Yet in the municipal context as well there are a number of issues meriting special attention:

- A large majority of immigrants are unaware of the existence of most local services, including those geared to meeting their specific needs.
- Immigrants feel that some of their needs are not being sufficiently met by the existing system of services. The census revealed that immigrants need counseling when looking for housing, extra help in learning Hebrew, and assistance in opening their own businesses.
- The percentage of young immigrant children enrolled in pre-schools is much lower than that of Israeli children.
- Some 9% of the immigrant youth aged 15-18 are neither studying nor working.
- The social absorption of the immigrants is partial. Half of the immigrants who have been in Israel for two years or more indicated that they could turn to an Israeli for help.
- Elderly immigrants have special difficulty learning Hebrew and making social contact with Israelis. A significant proportion of the elderly (20%) live alone or only with their spouses, and face greater economic difficulties than other immigrants.
- Despite their high satisfaction with residence in Lod, immigrants cited that cultural life and sanitation in the city require improvement.

### **Postscript:**

#### **First Steps towards Implementing the Results of the Survey**

As this survey neared completion, the Municipality of Lod began taking action to respond to problem areas which the survey brought to light. The steps that were taken included:

- Six new pre-school frameworks were opened at the beginning of the school year, taking into account the distribution of immigrants among Lod's various neighborhoods as revealed in the study.
- New efforts have been made to distribute information to the immigrants. These included the establishment of four neighborhood information centers and the publication of a newspaper in Russian.

- A community action effort has been launched, leading to the establishment of a steering committee – including representatives of JDC-Israel, the municipality, the immigrants and other residents – to help address the issues raised in the survey. The survey report has been translated into Russian and will be distributed among the immigrants. The immigrants themselves will be involved in decisionmaking with regard to implementation of survey's findings.
- An outreach program targeted at immigrant youth facing particular difficulties is being launched combined with a follow-up in-depth study of these youth aimed at addressing the special difficulties they face at school, in the family, and in becoming part of Israeli society.
- The city has committed itself to using the survey as a stimulus for maintaining an updated database on the immigrants, in order to monitor their absorption and improve the services provided on an ongoing basis.

## ***RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS***

### **Immigrants, Health and Health Care: Select Findings from a Survey of Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union**

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This paper was prepared in the framework of the Cooperative Program in Health Policy Research of the Government of Israel, the JDC-Brookdale Institute, and JDC-Israel.

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## **Introduction**

The JDC-Brookdale Institute conducted a survey in 1992 in order to assess the health and health care practices of Soviet immigrants to Israel. While Israeli health professionals held many generalizations regarding the health practices of this population, little had been done to systematically test them. Between July and September of 1992, the JDC-Brookdale Institute carried out a national survey of 1,200 immigrants of working age (25-64) from the former Soviet Union who had been in Israel for between six months and three years. The health survey was one section of a larger survey which focused on employment issues. This report presents the survey's key findings regarding the immigrants' access to health insurance, health status, health service utilization rates, knowledge of the health system, health-related behaviors, and family planning patterns.

The sampling methodology used to conduct the survey is described in Appendix I. Comparative data for the general population is presented, where available. A forthcoming Institute publication will present comparable findings from a recent survey of new immigrants aged 55 and over.

In this report we present demographic data on the study population, and then devote a section to each of the topics explored in the survey. Each section includes background information, followed by the survey findings.

### **1. Demographic Characteristics of Study Population**

Slightly more than half (56%) of the respondents were women. The age distribution within the immigrant sample and the general Israeli population is very similar, except that the 25-34 age group was smaller and the 35-44 age group larger in the immigrant sample, relative to the general population (see Appendix II).

All fifteen republics of the former Soviet Union were represented in the sample. The greatest proportion of immigrants were from the Ukraine, Russia and Byelorussia. Twenty-seven percent of the respondents were from Asian republics.

Most (60%) respondents were university-educated, while 20% studied in technical schools and 9% in professional schools.

Seventy-nine percent of those interviewed were married, 9% were divorced, 6% were single, and 1% separated. Respondents had an average of 1.6 children.

Fifty-one percent of the immigrants reported that they were working at the time of the survey. Age was a factor in employment: 58% of the immigrants between the ages of 25 and 34 were employed, as opposed to only 25% of the immigrants in the 55-64 age group. Employment increased with time in Israel (37% of the immigrants who had been in Israel for six to 11 months were employed, while 63% of those who had been in Israel for two or more years were employed).

## **2. Health Insurance**

### **Background**

There is an impression among Israeli health care providers that a significant number of immigrants lack health insurance coverage. This is founded on several widely-held generalizations about the immigrants and their relationship to the health system. For example, it is thought that most of the immigrants are unemployed and experiencing financial difficulty, that many are unaware of the need to pay insurance premiums (as insurance was provided free by the state in their country of origin and by the Ministry of Absorption during their first six months in Israel), and that at least some of the sick funds are willing to accept only those immigrants who were considered to be "good risks". It is estimated that 15% of the immigrants have no health insurance, once the initial period of free insurance has ended (Siegel-Itzkovitch, 1992). However, the findings of this report present a somewhat different picture of the health insurance status of the immigrants.

### **Findings**

Almost all of the immigrants consider themselves to be insured, with fewer than 1% reporting that they do not belong to a sick fund.

Israel has four sick funds (similar to Health Maintenance Organizations in the United States): Kupat Holim Clalit (KHC), Maccabi, Meuhedet and Leumit. Table 1 compares the distribution of immigrants among sick funds to that of the general population. It should be noted that the distribution for the general population includes both the Jewish and Arab sectors. From the Table it is evident that KHC's market share of immigrants aged 25-64 is well below its share of this age group in the general population, while Leumit's share of

immigrant members is much higher than its share of the general population. As noted, only 1% of the immigrants reported not belonging to a sick fund, as opposed to 6% of the general population.

Table 1: Distribution among Sick Funds, Comparison between Immigrants and General Population (Ages 25-64)

Sick Fund	Immigrants	General Population
KHC	60%	67%
Maccabi	15%	14%
Meuhedet	8%	6%
Leumit	15%	7%
Does not belong to a sick fund	1%	6%

Source: National Insurance Institute, 1992

Apparently, there are differences in the health status and demographic characteristics of the immigrants joining each sick fund. For example, members of KHC and Leumit are more likely than members of Maccabi and Meuhedet to rate their health as being "fair" or "poor", and are more likely to suffer from chronic illness, be over age 55, and have a lower socio-economic status.

Approximately 5% of those who reported being sick fund members indicated that they do not pay health insurance premiums on a monthly basis. However, it should not be concluded that all of these immigrants are without health insurance, as various government agencies such as the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Absorption, and the National Insurance Institute pay health insurance premiums for some immigrants (who fit certain criteria) beyond their first six months in Israel. It should be noted that when the government pays an immigrant's health insurance, that immigrant is considered an "insuree" and not a "member" of the sick fund; consequently, he is entitled only to basic health insurance coverage and not to supplemental insurance. The exact number of immigrants on whose behalf the sick funds do not receive premiums either from the government or from the immigrant cannot be determined from the data, but the problem does not appear to be extensive. In the next stage of our research we will use additional sources of information to verify the insurance coverage rate.

These findings are at variance with reports which appeared in the media a year ago that large numbers of immigrants have no insurance coverage. Several important policy changes that have taken place during the past year may account for our findings. Prior to March 1992, immigrants were entitled to income maintenance only after having been in the country for two years; during their second year in Israel they received a basic living allowance, which did not include health care benefits, from the Jewish Agency. After March, 1992 a new policy entitled immigrants who had been in the country for more than one year and who were unemployed to income maintenance payments from the National Insurance Institute (NII). The NII uses part of the immigrants' stipends to purchase health insurance for them from the sick funds.

Payment of health insurance premiums increased with time in Israel. Among respondents who had been in Israel for between six and 11 months, 17% indicated that they did not themselves pay health insurance premiums on a monthly basis. This percentage was significantly higher than that for immigrants who had been in Israel for more than a year. This may be explained by one of two factors. First, sick funds may grant some immigrants a grace period of several months beyond the six-month period of free health insurance sponsored by the Ministry of Absorption, before requiring them to pay premiums. Second, the probability of being employed, and thus capable of paying premiums, increases with length of time in Israel; also, it may be that employers remind immigrants of their obligation to pay insurance premiums, and even facilitate their enrollment with a sick fund.

Five percent of the respondents reported having been turned down for membership by one or more sick funds. The principal reasons given by immigrants for rejection were age and disability. KHC and Leumit were much less likely than Maccabi and Meuhedet to turn away applicants.

The likelihood of being rejected by a sick fund was influenced by length of time in Israel; while there was no clear trend, those who had been in Israel for a relatively short time (between six and 11 months) were least likely to be rejected, with less than 3% reporting that they had been turned away by a sick fund. This may be because relatively recent immigrants have had less time to attempt to transfer to new sick funds; sick fund managers reported that they were stricter about admitting those who had attempted to transfer from other sick funds, than they were about admitting those who had no insurance at all. It may also be that rejection rates have declined over time,

due to the liberalization of sick fund admission policies (policy changes of this sort were noted by officials from both the sick funds and the Ministry of Absorption).

### **3. Health Status and Health Services Utilization**

#### **Background**

Information on the health care needs and utilization rates of immigrants can be used by planners to determine how much to increase the system's service capacity (both facilities and manpower), as well as to determine whether providers or regions with large concentrations of immigrants should receive special allocations to cover the cost of caring for this population. Prior to this study, there was little systematic, national data on the health status or utilization rates of the immigrants in any of the four sick funds.

The findings presented below meet some of the need for information in this area. They are limited by the lack of up-to-date comparative data for the general population. The comparisons made in the following section make use of data from the Central Bureau of Statistics' (CBS) 1983 "Survey on the Use of Health Services" – unfortunately, the most recent survey of its kind. Special tabulations were carried out on the CBS data to determine utilization rates for those aged 25-64, so that the data would be comparable to our data on the immigrants. Data for the immigrant sample was standardized to the age and sex distribution of the 1983 CBS sample (see Appendix II).

#### **Findings**

Almost half of the respondents indicated that at least one family member was chronically ill. Despite this being a relatively young population, 20% indicated that they themselves were chronically ill. No comparable data exist for the general population.<sup>1</sup>

Only 1% of the respondents indicated that they were limited in their daily activities as a result of a physical or mental disability. There is no comparative data on disability for the general population.<sup>2</sup>

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1 In a separate Institute study of elderly Soviet immigrants, it was found that immigrants aged 65 and over report **higher** rates of certain chronic illnesses than do veteran Israelis of the same age, especially for conditions such as high blood pressure, shortness of breath, chest pain, and arthritis. For some chronic illnesses, such as diabetes, the self-reported rates were very similar in the two populations (Naon and King, 1993).

2 Among those aged 65 and over, the rate of disability was found to be higher among Soviet immigrants than among the general population. Thirteen percent of the immigrants

Only a small percentage (5%) of the respondents rated their health as being "very good", while 65% rated their health as being "good", 28% as "fair" and 2% as "poor".<sup>3</sup> In contrast, surveys conducted by Ben Sira (1987), Gross (1991), and Yuval, Rosen and Gabbay (1989) show that 20-30% of Israelis report that their health is "very good". However, in the questionnaire presented to Soviet immigrants there were four response categories for this question, while in the other surveys there were five to six categories, thus preventing more extensive comparison of these data.

We found that 18.3% (19% age/sex standardized to the general population) of the respondents reported that they had visited a physician at least once in the past two weeks. In 1981, 20.1% of the general population reported visiting a physician in the past two weeks (CBS, 1983). The average number of physician visits per year was 8.4 (8.9 age/sex standardized to the general population) for the immigrants sampled, and 8.3 for the general population in 1981 (CBS, 1983). It is generally believed that the physician visit rate for the general population has declined over the past decade.

Bar-Tzuri and Hendles (1993) conducted a national study among Soviet immigrants in May of 1992 and found that the average number of physician visits per year was 7.7, similar to the Institute finding. They then compared their data on immigrants to data for the general population. Using data from the KHC, they discovered that in 1991, members of KHC (the majority of them veteran Israelis) visited their physicians an average of only 5.9 times a year.<sup>4</sup> (Comparative data for the entire Israeli general population, i.e. from all four sick funds, do not exist.)

We found that 7.8% (7.9% age/sex standardized to the general population) of the respondents reported having been hospitalized during the past half-year. In 1981, 4.8% of the general population had been hospitalized during the

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reported needing assistance in personal care, as opposed to 9% of the general population (Naon and King, 1993).

- 3 It was found that self-reported health status was lower among elderly immigrants than among elderly veteran Israelis. Naon and King (1993) used the same four-level scale in their survey and found that more Soviet immigrants aged 65 and over report suffering from poor health than do veteran Israelis of the same age. Eighty-four percent of Soviet immigrants aged 65 and over rated their health as being "fair" or "poor", while only 64% of veteran Israelis aged 65 and over gave their health these ratings.
- 4 These data were taken from the policy department of the KHC. Unlike the data on Soviet immigrants, which were limited to those aged 25-64, the data from KHC were based on the entire population insured by the sick fund.

past half year (CBS, 1983). For the general population, admissions per capita have increased in the past decade; extrapolating 4.8% to 1992 yields an estimate of 5.4% – still well below the rate for immigrants.<sup>5</sup>

However, Bar-Tzuri and Hendles (1993) found that the hospitalization rate among new immigrants was **lower** than that of the general population. Nine percent of the immigrants in their sample reported having been hospitalized during the past year. The differences in hospitalization rates according to the various data sets suggest that there is a need to check hospital and sick fund records for verifications.

Table 2 indicates the percentage of immigrants who reported having used various health services at least once during the past half-year. For example, 35% of the respondents reported visiting a dentist and 11% reported having visited the emergency room during the past half-year.

Table 2: Immigrants Using Select Health Services Within the Past Six Months (in %)

Health Services	% Utilization
Clinic Pharmacy	62
Doctor	58
Specialist	43
Dentist	35
Private Pharmacy	34
Nurse	22
Emergency Room	11
General Hospital	8
Family Health Care Center	8
Ambulance	4
Mental Health Clinic	1

Older immigrants utilize most health care services much more intensively than do younger immigrants. For example, in comparison with immigrants

<sup>5</sup> The CBS hospitalization data exclude hospitalization for childbirth, while the immigrant data do not. However, because the number of births among the immigrant population is small, this cannot account for the difference between the hospitalization rates in the two populations.

aged 25-34, immigrants aged 55-64 were 48% more likely to visit a specialist and 20% more likely to be hospitalized during the six-month period preceding the interview. In contrast, older immigrants were half as likely as younger immigrants to visit a dentist or utilize mental health services within the same six-month period.

Health planners in Israel have questioned whether the health service utilization rates of immigrants change with length of time in Israel. For most services, we did not find a clear and consistent relationship between utilization rates and the amount of time an immigrant had been in Israel. Perhaps two different factors are canceling out each other's effect: Some immigrants may utilize health care services intensively during their initial period in Israel in an effort to treat neglected conditions, while others may increase their usage with time, as they learn to navigate the system.

Over one-quarter of the respondents reported having a medical problem during the past year for which they did not seek professional help. The main reasons for not seeking help were "lack of time" (39%), self-care (38%), and "not satisfied with care" (24%). Cost of care and language barriers were each cited by 5% of the respondents as factors in not seeking care.

When asked to cite the two main problems they encountered in their interactions with the health care system, the immigrants most frequently cited long lines (40%), the attitudes of health care staff (27%), and poor care (15%). There were some differences in response between members of the different sick funds; for example, members of KHC were more likely to mention the problem of long lines than were members of the other sick funds, whereas members of the smaller sick funds were more likely to mention the high cost of medications and the unavailability of home visits.

#### **4. Knowledge of the Health System**

##### **Background**

The Soviet and Israeli health care systems differ in their finance and organization. In the Soviet Union, health care consumers had fewer formal payments to make than they do in Israel. Consumers also relied less on GPs and tended to turn directly to specialists. As is the case in other spheres of social activity, it takes an immigrant time before he or she learns the new "rules of the game". At the same time, such knowledge is critical if the

immigrant is to navigate the system effectively and fully benefit from his or her rights to health care.

### **Findings**

Only 28% of the immigrants felt that they understood well how the health system works. Among immigrants who had been in the country for more than two years this figure rose to 40%.

One out of four respondents reported that it was his understanding that sick fund benefits included free dental care, although in reality no dental care benefits are included.<sup>6</sup> Almost half of the respondents belonging to KHC did not realize that they were supposed to have a regular general practitioner. Knowledge about these components of health care did not change appreciably with time in Israel.

Twenty-two percent of the respondents believed that they retained their sick fund membership even if they failed to pay their dues, while another 15% were not sure if failure to pay dues would lead to loss of membership. However, some respondents may have misunderstood the question; some may have been indicating their belief that if they do not pay, the government will pay on their behalf, enabling them to retain membership.

The immigrants reported that their most common sources of information about the Israeli health system were veteran immigrants, family members, sick fund clinicians and officials, and Ministry of Absorption officials, in that order.

Forty-eight percent of the immigrants expressed interest in learning more about how the health system worked. Women expressed greater interest than men in learning about the health care system. The widespread interest in learning more about the health care system supports our finding that immigrants do not yet fully understand the system.

## **5. Health-Related Behaviors**

### **Background**

The general population of the former Soviet Union is characterized by high rates of smoking and alcohol use (Mezentseva and Rimachevskaya, 1990).

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6 Some of the funds offer supplemental insurance packages which partially cover dental care. This may have led some of the new immigrants to believe that dental care is included in the basic health care package.

It is not clear to what extent these patterns also characterize Jews of the former Soviet Union in general, and those who have immigrated to Israel in particular. Systematic data on the prevalence of smoking and drinking among the immigrants are needed in order to first evaluate the extent of these behaviors and, if necessary, to design appropriate interventions.

### **Findings**

Thirty percent of the respondents reported being smokers – a lower percentage than was expected. Smokers reported consuming an average of 15 cigarettes per day, with 42% of the smokers indicating that they smoked more than 20 cigarettes (one pack) a day. Ben Sira (1992) found that 34% of Israeli Jews aged 20 and over were smokers, 51% of whom reported smoking more than one pack a day.

While 47% of the male immigrants were smokers, only 16% of the female immigrants were smokers. The difference in the percentages of men and women in the general population who were smokers is not as great – 39% and 28%, respectively (Ben Sira, 1992).

Among the immigrants, the prevalence of smoking declined with age: While 38% of the immigrants aged 25-34 smoked, only 16% of the immigrants aged 55-64 smoked. Smoking also declined with age in the general population (Ben Sira, 1992).

When asked whether they drank beer, wine, liquor, or “hard liquor” (such as whiskey or vodka) once or more a week, the positive responses of the immigrants were 8%, 6%, 3% and 1%, respectively. Thirteen percent said that they drank some type of alcohol at least once a week. According to Bar, Eldar and Weiss (1989), 17% of Jewish Israelis over the age of 20 drink some type of alcohol at least once a week.

It is perhaps of greater significance that 1.3% of the respondents reported drinking some type of alcohol on a daily basis. Bar et al. (1989) found that 3% of Jewish Israelis over the age of 20 drink some type of alcohol daily.

The level of drinking among the immigrant population as revealed by the survey is much lower than is generally believed. It is possible that the stigma surrounding drinking led to under-reporting. On the other hand, there are those who believe that Soviets in general drink heavily, but that Soviet Jews tend to be much more moderate in their drinking (ELKA, 1992). We have no way of determining the extent of under-reporting, since no other hard data are available on this topic.

Drinking was more prevalent among immigrant men than among immigrant women, and drinking prevalence declined with age. In the general population, the relationship between age differences and drinking patterns is not so clear-cut; while some studies report a decline in drinking with increasing age, others report the opposite trend (Bar and Eldar, 1987).

Many of the new immigrants expressed interest in participating in health education programs of various sorts: nutrition (34%), adaptation of health behaviors to Israel (42%), and smoking cessation (10% – almost one out of three smokers!). Interest in some health education topics varied by age and gender. For example, the youngest age group (25-34) showed the greatest interest in smoking cessation.

## **6. Family Planning**

### **Background**

Modern birth control techniques are relatively unknown and unavailable in the former Soviet Union, where abortion has historically served as the primary means of birth control. Previous waves of Soviet immigrants to Israel were characterized by significantly higher rates of abortion than those for the general Israeli population, though the gap narrows with length of time in Israel (Sabatello, 1992). Many policymakers in Israel believe that family planning services must be made more widely available to immigrants, so that they can make informed choices about their reproductive behavior. Systematic data on current patterns of familiarity with, and use of, contraceptives can help policymakers determine the scope and content of, as well as target groups for, any interventions in this area.

The series of questions on abortion and family planning were asked only of respondents under the age of 50.

### **Findings**

Fifty-eight percent of the immigrant women under the age of 50 reported having had at least one abortion, and 34% reported having had two or more abortions.

Women reported an average of 1.3 abortions in their lifetime. Even women aged 45-50, most of whom were past their reproductive years, reported an average of only 1.4 abortions in their lifetime. These data do not correspond with other reports on previous waves of Soviet immigrants, which reported higher levels of abortion. For example, Sabatello (1992) reprocessed data

collected by Ben Barak and found that Soviet women emigrating to Israel in the late 1970s reported having had close to three abortions on average. However, the number of lifetime abortions reported in our survey (roughly estimated to be 1.4-1.7, based on the number of abortions reported by women at end of their reproductive years) were still higher than the average 0.6 lifetime abortions reported by Israeli women, as based on applications for legal abortions (Sabatello, 1992).

It is not clear why the abortion data for this sample do not correspond with those of other studies. One possibility is that the imprecise wording of one question may have led some of the respondents to report only the number of abortions they had had since coming to Israel. Our intention was to ask about the total number of abortions a woman had undergone in her life, including those performed in the former Soviet Union. A second possibility is that since the 1970s, family planning among Soviet women has improved, and therefore fewer women are having abortions. Third, increased awareness among immigrants about the stigma attached to abortion in Israel may make them less inclined to report abortions.

Approximately two out of three respondents under age 50 currently use some method of birth control. Limiting our analysis to users of birth control, we found that the most common method of birth control was the IUD (42%), followed by the condom (36%), the rhythm method (19%), withdrawal (11%), and the pill (11%).<sup>7</sup>

These findings of high rates of family planning are consistent with the findings, already mentioned, concerning the low rates of abortion among the immigrants.

Seventy-three percent of married respondents reported using some form of birth control, three-quarters of whom reported using modern methods (pill, IUD, etc.). These rates are similar to those for the general population: 70% of Jewish married couples in Israel use some means of birth control, two-thirds of whom use modern methods (Sabatello, 1992). However, it is difficult to compare these rates due to differences in the questions used to gather the information.

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<sup>7</sup> Respondents were permitted to report more than one method of birth control; for this reason, the sum of the different methods is greater than 100%. If one includes in the analysis both users and non-users of birth control, the percentages using each method are as follows: IUD (28%), condom (24%), rhythm (13%), withdrawal (8%), and the pill (7%).

In general, respondents reported that they were familiar with most family planning methods. Over 90% were familiar with such methods as the pill, the condom, and the IUD. There was somewhat less familiarity with male and female sterilization (68% and 73%, respectively) and injections (40%). Surprisingly, familiarity with various birth control techniques did not vary with time in Israel. However, the percentage of immigrants using some form of birth control rose somewhat with the amount of time in Israel (from 55% of those who had been in Israel for between six and 11 months, to 66% of those who had been in Israel for one year or more).

Among married immigrants the most common reasons for not using birth control were "past reproductive age" (15%), pregnancy (14%), infertility (14%), and "don't care if pregnant" (12%). Cost and "don't know what birth control to use" were cited as the main factors by 9% and 7% of the respondents, respectively. Only 7% of the respondents said that reliance on abortion was the main reason for not using birth control. The most common reason for not using birth control cited by unmarried immigrants was infrequent intercourse (86%).

Seventeen percent of the respondents said they were interested in learning more about family planning. Respondents in the 25-34 age group expressed the most interest (31%), with men and women showing almost equal interest.

## **7. Summary**

Popular stereotypes portray the Soviet immigrant population as being characterized by high rates of non-participation in health insurance schemes, heavy smoking, frequent drinking, and lack of familiarity with modern birth control techniques. This study raises serious questions about the accuracy of these stereotypes. At the same time, this study supports the prevailing view that the immigrants are intensive users of hospital services, have high rates of self-reported chronic illness, and do not yet have a good understanding of the workings of the Israeli health care system. Moreover, this survey reveals that the immigrants are eager to learn more about the health care system and to participate in a variety of health education programs.

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## **Appendix I: Sampling Methodology**

The survey was administered in the summer of 1992 to 1,200 Soviet immigrants aged 25-64 who arrived in Israel between October, 1989 and February, 1992.

Sites for interviewing immigrants were chosen using a combination of cluster sampling and stratification. A table of settlements was created using the Central Bureau of Statistics' publication, "List of Localities, Their Population and Codes". Cities and urban settlements were inserted into the table cells based on type of settlement and geographic location. The number of individuals to be interviewed and, ultimately, the number of interview sites for each cell were determined based on the proportion of immigrants in each cell. Large cities were divided into several areas and a sub-sample drawn from each area.

The sample was drawn from a list of home addresses of immigrants. Every third person appearing on this list was sampled. Less than 1% of the immigrants approached refused to participate in the survey.

In order to check the representativeness of the sample, comparisons were made with the larger population of Soviet immigrants entering the country from the end of 1989 to the beginning of 1992. Comparisons by select demographic characteristics showed that the distributions by age, sex, marital status, and year of immigration were very representative.

**Appendix II: Comparison of the Distribution of the Immigrant Sample to that of the General Population, by Age and Gender, 1982 and 1991 (in percentages)**

Total Age Group	Immigrant Sample	General Population	
	1992	1992*	1981**
25-34	29	34	35
35-44	36	31	24
45-54	21	19	22
55-64	14	16	19
Total	100	100	100
<b>Men</b>			
Age Group	Immigrant Sample	General Population	
	1992	1992*	1981**
25-34	13	17	16
35-44	17	15	11
45-54	8	9	11
55-64	6	7	9
Total % Men	44	48	47
<b>Women</b>			
Age Group	Immigrant Sample	General Population	
	1992	1992*	1981**
25-34	16	17	19
35-44	19	16	13
45-54	13	10	11
55-64	8	9	10
Total % Women	56	52	53

\* Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992. Statistical Yearbook.

\*\* Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1983. Survey on the Use of Health Services.



## ***RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS***

# **The Employment and Economic Situation of Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union: Selected Findings from a National Employment Survey**

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This study was conducted at the request of JDC-Israel and the Government of Israel, and was published as a JDC-Brookdale Institute Preliminary Findings Report in Hebrew, PF-6-93, in June 1993.

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## Introduction

A nationwide survey<sup>1</sup> recently conducted by the JDC-Brookdale Institute examined various aspects of the employment and economic situation of immigrants from the former Soviet Union. The survey reveals a clear trend: the longer the immigrants live in Israel, the better their employment situation, from every aspect. Not only does the percentage of employed immigrants increase over time, but so also does the proportion of those who are generally satisfied with their work, and the proportion of those satisfied with specific aspects of their work.

The study has several unique features which allow us to gain deeper insight into the immigrants' absorption into the labor market. The size of the sample used in the survey, and the survey's timing, make it possible to assess for the first time the influence of length of residence on the immigrants' employment situation, and examine this process in depth among various sub-groups of immigrants.

The immigrants' employment situation was studied in great detail, using their own evaluations to assess the quality of their employment, and the extent to which their training and abilities are utilized on the job. These are subjects central to the current public agenda.

The nationwide survey on which the study is based was conducted between July and September of 1992, and included immigrants from the former Soviet Union who had arrived in the 1989-1992 wave of immigration. The timing of the survey is of particular importance, since close to a quarter of the immigrants in the sample (23%) had been in the country for more than two years. It is thus possible to examine the situation of those immigrants no longer in the initial stages of absorption, and to compare this with the situation of more recent immigrants. This comparison provides an opportunity to examine the dynamics of the absorption process over time.

The survey was conducted among a representative sample of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, comprising 1,200 immigrants of working age (25-64 years), from 30 localities in Israel. The immigrants were interviewed at home by Russian-speaking interviewers using a Russian-language questionnaire. The size of the sample enables comparisons to be made on the basis of a number of variables: age, sex, marital status, and length of residence in

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1 Funded by JDC-Israel.

Israel. More than half the immigrants in the sample (56%) were women. With regard to other demographic variables, the sample divided up as follows:

**Age:** Some 29% of the immigrants were aged 25-34, some 36% were aged 35-44, some 21% were aged 45-54, and some 14% were aged 55-64.

**Date of Immigration:** A minority of the immigrants arrived in 1989 (about 2%), the majority arrived in 1990 (about 58%), about 37% arrived in 1991, and about 3% arrived in January and February of 1992.

**Origin:** The majority of the immigrants (80%) emigrated from the European republics, 13% from the Asiatic republics, and 7% from the Caucasian republics.

The areas on which the study focuses are employment, the search for jobs, and participation in vocational training courses. In addition, data were also collected on other aspects of the absorption process: proficiency in Hebrew and English, housing, income, health, and social absorption. The study thus provides a comprehensive picture of the immigrant's situation, and allows us to see how different aspects of absorption are related. The study also examines a subject rarely dealt with in other studies of the absorption process: the extent to which the immigrants feel there is information readily accessible to them on important subjects such as looking for a job, opportunities for buying an apartment, and employment options.

This particular report is the first in a series of reports based on this study and focuses principally on the immigrants' employment situation. In October 1992, as soon as the data file had been completed, the preliminary findings were disseminated and widely discussed in the media and by policymakers. During preparation of the report, selected findings were presented in lectures, conferences and other forums.

The report examines specific groups of immigrants – differentiated by sex, age, length of residence and marital status – and compares their respective rates of employment, while comparing these rates with those of the general Jewish population in Israel. The report also looks at the types of occupations in which the immigrants are employed, as compared to their former occupations in the Soviet Union, and analyzes the changes in this area with extended residence in Israel. Also considered are the immigrants' subjective evaluations of their satisfaction with different aspects of their work, such as level of interest, use of training and abilities, job security, and financial remuneration.

The report goes on to consider, in general terms, some of the other subjects examined in the study: the link between proficiency in Hebrew and employment; the degree of interest in establishing private businesses; participation and willingness to participate in vocational training or retraining programs; the immigrants' economic situation according to both objective measures and subjective evaluations; and lastly, the immigrants' general sense of satisfaction, as expressed by satisfaction with the decision to come to Israel, and by whether or not they feel certain about remaining in the country. These subjects will be considered more fully in future reports, as will the subjects of health, social absorption and the availability of information in different areas of absorption.

### **1. Are Employment Rates among the Immigrants Higher or Lower than Those Among the General Jewish Population in Israel?**

The findings indicate that half (51%) of the immigrants are employed. The rate of employment<sup>2</sup> is higher among men (67%) than among women (38%). The employment situation improves over time: sixty-two percent of the immigrants who have been in the country for two years or more are employed (78% of the men and 49% of the women) as opposed to 36% of those who have been in the country for between six months and a year (57% of the men and 22% of the women) (Figure 1, and Table 1 in the Appendix).

In order to compare data from the survey with a reliable external source, we asked the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) for special analyses of Labor Force Survey data on immigrants from the former Soviet Union. The

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2 The "rate of employment", throughout this report, refers to the percentage of immigrants employed out of the total number of immigrants in the study population, regardless of participation in the labor force (the definition employed by the Central Bureau of Statistics).

employment rates cited by the CBS, and those from the survey, are very similar.<sup>3</sup>

The employment rate among immigrants who have been in the country for two years or more is very similar to that of the general Jewish population in Israel. In 1991, the employment rate among the general Jewish population for the age groups included in the survey (25-64 years) was 66%, 78% for men, and 55% for women<sup>4</sup> (Figure 1, and Table 1 in the Appendix).

## 2. What is the Immigrants' Level of Participation in the Labor Force?

According to the definition used by the CBS, a person is considered part of the labor force if he/she is either employed or looking for a job. According to this definition, 70% of immigrants in the survey are in the labor force. Of this 70%, 51% are employed and 19% are looking for a job. Some 85% of the men are in the labor force, and some 58% of the women.

With extended residence in Israel, the level of participation in the labor force increases from 62% among immigrants who have been in the country for between six months and a year, to 77% among those who have been in the country for two years or more.

3 Comparison of the Rates of Employment from the Survey and those from CBS Labor Force Surveys

	The employment survey		CBS Labor force surveys (April-September 1992)	
	Total	After 2 years in Israel	Total	After 2 years in Israel
Total	51	62	54	66
Men	67	78	70	81
Women	38	49	40	52

**Note:** The employment rates from the CBS surveys are calculated according to the total number of immigrants in the age groups in the employment survey, not to immigrants in the labor force alone.

\* See the notes on methodology published by the CBS in Special Publication no. 912: "Labor Force Surveys 1990", Jerusalem, 1992.

4 "Labor Force Surveys, 1991", *Monthly Statistical Bulletin*, Supplement no. 4, April 1992, Central Bureau of Statistics. These data relate only to the civilian labor force; the level of employment in the labor force as a whole (i.e. including armed forces) tends to be higher. This report was prepared before the data from 1992 were published.

Labor force participation rates are lower among older immigrants: 41% of those aged 55-64, as compared to 73% of those aged 25-34.

Most (81%) of the immigrants not currently in the labor force have participated in the labor force in the past. Only 12% of the immigrants have yet to begin looking for work and thus enter the labor force – 3% of the men and 19% of the women.

The immigrants' rate of participation in the labor force is almost identical to that of corresponding age groups in the general Jewish population in Israel (70% and 72%, respectively), with the rate among immigrants who have been in the country for two years or more actually being higher. However, the percentage of immigrants looking for a job is more than double the figure for the general Jewish population in Israel (15% and 6%, respectively) (Figure 2).

### **3. What do the Immigrants Who are not Working Do?**

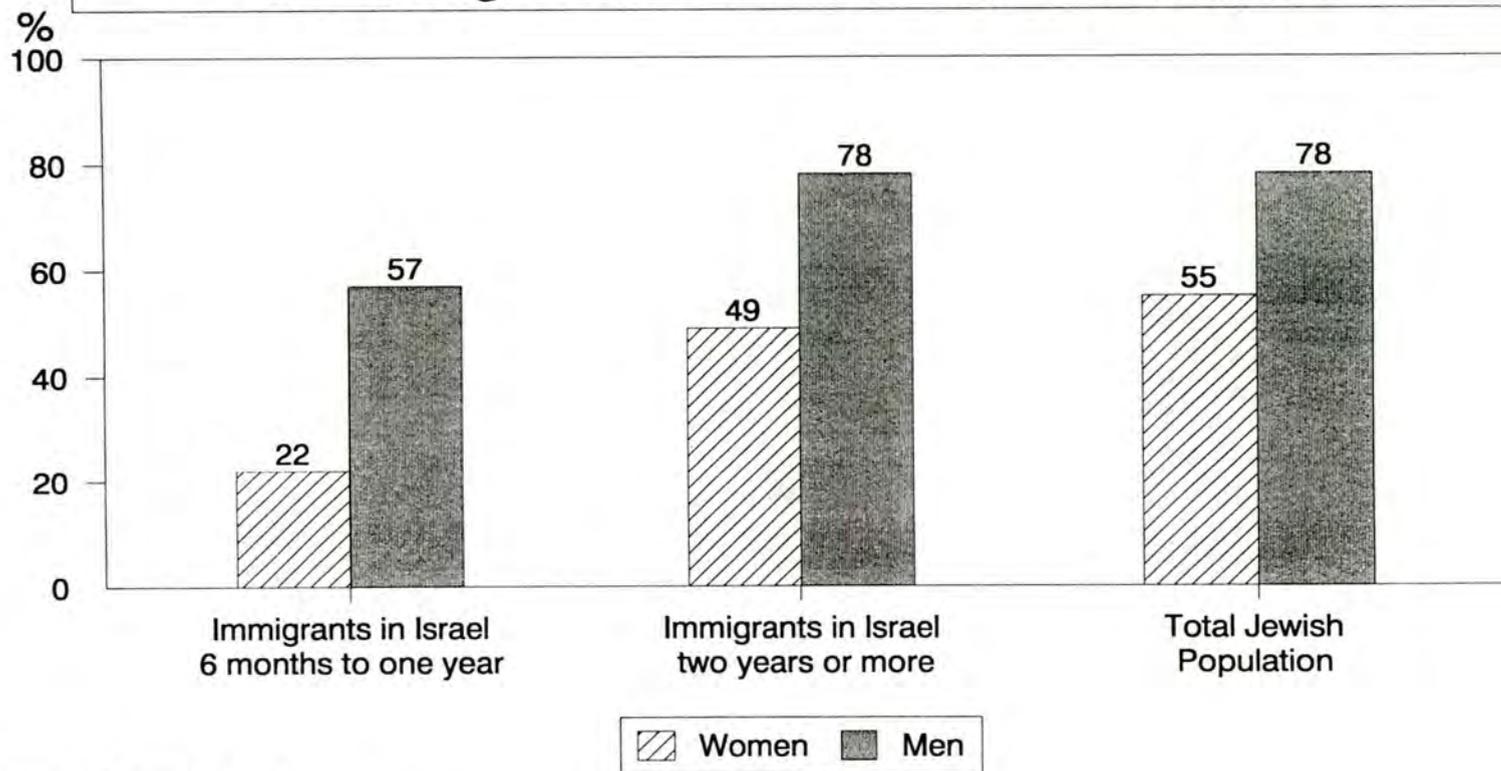
Some 40% of the immigrants who are not working are actively looking for a job, some 13% are participating in vocational training courses, some 4% are studying in other frameworks, and some 4% have health problems or are disabled. About a quarter (24%) referred to themselves as "unemployed", even though they had not looked for a job during the week prior to the survey.

### **4. What are the Differences in the Employment Rates of Younger and Older Immigrants?**

As noted above, the longer an immigrant lives in Israel, the better his/her chances of being employed. This is true for every age group, although the employment rate is lower among older immigrants: 24% among those aged 55-64 compared to 58% among those aged 25-34 (see Tables 1 and 2 in the Appendix for more details).

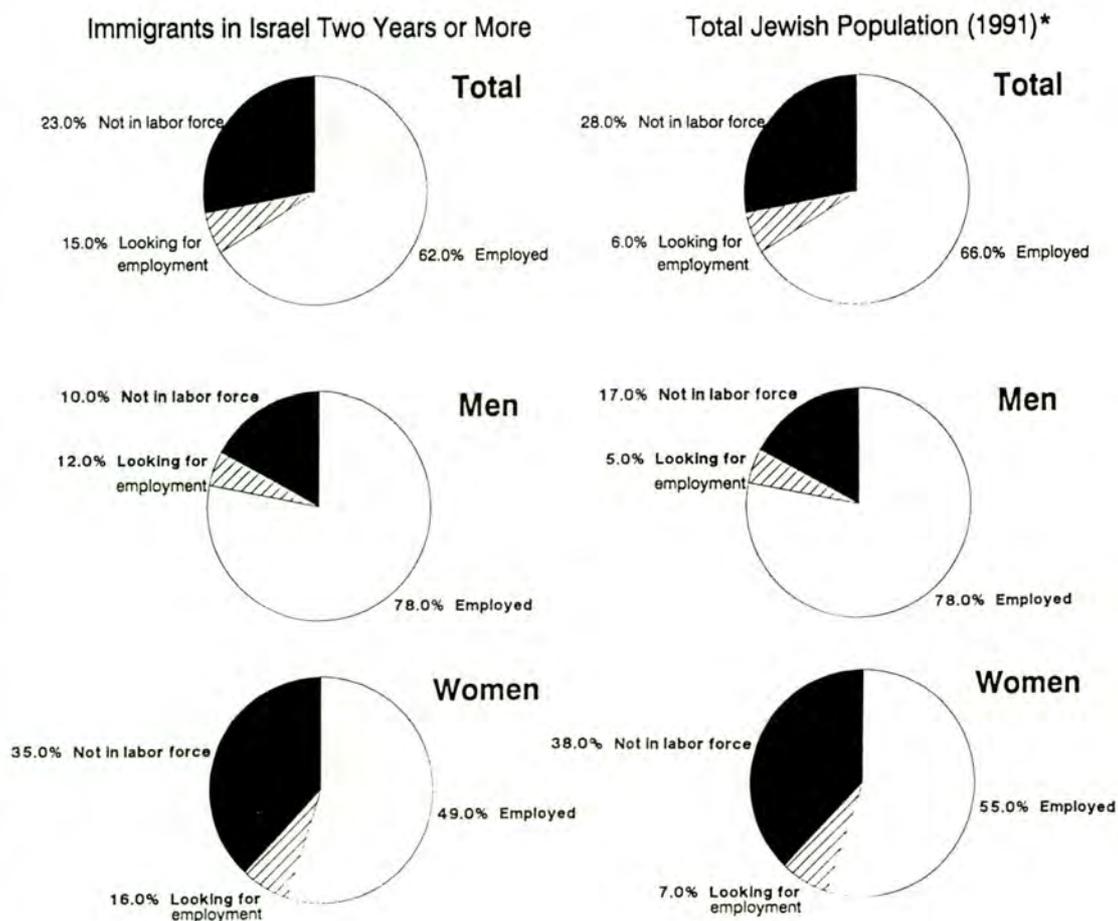
The phenomenon of lower employment rates among older people is not unique to the immigrant population, although among the general Jewish population it occurs on a smaller scale. A comparison of the employment situation of immigrants living in the country for two years or more, and that of the general Jewish population, by age group, reveals the following: the employment rate among younger immigrants (aged 25-34), and that of the corresponding age

**Figure 1: Employment Rates among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Sex and Length of Residence in Israel, and among the General Jewish Population, by Sex**



\*Monthly Statistical Bulletin,  
Supplement no. 4, April 1992, CBS

**Figure 2: Participation in the Labor Force among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Israel Two Years or More, and among the General Jewish Population, by Sex (in %)**



Monthly Statistical Bulletin,  
Supplement no. 4, April 1992, CBS.

According to the definition employed by the CBS, the percentage of those looking for employment is identical to the percentage of unemployed in the total Jewish population and the total immigrant population, rather than to the percentage of unemployed in the labor force.

group in the general Jewish population, are almost identical (63% and 66%, respectively). Among those aged 55-64, however, the respective employment rates are significantly different: 27% of the immigrants,<sup>5</sup> and 48% of the general Jewish population (Figure 3). The disparity in employment rates is particularly large among women aged 55-64, with only 12% employed in the immigrant population as compared to 31% in the general Jewish population (among men aged 55-64, the rates are 43% and 69%, respectively).

### **5. What are the Employment Rates of the Immigrants by Marital Status?**

The majority of the immigrants are married (79%). In almost half of the couples, one of the partners is employed; in an additional third of the couples, both are employed; and in some 20%, neither is working. The improvement in the immigrants' employment situation with extended residence is evident in this context as well. The percentage of couples in which neither partner is employed decreases from 37% among immigrants who have been in the country for between six months and a year, to 11% among those who have been in the country for two years or more, while the percentage of couples in which both partners are employed increases from 17% to 45% (Figure 4).

Eight percent of the immigrants head single-parent families, that is, families with one parent and at least one child under the age of 18. In the great majority of cases (82%), the single parent is a woman. Only 27% of these women are employed, as compared to 71% of the men who head single-parent families.

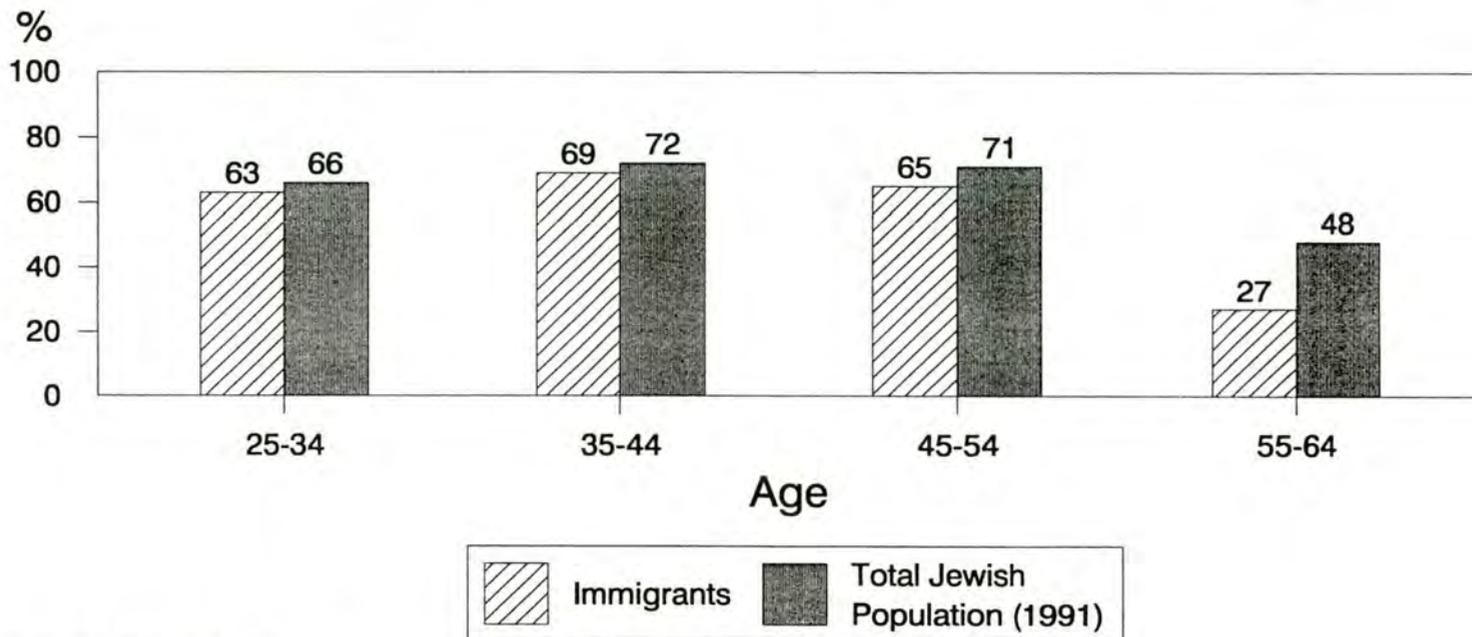
### **6. In What Occupations are the Immigrants Employed?**

Finding a job is just the first stage of absorption into the labor market. No less significant is the type of job in which the immigrant is employed, both for the immigrant him/herself, and for the economy as a whole. The better suited the job to the immigrant's training, experience and ability, the more

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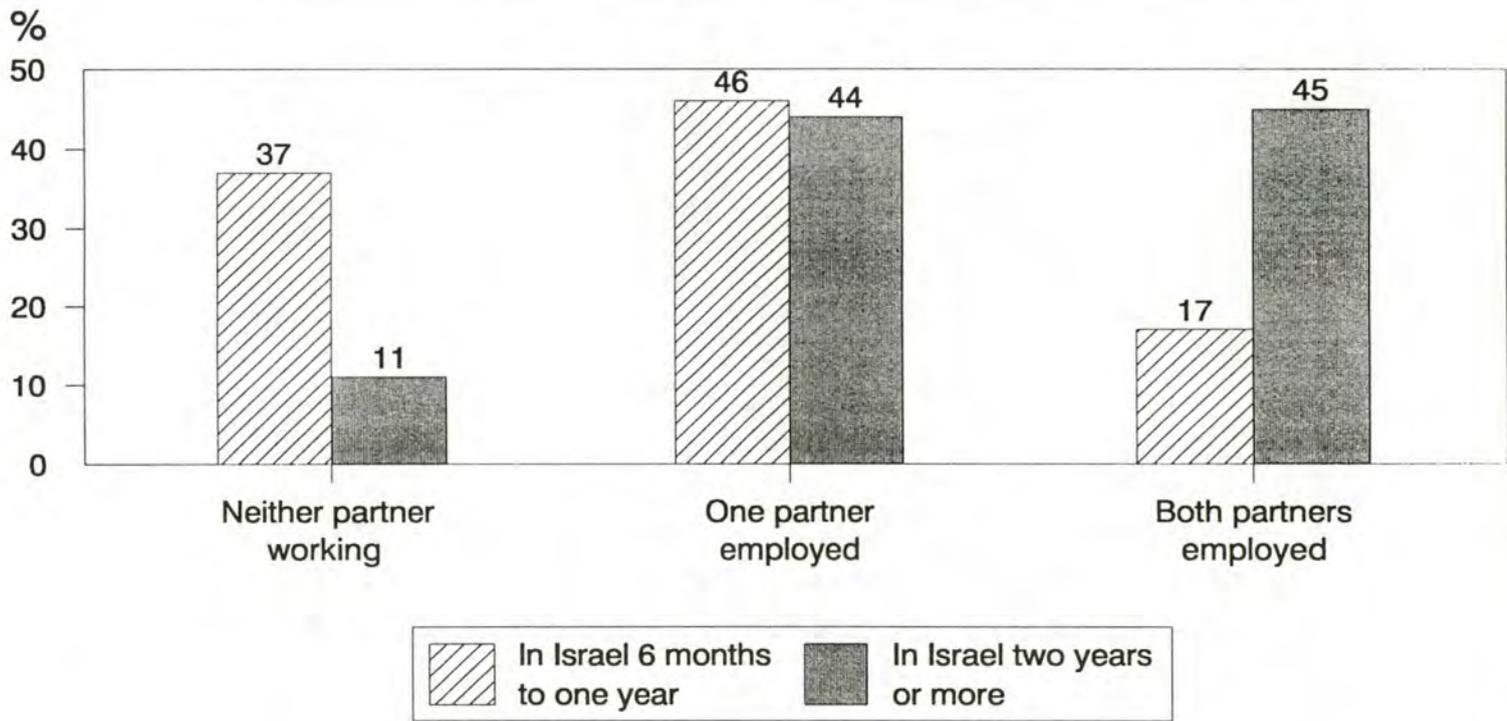
5 To increase the number of cases in the 55-64 age group (170), the data from the survey were combined with data from another survey, "Health, Functional, Social and Housing Needs Among Older Immigrants from the Soviet Union", conducted during the same period and using an independent national sample (267 cases); the percentages thus relate to a total of 437 immigrants aged 55-64, the combined number from the two surveys.

**Figure 3: Employment Rates among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Israel Two Years or More, and among the General Jewish Population, by Age**



\*Monthly Statistical Bulletin,  
Supplement no. 4, April 1992, CBS

**Figure 4: The Employment Situation of Married Couples from the Former Soviet Union, by Length of Residence in Israel**



likely the immigrant is to be satisfied with his/her work, and the greater the benefit to society in general.

The data indicate that with extended residence in Israel, many aspects of the immigrants' employment situation improve, including the type of jobs in which they are employed.

### **What was the Immigrants' Occupational Distribution in the Soviet Union?**

Two-thirds (some 68%) of the immigrants were employed in academic, professional, and technical occupations in the Soviet Union. Very few (3%) worked in the service sector or as unskilled workers in industry.

The occupational distribution of men differs from that of women. Relatively more women than men were employed in the professional and technical occupations (37% as opposed to 18%), principally as teachers and nurses; likewise, relatively more women than men were employed in clerical occupations and in the service sector (9% and 5% as opposed to 2% and 1%). However, the percentage of men employed in managerial occupations and as skilled industrial workers was higher than that of women (10% and 24% as opposed to 2% and 6%). The percentages of men and women employed in academic occupations were very similar (42% and 38%, respectively).

### **In What Occupations are the Immigrants Employed in Israel?**

As noted above, over half the immigrants are employed. Most of them are working in the service sector, and as skilled and unskilled workers in industry (24%, 20% and 21%, respectively). Another 25% are employed in academic, professional, technical and managerial occupations. The rest of the immigrants are employed in clerical occupations and in sales (5% and 4%, respectively), with 1% in agriculture.

In general, the differences in the occupational distribution of men and women that existed in the Soviet Union are maintained in Israel, with one exception: the percentage of men now employed in academic occupations is higher than that of women (14% as opposed to 6%).

Nearly half the women (43%) are now employed in the service sector, as opposed to just 10% of the men. Almost all those employed in this sector (96%) are in jobs requiring little training, for example, as kitchen staff, cleaning personnel and child care aides. Unlike the situation in industry, in the service sector it is almost impossible for employees to work their way up to positions better suited to their professional level.

More than half the men (57%) are employed in industry – half as skilled workers, and half as unskilled workers – as opposed to just 20% of the women – 9% skilled workers, and 11% unskilled workers.

Men and women not employed in the service sector or industry are employed mainly in academic, professional, technical and managerial occupations (27% and 23%, respectively). Finally, 4% of the men and 14% of the women are employed in clerical occupations and in sales.

Forty-two percent of the immigrants who were employed in scientific or academic occupations in the Soviet Union are employed in these or related occupations in Israel (25% in academic occupations, 15% in professional or technical occupations and 2% in managerial occupations); 12% are employed as skilled workers in industry; 16% as unskilled workers in industry; and 23% are employed in the service sector. While the percentage of immigrants employed in professional or technical occupations in the Soviet Union who are now employed in these or related occupations is lower (some 29%), their distribution among other occupations is similar (although the actual percentages for each category are somewhat higher).

The highest percentage of immigrants employed in occupations similar to their former occupations in the Soviet Union is to be found among skilled workers in industry: 53%. Of the remainder, 31% are employed as unskilled workers in industry, and 13% in the service sector (Table 3 in the Appendix).

As noted above, the percentage of employed immigrants increases steadily with extended residence in the country. This is true for all immigrants, regardless of the occupation in which they were employed in the Soviet Union (Figure 5).

### **Does the Occupational Distribution of the Immigrants Change with Extended Residence in Israel?**

With extended residence in the country, there is a significant change in the distribution of the immigrants among different occupations. The percentage of those employed in scientific and academic occupations increases from 4% among immigrants who have been in the country for between six months and a year, to 17% among those who have been in the country for two years or more, while for professional and technical occupations, the increase is from 1% to 17%. The combined percentage of immigrants employed in these two fields increases from 5% to 34% with extended residence.

A third (34%) of the employed immigrants, in Israel for between six months and a year, are employed as unskilled workers in industry, while a quarter (24%) are employed in the service sector in jobs requiring little training (for example, as cleaning personnel in institutions, or security guards). By contrast, among employed immigrants in the country for two years or more, the percentage employed as unskilled workers in industry falls sharply to 16%, while the percentage employed in unskilled jobs in the service sector falls to 18%. The percentage of immigrants employed in sales and as sales representatives also falls sharply with extended residence (from 9% to 3%) (Figure 6 and Table 4 in the Appendix).

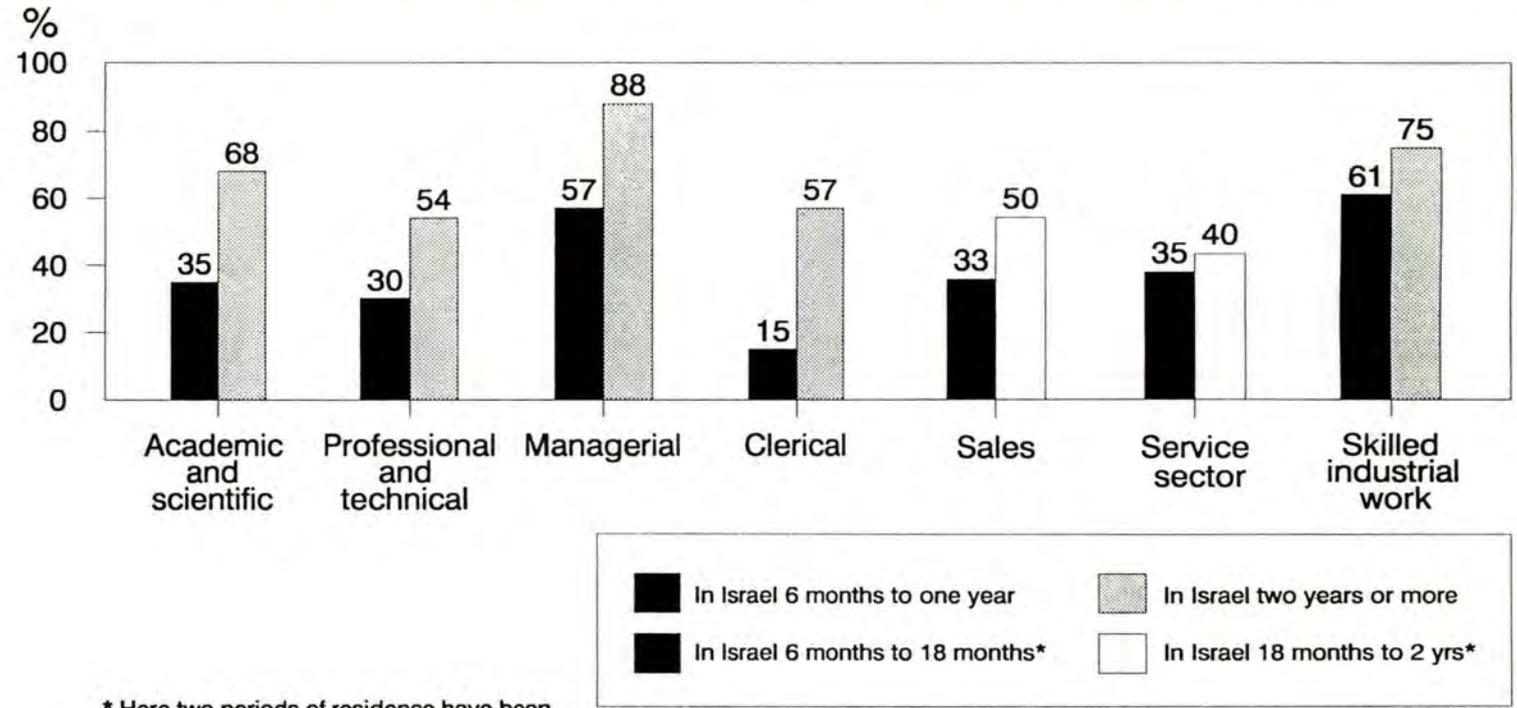
### **In Which Types of Jobs, and at What Rates, are Immigrants of Different Occupational Backgrounds Employed?**

The highest employment rates are found among immigrants whose occupations in the Soviet Union were in production, industry, management and engineering: 69% of the skilled workers in industry, 62% of those in management, and 60% of the engineers are now employed. Among those belonging to the medical and teaching professions, however, the employment rates are lower: 35% for physicians and 38% for teachers.

Differences exist also in the degree to which immigrants employed in specific occupations in the Soviet Union have found employment in their former fields. A third (31%) of the engineers now work in engineering or related fields (20% as engineers and 11% as junior grade engineers, technicians and computer programmers) (Table 3 in the Appendix). With extended residence in Israel, the percentage of engineers employed in engineering or a related field increases from 13% among those who have been in the country for between six months and a year, to 39% among those who have been in the country two years or more (Figure 7).

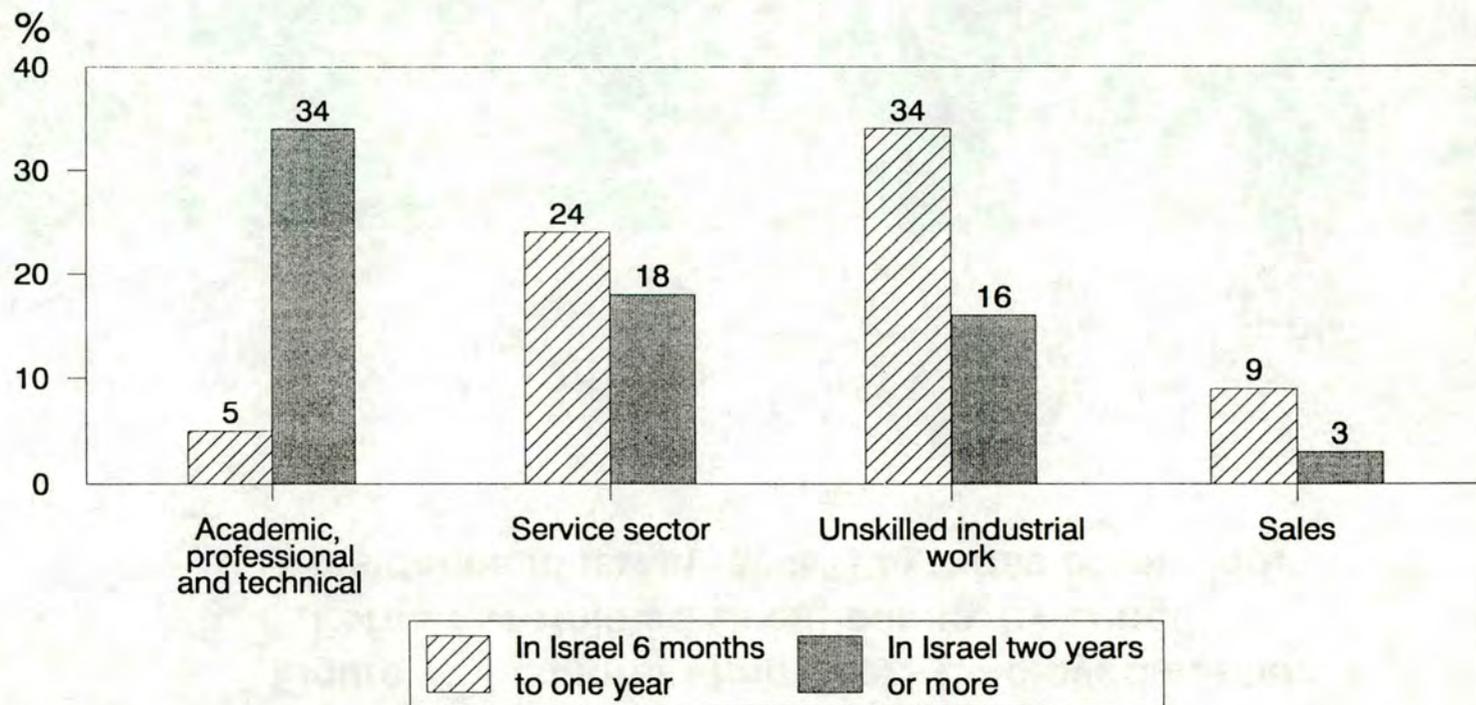
As noted above, the percentage of physicians who have jobs is relatively low. However, the percentage who are employed as physicians (40%) is higher than the corresponding percentage for engineers (31%). Physicians not employed in their profession tend to work in the service sector (28%), or in nursing and the paramedical professions (16%). Engineers not employed in their field tend to work more in industry, as skilled or unskilled workers (17% and 20%, respectively), or in the service sector (22%).

**Figure 5: Employment Rates among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Former Occupation and Length of Residence in Israel**

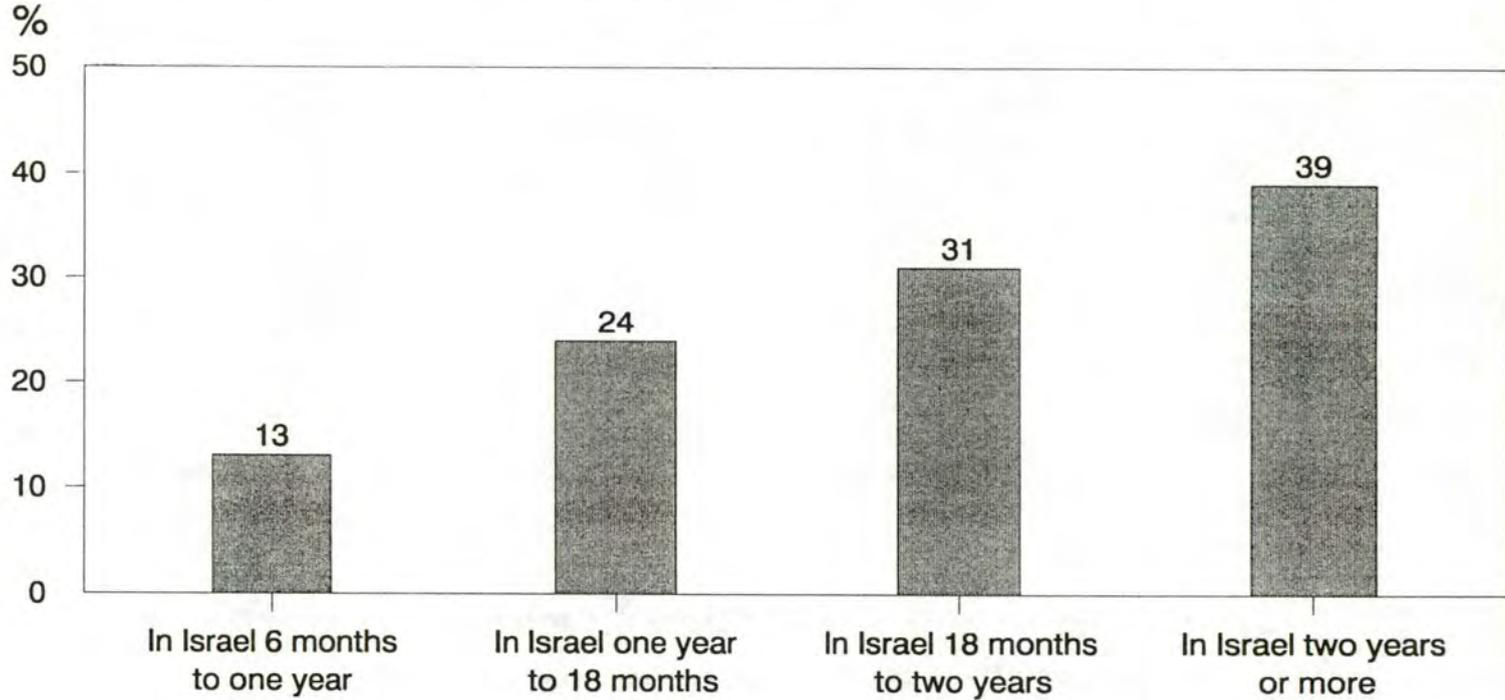


\* Here two periods of residence have been combined because of the small number of cases in each.

**Figure 6: Employment Rates among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Selected Occupations, by Length of Residence in Israel**



**Figure 7: Immigrant Engineers Employed in their Former or Related Occupations, by Length of Residence in Israel (as a % of those employed)**



\*Junior grade engineers, programmers and technicians

Of the teachers, a quarter (24%) are now employed in their profession (a high percentage given the importance of language in this profession). Another quarter (26%) are employed in the service sector, and a similar percentage are employed in industry (14% as unskilled workers and 12% as skilled workers). A substantial proportion (14%) are employed in clerical occupations and in sales.

## **7. Are the Immigrants Satisfied with their Jobs?**

About half (46%) of the employed immigrants reported being generally satisfied with their jobs, as opposed to a third (33%) who reported being dissatisfied. The remainder had no firm opinion ("not satisfied but not dissatisfied with the work"). There are no significant differences between men and women as regards general satisfaction with one's job.

Older immigrants are generally less satisfied with their jobs than are younger immigrants: only a third (33%) of those aged 55-64 are satisfied with their jobs, as compared to half (50%) of those aged 25-34. The percentage of immigrants dissatisfied with their work ranges from a third (30%) among younger immigrants, to half (51%) among older immigrants.

Satisfaction with one's job increases with extended residence in Israel: while 36% of those who have been in the country for between six months and a year are satisfied with their jobs, the figure is 56% for those who have been in the country two years or more. Here also, there are no significant differences between men and women.

As well as examining the immigrants' general satisfaction with their jobs, the survey also looked at their satisfaction with specific aspects of employment: employment in the occupation of one's choice; use of one's training and abilities; level of interest; job security; and salary. Satisfaction with these aspects of employment increases with extended residence, but is still lower among older immigrants.

### **Employment in the Occupation of Ones's Choice**

Of those immigrants with jobs, 39% are employed in the occupation of their choice, with the percentage higher among men than among women (43% as opposed to 33%).

With extended residence in Israel, the percentage of those employed in the occupation of their choice increases. Of the men who have been in the country for between six months and a year, a quarter (26%) are employed in

the occupation of their choice, as opposed to more than half (56%) of those who have been in the country for two years or more. The corresponding percentages for women are 15% and 49%, respectively (Figure 8, and Table 5 in the Appendix).

A higher percentage of younger immigrants are employed in the occupation of their choice than older immigrants: 45% of those aged 25-34 (50% of the men and 39% of the women) as opposed to half this figure (23%) among those aged 55-64 (25% of the men and 18% of the women) (Figure 9, and Table 6 in the Appendix).

With extended residence, the percentage of immigrants employed in the occupation of their choice increases in every age group. However, these increases differ for men and women.

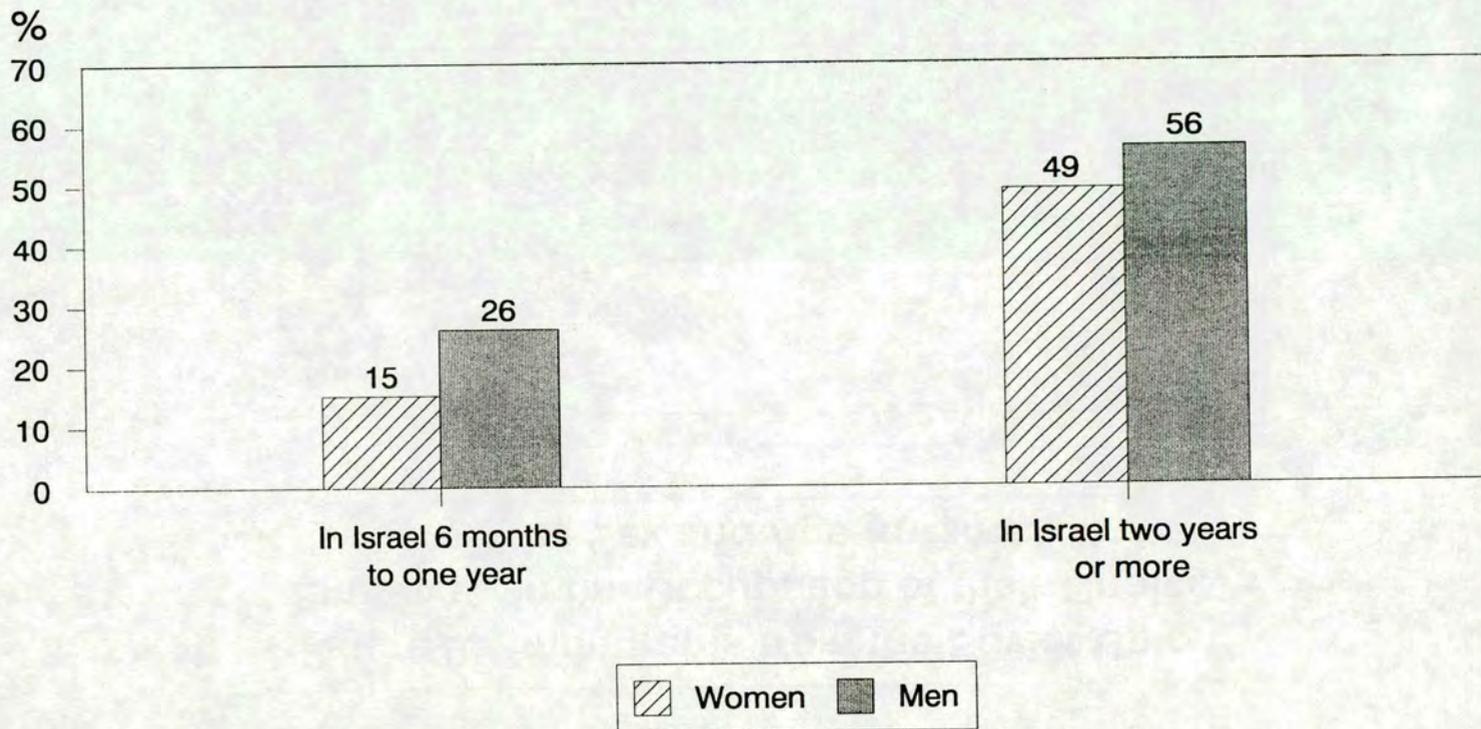
Among men, the younger the age group, the more quickly the percentage of those employed in the occupation of their choice increases with extended residence. Fifty-six percent of those aged 25-34 who have been in the country for less than a year and a half are employed in the occupation of their choice; those aged 35-44 attain this percentage only after residence of between one and a half to two years. The percentage of those aged 55-64 employed in the occupation of their choice alters very little with extended residence, increasing from about a quarter among those who have been in the country for less than a year and a half, to about a third among those who have been in the country for over one and a half years.

Only among younger women (aged 25-34 and 35-44) does the percentage of those employed in the occupation of their choice after two years' residence match the percentage for men (56% and 54%, respectively), and the increase in this percentage with extended residence is slower than the increase for men – in other words, the percentage increases significantly only after two or more years in the country. In addition, the percentage of women aged 45-54 employed in the occupation of their choice is lower than that of men in the same age group, and closer to the percentage among women aged 55-64.

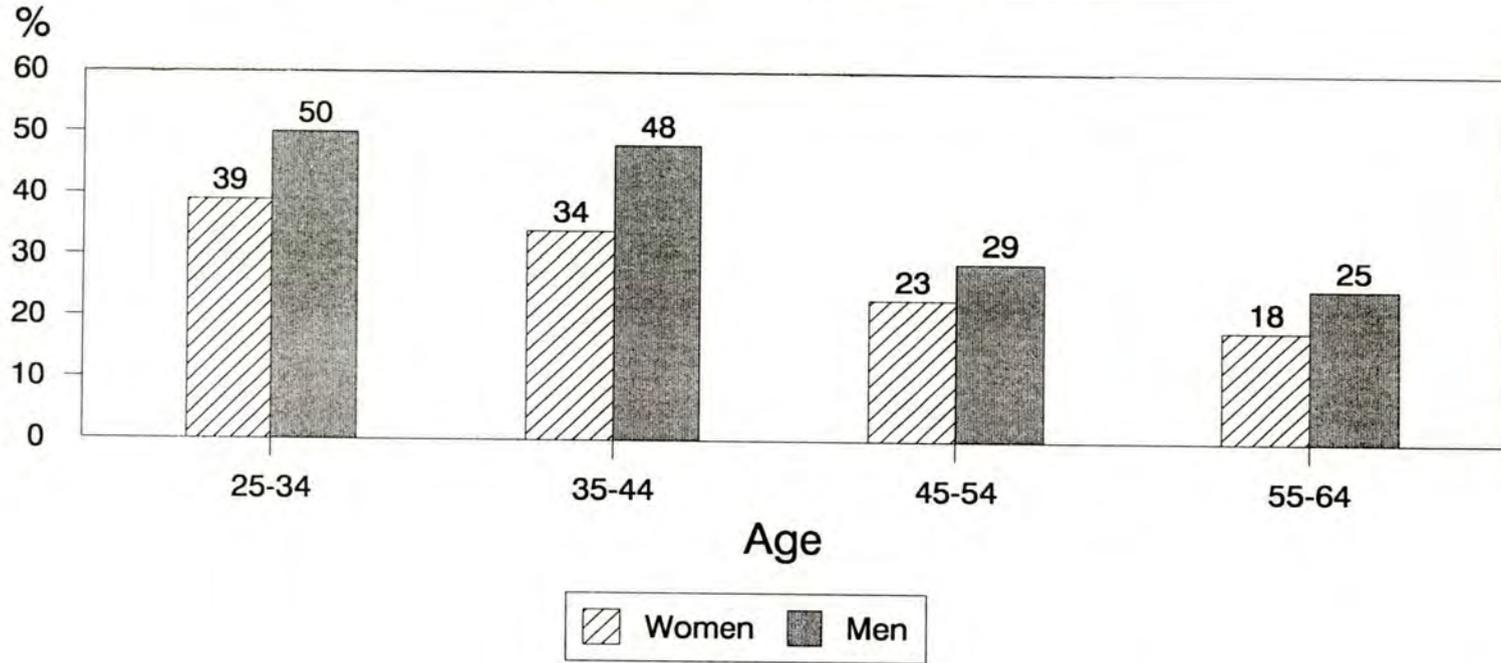
### **Are Employed Immigrants Satisfied with the Degree to Which They Utilize Their Training and Abilities at Work?**

Thirty-six percent of the employed immigrants feel that they use their training and abilities to a satisfactory degree at work. It is mainly the younger

**Figure 8: Immigrants from the Soviet Union Employed in the Occupation of their Choice, by Sex and Length of Residence in Israel (in %)**



**Figure 9: Immigrants from the Soviet Union  
Employed in the Occupation of their Choice,  
by Sex and Age (in %)**



immigrants who are satisfied with this aspect of employment, however, with older immigrants generally expressing less satisfaction: 41% of those aged 25-34 are satisfied with this aspect, as opposed to 14% of those aged 55-64. Among the men, the percentages range from 47% of those aged 25-34, to 19% of those aged 55-64. Among the women, the percentages of those satisfied with the use of their training and abilities are lower, especially among older women (19% among those aged 45-54, and 0% among those aged 55-64). (Table 6 in the Appendix.)

Satisfaction with this aspect of employment increases with extended residence in Israel, from 18% among those who have been in the country for between six months and a year, to 49% among those who have been in the country for two years or more (Figure 10).

#### **Do the Immigrants Find Their Jobs Interesting?**

Sixty-two percent of the employed immigrants are satisfied with the level of interest in their work. This satisfaction increases with extended residence in Israel, from 51% among immigrants who have been in the country for between six months and a year, to 74% among immigrants who have been in the country for two years or more. No significant differences were found between men and women in this area (Figure 10).

#### **Are the Immigrants Satisfied with their Level of Job Security?**

Forty-one percent of the immigrants reported feeling secure in their jobs, i.e. that the chance of their being dismissed, or of their place of work closing down, is small. With extended residence in Israel, this sense of security increases from 30% among those who have been in the country for between six months and a year, to 45% among those who have been in the country for two years or more (Figure 10).

#### **Are the Immigrants Satisfied with Their Salaries and Job Benefits?**

It is with this aspect of employment that the immigrants are least satisfied: only 29% are satisfied, although in this area as well, satisfaction increases with extended residence in Israel. Among immigrants who have been in the country for between six months and a year, 18% reported feeling satisfied with their salary and job benefits, whereas the figure is 41% among those who have been in the country for two years or more.

With extended residence in Israel, the immigrants' sense of satisfaction increases in all areas (Figure 10). Thus, after two years in the country,

**Figure 10: Satisfaction among Immigrants from the Soviet Union with Selected Aspects of their Jobs, by Length of Residence in Israel (in %)**



half the immigrants are generally satisfied with their jobs. The percentage of those satisfied with the level of interest of their job is high (74%), the percentage of those satisfied with their salary somewhat lower (41%) (Tables 5 and 6 in the Appendix). These patterns can be explained as follows: salary levels remain low even among more veteran immigrants. At the same time it can be said that the immigrants are satisfied working in jobs outside their particular occupations, even if these jobs have lower status. This is because the demands, technology and organization of work in jobs in Israel are generally on a higher level than in the Soviet Union.

It is our contention that the reliability of the data is significantly reinforced by the range of actual responses from immigrants to the different components of their satisfaction with salaries and job benefits.

## **8. How Proficient are the Immigrants in Hebrew and English?**

Proficiency in the Hebrew language is an important factor in finding employment, and a prerequisite for certain jobs. As the immigrants become more proficient in Hebrew, so their sense of belonging to Israeli society increases, as does their ability to deal with day-to-day needs and problems.

### **How Do the Immigrants Evaluate Their Proficiency in Hebrew and English?**

Thirty-eight percent of the immigrants reported that they can conduct a simple conversation in Hebrew "with ease" or "with relative ease", and 21% that they can read a simple letter in Hebrew "with ease" or "with relative ease". Women tend to have somewhat greater proficiency in Hebrew than men.

As might be expected, proficiency in Hebrew improves significantly with extended residence in Israel. Of the immigrants who have lived in the country for between six months and a year, 25% can conduct a simple conversation in Hebrew "with ease", and 21% can read a simple letter; for immigrants in the country for two years or more, the percentages are 54% and 33%, respectively.

Younger immigrants tend to have greater proficiency in Hebrew than older immigrants: 57% of those aged 25-34 are able to conduct a simple conversation in Hebrew, and 35% to read a simple letter, as opposed to just 7% and 3% of those aged 55-64.

As noted above, proficiency in Hebrew improves in all age groups with extended residence in Israel. However, the degree of improvement is far greater among younger immigrants: a third of those aged 25-34 who have been in the country for between six months and a year can conduct a simple conversation in Hebrew, whereas the proportion is two-thirds for those who have been in the country for two or more years. Among those aged 55-64, the corresponding increase is from 4% to 14% (Figure 11).

As for proficiency in English, only 6% of the immigrants are able to conduct a simple conversation in English, and 10% to read a simple letter. Younger immigrants are generally more proficient in English than older immigrants: 7% of those aged 25-34 know English to some degree, as opposed to just 2% of those aged 55-64. Proficiency in English also improves with extended residence in Israel.

### **Proficiency in Hebrew Among Employed Immigrants and Those Who are Not Working**

About half (45%) of the employed immigrants can conduct a simple conversation in Hebrew "with ease", as opposed to a third (32%) of those who are not working. This difference is found only among older immigrants; however, among younger immigrants (aged 25-34) the percentages are the same.

### **Language Difficulties as an Obstacle to Finding Employment, and to Finding a Job in the Occupation of One's Choice**

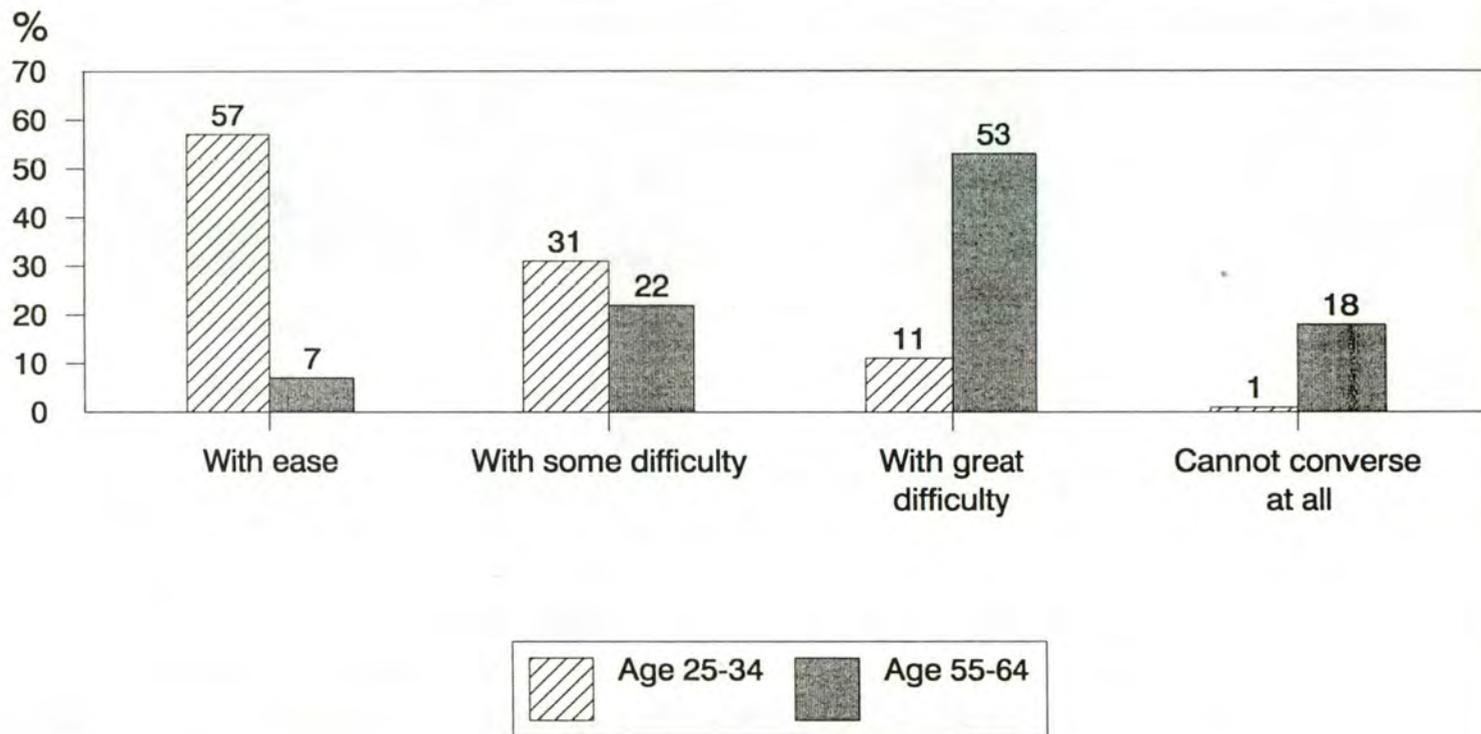
The immigrants were also asked to what extent language difficulties present an obstacle to finding employment. The findings indicate that lack of proficiency in Hebrew is a significant obstacle to finding a job, particularly in the occupation of one's choice, even after two years' residence in Israel.

Proficiency in Hebrew and finding a job:

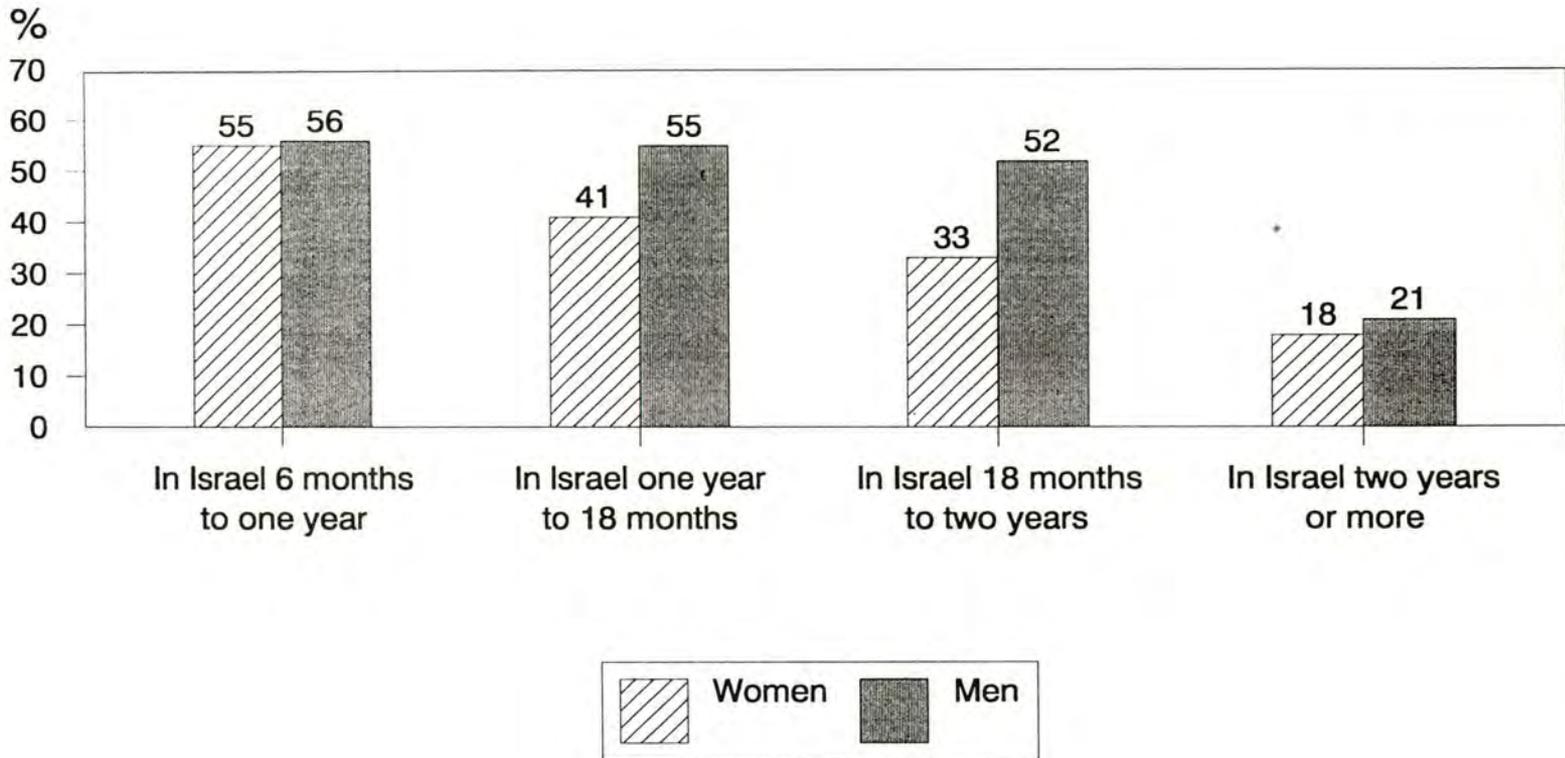
Of those immigrants who looked for a job during the week prior to the survey, 42% felt that lack of proficiency in Hebrew presented a significant obstacle to their finding a job (37% of the women and 48% of the men).

As might be expected, this percentage decreases with extended residence in Israel: while 55% of immigrants who have been in the country for between six months and a year feel that language problems hinder their efforts to find a job, the corresponding percentage among those who have been in the country for two years or more is 20% (Figure 12).

**Figure 11: The Ability to Conduct a Simple Conversation in Hebrew among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Age (in %)**



**Figure 12: Proficiency in Hebrew as an Obstacle to Finding Employment among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Sex and Length of Residence in Israel (in %)**



The findings highlight the difficulties faced by older immigrants, both in learning a new language, and in finding employment: 71% of those aged 55-64 find poor knowledge of Hebrew an obstacle to finding employment, as compared to 19% of those aged 25-34.

Proficiency in Hebrew and finding a job in the occupation of one's choice: Of the immigrants not employed in the occupation of their choice, about half reported that their level of Hebrew does not enable them to work in the occupation of their choice. This percentage is higher among men than among women (58% as opposed to 42%).

In this context as well, the percentage of immigrants who report that their level of Hebrew is inadequate for employment in the occupation of their choice decreases with extended residence in Israel (Figure 13) and increases according to age. This is consistent with the finding that the percentage of those employed in the occupation of their choice who are proficient in Hebrew is double the percentage among those not employed in occupations of their choice: of the former, 60% can conduct a simple conversation with ease, and 35% can read a simple letter, as opposed to 35% and 16% of the latter.

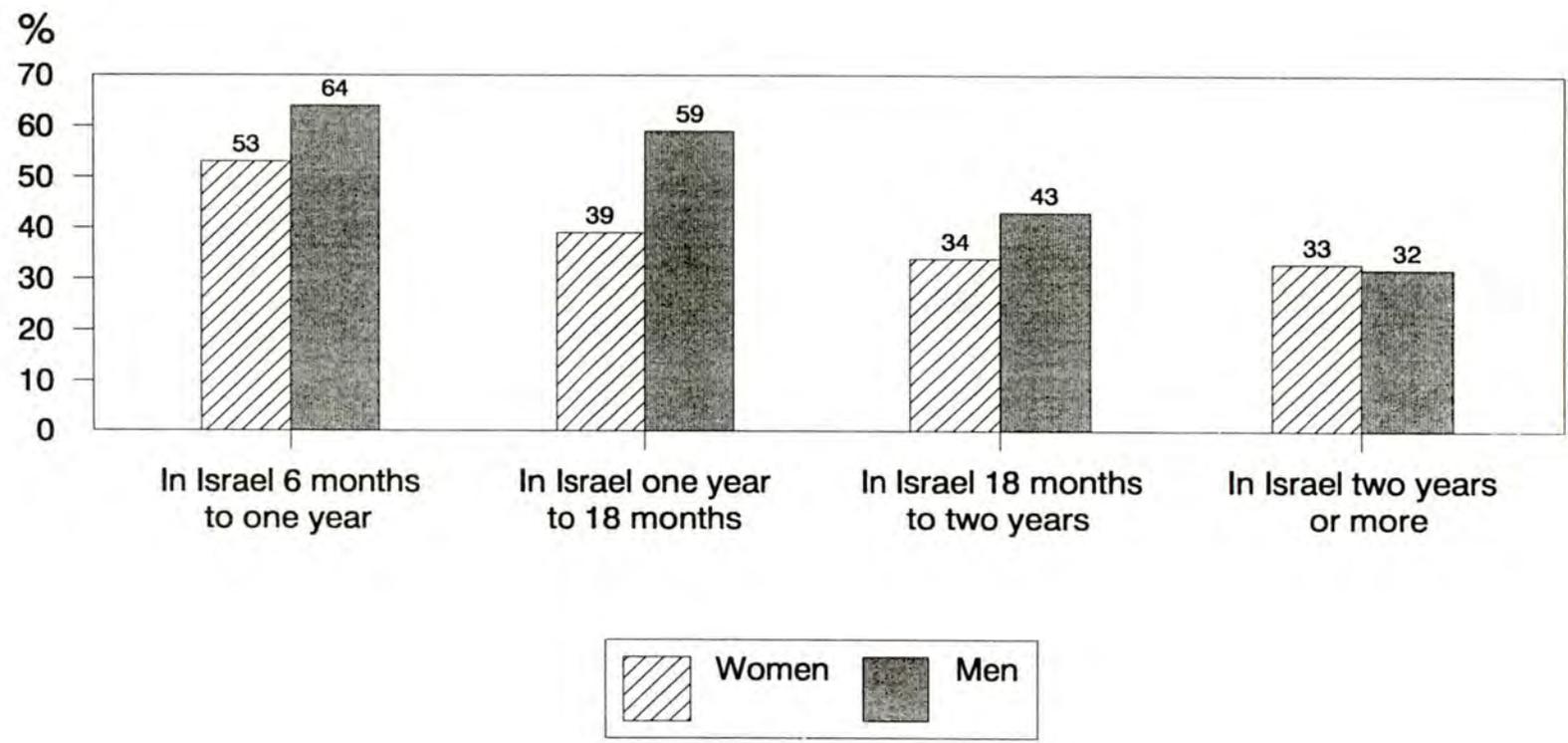
## **9. Are the Immigrants Interested in Setting Up Private Businesses?**

Twenty-eight percent of the immigrants are interested in setting up their own business. This interest is more widespread among men than among women (36% and 20%, respectively). Among men up to the age of 54, the percentage is the same for all age groups (39%), whereas among men aged 55-64, the percentage is 24%. As for the women, interest in setting up a private business is higher among younger immigrants: 27% for those aged 25-34, 22% for those aged 35-44, 17% for those aged 45-54, and 6% for those aged 55-64. Of those interested in setting up their own business, 8% (the majority men) reported having taken steps to achieve their aim.

## **10. To What Extent do the Immigrants Participate in Vocational Training Courses?**

Twenty-nine percent of the immigrants have taken or are taking vocational training courses (20% and 9%, respectively), while another 7% have

**Figure 13: Lack of Proficiency in Hebrew as an Obstacle to Finding Employment in an Occupation of One's Choice among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Sex and Length of Residence in Israel (in %)**



registered for such courses. Relatively more women than men participate in vocational training courses: 33% have taken or are taking courses (23% and 10%, respectively), as opposed to 24% of the men (16% and 8%, respectively). Moreover, 8% of the women are registered for such courses, as opposed to 6% of the men.

As might be expected, participation in vocational training courses increases with extended residence in Israel. While 15% of women who have been in the country for between six months and a year have taken or are taking courses, the figure is 50% for those who have been in the country for two or more years. The corresponding percentages for men are 19% and 36%, respectively.

Relatively more younger immigrants participate in vocational training courses than older immigrants. A third (32%) of the men aged 25-34 have taken or are taking vocational training courses, compared to 11% of men aged 55-64. Among the women, 46% of those aged 25-34 have taken or are taking such courses, compared to only 5% of those aged 55-64. The disparity can largely be explained by age restrictions on applicants to programs, and by the fact that older immigrants have less chance of finding employment.

Forty percent of the immigrants expressed a willingness to participate in vocational training courses. Interestingly enough, many of those who have already taken a vocational training course are more interested in taking courses than those who have not taken any such courses. There are no significant differences between men and women as regards willingness to participate in vocational training courses. Although older immigrants are generally less interested in these programs than younger immigrants, the percentage of those aged 55-64 who wish to take a vocational training course is still significant: 17% (as compared to 46% of those aged 25-34).

### **Participation in Vocational Training Courses, Employment and Type of Job**

A comparison was made of immigrants who have participated in vocational training courses and those who have not, to check if differences exist in the employment rates of the two groups, and in the types of occupation in which they are employed.

Sixty-two percent of those who have taken vocational training courses are employed, as opposed to 52% of those who have not. Moreover, while the employment rate for men in the two groups is the same (73% and 70%,

respectively), of the women who have taken courses are employed as opposed to 34% of those who have not. There are no significant differences in the employment rates for men by age or length of residence. Among the women, however, there are differences in the employment rates of those who have taken courses and those who have not, by both age and length of residence.

There are significant differences, among men as well as women, as regards type of job: 19% of the immigrants who have not taken vocational training courses are employed in academic, professional, technical and managerial occupations, as opposed to 43% of those who have taken such courses. Among the men, these figures are 23% and 45%, respectively, and among the women, 12% and 40%.

Similarly, over half (55%) those who have taken courses are employed in the occupations of their choice, as opposed to just a third (34%) of those who have not taken such courses.

It is not yet possible to draw final conclusions from these data, as many factors influence the immigrants' employment situation. We have, however, examined the immigrants' rate of employment in academic, professional and technical occupations, having controlled for the effects of age, length of residence and occupation in the Soviet Union.

With no exceptions, the rate of employment in these occupations is significantly higher among immigrants who have taken vocational training courses than among those who have not; for example, among men who have been in the country for two years or more, the employment rate of those who have taken courses is double that of those who have not (57% and 29%, respectively), and among women, the rate is triple (47% and 15%, respectively).

Among men aged 25-34, 38% of those who have taken vocational training courses are employed in the above occupations as opposed to 24% of those who have not; for the women in this age group, the corresponding figures are 40% and 11%, respectively.

Among men who worked in academic, professional, technical and managerial occupations in the Soviet Union, 46% of those who have taken vocational training courses are employed in these occupations in Israel, as opposed to 29% of those who have not taken courses; the corresponding figures for women are 48% and 12%, respectively.

These findings suggest that there is a close relationship between participation in vocational training courses and the status of the immigrant's occupation in Israel. This subject will be examined in depth in future analyses.

### **Do the Immigrants Participate in Retraining Programs?**

Two types of vocational training courses are offered to immigrants to facilitate their absorption: refresher courses, to update knowledge and skills, and retraining programs, to train the immigrants in a new field. Half of those who participated in vocational training courses took refresher courses in their former occupations, and half participated in retraining programs. There are no significant differences in these percentages by sex or length of residence in Israel.

Among engineers and skilled workers in industry, the level of participation in retraining programs is as high as 60%. In contrast, only 23% of immigrant physicians participated in such programs. Most of the physicians apparently wish to continue practicing medicine, and therefore take either preparatory courses for the medical licensing exam, or courses in the medical field.

## **11. Are There Differences in the Immigrants' Purchasing of Apartments by Employment Situation?**

A quarter of the immigrants live in apartments that they or their spouse own. As might be expected, the percentage of immigrants (in all age groups) who own their apartments increases steadily with extended residence in Israel, from 12% among those who have been in the country for between six months and a year, to 37% among those who have been in the country for two years or more.

Among married couples who have been in the country for between six months and a year, the rate of apartment ownership is linked to the employment situation of the couple: 15% of couples in which neither partner is employed own their apartment, as compared to 30% of couples in which one partner is employed, and 40% of couples in which both are employed. For couples who have been in the country for two years or more, these figures are 28%, 37% and 51%, respectively (Table 7 in the Appendix). Among single-parent families, in contrast, only 8% of the immigrants own their apartments.

The percentages of immigrants who own their apartments also vary by region: from between 18% and 22% in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa, to 39% in the southern area of the country.

## 12. What is the Immigrants' Economic Situation?

The immigrants' economic situation does not improve at the same rate as their employment situation, due to a number of factors. The families of immigrants who are not working live on unemployment and social security benefits. Moreover, many of those who are employed have jobs with low salaries, and even those in better jobs usually receive a low starting salary. In addition, the immigrants have many special expenditures, and most arrive in Israel with no financial assets. In the period immediately following their arrival, the immigrants were under pressure to acquire possessions, both because they had to replace household equipment left behind, and because of their entitlement to tax reductions on the purchase of a car: of the immigrants who have been in the country for more than two years, 54% own a car. As regards housing, however, the immigrants tended not to purchase apartments during this period (being uncertain of employment prospects and of where to live) and it is generally more expensive to pay rent than to make mortgage payments. Clearly, this combination of high expenditure and low income leads to economic hardship, adding to other difficulties that follow immigration.

The survey collected extensive data on the economic situation of the immigrants. Some of these data were collected employing objective measures, and some employing subjective measures (those relating to the immigrants' opinions and feelings). The objective measures included: sources of income (e.g. social security benefit, unemployment benefit, rent subsidies), and level of income from all sources; apartment ownership; and measures to indicate standard of living (ownership of a car, household equipment, etc.). The subjective measures included: the degree to which the immigrants' income in the Soviet Union was sufficient to cover their daily needs, and the degree to which their present income is sufficient for this; how the immigrants view their economic situation today compared with their economic situation prior to immigration; and the degree to which the immigrants are satisfied with their current standard of living.

### **Net Income**

The data on income in this section relate to the total income of the respondent and his/her spouse from all sources, including regular financial contributions from other members of the family. Examples of the latter include full or partial old age benefits for elderly parents living in the household, and contributions to the "joint family fund" from a son, daughter or other relation

(from salaries or another source of income). Single lump sums such as a bank loans (mortgages) are not included as a source of income.

The survey reveals that the immigrants' average monthly net income from all sources (the "joint family fund"), is about 2,350 new shekels (NIS). This sum increases from about NIS 1,640 among immigrants who have been in the country for between six months and a year, to about NIS 2,710 among those who have been in the country for two years or more (Table 8 in the Appendix).

The average net monthly income of families in which the head of the household is employed is about NIS 2,770, increasing from about NIS 2,100 during the first year of residence, to about NIS 3,030 after two or more years' residence. In contrast, the average net monthly income of families in which the head of the household is not employed increases from about NIS 1,560 during the first year of residence to about NIS 1,770 after two or more years' residence (Figure 14).

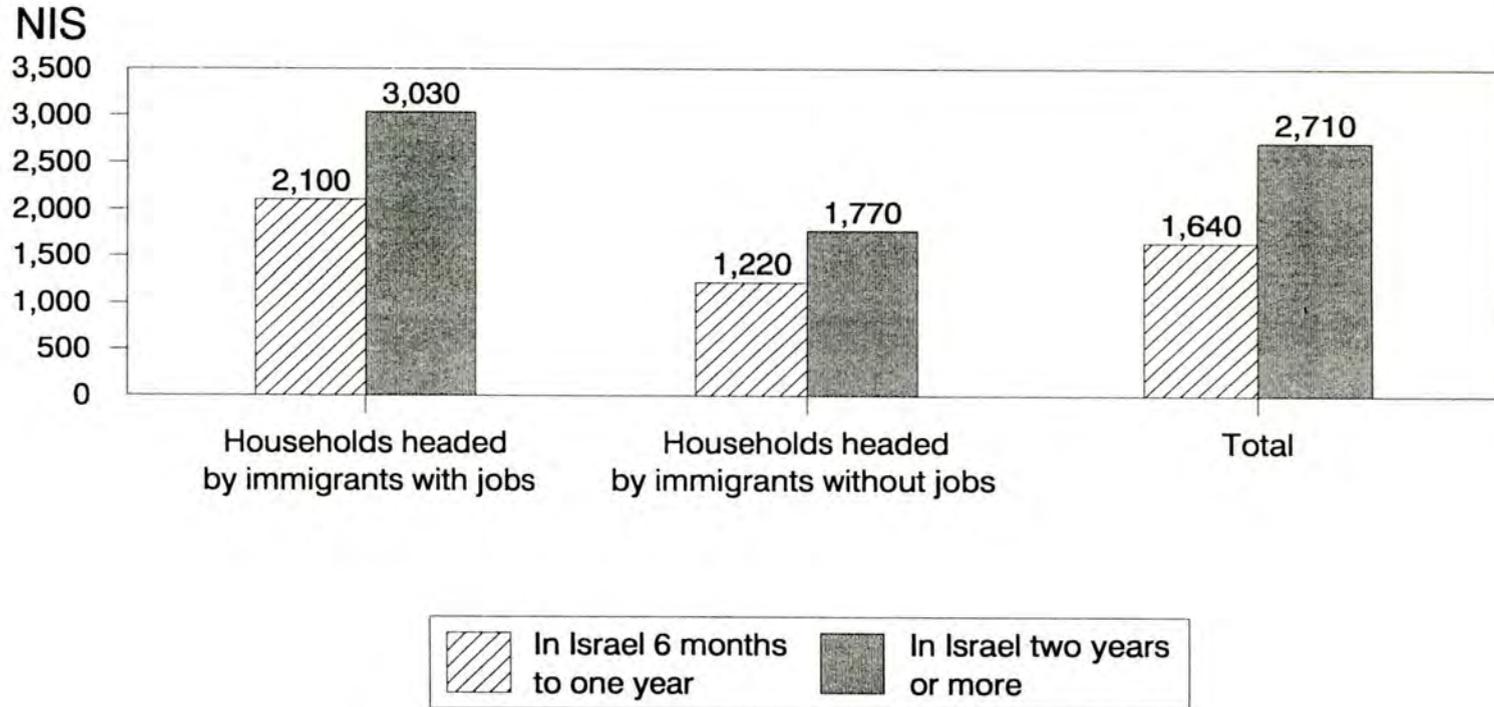
This disparity can partly be explained by the higher employment rates among immigrants with extended residence, and by the increase in the percentage of immigrants employed in academic and professional occupations. Moreover, as regards immigrants who have been in the country for between six months and a year, a substantial part of their income does not come from regular sources: after six months' residence they are eligible to receive a lump sum from the Jewish Agency, a sum not included here. In addition, some immigrants probably still rely on funds from the "absorption basket" received during their first six months in the country.

#### **Do the Immigrants Feel that their Income Covers Basic Daily Needs?**

The immigrants' attitude to their standard of living is important both as a measure of their successful absorption, and as a measure of their economic situation. The immigrants were asked about the degree to which the "joint family fund" covers daily needs, in order to provide a basic measure of their standard of living.

Fifteen percent of the immigrants reported that their total income from all sources (the "joint family fund") "covers all or most of their needs"; half (48%) that it "covers some of their needs"; and 37% that it "fails to cover most of their needs".

**Figure 14: Average Net Monthly Income to the "Joint Family Fund" among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Length of Residence in Israel (in NIS)**



As might be expected, the situation of immigrants who are not working is worse than that of immigrants with jobs. Of the latter, 21% reported that their income "covers all or most of their daily needs"; half (48%) that it "covers some of their needs"; and a third (31%) that it "fails to cover most of their needs". Of the former (those not working), half (48%) reported that their income "covers some of their needs"; 43% that it "fails to cover most of their needs"; and only 9% that it "covers all or most of their needs".

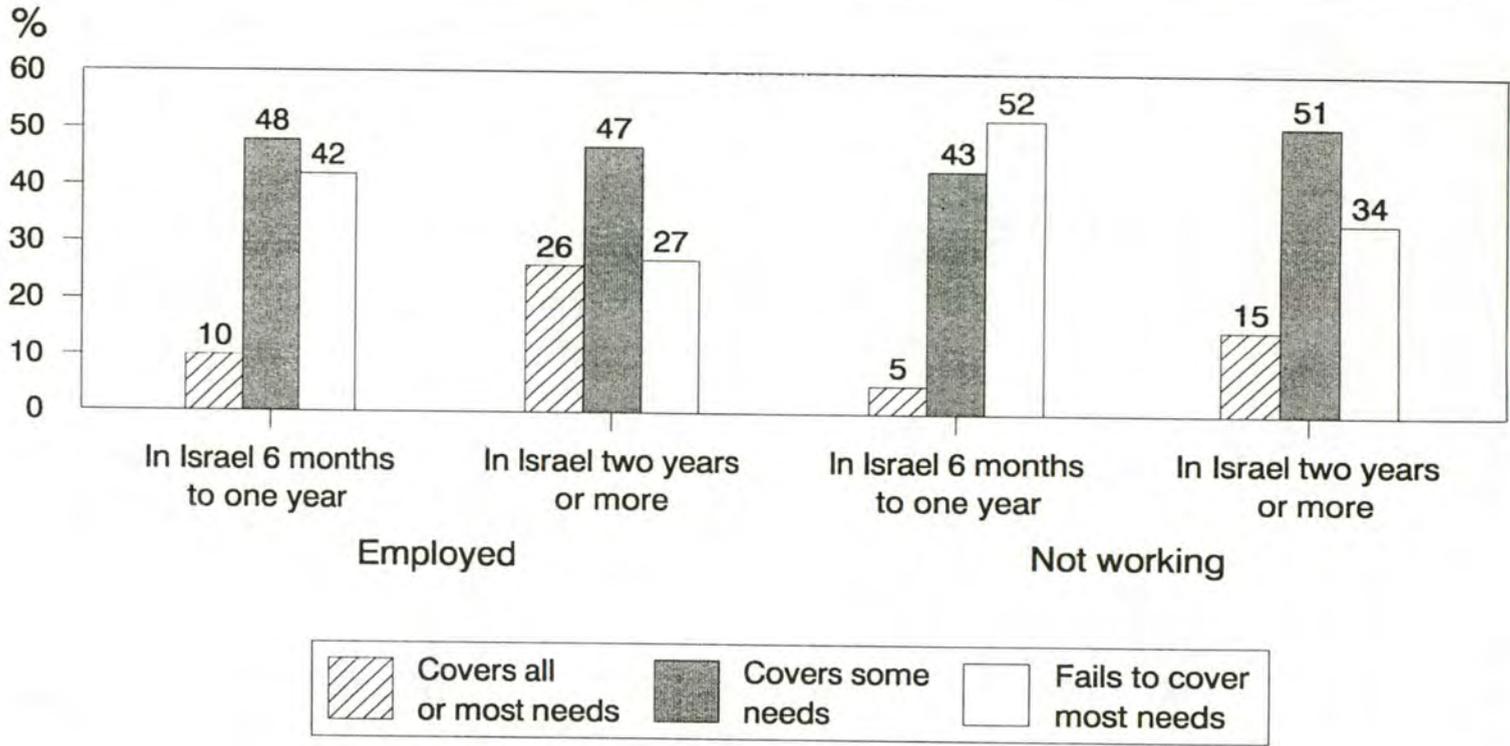
The percentage of those who feel that their income "covers all or most of their needs" increases with extended residence in Israel, among both employed immigrants and those who are not working (Figure 15).

When asked about the income they received in the Soviet Union, most of the immigrants reported that the degree to which the income covered their daily needs was far higher. Seventy-seven percent of the immigrants reported that their family's total income "covered all or most of their needs"; 19% that it "covered some of their needs"; and just 4% that it "failed to cover most of their needs".

It is not surprising, therefore, that most of the immigrants (76%) feel that their economic situation was better in the Soviet Union; a further 14% feel that their economic situation in Israel is the same as it was in the Soviet Union, and just 10% feel that their economic situation has improved. With extended residence in Israel, however, the percentage of those who feel that their economic situation has improved increases: 3% of immigrants who have been in the country for between six months and a year reported that their economic situation is better than it was in the Soviet Union, whereas the figure is 21% for those who have been in the country for two years or more. Similarly, the percentage of immigrants who feel that their economic situation was better in the Soviet Union drops from 84% to 58% with extended residence.

The percentage of those who feel that their income fails to cover daily needs is relatively high among older immigrants. However, given the low rate of employment among older immigrants, the percentage is lower than might be expected. This is because older immigrants have fewer dependents, and because of the increased income of those older immigrants who have managed to find employment.

**Figure 15: The Extent to which the "Joint Family Fund" Covers the Immigrants' Basic Needs, by Employment Status and Length of Residence in Israel**



### **The Immigrants' Satisfaction with their Economic Situation**

In light of the above findings, it is not surprising that the immigrants expressed relatively low satisfaction with their economic situation. The immigrants were asked: "How satisfied are you with your current standard of living?" Nineteen percent of the immigrants reported being "very satisfied" or "fairly satisfied"; about half (53%) reported being "not very satisfied"; and 28% reported being "not satisfied at all".

The percentage of immigrants satisfied with their economic situation increases with extended residence. None of the immigrants who have been in the country for between six months and a year reported being "very satisfied" with their economic situation; only 12% reported being "fairly satisfied"; 57% reported being "not very satisfied"; and 31% reported being "not satisfied at all". In comparison, 2% of the immigrants who have been in the country for two years or more are "very satisfied" with their economic situation; 30% are "fairly satisfied"; half (50%) are "not very satisfied"; and 18% are "not satisfied at all".

The increase in the percentage of those satisfied with their economic situation with extended residence appears to be influenced by the increased employment rates among the immigrants over time. This is suggested by the difference in levels of satisfaction between employed immigrants and those who are not working. Twenty-five percent of the immigrants with jobs are "very satisfied" or "fairly satisfied" with their economic situation, as opposed to 13% of those who are not working. Among immigrants who have been in the country for more than two years, the corresponding figures are 38% and 22%, respectively.

### **Marital Status and the Immigrants' Economic Situation**

There are many possibilities for defining or categorizing a study population by marital status, depending upon the purpose of the study. We chose to focus, in these early stages, on married couples and single-parent families, for two reasons: (a) in order to investigate the special difficulties faced by single parents, as they attempt to integrate into a new society; (b) these two categories of marital status cover about 90% of the study population.

Among married couples, the average monthly net income is about NIS 2,550, while among single-parent families it is about NIS 1,500 (Table 9 in the Appendix). The average number of children in the two groups is very similar.

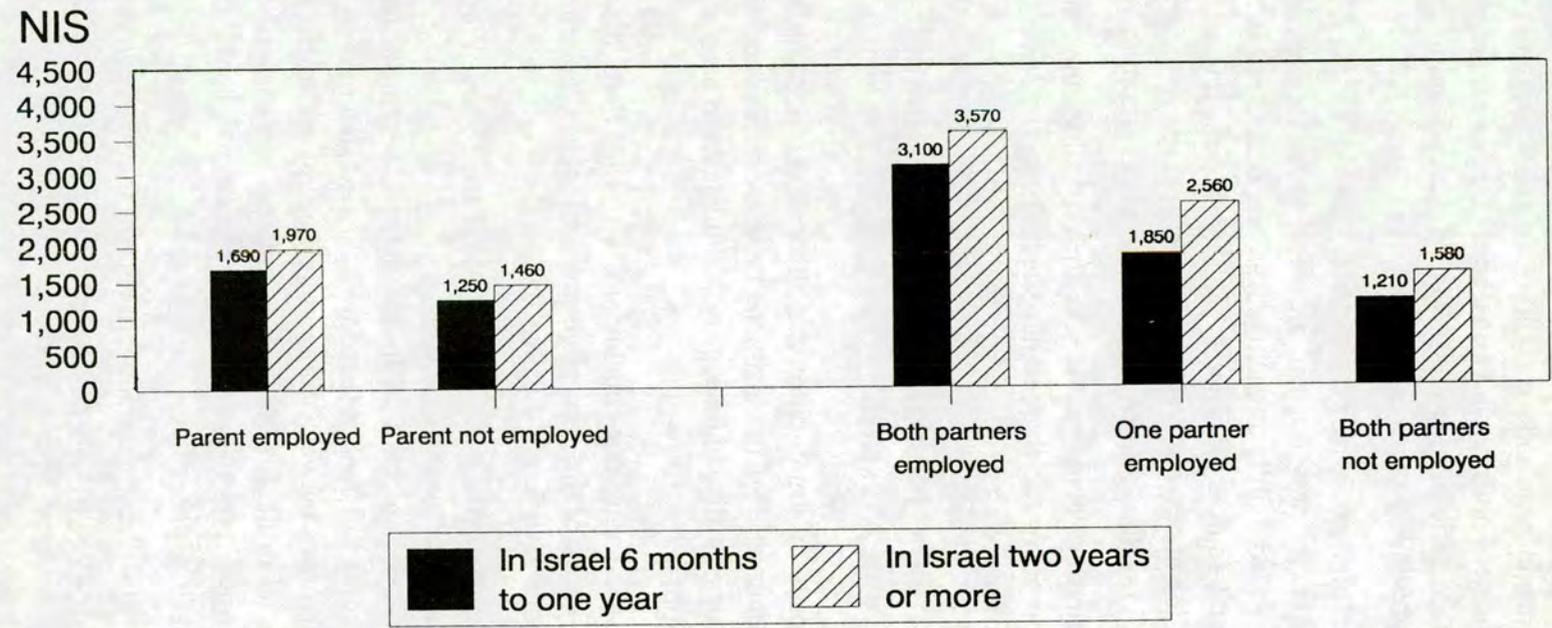
With extended residence in Israel, both employment rates and levels of income in the two groups improve (Figure 16). Among married couples who have been in the country for between six months and a year, the average monthly net income is about NIS 1,820, while among those who have been in the country for two years or more, it is about NIS 2,910. For single-parent families, the average monthly net income increases from about NIS 1,360 among those who have been in the country for less than a year and a half, to about NIS 1,670 among those who have been in the country for longer.

Among married couples in which neither partner is employed (for a discussion of the employment situation of these couples, see Section 5 above), the average monthly net income is about NIS 1,470; among those in which one partner is employed, it is about NIS 2,420; and among those in which both partners are employed, it is about NIS 3,360. Among the single-parent families in which the parent is not working, the average monthly net income is NIS 1,350, and among those in which the parent is employed, the income is NIS 1,850 (Table 9 in the Appendix). Sixteen percent of the married couples reported that their income "covers all or most of their needs"; half (49%) that it "covers some of their needs"; and 35% that it "fails to cover most of their needs". Of the couples in which neither partner is employed, only 5% reported being able to meet their daily needs; of those in which one partner is employed, this figure is 15%; and of those in which both partners are employed, it is 25%.

Of the single-parent families (in which the parent, in most cases, is a woman who is not working), 8% reported that their income "covers all or most of their needs"; 44% that it "covers some of their needs"; and the largest group (47%) that it "fails to cover most of their needs".

It is interesting to note that when the immigrants were asked about their reasons for coming to Israel, economic factors were raised only as a minor factor. It seems that in the Soviet Union the immigrants were able to balance income and expenditure; the cost of housing, household equipment and services being relatively low. With regard to income, the immigrants' level of education and types of occupation in the Soviet Union suggest that they enjoyed relatively high incomes there, whereas in Israel, as has been noted, their incomes tend to be relatively low. With regard to expenditure, while the range of products available to Soviet citizens was small, there was a relative abundance of free (or virtually free) social and cultural services. The

**Figure 16: Average Net Monthly Income to the "Joint Family Fund" among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Employment Status, Marital Status and Length of Residence in Israel (in NIS)**



\* Because of the small number of cases, the periods of residence have been combined to form two categories: 6 months to 18 months, and 18 months or more.

situation in Israel is very different, and many immigrants have been unable to balance income and expenditure. In attempting to meet the combined cost of permanent housing and household equipment, not to mention the cost of daily needs, the immigrants are faced with a level of expenditure they have never previously experienced.

The immigrant families are being forced to plan ahead and organize themselves in new ways in an effort to balance the family budget. Here, the extended family constitutes an important resource, both in terms of additional sources of income (old age benefit received by elderly parents, child allowances) and in terms of minimizing expenditure (on child care and housework), thus allowing young parents to go out to work.

These findings give some idea of the difficulties the immigrants face as they try to improve their economic situation, in the hope of attaining a higher standard of living.

### **13. Are the Immigrants Satisfied with their Decision to Come to Israel?**

The process of immigration and absorption is accompanied by difficulties in many areas of life. Central among these are difficulties in finding employment and achieving financial security, although these are far from being the only difficulties.

Before presenting our conclusions, we will briefly discuss the immigrants' overall views of the absorption process, focusing on their achievements and difficulties in different areas of life.

#### **If Faced with the Decision to Emigrate Today, Would the Immigrants Still Want to Come to Israel?**

Seventy-five percent of the immigrants feel certain, or fairly certain, that they would come to Israel, if faced with the decision to emigrate today. Although the differences between different age groups are small, they seem to indicate the special difficulties older immigrants face: 66% of the immigrants aged 55-64 would repeat their decision to come to Israel, compared to 79% of those aged 25-44.

Only 8% of the immigrants are certain that they would not come to Israel, if they were considering immigration today (the figure being 15% among immigrants aged 55-64). There are no significant differences by sex, length of residence, or employment status.

### **Will the Immigrants Remain in Israel?**

Ninety-four percent of the immigrants said that they would remain in Israel, with two-thirds (67%) being "certain" of this, and 27% "fairly certain" of this. The remaining 6% said either that they "are not certain, but think they will not remain", or that they are "almost certain they will not remain".

The percentage of older immigrants who are "certain" that they will remain in the country is higher than the percentage among younger immigrants: 82% of those aged 55-64, as opposed to 55% of those aged 25-34. Moreover, relatively more women than men are "certain" of remaining (73% as opposed to 60%), and extended residence does not substantially affect this percentage. In contrast, the percentage of men "certain" of remaining in Israel increases with extended residence.

The overall percentage of immigrants who intend to remain in the country (94%) alters very little with extended residence, and there are no significant differences by age or sex. Most of the immigrants, then, see themselves as permanently settled in Israel.

The distribution of answers to the two questions above is consistent with the findings of the survey. The relative success of the younger immigrants is expressed by the fact that they would still want to come to Israel if faced with the decision to emigrate today. However, younger immigrants also find it relatively easy to move from place to place, and this is expressed by their comparative uncertainty about remaining in the country.

The general outcome of the recent mass immigration, then, is a positive one, for despite their difficulties, the immigrants remain committed to integrating into Israeli society.

### **Summary**

The data from the national employment survey provide unique insights into the absorption of immigrants from the former Soviet Union into the labor market, covering as they do the situation of immigrants who have moved beyond the initial stages of the absorption process, i.e. those who have been in Israel for two years or more.

Generally speaking, the data indicate that the longer the immigrants stay in the country, the greater the improvement in their employment situation. In addition, they indicate that the employment rate of immigrants who have been in the country for two years or more is – contrary to popular opinion – almost

identical to that of the general Jewish population in Israel. With extended residence in Israel, moreover, there is a greater chance that the immigrants will be employed in their former occupations, related occupations, or other occupations of their choice. At the same time, the immigrants' general sense of satisfaction with their work increases, as does their satisfaction with different aspects of their work (use of training and abilities; working conditions; level of interest; and job security).

The improvement in employment prospects with extended residence characterizes all age groups; however, as might be expected, the employment rate is consistently lower among older immigrants than among younger ones, and particularly low among those just before retirement age (aged 55-64).

Employment rates among the immigrants are particularly striking given the extent of the recent mass immigration, the current state of the economy, the rise in unemployment, and the fact that so many of the immigrants are trained for occupations in which there are few job vacancies. Due to the characteristics of the immigrants, especially their educational background and employment profile, there has been a dramatic increase in the numbers of those seeking employment, particularly in academic, professional and technical occupations.

In spite of their educational background and formal professional skills, many of the immigrants need some form of vocational training. Some require training to adapt their professional skills to meet accepted standards and work practices in the West, and some require training to change occupations, in response to the demands of the Israeli labor market.

The immigrants' generally successful absorption into the labor market is due principally to two factors: the efforts the immigrants have made to learn Hebrew and to participate in vocational training and retraining programs; and their readiness to take any job that comes along while continuing to look for a job suited to their abilities and expectations. These factors testify to the immigrants' intention to remain in Israel.

It seems likely that the immigrants' situation will continue to improve, as they become more and more settled in Israel. However, their successful absorption will depend to a large extent on developments in the Israeli economy.

While the data present a generally encouraging picture of the immigrants' absorption into the labor market, they also indicate a number of issues that require the special attention of policymakers and decisionmakers:

- A. The findings indicate that the immigrants' economic situation improves at a slower rate than their employment situation. A number of factors are responsible for the economic difficulties experienced by the immigrants (including those who have succeeded in finding jobs): the types of occupation in which the immigrants are employed; the tendency of some employers to pay immigrants low salaries (even those in "good" jobs); and the financial pressures on the immigrants created by rental costs, mortgage payments and the purchasing of household equipment.
- B. Even after two years in the country, approximately half of the employed immigrants are not employed in the occupations of their choice, or in jobs in which they utilize their training and skills. If the immigrants were able to use their training and skills, it would be beneficial not only to them, but to Israeli society as a whole. However, the creation of suitable job opportunities is directly linked to capital investment, and such investment requires time to bear fruit. It will be a major challenge to see that the immigrants find jobs suited to their training and skills.
- C. Older immigrants have special difficulty in finding jobs, particularly jobs suited to their abilities and professional experience. Unemployment among older immigrants has far-reaching implications both for the immigrants and their families, and for the economy in general. Given the current state of the economy, developing special employment solutions for older immigrants will be another major challenge for policymakers in the field of absorption.
- D. Women of all ages have more problems than men in finding a job, especially one in which they can use their training and skills. It is thus important to devise employment policies targeted specifically at this large group of immigrants (women make up more than half this population).
- E. The situation of families in which neither partner is employed is especially difficult, as is the situation of single-parent families.

The preliminary findings presented in this report shed light on the accomplishments and difficulties of immigrants from the former Soviet Union as regards absorption into the labor market. The timing of the survey, the size and range of the sample, and the variety of subjects studied, enabled us to examine changes in the employment situation of the immigrants with extended residence in Israel, and to consider population groups with different characteristics. During the relatively short time in which the immigrants have

lived in Israel, dramatic changes have occurred, and are still occurring, in many aspects of the immigrants' employment situation: there has been an increase in their employment rate, in their satisfaction with different aspects of employment, and in the percentage of immigrants employed in former (or related) occupations. The survey reveals that the immigrants have a strong motivation to learn Hebrew, find employment, and be absorbed into Israeli society: their commitment to building a new life in Israel has contributed significantly to their absorption.

The picture of the immigrants' situation which emerges from this report differs from the picture most people have. On one hand, the immigrants' absorption into the labor market is more successful than generally believed. On the other hand, the immigrants' economic situation is worse than generally believed, especially when compared to their situation in the Soviet Union. Many immigrants, of course, have improved their standard of living as regards housing, the purchase of permanent household equipment, and ownership of a car. However, this attempt to achieve a standard of living acceptable in Israel, may be partly responsible for the immigrants' difficulty in meeting other more basic needs, needs which they were able to meet in the Soviet Union.

These preliminary findings will enable policymakers in the field of absorption, and all interested in the successful absorption of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, to gain a deeper understanding of the complexity and difficulty of the absorption process.

**APPENDIX: TABLES**

Table 1: Employment Rates among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Length of Residence in Israel, Age and Sex, and among the General Jewish Population, by Age and Sex

	Sex	Age				
		Total	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64*
<b>Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union</b>						
Length of residence in Israel:						
6 months to one year	Men	57	68	64	(50)**	28
	Women	22	32	21	22	9
One year to 18 months	Men	62	77	69	59	36
	Women	25	24	36	25	5
19 months to two years	Men	67	71	70	71	50
	Women	45	52	58	33	16
Two years or more	Men	78	76	78	(88)**	48
	Women	49	54	58	48	14
Total	Men	67	74	71	67	43
	Women	38	45	46	31	12
	Total	51	58	58	46	24
<b>General Jewish Population (1991)***</b>						
	Men	78	74	82	84	69
	Women	55	58	63	59	31
	Total	66	66	72	71	48

\* To increase the number of cases in the 55-64 age group (170), the data from the survey were combined with data from another survey, "Medical, Functional, Social and Housing Needs Among Older Immigrants from the Soviet Union", conducted during the same period and using an independent national sample (267 cases); the percentages thus relate to a total of 437 immigrants aged 55-64, the combined number from the two surveys.

\*\* The parentheses indicate that the number of cases is less than 20.

\*\*\* Source: CBS, *Monthly Statistical Bulletin*, Supplement no. 4, April 1992.

Table 2: Employment Rates among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Age and Sex

Age	Total	Men	Women
25-29	60	69	51
30-34	57	76	40
35-39	61	71	52
40-44	55	71	40
45-49	43	71	25
50-54	48	64	38
55-59	32	54	16
60-64	16	27	5

Table 3: Employment Rates among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Former Occupation and Current Occupation in Israel

Occupation in FSU	Percentage employed in Israel	Currently employed as:									
		Physician	Nurse, para-med	Engineer	Technician, junior grade engineer, programmer	Teacher	Academic, professional, technical manager	In the service sector	Clerical worker, in sales	Skilled industrial worker	Unskilled industrial worker
Physician*	35	40	16	-	-	-	4	28	4	-	8
Engineer**	60	-	1	20	11	1	3	22	5	17	20
Teacher***	38	-	-	-	-	24	9	26	15	12	14
Academic, professional, managerial, technical	49	-	6	-	10	1	17	26	11	11	17
Skilled industrial worker	69	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	3	52	31

\* Not including dentists.

\*\* Some 4% are architects.

\*\*\* Includes teachers at all levels and in all fields.

Table 4: Employment Rates among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Current Occupation and Length of Residence in Israel

Occupation	Total	Length of residence in Israel			
		6 months to one year	One year to 18 months	19 months to two years	Two years or more
Academic/scientific	11	4	11	8	17
Professional/technical	13	1	6	17	17
Clerical	5	6	3	1	3
Sales	4	9	1	4	3
In the service sector	24	24	27	26	18
Skilled industrial worker	20	20	23	19	20
Unskilled industrial worker	21	34	27	19	16
Other	2	2	2	6	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 5: Selected Measures of Absorption into the Labor Market among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Sex and Length of Residence in Israel (in %)

Measures of Absorption into the Labor Market	Total	Men		Women	
		Length of residence in Israel		Length of residence in Israel	
		6 months to one year	Two years or more	6 months to one year	Two years or more
Employed in academic/professional occupations	24	5	34	7	30
Employed in occupation of one's choice	39	26	56	16	51
General job satisfaction	46	36	54	36	59
Satisfaction with:					
degree to which job uses training/skills	36	20	52	16	44
job's level of interest	62	54	77	44	70
job security	41	28	55	32	31
salary and benefits	29	20	41	16	40

Table 6: Selected Measures of Absorption into the Labor Market among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Sex and Age

Measures of Absorption into the Labor Market	Total	Men Age				Women Age			
		25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64
Employed in academic/professional occupation	23	25	28	28	11	22	20	20	7
Employed in occupation of one's choice	39	51	48	29	25	39	34	23	18
General job satisfaction	46	51	44	38	34	49	53	36	27
Satisfaction with:									
degree to which job uses training/skills	36	47	41	27	19	36	39	19	0
job's level of interest	62	72	69	59	38	60	62	47	46
job security	41	55	39	32	22	44	37	40	27
salary and benefits	29	40	31	17	25	35	24	21	18
Interested in setting up private business	28	38	40	38	24	27	22	17	6

Table 7: Apartment Ownership among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union among Married Couples and Single-Parent Families, by Length of Residence in Israel (in %)

	Total	Length of residence in Israel	
		6 months to one year	two years or more
Total immigrant population	25	12	37
Heads of single-parent families	8	0	29
Married couples	30	15	42
neither partner employed	15	6	28
one partner employed	30	16	37
both partners employed	40	32	51

Table 8: Average Net Monthly Household Income among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Sex, Age and Length of Residence in Israel (in NIS)

	Income
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,340</b>
Sex	
men	2,455
women	2,248
Age	
25-34	2,437
35-44	2,696
45-54	2,129
55-64	1,537
Length of Residence in Israel	
6 months to one year	1,643
One year to 18 months	2,175
19 months to two years	2,510
Two years or more	2,710

**Table 9: Average Net Monthly Household Income among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, by Marital Status and Employment Status (in NIS)**

	Income
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,340</b>
Married couples	2,545
neither partner employed	1,468
one partner employed	2,421
both partners employed	3,363
Single-parent families	1,518
head of family employed	1,851
head of family not employed	1,346



## ***ETHIOPIAN IMMIGRANTS***

### **Local Surveys of Ethiopian Immigrants: Preliminary Findings from Afula, Netanya, and Kiryat Gat**

**Esther Benita\*    Gila Noam\*\*    Ruth Levy\*\*\***

The surveys were conducted with the funding of JDC-Israel and the Ministry of Absorption, and in cooperation with the Municipality of Afula, the Municipality of Netanya, and the Department of Strategic Planning and Information of the Municipality of Kiryat Gat.

This is an English translation of a JDC-Brookdale Institute Preliminary Findings Paper, PF-8-93, published in November 1993.

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## **Foreword**

The JDC-Brookdale Institute in cooperation with JDC-Israel and the Ministry of Absorption is conducting a series of surveys of Ethiopian immigrants. These surveys examine how the immigrants have been absorbed into different areas of life, identify the problems and needs that characterize their absorption, and collect data to assist in the absorption of additional immigrants in the future. It was decided to conduct the surveys in cities where there were large concentrations of Ethiopian immigrants. The first survey was conducted in September 1992 in Kiryat Gat, the second in Netanya in May 1993, and the third in Afula in September 1993.

## **Research Methods**

In each of these three cities, data were collected in two stages:

- a. House-to-house screenings were made of all housing units in Kiryat Gat and Afula; in Netanya, only the neighborhoods where Ethiopian immigrants were living were screened. In all housing units in which immigrants were living, basic information was collected on all household members: address, telephone number, name, gender, age, year of immigration, marital status, and main occupation.
- b. In-depth interviews were conducted with all heads of households. Each respondent was interviewed on a number of subjects. Regarding studies and employment in Ethiopia and Israel, the respondent provided information on himself and his spouse. Regarding chronic illness and use of local services, the respondent provided information on each member of his family. Regarding other subjects, such as work satisfaction and difficulties encountered when looking for a job, the respondent reported on himself only.

The following are the preliminary findings on Ethiopian immigrants living in the three cities where the surveys were conducted. Interestingly, the findings on socio-demographic characteristics and employment are generally similar for the three cities, though a breakdown by gender and length of residence in Israel reveals some differences.

## Findings on the Immigrant Population in the Three Cities

In Afula, 447 housing units were located in which 2,368 Ethiopian immigrants were living, in Netanya, 441 units in which 2,183 immigrants were living, and in Kiryat Gat, 495 units in which 2,030 immigrants were living.

The Ethiopian immigrant populations in the three cities are, for the most part, young. More than half of these populations comprise children and youth up to age 18 (about 60% in Afula, 56% in Netanya, and 53% in Kiryat Gat, compared to 35% of the Jewish population in Israel). In contrast, the elderly represent a relatively low percentage of all the immigrants (about 6% in Afula and 5% in Netanya). In Kiryat Gat, the proportion of elderly reaches nearly 8%, which is close to the proportion of elderly in the veteran Israeli population (about 10%).

Table 1: The Ethiopian Immigrant Populations in Afula, Netanya, and Kiryat Gat, by Gender and Age (in %)

	Afula	Netanya	Kiryat Gat
<b>Gender</b>	(N=2368)	(N=2183)	(N=2030)
Men	50	50	47
<b>Age</b>			
Up to age 18	60	56	53
19-21	5	6	5
22-24	4	5	5
25-34	8	11	12
35-44	8	8	8
45-54	5	5	5
55-64	4	4	4
65+	6	5	8

## Length of Residence in Israel

Approximately 41% of the immigrants in Afula are veteran immigrants, i.e. they immigrated prior to 1989, most of them during "Operation Moses" (1984-1985); more than one-third (about 36%) are new immigrants, i.e. they immigrated in 1989 or after; and about 23% were born in Israel. In Netanya

and Kiryat Gat, the proportions of veteran immigrants are slightly higher: about half (47%) of the population immigrated to Israel prior to 1989, about one-third immigrated in 1989 or after, and about 20% were born in Israel (see Table 2).

Table 2: The Ethiopian Immigrant Populations in Afula, Netanya, and Kiryat Gat, by Length of Residence in Israel (in %)

	Afula (N=2368)	Netanya (N=2183)	Kiryat Gat (N=2030)
<b>Length of Residence in Israel</b>			
Immigrated before 1989	41	47	47
Immigrated 1989 or after	36	33	32
Born in Israel	23	20	21

### **Marital Status**

About two-thirds of the immigrants in each of the three cities are married. The proportion of divorced and widowed immigrants ranges between 16% and 20% (see Table 3).

The proportion of single-parent families among all the immigrant families in the three cities is relatively high, ranging between 19% and 21%. In Afula, about 24% of the families with children under age 18 are single-parent families. In Netanya this percentage is 21% and in Kiryat Gat 30%. In contrast, the percentage of single-parent families among families in Israel with children under age 18 was 10% in 1992.

Table 3: Marital Status of Ethiopian Immigrants Aged 22 and Over in Afula, Netanya, and Kiryat Gat (in %)

	Afula	Netanya	Kiryat Gat
<b>Marital Status</b>			
Married	73	70	72
Unmarried, lives with spouse	1	1	1
Single	10	13	8
Divorced	7	8	10
Widowed	9	8	9

## Housing

In Afula there are no frameworks for temporary housing, e.g., absorption centers or hostels. In Netanya, about two-thirds (65%) of the immigrant families live in permanent housing (rented apartments in public housing or apartments they own), and about one-third (35%) in temporary housing. In Kiryat Gat, the percentage of immigrant families living in temporary housing is slightly higher – about 41% (see Table 4).

Table 4: Ethiopian Immigrant Families in Afula, Netanya, and Kiryat Gat, by Type of Housing (in %)

	Afula	Netanya	Kiryat Gat
<b>Permanent Housing</b>	100	65	59
Public rental	85	46	44
Ownership	15	19	15
<b>Temporary Housing</b>	0	35	41
Absorption center	0	12	22
Hostel	0	23	19

## Households

Given the high percentage of children among the Ethiopian immigrant population, it was not surprising to find a high percentage of large families: More than 30% of the families in Afula and Netanya numbered seven or more members, compared to 5% of all families among the Jewish population in Israel.

Table 5: Households, by Number of People (in %)

	Afula	Netanya	Kiryat Gat
<b>Number of People in Household</b>			
1	5	10	12
2-4	36	39	45
5-6	25	21	25
7+	34	30	18

## Employment

In effect, there is no city or town in which the employment situation is generally better than elsewhere. However, an examination of the employment situation by gender and length of residence in Israel reveals certain differences: The proportions of immigrants of working age (22-64) who are employed in Afula (44%) and Kiryat Gat (about 46%) are slightly higher than the proportion of those employed in Netanya (about 40%). It is worth noting that the percentages are fairly high for veteran immigrant men in each of the cities (78% in Afula, and about 71% in Netanya and Kiryat Gat), though the proportions for women – both veteran and new immigrants – are lower in Afula than in Netanya and Kiryat Gat (about 21%, 24%, and 28%, respectively). In addition, the percentage of new immigrant men who are employed is much lower in Netanya and Kiryat Gat than the percentage of veteran immigrant men (about 35% and 59%, respectively; see Table 6). In Afula, the percentage of new immigrant men who are employed is very similar to that of veteran immigrant men. Moreover, the employment rate for men aged 25-64 who immigrated to Israel prior to 1989 is very similar to

that of veteran Israeli men: 78% in Kiryat Gat, 74% in Netanya, and 80% in Afula.

Table 6: Employment Rates for Ethiopian Immigrants Aged 22-64 in Afula, Netanya, and Kiryat Gat, by Gender and Length of Residence in Israel (in %)

	Afula	Netanya	Kiryat Gat
Total immigrants	44	40	46
Total immigrant men	77	62	68
Total immigrant women	21	24	28
Veteran immigrants	51	50	54
Veteran men	78	71	71
Veteran women	30	33	39
New immigrants	31	15	28
New immigrant men	73	35	59
New immigrant women	6	4	7

## Unemployment

It is worth noting that the proportions of labor force participation are higher among the veteran immigrant men in Kiryat Gat than among those in Netanya and Afula (about 85%, 78%, and 80%, respectively). The unemployment rate for immigrant men in the labor force<sup>1</sup> is similar to the national unemployment rate, with the exception of Kiryat Gat where there are higher unemployment rates for veteran and new immigrant men. The unemployment rates for both veteran and new immigrant women are higher than for the women in the general population.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, the labor force includes those who are employed and those who are unemployed but looking for work.

Table 7: Unemployment Rates for Ethiopian Immigrants Aged 22-64 in the Labor Force in Afula, Netanya, and Kiryat Gat, by Gender and Length of Residence in Israel (in %)

	Afula	Netanya	Kiryat Gat
Total immigrants	13	19	22
Total immigrant men	15	10	15
Total immigrant women	29	31	34
Veteran immigrants	14	17	21
Veteran immigrant men	7	8	16
Veteran immigrant women	23	29	29

## Summary

This report has presented preliminary findings on the socio-demographic profile and process of absorption of Ethiopian immigrants in three cities with a considerable concentration of these immigrants. The similarities between the findings in the three cities are striking and strengthen our sense that they reflect general patterns among Ethiopian immigrants. A more detailed analysis of findings on Kiryat Gat appears in the JDC-Brookdale collection of research papers on immigrant absorption (*Immigrant Absorption in Israel-Selected Papers, 1994*). Detailed reports on Netanya and Afula as well as a summary comparative report on all three cities will appear in the course of 1994.

We are currently witnessing a new and dramatic phase in the absorption of Ethiopian immigrants. Today, the vast majority of Operation Solomon immigrants are still living on caravan sites. The movement of these some 15,000 immigrants into a variety of cities throughout the country, including the cities discussed in this report, has gotten underway and will continue throughout 1994-95. Thus it is only now that we can more fully determine and evaluate the degree to which Israeli society has met the challenge of successfully absorbing the newcomers. To this end a study will be undertaken, geared to monitoring and evaluating the absorption process in selected cities. It will adopt a multi-dimensional perspective, focusing on the immigrants' needs, the extent to which they are finding their place in the job

market, school system, and in community life, and on the ways in which local service systems are organizing themselves in order to meet the challenge which the absorption of the newcomers presents.

# ***ETHIOPIAN IMMIGRANTS***

## **The Absorption of Ethiopian Immigrants: A Census in Kiryat Gat**

**Gila Noam\*    Esther Benita\*\*    Ruth Levy \*\*\***

This research was funded by the Ministry of Absorption and JDC-Israel and was conducted in cooperation with the Municipality of Kiryat Gat – the Municipal Strategic Planning and Information Unit (MPU).

It was presented at the Congress "Between Africa and Zion", Venice, February 1-3, 1993, and published as a JDC-Brookdale Institute Reprint, R-85-93.

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## 1. Introduction

Ethiopian immigrants have come to Israel in two large waves over the past decade. During this period, studies of this population have been mainly anthropological, focusing on areas such as family life and structure, marriage patterns, customs etc. (Avny, 1985; Alpert, 1985; Liberman, 1986; Solomon, 1986; Corrainaldi, 1989; Barhany, 1990; Weil, 1990; Weil, 1991). No systematic information has to date been collected on the immigrants' sociodemographic characteristics, or on their absorption in areas such as employment, education and social relations. Researchers have been reluctant to use conventional means of data collection, such as interviews based on structured questionnaires, in approaching Ethiopian immigrants, because of their apparent reticence and suspicion of strangers. It is assumed that these cultural characteristics necessitate a long period of acquaintance between interviewer and subject, so that a relationship of trust can be established (Weil, 1992). The assumption that the immigrants can be interviewed only after such a relationship has been established would render it impossible to conduct large-scale studies employing standard methods for collecting statistical data.

This does not alter the fact that there is a pressing need for basic information on the immigrants. The Ministry of Absorption plans, in the near future, to relocate those immigrants now living in temporary housing – absorption centers and caravan sites – to permanent housing in various Israeli towns. This makes it particularly urgent for municipalities to collect information on the situation and needs of Ethiopian immigrants already living in their towns, so as to gain insight into the process of absorption, and thus plan more effectively for the current wave of immigration. In light of the urgent need for such information, and despite the difficulties involved, JDC-Israel, in cooperation with the JDC-Brookdale Institute and the Ministry of Absorption, has begun to collect data on Ethiopian immigrants through a series of community surveys.

The JDC has played an extensive role both in organizing the emigration of Ethiopian Jews to Israel, and in facilitating their absorption in Israel. The first community survey conducted in Kiryat Gat has enabled researchers to collect information on the Ethiopian immigrants, and discover first-hand what difficulties actually exist in the collection of data, and whether they

can be overcome. The Kiryat Gat municipality was the first to request that JDC-Israel conduct a survey of its Ethiopian community.

Kiryat Gat is a development town located in the Jerusalem/Tel Aviv/Be'er Sheva triangle in southern Israel. Since its founding in 1955, the city has absorbed immigrants from 46 countries and today numbers 40,000 inhabitants. At present, some 500 Ethiopian families, comprising 2,030 persons, are living in the town.

In this paper, we will describe how we prepared the Ethiopian immigrant community for the Kiryat Gat survey, and present a number of findings from the survey.

## **2. Data Collection**

After extensive consultation with anthropologists studying the Ethiopian community in Israel, and with social services providers who regularly come into contact with Ethiopian immigrants, we made the following decisions regarding our preparation of and approach to the community, and methods to be used in conducting the survey:

1. We decided to publicize the planned survey and its aims via radio programs for Amharic speakers, on the assumption that an understanding of the aims and methods of the survey would lessen potential suspicion on the part of the immigrants.
2. In addition, we met with local representatives of the Ethiopian community to inform them about the survey, in the hope that they would "spread the word" to the entire community.
3. We decided to exclude from the questionnaire questions liable to increase suspicion – such as asking for identity card numbers – or questions likely to raise expectations – for example, questions concerning preferences for housing. As a result, most of the questions were designed to elicit specific information, for example "Have you studied in Israel?" "In what kind of institution did you study?" "How many years did you study?" etc. However, several questions were also asked concerning work satisfaction and social absorption.
4. The rules of hospitality in the Ethiopian community require visitors to hold long conversations with their host before touching upon the purpose of their visit. Extensive consultation with various experts led us

to conclude that it would be preferable to use interviewers from outside the community, who would not be bound by these rules. In cases when the interviewee was unable to converse in Hebrew, the interview was conducted in Amharic through an interpreter, or with an Amharic speaker as the interviewer.

5. As the Kiryat Gat municipality, like other municipalities, lacked up-to-date information on the location of immigrant residents, we decided to conduct an initial door-to-door screening of all 10,000 housing units in the town, in order to locate the Ethiopian population. In this way we located 495 apartments housing all 2,030 of the Ethiopian immigrants in Kiryat Gat. The second stage of the survey consisted of interviews with 533 immigrants, mainly heads of households, but also including a few single persons aged 22 and over.
6. The respondents provided detailed information on areas such as education and employment prior to immigration, and education and employment in Israel, as well as information on spouses, and on their children's education and social integration. The interviewers reported that in most cases they were met with cooperation and goodwill on the part of the respondents. Only six immigrants refused to be interviewed.

### **3. Principal Findings**

#### **3.1 Characteristics of the Ethiopian Immigrants in Kiryat Gat**

Research on the subject of the absorption of immigrants suggests that an immigrant's successful integration in major areas of life is influenced by a number of characteristics: age, gender, length of residence in the new country, education, occupation prior to immigration, ability to communicate in the local language, and others. I will discuss those characteristics which are relevant to the study population in Kiryat Gat, considering first those pertaining to life in Ethiopia, and then those pertaining to the immigrants' situation at the time of the survey.

##### **3.1.1 Education Prior to Immigration**

The proportion of adults (i.e. aged 22 and over) who had some kind of schooling is low: less than one third (about 31%). The percentage of men is double that of women (some 43% as opposed to 20%), and the percentage

of younger immigrants (aged 45 or less) is far higher than that of older immigrants (about 44% as opposed to about 14%).

### **3.1.2 Employment in Ethiopia and Commonly Held Occupations**

About half of the adults worked in Ethiopia, the percentage of men being 80% and that of women being 26%. Of those who worked, three-quarters worked in agriculture, some 8% were craftsmen, and the rest worked in a variety of jobs, for example, in the service sector, as non-industrial tool-makers, soldiers, guards etc.

### **3.1.3 Age**

The Ethiopian immigrant population in Kiryat Gat is very young. Some 42% of the immigrants are under the age of 15, and more than half – some 53% – are under the age of 18. Approximately 8% are elderly, that is, aged 65 and over.

### **3.1.4 Length of Residence in Israel**

In our analysis of the findings, we looked at two principal groups of immigrants: “veteran” immigrants who immigrated between 1976 and 1989 (most of whom immigrated in 1983-4), and “new” immigrants, who immigrated from 1989 onwards. Two-thirds of the adults immigrated before 1989, while a third immigrated in 1989 or later.

### **3.1.5 Family Structure**

About 29% of the families have no children under the age of 18; some 18% have one child; about 39% have between two and four children; and some 14% have five or more children.

The proportion of families headed by a single parent is relatively high – about 21% of all Ethiopian immigrant families. Of the families with children under the age of 18, some 30% are headed by a single parent. In 1991, the percentage of single-parent families among all families with children under the age of 18 in Israel was about 9%. Some 15% of elderly Ethiopian immigrants live with a married child; about 28% live alone or with an elderly spouse; and some 57% live with unmarried children and/or a young woman.

## **3.2 Indicators of Absorption in Israel**

The crucial question is to what extent the immigrants have integrated into Israeli society. To answer this, three indicators of absorption will be considered: knowledge of Hebrew, integration into the labor force and social

integration. In some areas, data are available on all adults, and in others, on heads of households only (i.e. married men, single parents of children under the age of 18, and other independent persons).

### **3.2.1 Type of Housing**

Some of the Ethiopian immigrants in Kiryat Gat live in temporary forms of housing, i.e. absorption center or hostel (housing usually provided for a limited period of time, until permanent housing can be arranged). The rest live in permanent housing, i.e. apartments which they own or for which they pay monthly rent.

Some 41% of the families are still living in temporary housing, and despite the fact that the veteran immigrants have been in Israel for at least 4 years, a substantial proportion still lives in the absorption center or the hostel (about 19%).

### **3.2.2 Can the Immigrants Speak Hebrew?**

Immigrants to Israel are given the opportunity to learn Hebrew in special classes (*ulpan*s) that use intensive teaching methods, and indeed, some 75% of Ethiopian immigrant adults have studied in an ulpan. In order to collect information on the ability to speak Hebrew, we asked the question "Are you able to speak Hebrew fluently or almost fluently?" In view of the fact that the answers to this question were necessarily subjective, the findings should be approached with some caution. Nearly 60% of the heads of households reported speaking Hebrew fluently or almost fluently. However, the percentage of immigrants able to speak Hebrew decreases with age: of those aged 22-44, some 87% reported being able to speak Hebrew, as opposed to only about 24% of those aged 45 and over. Length of residence in Israel is highly significant: some 70% of the veteran immigrants stated that they could speak Hebrew, as opposed to about 32% of the new immigrants.

### **3.2.3 Have the Immigrants Integrated into the Labor Force?**

#### ***a. How many immigrants are working?***

Among immigrants of working age (22-64 years), about half (46%) are currently employed. The percentage of those employed is far higher among immigrants under the age of 45 than among those over the age of 45 (approximately 52% as opposed to 32%); far higher among men than among women (68% as opposed to 28%); and far higher among veteran immigrants than among new immigrants (54% as opposed to 28%).

Length of residence in Israel has a significant, positive influence on the rate of employment for both sexes, but especially for women: the rate increases from 59% to 71% for men, and from 7% to 39% for women.

One finding is particularly encouraging: among veteran immigrants aged 25-64, the percentage of men employed is almost identical to that among veteran Israelis of the same age: 75% and 78% respectively (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992).

Table 1: Employed Immigrants (Aged 22-64), by Age, Sex, and Length of Residence (in %)

	Total	Men	Women
Immigrant Population	(N=610)	(N=280)	(N=330)
Total	46	68	28
22-44	52	71	35
45-64	32	59	11
Veteran Immigrants	(N=426)	(N=206)	(N=220)
Total	54	71	39
22-44	57	72	43
45-64	46	70	23
New Immigrants	(N=184)	(N=74)	(N=110)
Total	28	59	7
22-44	39	70	13
45-64	12	37	0

***b. In which occupations are the immigrants employed?***

The total percentage of immigrants employed as skilled workers is about 47%: some 36% are employed as skilled workers in industry (metal-workers and welders, and workers in the garment and construction industries); some 6% are skilled workers in the service sector (mainly prison guards); about 3% of those employed are academics, social workers, and technicians; approximately 1% are clerical workers; while some 1% are employed in the army as professional soldiers.

The total percentage of immigrants employed as unskilled workers is about 53%: some 34% are unskilled workers in industry and construction; some

5% are unskilled workers in forestry and agriculture; and about 14% are unskilled workers in the service sector (mainly security guards and cleaning personnel). There are no significant variations according to gender; however, women work more in the service sector.

The percentage of immigrants employed as unskilled workers in industry, construction, agriculture and the service sector decreases with length of residence, and is thus far higher among new immigrants than among veteran immigrants (some 70% as opposed to about 49%). If we take into account the fact that the percentage of immigrants employed increases with length of residence, and the fact that the distribution of occupations changes over time, we can conclude that the immigrants' employment situation improves the longer they live in Israel. As time passes, their Hebrew improves, and – as we shall see below – they attend training courses, two factors that seem to improve their situation.

Table 2: Employed Immigrants in Kiryat Gat, by Occupation (in %) (N=285)

Skilled workers in industry and construction	36
Skilled workers in the service sector	6
Professional and technical workers	3
Clerical workers	1
Professional soldiers	1
Unskilled workers in industry and construction	34
Unskilled workers in forestry and agriculture	5
Unskilled workers in the service sector	14

### *c. Vocational training courses*

In order to help the Ethiopian immigrants integrate into Israel's industrialized labor market, a special system of vocational training programs has been established and adapted to suit their particular needs. Among Ethiopian immigrants of working age in Kiryat Gat, some 17% have participated, or are now participating, in these programs. Of these, some 88% are under the age of 45, with the highest percentage of participation among those aged 25-29 (about 28%). The percentage of participation among veteran immigrants is higher than among new immigrants (about 21% as opposed to 8%), while the percentage among veteran immigrant men is especially high,

reaching 55% for those aged 25-34. There has been much debate as to the effectiveness of training courses in helping Ethiopian immigrants to integrate successfully into the Israeli labor market. We can gain some insight into this issue by comparing the percentage of immigrants with jobs who have completed vocational training courses, with that of immigrants who have not participated in such courses. Our findings (Table 3) show that about three quarters of immigrants who have completed vocational training courses now have jobs (some 81% of the men and some 60% of the women) as opposed to approximately 42% of those who have either not participated in such courses or have failed to complete them (approximately 65% of the men and some 26% of the women). These findings indicate that vocational training courses, as a means of increasing the immigrant's chances of finding a job, are particularly significant for women. We intend to examine the effectiveness of vocational training courses in other ways, for example, by examining how they influence the types of occupation in which immigrants are employed.

Table 3: Employed Immigrants, by Sex and Vocational Training (in %)

	Total (N=610)	Men (N=280)	Women (N=330)
Have completed training (N=82)	76	81	60
Have not participated in or completed training (N=528)	42	65	26
Total	46	68	28

#### *d. Job satisfaction*

We asked one general question about job satisfaction and a number of specific questions concerning interest in one's job, chances of promotion, relations with colleagues, and satisfaction with pay.

As regards general job satisfaction, approximately 53% of the heads of households reported being "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with their jobs, a rather low percentage in comparison to that among veteran Israeli employees (about 77%) (Habib and Spilerman, 1982). Some 49% of the heads of households reported finding their jobs interesting; some 30% reported having a good chance of promotion; and nearly all (95%) reported having good

relations with colleagues at work. There was almost no variation according to gender, age or length of residence in Israel.

These findings contradict the experts' evaluation that Ethiopian Jews would probably not express any feelings that might be considered negative. Indeed, they are encouraging, indicating a large range of variance for the different aspects of job satisfaction.

As regards satisfaction with pay, the percentage of employed immigrants who reported having a good salary is low (about 27%). Satisfaction with pay is much higher among those who have completed vocational training courses than among those who have not participated in or completed such courses (about 40% as opposed to about 22%). In view of the fact that more than half the heads of households gave level of salary as their main reason for accepting or rejecting a job, this finding may help to explain the low percentage of general job satisfaction (53%) reported above. It is interesting to note that a similarly low percentage of those reporting good salaries was found among immigrants from the former Soviet Union, in a national survey recently conducted by the JDC- Brookdale Institute (Naveh and Noam, 1993).

### **3.2.4 Have the Immigrants Integrated Socially?**

The subject of social integration is a complex one, and only a few general questions were asked on this topic in the survey. Two aspects of the topic will be discussed to give an indication of the extent to which the immigrants have been absorbed into Israeli society.

#### ***a. What is the level of contact between immigrant children and the children of veteran Israelis? (Table 4)***

We asked the question: "Do your children play only with Ethiopian immigrant children, only with the children of veteran Israelis, or with the children of both immigrants and veteran Israelis?" The percentage of children who play only with Ethiopian immigrant children is low (about 10%); moreover, this percentage is three times higher among new immigrants as among veteran immigrants. The type and location of housing is a significant factor here: 20% of the children in temporary housing play only with other immigrant children as compared with only 4% of the children in permanent housing.

Table 4: Ethiopian Immigrant Children who Play Only with Other Ethiopian Immigrant Children, by Length of Residence and Type of Housing (in %)

Total	10
Immigrants by Length of Residence	
Veteran immigrants	7
New immigrants	19
Immigrants by Type of Housing	
Immigrants in temporary housing	20
Immigrants in permanent housing	4

*b. Do the immigrants want to live near other Ethiopian immigrants?*  
(Table 5)

Only some 60% of the heads of households reported that it is important for them to have other Ethiopian immigrants living in their neighborhood. Moreover, this percentage is lower among veteran immigrants than among new immigrants (about 54% as opposed to 72%).

Table 5: Ethiopian Immigrants who Wish to Live Near Other Ethiopian Immigrants, by Length of Residence and Age (in %)

Total	60
Veteran immigrants	54
New immigrants	72
Veteran immigrants	
Elderly	82
Non-elderly	48
New immigrants	
Elderly	84
Non-elderly	66

The desire to live with other Ethiopian immigrants declines with length of residence among all age groups except the elderly. Among elderly immigrants, the percentage hardly changes, dropping a mere 2% from about 84% to about

82%, while among non-elderly immigrants, it drops from about 66% to about 48%. These findings are surprising in light of the general impression in Israel that the Ethiopians like to cluster together in groups.

## 4. Conclusion

The Kiryat Gat survey reveals the process of absorption to be a dynamic one. The findings indicate that the longer the immigrant is in the country, the better he or she is able to integrate into different areas of life.

Conducting a survey of all Ethiopian immigrants in Kiryat Gat has not only provided planners and decisionmakers with important information on this population, but has also – and no less importantly – contributed to our understanding of how surveys may be conducted among this population.

The survey in Kiryat Gat suggests that it is possible to conduct surveys among the Ethiopian immigrant population using structured questionnaires. However, it seems that a prerequisite for success in such an operation is the significant investment of time and effort in making necessary preparations, i.e. providing explanations to the immigrant community, giving extensive training to the interviewers and involving local community representatives in the project.

Collecting information relevant to planning and decisionmaking is an extremely important step in realizing the goal of successful absorption for the Ethiopian immigrants. We have been encouraged by the experiment in Kiryat Gat, and have already applied some of the lessons learned there in a recent survey of Ethiopian immigrants on a caravan site in Hulda, where the percentage of those who refused to be interviewed was less than 2%. With the cooperation of absorption agencies at both local and national levels, we plan to conduct community surveys similar to that of Kiryat Gat in other towns in the near future.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Since this presentation was given in February 1993, we have conducted a similar survey in Netanya, and are currently conducting a third survey in Afula.

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# ***ETHIOPIAN IMMIGRANTS***

## **A Survey of Young Ethiopian Immigrants**

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## **1. Background Characteristics**

Interviews were conducted with a representative stratified sample of approximately 670 young adults, most of them between the ages of 22 and 35, representing the 3,400 young immigrants from Ethiopia who arrived in Israel during "Operation Moses". Men and women were equally represented in the sample.

More than one-third of the immigrants – 53% of the women and 23% of the men – arrived in Israel with no formal education. Forty-two percent of them, or 63% of the men and 21% of the women, had worked in Ethiopia, mostly in agriculture.

Sixty percent of the immigrants (52% of the men and 69% of the women) are married and live with their spouses; 28% (42% of the men and 14% of the women) are single; 11% are divorced or separated; and 1% are widowed. Eleven percent of the immigrants (17% of the women and 4% of the men) head single-parent families.

Ninety percent of the men have served in the army, including the 11% who are presently serving in the army, most of whom are aged 24 or under.

## **2. Participation in Vocational Training Courses**

The majority of immigrants arrived in Israel with very little education. Most began vocational training courses as soon as they had completed Hebrew language studies (ulpan). Only a few immigrants entered other post-secondary study programs.

### **2.1 Participation in Vocational Training by Gender, Age, and Level of Education at the Time of Immigration**

Sixty-two percent of the immigrants participated in vocational training courses – a decisive majority (85%) of the men and a significant proportion (39%) of the women. The rate of participation in vocational training courses was particularly high among those aged 19-24, with about three-quarters (76%) taking part in vocational training courses, as compared with 58% of those aged 25-39 (see Table 1).

Table 1: Participation in Vocational Training Courses, by Gender and Age (in %)

	Total (N=3,415)	Men (N=1,699)	Women (N=1,716)
Total	62	85	39
Age 19-24	76	88	64
Age 25-39	58	84	31

The proportion of immigrants participating in vocational training courses increases with the level of education among both men and women. As expected, however, a lower proportion of immigrants with post-secondary education participated in these courses (see Table 2).

Table 2: The Rate of Participation in Vocational Training Courses, by Gender and Years of Education in Country of Origin

	Years of Education				
	Total (N=3,415)	0-2 (N=1,529)	3-8 (N=1,062)	9-12 (N=799)	13-14 (N=25)
Total	62	37	76	91	81
Men	85	74	88	95	79
Women	39	19	55	86	100

## 2.2 The Goals of Vocational Training

In most cases, the Ethiopian immigrants participated in vocational training courses geared specifically for them and designed to meet their special needs by The Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, JDC-Israel, the Jewish Agency, and other agencies. These courses had two major goals. One was to improve the immigrants' chances of being absorbed into employment, and the other was to increase their chances of employment in a skilled job.

## **2.3 The Components of Vocational Training Courses**

The majority of vocational training courses for Ethiopian immigrants had four components: study of the vocation; practical work in the vocation, geared toward acquainting the immigrant with work methods and equipment and giving him actual work experience; study of Hebrew, geared toward strengthening his command of the language and improving his performance on the job; and general studies, geared toward broadening his education.

## **2.4 Course Length**

The vocational courses were of varying lengths: two-year courses, which included vocational, general, and Hebrew-language studies; one-year courses; and short-term courses, whose duration was less than one year. About half (48%) of the immigrants participated in short-term courses; a similar proportion (45%) participated in two-year courses; and a few (7%) participated in one-year courses.

## **2.5 Course Types**

The courses were adapted to specific target populations, and had differing admissions requirements. Usually, the main admission criterion was level of education and a personal assessment of each candidate. On occasion, workshops were organized to acquaint the immigrants with certain courses, and to determine which of these courses were most appropriate for each individual.

For a list of the vocations studied in the various courses by the level of education required for admission, see Table 3.

The most prevalent courses among the men were those that trained them for skilled work in industry and construction: auto mechanics, welding, carpentry, and auto electrical work. The most prevalent courses among the women were those that prepared them for jobs in the helping professions – practical nurses, geriatric aides, child care aides. Courses in sewing and bookkeeping were equally popular (see Table 4).

Table 3: Vocational Training Courses, by Level of Education Required for Admission

Level of Education			
Up to 8 Years	At Least 8 Years	9 Years or More	12 Years
Sewing	Auto mechanics	Practical nursing	Dentist's assistants
Welding	Child care aides	Electrician	Registered nursing
Carpentry	Printing	Airplane body work	Educational social work
Plumbing	Clerical work	Heavy machine operation	Bookkeeping
Geriatric aides		High school equivalency	
Jewelry making			

As noted, most of the vocational training courses for Ethiopian immigrants had four components: vocational studies, practical work, general studies, and Hebrew language studies. The immigrants were asked about various aspects of the courses, and whether they felt the courses influenced their chances for absorption into employment. Questions were asked about the curriculum, the difficulties encountered during the period of study, and the social relationships the immigrants had during this period.

## 2.6 Participants' Satisfaction with the Courses

The majority (66%) of immigrants, especially participants in short-term courses, were satisfied with the time devoted to vocational studies (66%) and practical work (79%), though they expressed a desire that Hebrew language and general studies be expanded.

About half (48%) of the participants were satisfied with the time devoted to the study of Hebrew. Relatively fewer immigrants participating in one-year

Table 4: Participants in Vocational Training Courses, by Gender\*

Course Name	Total Participants	Men	Women
Total	2,839	2,021	818
Auto mechanics	409	409	—
Welding	250	250	—
Practical nursing	158	48	110
Sewing	157	—	157
Bookkeeping	137	57	80
Construction	121	118	3
Carpentry	114	114	—
Geriatric aides	115	—	115
Auto electrician	111	111	—
Mechanics	79	79	—
Electronics	89	68	21
Child care aides	88	6	82
High school equivalency	82	79	3
Plumbing	69	69	—
Jr.-grade and electrical engineering	58	45	13
Jewelry making	57	13	44
Hospital orderlies	46	—	46
Machine technician	44	44	—
Electrician	41	41	—
Airplane body work	39	39	—
Dentist's assistants	35	3	32
Prep. for jr.-grade engineering	34	25	9
Clerical work	33	3	30
Printing	26	26	—
Driving	28	28	—
Computer program operators	25	11	14
Educational social work	24	21	3
Community social work <sup>1</sup>	17	—	17
Other	353	314	39

\* Some of the immigrants participated in two courses, and were therefore counted twice.

1 Serves as a translator/aide, and eases interactions with bureaucracy (e.g., accompanies immigrants on clinic visits, visits to government agencies); provides practical assistance and support during the absorption process.

courses (28%) expressed satisfaction with the time devoted to Hebrew study. Immigrants who arrived in Israel with a high level of education expressed relatively greater satisfaction with the time allotted for vocational and Hebrew studies. All those with 10 or more years of education were satisfied with the time devoted to vocational studies, as compared with 62% of those with three years of education or less.

Attitudes toward Hebrew studies followed a similar trend. Seventy percent of those with higher levels of education expressed satisfaction with the time devoted to the study of Hebrew, compared with 43% of those with little education.

General studies were included in only some of the courses, usually the two-year courses. Only about 40% of the participants in these courses felt sufficient time was devoted to these subjects.

## **2.7 Difficulties Encountered while Studying**

The immigrants were asked about the difficulties they encountered while studying. About half of them felt that the material being studied was too difficult, and most of them had difficulty understanding the language. It is possible that language comprehension problems were at the root of difficulties in understanding the material studied in class.

Three-fourths of the immigrants found it difficult to manage financially while studying. Most of the immigrants resided in dormitories or were involved in intensive study and did not work during this period. Their main source of income was the assistance provided by the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption. All of the immigrants cited financial problems as among the most difficult they encountered while studying.

Most of the immigrants arrived in Israel with little or no close family; most (62%) of them found it difficult to be so far from their families. Many noted that the absence of relatives and the longing for family created a sense of loneliness and made it difficult for them to concentrate on their studies.

### 3. Employment

#### 3.1 Rates of Employment, by Age, Gender, and Marital Status

Of the immigrants surveyed, 54% are working, 17% are not working but are looking for work, and an additional 28% are neither working nor looking for work. About one-third (35%) of the immigrants who are not currently employed, were employed in the past.

Table 5: Employment, Army Service, and Studies among Young Ethiopian Immigrants, by Age and Gender (in %)

	General		Men			Women	
	Total (N= 3,415)	Total (N= 1,699)	19-24 <sup>1</sup> (N= 373)	25-39 <sup>2</sup> (N= 1,326)	Total (N= 1,716)	19-24 <sup>1</sup> (N= 428)	25-39 <sup>2</sup> (N= 1,288)
Employed	54	68	35	77	41	44	39
Serving in the army	6	11	44	2	1	–	1
Studying	3	4	9	2	1	6	–
Unemployed and looking for work <sup>3</sup>	17	15	15	16	19	23	18
Total working, serving in the army or studying	63	83	88	81	43	50	40

1 Mostly ages 22-24

2 Mostly ages 25-35

3 Includes those studying or about to complete army service

The rate of employment among men is higher than that among women. Sixty-eight percent of the men are employed and an additional 15%

are unemployed,<sup>2</sup> while 41% of the women are employed and 19% are unemployed (see Table 5).

About 35% of the younger men aged 19-24 are employed. However, it should be noted that more than half of the men aged 19-24 are serving in the army (44%) or studying (9%), such that, in all, 88% of the young immigrant men are employed, in the army, or in an educational or training framework. Three-fourths of the immigrant men aged 25-39 are employed, a rate similar to that among the parallel age group in the veteran Jewish population.<sup>3</sup>

Among the women, the trend is not uniform: The employment rate is highest (50%) for those aged 22-24. It seems that thereafter, because of marriage and childbirth, the employment rate drops, standing at about 39% for women aged 25-39 – a rate lower than that (58%) for women of the same age in the veteran population.

About half of the immigrants have been working for a relatively short time: Approximately one-fourth of them have been working for six months or less, 15% have been working for up to one year, and an additional 16% have been working for up to two years. The remainder of the employed immigrants have been working for two years or more.

There are differences in the employment rates of married and unmarried immigrants. Among about half (53%) of the married couples, one spouse was employed, while among an additional 35%, both spouses were employed. Among relatively few (12%) of the married couples, neither spouse was employed. Among the unmarried and separated, a high percentage are not working: About half (48%) of the single immigrants and about three-fourths (74%) of the heads of single-parent families were not employed.

### **3.2 The Contribution of Vocational Training to the Absorption of Immigrants into Employment**

As noted, a great many resources were invested in the vocational training of young immigrants, on the assumption that they had the best chance of being

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2 We follow the Central Bureau of Statistics definition of an unemployed person as being one who is not working but is seeking work. Thus, in this report, an individual who is neither working nor seeking work is not considered "unemployed".

3 All of the data on unemployment rates among the veteran Jewish population are based on the Central Bureau of Statistics. 1992. *Statistical Abstract for Israel 1992*, No. 43 (Table 4, p. 20), Jerusalem.

absorbed into a wide range of skilled jobs. The men participated primarily in courses that trained them for skilled jobs in construction or industry (auto mechanics, welding, carpentry, construction skills, and the like), while the women participated primarily in courses that trained them for work in the helping professions (child care aides, community social workers, nurses, dentist's assistants, and the like).

A high percentage (more than three-fourths) of those who completed training in caregiving vocations have been absorbed into employment, especially graduates of courses for nurses, dentist's assistants, and community social workers. Graduates of some of the technical courses – especially welding, carpentry, airplane body work, and operation of heavy machinery – have also been absorbed into employment with great success (more than 70% are employed).

The unique contribution of vocational training courses to the entry of women of all ages and all levels of education into the job market is worthy of note. The employment rate of women graduates of vocational training courses is double that of women who did not undergo training – 57% versus 29%. Moreover, a high percentage (43%) of women who did not undergo training are neither working nor looking for work, as opposed to only 19% of those who completed vocational training.

### **3.3 Occupations in which Immigrants Find Employment**

Despite the high proportion of immigrants who arrived in Israel with little or no education, many (about two-thirds) have been integrated into skilled jobs: About one-third (36%) of the immigrants are employed as skilled laborers in industry and construction; 13% are employed in service jobs that require training (policemen, prison wardens, and career army personnel); 13% are employed in technical positions; some (4%) work as clerks; and a few (1%) hold scientific or academic positions.

About one-third (34%) of the immigrants are employed in unskilled jobs: one-fifth (19%) of them work as laborers in industry and construction; 13% are service workers in positions that require little training or few skills (janitors, cleaning women, chamber maids); and 2% work in unskilled jobs in agriculture (see Table 6).

Table 6: The Distribution of Occupations of Immigrants, by Gender (in %)

Occupation	Total (N=1,816)	Men (N=1,440)	Women (N=676)
<b>Skilled</b>			
Academic and scientific	1	1	–
Professional and technical	13	10	18
Clerks	4	6	–
High-level service workers	13	15	10
Skilled laborers in industry	36	46	17
<b>Unskilled</b>			
Low-level service workers	13	5	27
Unskilled laborers in industry	19	16	26
Agriculture	2	2	2

Men and women have found employment in different occupations. Among those working in skilled jobs, a relatively higher percentage of women are working in technical and professional positions (principally as nurses and translator/aides). In contrast, a higher percentage of men are working in skilled jobs in industry and construction and high-level service jobs (policemen, prison wardens, and border police or career army personnel).

A lower proportion of men than women are employed in unskilled jobs – 22% versus 55%, respectively. Women were absorbed more than men into low-level service jobs – principally as hospital orderlies or as unskilled aides in institutions. In addition, a higher proportion of women are working in unskilled jobs in industry.

Participation in vocational training courses contributes to the integration into skilled jobs of male and female immigrants of all education levels, but especially of women and immigrants who arrived in Israel with little or no education.<sup>4</sup> Seventy percent of those with little education who completed vocational training are now working in skilled jobs, as opposed to only 25% of those who did not undergo vocational training.

<sup>4</sup> These data were examined using a multivariate analysis.

### **3.4 Immigrants' Satisfaction with Work**

An additional measure of the quality of the immigrants' absorption into employment is their attitude toward their work. The immigrants were asked whether they were generally satisfied with their work and salary, how interested they were in their work, whether they were satisfied with their chances for promotion, and whether their job allowed them to utilize the skills and knowledge they had acquired through training. They were also asked whether they were working in an occupation in which they wanted to work.

The majority (68%) of immigrants were satisfied or very satisfied with their work. Women were more satisfied with their work than were men (75% versus 64%, respectively).

Satisfaction with specific aspects of work was lower. Sixty-one percent of the immigrants reported that their work was interesting. More than half (54%) of them reported being satisfied with their chances for promotion, 45% said they were using their abilities and training, and 42% reported being satisfied with their salaries. Only about half (48%) of the immigrants were working in an occupation in which they wanted to work.

It is not yet clear whether the fact that the immigrants' satisfaction is lower with regard to salaries and promotions is due to their being employed primarily in industry, to their developing expectations that could not be realized in the relatively short time they have been in the job market, or to their not being employed in fields for which they were trained.

It should be noted that immigrants in certain jobs – principally academic, professional, clerical, and high-level service jobs – expressed a high degree of satisfaction. A higher proportion of immigrants who completed vocational training reported having good salaries than did immigrants who did not complete vocational training. There is no uniform trend regarding other measures of satisfaction.

Table 7: Measures of Satisfaction with Work, by Gender (in %)

	Total	Men	Women
<b>Measures of Satisfaction:</b>			
Satisfied or very satisfied with work	68	64	75
Receive good salary	42	44	39
Good chance of promotion	55	56	53
Opportunity to utilize skills and training	45	45	45
Sufficient independence	90	87	95
Work in occupation of their choice	48	48	47

### 3.5 Immigrants who are not Working

Fifteen percent of the immigrants (both men and women) are not working but are looking for work (i.e. unemployed), and an additional 28% (17% of the men and 40% of the women) are not working and are not looking for work.

In evaluating these data, the severe unemployment plaguing Israel's job market should be taken into account. Many immigrants have lost their jobs only recently, and others who are now entering the job market face competition with a large number of other job-seekers. Of the immigrants who are not currently working, about half have been out of work for a short time only: 35% have not worked for between one and six months, and 14% have not worked for between seven months and a year. In addition, 21% of the immigrants have been out of work for one to two years, and 30% have not worked for more than two years.

**Immigrants who are not working but are looking for work (the unemployed):** Of the men who are not working but looking for work, 64% have been unemployed for fewer than six months, and an additional 23% have been unemployed for seven months to a year. This would seem to reflect the recent high unemployment rate in the market. Women who are unemployed remain out of work for a more prolonged period. One-third (34%) of the unemployed immigrant women have not worked for one to six months, 17% have not worked for seven months to a year, and nearly half – 49% – have not worked for more than a year.

**Immigrants who are neither working nor looking for work:** Twenty-nine percent of the immigrants are neither working nor looking for work – 17% of the men, and 40% of the women. As age increases, the proportion of men who are neither working nor looking for work decreases. Fifty-one percent of the men aged 18-24 are neither working nor looking for work, while only 7% of the men aged 25-49 are neither working nor looking for work. It appears that the majority of the older immigrants have become integrated into the job market, while the younger immigrants are serving in the army or studying. Indeed, the main reasons cited by younger men for failure to look for work were army service (57%), study (22%), and illness (11%).

Among the women, the situation is different. As age increases, the proportion of women who are neither working nor looking for work also increases. About one-third (32%) of the women aged 18-24 are neither working nor looking for work, as compared with 34% of the women aged 25-39. The main reasons cited by women for failure to look for work were pregnancy or the need to care for children (76%), and illness (14%). Younger women (7%) also cited studies as a reason for failure to look for work.

#### **4. The Economic Situation of the Immigrants**

The immigrants were asked to evaluate their economic situation by answering “yes” or “no” to the question, “Do you have enough money to pay bills and rent and to purchase essential items such as food, clothing, and transportation?” Responses indicate that immigrants face a significant amount of financial difficulty. Only one-third of the immigrants reported that their income was sufficient to cover their basic needs (food, clothing, transportation). It may be hypothesized that these financial problems are due to the number of immigrants employed in unskilled jobs, the relatively high proportion of women who are not working, and the relatively little seniority that has accrued to immigrants. Indeed, a significant proportion (58%) of the immigrants, including about half (49%) of those whose current income is not sufficient to cover their basic needs, expect their economic situation to improve over time.

Most (65%) of the immigrants live in rented apartments in public housing. Only one-fifth of them live in apartments they or their spouses own. The remainder of the immigrants live in absorption centers (4%) or hostels (6%),

in apartments owned by a relative who is not a spouse (2%), in apartments rented privately (1%), or in temporary houses or caravans (1%).

The apartments of the majority of immigrants have basic furnishings, generally donated by public agencies. For example, not insignificant percentages of immigrants have telephones (83%) and washing machines (66%). However, 10% of the immigrants do not have an oven or a water heater, and an even larger percentage lack space heaters.

## **5. Acquisition of the Hebrew Language and Exposure to the Media**

Knowledge of Hebrew is the key to communication between immigrants and veteran Israelis. It improves the chances of finding employment, and eases absorption into Israel.

The great majority of immigrant men do not have difficulty carrying on a simple conversation and reading or writing a simple letter in Hebrew. The women, however, tend to have difficulty learning Hebrew, regardless of how long they have been in the country. One-third of them have difficulty carrying on a simple conversation in Hebrew, 60% of them find it difficult to read a simple letter in Hebrew, and about 70% of them find it difficult to write a simple letter in Hebrew. About one-fourth (26%) of all the immigrants (male and female) stated that learning Hebrew is the most difficult task they have encountered since arriving in Israel.

The immigrants are exposed to the Israeli media. The majority (83%) of them listen to Hebrew-language radio broadcasts or watch television daily. More than half (55%) of them read a newspaper at least once a week.

## **6. Satisfaction with Absorption**

The majority (84%) of immigrants are satisfied or very satisfied with their absorption into Israel.

## 7. Social Relationships

The decisive majority (88%) of immigrants report that the attitude toward them of most veteran Israelis is good or very good. The social lives of the immigrants still revolve around relationships among themselves. Forty-one percent of the immigrants meet with other immigrant friends at least once a week. Only a small percentage of the immigrants meet with veteran Israelis with any frequency.

Table 8: The Frequency of Social Interaction or Recreation with Immigrant Friends and Veteran Israelis (in %)

	Immigrant Friends	Veteran Israelis
<b>Frequency of Interaction</b>		
Daily or almost daily	21	9
Once a week	20	6
At least once a month	21	16
Have not met during the past month	38	69

## 8. Summary and Conclusions

This survey of young Ethiopian immigrants provides a picture of the quality of their absorption as reflected in their vocational training, employment, standard of living, and social relationships.

The decisive majority of the men and a significant proportion of the women have participated in vocational training courses.

Despite severe unemployment and the need for the immigrants to become integrated into a modern job market, significantly different from that in their country of origin, the majority (68%) of the men have been absorbed into employment, and are employed at a rate similar to that among the veteran Jewish population. The employment rate for women is lower (41%), partly because those who are not working are pregnant or taking care of children.

The very entry into the job market represents one measure of success in absorption into employment. Beyond this, it is noteworthy that a high

percentage (65%) of immigrants are working in skilled jobs, although a not insignificant proportion still work in unskilled jobs.

As noted, many resources were invested in vocational training courses for these immigrants, and the survey sheds light on their contribution to the immigrants' absorption into employment. Vocational training provides a significant incentive for women to seek work. Moreover, immigrants who underwent some kind of vocational training, especially those who arrived in Israel with little or no education, were absorbed into skilled jobs at a higher rate than were immigrants who did not undergo training. In addition, those who completed vocational training courses were more satisfied with their jobs and salaries than were those who did not complete such courses.

The immigrants' economic situation is not improving at the same pace as is their employment situation. It seems that their financial difficulties are at least partly the result of the relatively low proportion of women who are employed, of the not insignificant percentage of immigrants employed in unskilled jobs, and of the little seniority immigrants have had time to accumulate.

Most (78%) of the immigrants are satisfied with their absorption into Israel, and the majority (88%) of them feel that the attitude of veteran Israelis toward them is positive. In addition, the immigrants are exposed to the Israeli media, and it seems that here, too, they are involved in what is happening in Israel. Here it is worth noting the contribution of the army. The vast majority (90%) of immigrant men have served or are serving in the army – a framework which acquaints them with the norms of Israeli society.

On one hand, the findings of this study indicate that a number of strides have been made toward absorbing Ethiopian immigrants into employment and into Israeli society. On the other hand, a number of areas and a number of groups still require special attention. For example, more must be done to increase the immigrants' earning capacity to meet their basic needs. The need to develop career paths within workplaces so that immigrants may improve their situation is apparent. Vocational training for women should be intensified, as should efforts to strengthen their command of Hebrew. This in turn will improve their chances of being absorbed into the job market and into skilled jobs, and of thereby contributing to the economic stability of their families.

# ***ELDERLY IMMIGRANTS***

## **A Model of the Impact of Immigration on Health and Social Service Expenditures for the Elderly**

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## **1. Introduction**

Israel is in a historic period in its economic and social development. It has been undergoing a period of significant structural change accompanied by continued rapid demographic growth. These processes have all been accelerated, transformed and modified by the initiation of massive immigration from the former Soviet Union, with the population having increased by about 10% over the two year period from 1990-1992. In this paper, we present an analysis of the implications of immigration for health and social service needs, with a particular emphasis on the implications of the percentage of immigrants who are elderly. We begin by providing a basic picture of the existing demographic structure of Israel. We then describe the methodology that will be required to project the expected health and social services which will be required in Israel over the next ten years. Finally we present the estimates of the social service implications arising from the current surge of immigration in Israel and the share of the elderly in total service needs.

The research which is presented here was part of a broader study on projections of need and costs for the health and social services for the entire Israeli population. The study was conducted in an effort to contribute to the planning process for future health and social services necessitated by the massive immigration to Israel from the CIS (former Soviet Union).

## **2. Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Israeli and Immigrant Population: 1990-2000**

### **2.1 The Situation in 1990**

The population of Israel was 4.8 million at the end of 1990 (see Table 1). During 1990, nearly 200,000 new immigrants arrived in Israel, mostly from the Soviet Union. The population by the end of 1991 is estimated to have increased by an additional 240,000, including about 170,000 additional immigrants (CBS, 1991a; CBS 1991b; Bureau of the Finance Minister, 1992). From July 1989 until December 1991, 350,000 immigrants from the Soviet Union alone arrived in Israel.

### **2.1.1 Age Structure**

The age distribution differs for the veteran and the immigrant population (Table 1). The percentage of children and youth (0-24) is low among the immigrants (36% compared to 49% for the veteran population), while the percentage of elderly is higher (12%, as compared with 9% among veterans).<sup>1</sup> The population of working age (25-64) is also higher among the immigrant population (52%, compared to 42% among veterans).

### **2.1.2 Family Status by Age and Sex**

Marital status by age and sex provides an important indication of the family structure of the population. For men there is little difference between veteran Israeli and immigrant populations. For women there are, however, significant differences. Among the immigrants the percentage of non-married is considerably higher for women above age 44. For example among women 45-54, 84% among veterans are married and only 74% among the immigrant population. Among the immigrants the percentage married drops to 65% in the 55-64 age group and 35% among women age 65+, compared with 75% and 44% among the veteran population (see Table 2). As a result, one finds a much higher percentage of one-parent families among the immigrants and elderly at risk of social isolation than among the veteran population.

## **2.2 Projections for the Years 1995 and 2000**

Projections that were recently prepared by the Central Bureau of Statistics are based on two assumptions regarding the number of expected immigrants from the Soviet Union between 1991-1995. One projection assumes 500,000 immigrants, while the other assumes 800,000 immigrants during this period. We have used the higher estimate of 800,000 immigrants from the Soviet Union during these four years – i.e. about a million immigrants from the Soviet Union between 1990 and 1995. The projections related to the immigrants were based on the age and sex structure of the reservoir of potential Jewish immigrants registered at the Israeli Embassy in the former Soviet Union. This entire reservoir of 1,000,000 immigrants is expected to have immigrated to Israel by 1995.

Based on these assumptions, the population of Israel is expected to increase by 29% from the beginning 1990 and 1995, and will number some 6

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<sup>1</sup> Up to March 1992, the percentage of elderly among all the immigrants who had arrived from the Soviet Union increased to 13% (CBS, unpublished data).

million persons in 1995 (see Table 3). By the end of the century the Israeli population will reach 6.3 million – an increase of 31% from the beginning of the decade (1990). The assumption underlying this projection is, that from 1996 onwards, the wave of immigration will drop off suddenly to a level of 10,000 immigrants a year. Therefore, most of the increase in the population (about 80%) is assumed to take place during the years 1990 to 1995 (CBS, 1991e).

### **2.2.1 Age Structure**

We now turn to the analysis of the contribution of immigration to the population growth. Between the beginning of 1990 and 1995 the overall population is expected to grow by 29%. 70% of this growth is expected to be due to immigration. Among the elderly the impact of the immigration is greater. The elderly population is expected to grow in those five years by 43%, with 81% of the growth due to immigration. The working age population (ages 25-64) is also expected to grow faster than the average. Up to 1995 it will grow by 36%, with 70% of the growth due to immigration. On the other hand, the children and youth groups (0-24) will increase by only 21%. The impact of immigration is somewhat lower for this group than for the other age groups, 68%. As a result of this differential rate of growth, the percentage of children and youth will decline to 46% and the working age and the elderly will increase slightly to 44% and 10%, respectively. As of 2000, no further significant changes are expected in the age structure of the population.

Another way of looking at the demographic changes expected in the coming years is through the "dependency ratio" (see Table 4). This ratio reflects the ratio of the dependent population – children (0-18) and the elderly (65+) – to those of working-age (19-64). The decline in the proportion of children contributes to a decrease in the overall dependency ratio, which is expected to decrease from 91 dependents to every hundred persons of working age, to 81 in the year 2000. The decline in the dependency ratio is due primarily to the much lower dependency ratios within the immigrant population. The dependency ratio of the elderly remains constant (18 dependents to every 100 of working age). Thus some relief in the costs per worker of financing services for the dependent population is expected by the end of the century. However, in the short run the large cost of resettling the immigrants and high unemployment rates will increase the dependency burden. The dependency ratio among the immigrants remains lower through the year 2000, although

there is somewhat of an increase, particularly in the elderly dependency ratio from 0.20 to 0.28.

### **2.3 Labor Force**

Table 5 describes the characteristics of the civilian labor force in Israel. The labor force is defined to include all people over 15 who were either "employed" or "unemployed" (people who were not working but were actively looking for work). The table shows that about half of those aged 15 and over are in the labor force. This percentage is not the same among men and women: nearly two-thirds of the men (62%) and only 41% of the women.

The average unemployment rate in 1990 was 9.6%. Studies conducted by the Bank of Israel indicate that an influx of 1,000,000 immigrants will have an impact on unemployment rates at least over the next five years (Bank of Israel, 1990, 1991) and projections by the National Insurance Institute indicate that the overall rate of unemployed is expected to rise continuously. The fact that among the immigrants a high percentage are of working age ensures that their labor force participation will be especially high. Moreover, the immigrants specific age/gender labor force participation rates for 1992 are similar to those for the Soviet Union and are higher than those for veteran Israelis. The average unemployment rate rose to 11.6% in the first quarter of 1992 (CBS, 1991f). It may rise as high as 15% in 1993 and is then expected to begin to decline to about 14% of the labor force in 1995. The percentage unemployed among the immigrants was three times as high as among the total population – about 30% (some 22% among men and 39% among women) of April 1991. Among those immigrants who have been in Israel for over a year, the proportion of unemployed is smaller – about 24%, and among men it declines to as low as 14.5%. The rates of employment do not of course say anything about whether the immigrants are employed in their professions, or in jobs appropriate to their skills.

According to present rates of labor force participation, the total number of persons in the labor force (working or looking for work) will increase from 1.65 million to 2.19 million, representing an increase of 540,000 jobs that will have to be created between 1990 and 1995. From January 1990 to December 1991, 150,000 jobs have been added to the Israeli economy, 122,000 of these in 1991 (Ministry of Finance, 1992).

Economic factors in Israel and in the Soviet Union could influence the future rates of immigration and change the age structure of the immigrant population. As indicated above, unemployment rates in Israel may cause a decline in levels of immigration, and in fact in 1992 the number of immigrants declined by 40%. If this pattern continues, the number of immigrants is expected to reach 800,000 rather than one million by 1995, however further immigration is expected from the Soviet Union up to 1998. Political changes or change in economic policies such as those related to pension schemes in the Soviet Union could also have an impact on the rate of immigration and its age structure.

### **3. Methodological Issues**

In analyzing the impact of immigration, one needs to make a number of key distinctions:

- 1) A distinction should be made between a spurt of growth in the population, and a change in its rate of growth. For example, the arrival of 1,000,000 immigrants between 1990-1995 will affect the total size of the population and influence its rate of growth for those years. If immigration continues at this pace for several years, the rate of growth of the population will remain high. Conversely, if this proves to have been an isolated spurt of immigration, the rate of growth of the population will return to what it had been previously. In either case, however, there will be an absolute change in needs resulting from the growth of the population base.
- 2) A distinction should be made between the impact of immigration on service needs (units of services, physical structures, and personnel), and on social service costs. Providing the necessary services necessitates major organizational efforts, in construction, in recruitment and training of personnel, and in arranging for service provision. The costs necessitate efforts to address the problems of financing and of reallocation of resources.
- 3) A distinction should be made between the implications of immigration for the costs of developing as opposed to operating the new services. The time pattern of these costs is quite different and the options for finance as well. In this regard, a critical issue is the question of development on the basis of private as opposed to public resources.

- 4) A distinction should be made between the immediate and long-term budgetary impacts. Demographic change within the immigrant population (particularly aging) and the process of absorption of immigrants into the labor force will impact on the nature of needs and the division of responsibility among different governmental agencies, as well as on the financing possibilities.

In this paper, we examine both physical service needs as well as the budgetary implications, and we examine both capital and operating costs of the various services. Both short-term and longer-term impacts are considered.

The services that were included in the projections are:

- a) **Health services**, including: general hospitalization and rehabilitation services, ambulatory care, mental health and preventive services provided by the sick funds and the Ministry of Health.
- b) **Social services**, including: a) institutional and community services for the elderly disabled and living alone (including those covered under the Community Long-term Care Insurance Law) and senior social clubs for semi-independent elderly; and b) institutional and community services for the physically handicapped and retarded.
- c) **Income maintenance**, including:
  - The basic resettlement basket awarded to each immigrant, intended to cover initial expenditures, including living expenses for 12 months, rent and household maintenance for six months, and the expense of attending Hebrew classes.
  - Benefits provided by the National Insurance Institute, such as old age and survivors' benefits, benefits for the handicapped and disabled, maternity and child allowances, minimal income maintenance and unemployment benefits.

The key methodological issue is how to relate the characteristics of the immigrants to social service needs. Efforts to link demographic change and social service needs are based on establishing a link between demographic characteristics of the population and the need for services. The following steps are involved in establishing these links: defining the dimensions of need; identifying possible indicators; identifying a database with data on both the indicators and needs; connecting indicators to needs; estimating the parameters that link indicators to needs; and, finally, translating the needs into units of service and costs.

In general, the data base in Israel as in most countries to make such estimates is very limited. Very often unit cost data for services is not readily available, and data on the variation of needs and costs with various demographic factors is even more limited. The present paper builds on efforts that have been made over the years in Israel to develop a better basis for projecting needs (elderly: Factor and Habib, 1986; Factor and Primak, 1990; Habib et al., 1986); health: Report of the Subcommittee to Examine the Allocation of Employer's Tax among the Sick Funds, 1990). In addition, special efforts were made to complement the availability of such data in a number of areas.

Underlying the concept of service need is the identification of populations with specific problems that generate the need for services. For example, unemployed immigrants who need some form of income maintenance, or disabled elderly who need some form of assistance in meeting their daily personal and household maintenance needs. Demographic projections can first focus on the estimation of the extent of these primary problems. The translation into units of service requires further assumptions. Not all needs need to be met by public services, and some can and will be met by informal sources of support, such as family members. Secondly, there may be more than one kind of service that can address a particular need, such as institutional versus community care for the disabled. Thirdly, the translation into costs depends upon the standard of service provision. Income maintenance benefits may be more or less generous, the quality of accommodations and manpower ratios can vary for various in-kind services. Finally, social service systems do not generally fully meet all needs and therefore there is generally a difference between estimates of required services and actual rates of service utilization.

In this paper we for the most part focus on the projection of needs as expressed in terms of units of service and costs although in selected areas we provide some of the background estimates on the needs as expressed in terms of the underlying problems, such as the numbers of disabled elderly. For the most part we focused on actual utilization as opposed to needs as the basis for the projections. In using data on utilization, we are implicating assuming the continuation of the existing degree of unmet needs as well as the existing way in which needs are being met, such as the present mix of institutional vs. community solutions for the disabled. In selected areas we did make an effort to project also the full needs, which include an estimate of unmet needs.

The most simple forecast uses average utilization data and accounts for overall population growth without consideration of the more specific population characteristics. With respect to some services, this approach had to be used. Even such data was not available for all the services that we had wanted to include. For other services such as health we were able to take into account age differences. The most detailed analysis was done for services for the disabled elderly, where we had at our disposal service models that linked the extent of need to age, sex and ethnic background (see the Appendix for more elaboration of the differential data bases for the different services.) These characteristics were found to have predictive power, as service needs rise sharply with age, are greater for women than for men, and are greater for those of Asian/African as opposed to European/American backgrounds. The proportion of women among the elderly is higher among the immigrant population; the proportion of those from Asia/Africa is lower (from Asian republics of the former Soviet Union); and the proportion of the "old-old" among the immigrant elderly is lower.

Another major issue is whether the needs and the patterns of service utilization, even after adjusting for demographic characteristics, are similar between the immigrant and the veteran populations. Almost no data is available on such differences and we therefore had to assume that the same parameters apply to veterans and to immigrants, in the absence of any evidence to think otherwise. In the Appendix we discuss some cases in which this assumption was not borne out, for example institutional care for the elderly, as the immigrants used these services at a lower rate than expected. However, there is a continued discussion as to whether this represents merely a lagged response or a more permanent difference. Additional research is required to address this question.

The composition of the immigrant population by age, gender, and origin was estimated by the Central Bureau of Statistics on the basis of data on the potential reservoir of immigrants from the (former) Soviet Union. Data on marital status was estimated on the basis of data on immigrants who arrived in Israel between October 1989 and December 1990 (200,000 immigrants).

Another key factor as mentioned is the assumption about employment rates. In this paper, it was assumed that for the first year of immigration the immigrants do not work at all. Following the assumptions of the National Insurance Institute, we assumed that the average unemployment rate among the immigrants as of 1995 will be 29% and for the overall population, 14%.

All the estimates of health service needs and most of the social service needs (institutional and community care for the aged and handicapped) relate to individuals. Data on the need for income maintenance services, such as welfare allowances and old-age pensions, are based on household structure and utilized estimates made by the National Insurance Institute.

The costs for services are presented in U.S. dollars in 1990 prices.

#### **4. The Broad Outlines of Policies with Respect to Service Entitlement of Immigrants**

The cost of social services is obviously affected by the nature of the entitlements. We briefly outline the entitlements as reflected in Israeli policy toward immigrants. The entitlements are based on the level of entitlements in effect as of December 1990.

Every immigrant arriving is entitled to various benefits and services: some address the immigrant's unique needs during the initial absorption process, and some are services provided to the Israeli population as a whole, though the requirements for immigrants are less rigid.

Key benefits and services for immigrants include:

- 1) **The Basic Absorption Basket** intended to cover initial expenditures, including living expenses for 12 months, rent and household maintenance for 6 months, and the expense of attending Hebrew classes.
- 2) **Health Insurance:** Every immigrant is entitled to become a member in one of the sick funds, regardless of his health upon arrival. This insurance includes hospitalization, rehabilitation services, ambulatory care, and medicines. Expenditures relating to mental health are covered directly by the government. The immigrant's membership in the sick fund for the first six months is covered by the government.
- 3) **Housing:** An immigrant is given a rental allowance for five years, on a declining scale. In addition, the immigrant is entitled to a subsidized mortgage in order to purchase an apartment.
- 4) **Old Age and Survivor Pension:** Every immigrant arriving after the age of 65 for male and 60 for female is entitled to a minimum public pension.

- 5) **Child Allowance:** Immigrants arriving with children under 18 are awarded a child allowance for each child.
- 6) **Disability Benefits and Welfare Allowance:** Immigrants are entitled to these benefits.
- 7) **Social Services:** The elderly and the handicapped may receive institutional and community services. These services are subsidized on the basis of a means and income test.

## 5. Summary of Estimates

We examine the impact of immigration on the health and social services from various perspectives. These include one-time absorption costs versus ongoing long-term costs; capital vs. operational costs; the variations in growth by type of service and the share of the elderly in total service costs.

### 1) **One-time Absorption Costs vs. Ongoing Long-Term Costs**

The overall increase in costs due to immigration can be divided into two groups: short-term costs related to the special needs of immigrants and the long-term costs of regular services provided to immigrants within the framework of the service system which serves the total population.

The government provides the immigrants with the basic needs in the first year including subsistence allowances, the cost of initial absorption, apartment rental and maintenance and cost of attending Hebrew classes. The overall cost to provide this minimum basket of services for one million immigrants is estimated at \$3.5 billion, averaging \$700 million per year.

The total operational costs for services provided to the immigrants on an ongoing basis are estimated to reach \$1.6 billion per year after the arrival of 1,000,000 immigrants, i.e. by 1995 (see Table 6), and thus are far more significant.

### 2) **Capital vs. Operational Costs**

The annual operating costs of services for the overall population are estimated to increase by 40% from \$6.2 billion in 1990 to \$8.7 billion in 1995 (see Table 7). Eighty percent of this increase is due to immigration. In order to provide these services, major capital investment will be required to develop the infrastructure for the health and social services. It is estimated the \$706 million will be needed to develop beds in general and psychiatric hospitals,

beds in long-term care institutions for the elderly, and institutional places for the retarded and physically handicapped. Seventy-five percent of the total capital expenditures are required to meet the needs of the immigrants (see Tables 8-9). The estimates do not include the additional development expenditures required for community services.

### **3) The Growth of Cost by Type of Service**

As noted above, annual operating costs will increase by 40% by 1995, compared to a population growth of 29%. This difference is due to the differences in age composition and the higher rates of unemployment over the first five years. The increase is not uniform among the various services, due to differential growth by age group and labor market conditions which influence the eligibility for some income maintenance services.

Health services will increase by 35%, social services for the elderly, retarded and physically handicapped by 39% and income maintenance benefits will increase by 44%, including the initial absorption basket. A particularly dramatic increase is expected in welfare and unemployment benefits, which will increase by 164% and 98% respectively during this period. Most of the unemployed and those entitled to welfare allowances are expected to be new immigrants (see Table 7). In the future we expect a decline in unemployment, and as a consequence, also a reduction in unemployment and welfare allowances. If the unemployment rate were to stabilize at the same level as in 1990, the annual operating cost of these benefits will decline from \$837 million to \$487 million.

### **4) The Impact of the Elderly on Overall Costs**

By 1995 the elderly will represent 15% of the immigrants, however they will account for 40% of all services (operating costs) required by immigrants and 68% of the total required capital expenditures of the immigrants. In other words, their share in expenditures will be 2.5 to 4.5 times their share in the population, respectively (see Table 6-12).

Among the elderly about 80% of the growth in operational costs and 73% of the growth in capital expenditures between 1990 and 1995 will be attributable to immigration.

In the appendix we present more detailed explanations and illustration of the methodology used to estimate the cost of services for the elderly and their share in total services. We also provide a more detailed set of estimates of the need for services by the elderly.

Estimates of the immigrants' payments to internal revenue and social security were made by the Bank of Israel (1990) and the National Insurance Institute (Tamir, 1991). These estimates were based on the immigrants' average income level and rates of labor force participation. For example, the National Insurance Institute estimates that if after two years in Israel, immigrants' wages are equal to the average market wage and their unemployment rates identical to those of the veteran population, immigrants' total social security payments will surpass the total benefits they are expected to receive (Tamir, 1991). This is a result of the low dependency ratio of immigrants.

## **6. Concluding Remarks**

This report has described the magnitude of the demographic changes expected in Israel over the decade of the 90's. The assumption of one million immigrants over five years may prove to be somewhat optimistic (although it could also turn out to be pessimistic). However, the assumptions about a very minimal level of immigration during the last five years of the decade could prove to be too low. Thus it may be that the same number of total immigrants may arrive by 2000 but at a slower average annual rate.

We have attempted to estimate the needs for a number of key social services assuming present standards of care and availability. While the analysis is not fully comprehensive in its coverage of the various health and social services, it can provide a number of significant illustrations of the nature of the increases expected and provide a quantitative basis for planning and budgeting. However, actual budgeting will naturally be influenced by decisions about the degree of response to needs. The infrastructure for estimating needs developed in the present study can also serve to examine the implications of changes in eligibility rules and changes in the demographic composition of the immigrant populations arriving in future years.

It should further be emphasized that the estimates presented here were based on the assumption that the immigrants' needs and utilization of services will be similar to those of veterans. This assumption should be tested against reality in studies that examine the actual needs of the immigrants and their patterns of service utilization.

Table 1: The Population of Israel by Population Group, Age, Sex and Origin, 31.12.1990

	Total Population	Thereof: Immigrants During 1990
<b>Total (thousands)</b>	<b>4,822</b>	<b>200</b>
<b>Percentages</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>Age</b>		
0-14	31.0	23.1
15-24	17.5	12.9
25-44	27.7	34.5
45-54	7.9	8.4
55-64	6.8	9.2
65-74	5.3	7.9
75+	3.8	4.0
<b>Sex</b>		
Males	49.8	47.1
Females	50.2	52.9
<b>Country of Birth</b>		
Israel		—
Asia/Africa		3.0
Europe/America		97.0
<b>Origin</b>		
Israel		
Asia/Africa		
Europe/America		

\* Source: Data of the Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem, 1991

Table 2: Percentage of Married among the Population Aged 15+ by Age Group and Sex

Age	Jewish Population 1989 *		Immigrants During 1990 **	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
<b>Total Aged 15+</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>63</b>
15-24	5	17	16	35
25-44	79	83	86	82
45-54	93	84	91	74
55-64	91	75	92	65
65+64	81	44	79	35

\* Central Bureau of Statistics, Labor Force Surveys, 1989

\*\* Central Bureau of Statistics, "Immigration to Israel 1990"

Table 3: Projections of Total Population in Israel by Age and Sex: 1995, 2000\*

	1995	2000	Percent Increase	
			1990-1995	1990-2000
<b>Total</b> (thousands)	<b>5,991.6</b>	<b>6,298.7</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>36%</b>
<b>Percentages</b>				
<b>Age</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>		
0-14	28.7	27.8	18%	20%
15-24	17.1	17.0	25%	30%
25-44	27.4	26.9	29%	33%
45-54	9.7	11.5	59%	99%
55-64	7.1	6.8	37%	40%
65-74	6.1	5.7	50%	49%
75+	4.0	4.4	33%	53%
<b>Sex</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>		
Males	49.4	49.5	28%	35%
Females	50.6	50.5	31%	37%

Source: Projections of the Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem, 1991

\* End of Year – Based on projection of 800,000 immigrants from USSR between 1991-1995

Table 4: Total Dependency Ratio and Elderly Dependency Ratio by Population Groups, 1990-2000 \*

	Total Population	Immigrants
<b>1990</b>		
Total Dependency Ratio	0.91	0.68
Elderly Dependency Ratio	0.18	0.20
<b>1995</b>		
Total Dependency Ratio	0.84	0.71
Elderly Dependency Ratio	0.18	0.26
<b>2000</b>		
Total Dependency Ratio	0.81	0.73
Elderly Dependency Ratio	0.18	0.28

\* Total Dependency Ratio:  $\frac{(0-18)+(65+)}{(19-64)}$   
 Elderly Dependency Ratio:  $\frac{(65+)}{(19-64)}$

Source: Data and Projections of the Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem, 1991

Table 5: The Civilian Labor Force by Population Group (15+): 1990 and 1995 (thousands)

	Population Age 15+	Civilian Labor Force		Civilian Labor Force		
		Absolute	%	Employed	Unemployed	
				Absolute	%	
<b>Average 1990</b>						
<b>Total</b>						
<b>Population</b>	<b>3,201.6</b>	<b>1,649.9</b>	<b>51.5%</b>	<b>1,491.9</b>	<b>158.0</b>	<b>9.6%</b>
Men	1,573.0	979.9	62.3%	897.7	82.2	8.4%
Women	1,628.1	669.5	41.1%	593.8	75.7	11.3%
<b>Russian Immigrants who arrived in Jan-June 1990*</b>						
Total	37.5	21.1	56.3%	14.9	6.2	29.4%
Men	17.2	11.6	67.4%	9.1	2.5	21.6%
Women	20.3	9.5	46.8%	5.9	3.7	38.9%
<b>By time in Israel</b>						
6-8 months	10.6	5.5	51.9%	3.8	1.7	31.6%
9-11 months	18.9	10.9	57.4%	7.5	3.3	30.7%
12+ months	7.9	4.7	59.3%	3.6	1.1	23.7%
<b>Projection for 1995**</b>						
<b>Total</b>						
Population		2,189.1		1,892.0	297.1	13.6%
<b>Thereof:</b>						
Immigrants		419.4		299.2	120.2	28.6%

Source: Data of the Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem, 1991

\* According to survey "Employment of Immigrants from the USSR who Arrived in Israel in January-June 1990", Central Bureau of Statistics. Employment status of immigrants relates to April 1991.

\*\* According to projections of the National Insurance Institute.

Table 6: Operating Costs of Selected Social and Health Services: Russian Immigrants 1990 and 1995 (in million US dollars)

	1990	1995	Increase 1990-1995
<b>Total Operational Costs</b>	<b>501.5</b>	<b>1,999.3</b>	<b>1,497.8</b>
<b>Health Services</b>	100.0	569.0	469.0
Hospitalization Services	50.0	288.0	238.0
Primary Ambulatory Services	41.0	233.0	192.0
Mental Health Services	9.0	48.0	39.0
<b>Social Services</b>	<b>11.4</b>	<b>132.3</b>	<b>120.9</b>
<i>Services for the Elderly</i>			
LTC Institutional Beds	0.0	64.2	64.2
Community Services	7.7	49.8	42.1
<i>Services for Physically Handicapped</i>			
Out of home	0.2	0.8	0.6
Day Care	0.0	0.1	0.1
<i>Services for Retarded</i>			
Out of Home	3.1	15.6	12.5
Community Services	0.4	1.8	1.4
<b>Income Maintenance</b>	<b>37.9</b>	<b>945.8</b>	<b>907.9</b>
Old Age and Survivors	26.6	390.2	363.6
General Disability	0.6	65.0	64.4
Work Injury	0.3	18.6	18.3
Maternity	1.8	19.6	17.8
Child Allowance	7.3	75.2	67.9
Unemployment	0.9	203.4	202.5
Welfare Allowance	0.0	173.8	173.8
<b>Resettlement Allowance</b>	352.2	352.2	-

Table 7: Operating Costs of Selected Social and Health Services: Veterans 1990 and Overall Population 1995 (in million dollars)

	Veterans Percent 1990	All Population 1995	Increase
<b>Total Operational Costs</b>	<b>6,221</b>	<b>8,740</b>	<b>40%</b>
<b>Health Services</b>	<b>2,179</b>	<b>2,946</b>	<b>35%</b>
Hospitalization Services	1,107	1,493	35%
Primary Ambulatory Services	896	1,209	35%
Mental Health Services	176	244	32%
<b>Social Services</b>	<b>496</b>	<b>692</b>	<b>39%</b>
<i>Services for the Elderly</i>			
LTC Institutional Beds	217	312	44%
Community Services	183	257	40%
<i>Services for Physically Handicapped</i>			
Out of home	5	6	23%
Day Care	1	1	25%
<i>Services for Retarded</i>			
Out of Home	82	105	29%
Community Services	9	11	30%
<b>Income Maintenance</b>	<b>3,546</b>	<b>4,750</b>	<b>34%</b>
Old Age and Survivors	1,522	2,013	32%
General Disability	414	524	27%
Work Injury	242	303	25%
Maternity	202	273	36%
Child Allowance	786	800	2%
Unemployment	255	506	98%
Welfare Allowance	126	331	164%
<b>Resettlement Allowance</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>352</b>	<b>-</b>

Table 8: Development Costs of Selected Social and Health Services:  
Overall Population for the Period 1990-1995 (in million US  
dollars)

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<b>Total Development Costs</b>	<b>705.6</b>
<b>Health Services</b>	<b>218.0</b>
Hospitalization Services (general)	148.0
Mental Health Hospitals	57.0
Mental Health Day Care	13.0
<b>Services for the Elderly</b>	<b>412.9</b>
Beds for Semi-Independent Elderly	103.3
Beds for Frail Elderly	102.9
Beds for Severely Disabled Elderly	206.8
<b>Services for the Handicapped and Retarded</b>	<b>74.7</b>
Handicapped	4.1
Retarded	70.6

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Table 9: Development Costs of Selected Social and Health Services:  
Russian Immigrants for the Period 1990-1995

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<b>Total Development Costs</b>	<b>527.1</b>
<b>Health Services</b>	<b>194.0</b>
Hospitalization Services (general)	137.0
Mental Health Hospitals	46.0
Mental Health Day Care	10.0
<b>Services for the Elderly</b>	<b>284.3</b>
Beds for Semi-Independent Elderly	97.0
Beds for Frail Elderly	67.2
Beds for Severely Disabled Elderly	120.1
<b>Services for the Handicapped and Retarded</b>	<b>49.8</b>
Handicapped	2.8
Retarded	47.0

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Table 10: Operational Costs of Social and Health Selected Services for the Elderly: Veterans and Overall Population 1990-1995 (in million dollars)

	Veterans 1990	All Population 1995	Percentage of Increase
<b>Total Operational Costs</b>	<b>2,623</b>	<b>3,629</b>	<b>38%</b>
<b>Health Services</b>	<b>701</b>	<b>995</b>	<b>42%</b>
Hospitalization Services	365	518	42%
Primary Ambulatory Services	296	420	42%
Mental Health Services	40	57	43%
<b>Social Services</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>568</b>	<b>42%</b>
LTC Institutional Beds	271	312	44%
Community Services	183	257	40%
<b>Income Maintenance</b>	<b>1,522</b>	<b>2,066</b>	<b>36%</b>
Old Age and Survivors	1,522	2,013	32%
Absorption Basket	0	53	-

Table 11: Operational Costs of Social and Health Selected Services for the Elderly: Immigrants 1990 and 1995 (in million dollars)

	1990	1995	Increase 1990- 1995
<b>Total Operational Costs</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>793</b>	<b>670</b>
<b>Health Services</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>200</b>
Hospitalization Services	19	123	104
Primary Ambulatory Services	15	100	85
Mental Health Services	2	13	11
<b>Social Services</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>106</b>
LTC Institutional Beds	0	64	64
Community Services	8	50	42
<b>Income Maintenance</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>363</b>
Old Age and Survivors	27	390	363
Absorption Basket	53	53	0

Table 12: Development Costs of Selected Social and Health Services for the **Elderly** for the Period 1990-1995 (in million US dollars)

	Total Elderly Population	Of these: Immigrants
<b>Total Development Costs</b>	<b>494</b>	<b>362</b>
<b>Health Services</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>78</b>
Hospitalization Services (General)	64	63
Mental Health Hospitals	16	14
Mental Health Day Care	1	1
<b>Social Services</b>	<b>413</b>	<b>284</b>
Beds for Semi-Independent Elderly	103	97
Beds for Frail Elderly	103	67
Beds for Severely Disabled Elderly	207	120

## **Appendix: Health and Social Services for the Elderly – Data Sources and Estimates**

In this section we provide more detail on the projection of need for the elderly in each major area. We compare the needs in 1990 of the veteran population with the total needs in 1995. Estimates for the year 2000 are also presented in selected areas.

### **Health Services**

The complexity of Israel's health system makes it difficult to obtain the data necessary for evaluating the quantitative implications of immigration. This difficulty is compounded by the lack of a system for continuous, comprehensive collection of data on the provision of health services.

We evaluate the following health services: general and rehabilitative hospitalization; primary care ambulatory services (visits to a physician or nurse; laboratory and x-ray tests); mental health services (hospital and ambulatory services); preventive medicine; and medical equipment. Hospitalization in wards for the chronically ill is analyzed in a separate section on social services for the elderly.

The availability of data relating patterns of health service utilization to population characteristics differs according to the type of service. For acute, rehabilitative, and psychiatric hospital services, there are data according to age, but these are not up-to-date. For ambulatory (non-hospital) services, data are not systematically collected. Assessments of the patterns of utilization of these services must therefore draw on special surveys.

#### **a. General and Rehabilitative Hospital Services**

The rate of admission to hospital wards and annual hospitalization days per 1,000 residents by age were used to assess the need for general hospital services.

The most recent data on hospitalization days by age for all the hospitals in Israel were published by the Central Bureau of Statistics for 1983 (CBS 1990). Therefore, the rates of admission and hospitalization days by age were calculated according to the data for 1983 and adjusted for total hospitalization days in 1988 (The Ministry of Health, Hospitals and Day-care Units in Israel 1989). The results were applied to the expected distribution of elderly

immigrants by age, in order to estimate the total number of expected annual hospital days. Thus we implicitly assume that the immigrants' rates of illness and hospitalization are identical to those of the veteran population.

According to these estimates, the total number of hospital days will increase from 1.4 million in 1990, to 2.0 million in 1995, to 2.1 million in the year 2000 (see Table A1). Approximately 70% of this increase over the ten-year period is due to immigration.

The number of general and rehabilitative beds that will be needed to meet these needs was calculated according to the current ratio of beds to hospital days. In 1988, this ratio was one bed for every 300 hospital days. It will thus be necessary to construct 2,021 beds in general and rehabilitative hospitals.

The number of beds needed for the elderly in general and rehabilitation hospitals is expected to increase by 44% from 4,605 in 1990 to 6,196 in 1995 and to 6,626 in 2000. Approximately 80% of the needed increase in beds among the elderly is due to immigration (see Table 12). The elderly account for 43% of all new beds required.

Outpatient clinics are considered part of general hospital services. Data on visits to outpatient clinics by age are available for government hospitals, for 1988/89 (about half of the hospital beds). The rate of visits by age was then applied to the distribution of immigrants by age. The number of visits per year will increase from 794,000 in 1990 to 1.1 million in 1995 and to 1.2 million in 2000. Seventy percent of this increase will be due to immigration.

In 1990, the fee for one day of hospitalization was \$211. This rate reflects the average real cost of hospital services, and serves as the basis for reimbursement. This fee was multiplied by the expected number of hospitalization days to estimate the cost of hospital services required to meet the needs. The total cost for hospital days is estimated to increase from \$299 million/year for the veteran elderly population before immigration to \$452 million in the year 2000.

Data from the Ministry of Health indicate that expenditures for visits to outpatient clinics represent one-fourth of all government hospital expenditures. According to this distribution, the average cost of a visit to an outpatient clinic was calculated to be \$84. The annual cost for visits to outpatient clinics will increase from \$60 million for the veteran elderly population in 1990 to \$101 million in 2000 (see Table A2).

Sixty percent of the total costs for hospitalization services for the elderly up to the year 2000 will be attributable to immigration.

**b. Ambulatory Services (Primary Care)**

There is no systematic collection of data on the rates of ambulatory health service utilization by age. It was therefore necessary to rely on past community surveys. The last comprehensive survey of the use of health services was conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics and the Ministry of Health in 1981.

On the basis of this survey, the rate of utilization was calculated for the following components of ambulatory service: visits to a physician (general physician or specialist, house calls, and clinic visits); visits to a nurse; visits to a hospital emergency room; and laboratory and x-ray tests. The survey did not include data on the utilization of medications, paramedical care, or preventive medical services.

The rates of utilization by age were applied to the distribution of the elderly population over time to estimate the units of ambulatory service for each period. Tables A1 shows the expected increase for the various components of ambulatory care as listed above. For example, the number of physicians' visits, which serve as an indicator of overall utilization of primary health ambulatory services, is expected to grow from 7.5 million/year in 1990 for veterans to 10.9 in 1995 and 11.5 in the year 2000 for the entire elderly population. A similar rate of growth is expected for the other ambulatory services. The elderly account for 27% of the total increase in ambulatory care.

It was not possible to estimate the cost of primary care directly. Instead, data from the national accounts was used. In 1986/87, expenditures for ambulatory health services (not including preventive medicine) were Israel Shekels (NIS) 897 (in prices for that year). During the same period, expenditures for hospital services were NIS 1,104 million. According to these data, expenditures for ambulatory services represented 81% of hospital expenditures. Assuming this percentage would remain stable, the cost of ambulatory services was calculated as 81% of the total cost of expected hospitalization days. It was also assumed that the ratio of age and gender to cost of ambulatory services was identical to the ratio of age and gender to cost of hospitalization.

The estimated cost of ambulatory services for the elderly will grow from \$296 million for the veteran population in 1990 to \$420 million in 1995 and

\$456 in the year 2000. 80% of the growth in ambulatory care from 1990 to 1995 is due to immigration.

### **c. Mental Health Services**

There are three main types of mental health service: psychiatric hospitals; day care services; and ambulatory care in the community.

The rate of annual admissions for every 1,000 residents by age and gender was used to estimate the need for hospitalization in psychiatric hospitals. Data on admissions by age and gender for 1988 were available from the National System for Information on Mental Health of the Ministry of Health. We used the average length of stay of all those hospitalized to calculate total hospitalization days.

Hospitalization days will increase from 589,000 in 1990 for veteran elderly to 896,000 in 2000, with 70% of the increase due to immigration.

The number of beds that will be required in psychiatric hospitals was calculated according to the ratio of beds to hospitalization days. In 1988, this ratio was one bed for every 325 hospitalization days. The number of required beds will increase from 1,016 in 1990 to 1,546 in the year 2000. Of these, 369 are required for elderly immigrants.

There are no data on visits to mental health day care services by age. The only data available are for the total number of care days and the number of places in day care settings. Since day care is considered an alternative to hospitalization, it was assumed that distribution by age and gender was identical for day care and hospitalization. Based on this assumption, the rates of visit days were calculated for every 1,000 individuals by age and gender. In 1991, the number of day care visits was estimated at 18,000, using 73 beds, and this will increase to 28,000, using 110 beds, by 2000.

The expected cost of meeting the needs of immigrants for psychiatric hospitalization and day care was estimated on the basis of Ministry of Health fees: \$65 per hospitalization day, and \$33 for one day of day care. The annual cost of continuous maintenance of the elderly veteran population in psychiatric hospitals was estimated at \$39 million in 1990 and \$0.7 million for day care (Table A2). By the year 2000 these costs will increase, to \$59 million and \$0.9 million, respectively.

It will cost \$16.0 million to construct 450 additional beds in psychiatric hospitals, and \$1 million to add 31 places in day care settings.

In order to calculate the cost of ambulatory care in mental health clinics, the total budget for this item for 1990 was divided into the number of care days in the government sector (approximately half of all care days in the system). According to this calculation, the cost of one treatment was estimated at \$9. The cost of ambulatory care is estimated to increase from \$0.5 million in 1990 to \$0.8 million in 2000.

## **Social Services**

In this section we relate to a broad range of institutional and community services for the elderly, with an emphasis on those for the disabled.

### **a. Institutional Services**

In Israel long-term care institutional services are provided in various types of settings: old age homes, hospitals for the chronically ill and nursing wards in general hospitals. The patients are divided into four categories of wards, according to their functional and mental status: semi-independent (independent in activities of daily living (ADL), and usually limited in homemaking capacity); frail (partially limited in ADL and suffering from mobility difficulties); severely dependent (who need help with most ADL activities, are not mobile, and are usually incontinent); and mentally frail (cognitively impaired mobile elderly and/or with severe behavioral problems, and usually partially limited in ADL).

The actual use of institutional services is not determined solely by the functional status of the elderly individual; rather, it is also influenced by the availability of support services in the community and assistance from the family, and by the preferences of the elderly individual and his family. As a result, it is difficult to estimate the need for institutional services. We estimate the need for these services on the basis of actual patterns of utilization by age, gender, and origin (Bergman et al., 1986; Beer and Factor, 1990). Data on waiting lists for receipt of service were used to estimate the gap between needs and actual utilization.

The data on patterns of utilization by age, gender, and origin are based on a census of institution and sheltered housing residents that was conducted in 1990. The census provides data on the type of bed and on the functional and demographic characteristics of each resident. As in other areas, it was assumed that immigrants' rates of institutionalization would be identical to those of the veteran population.

A calculation of the number of elderly immigrants expected to be institutionalized was made by applying rates of utilization by type of bed to the composition of the immigrant population.

The number of beds of each type necessary to meet needs was calculated according to the number of elderly expected to be institutionalized, with an addition of 12%. This was meant to account for both structural non-occupancy and the institutionalization of adults under age 65 in institutions for the elderly.

It was assumed that some immigrants needing institutionalization would not immediately enter institutions, but would be added to existing waiting lists. The number of immigrants on waiting lists was calculated for each type of bed according to the existing ratio of residents to those on waiting lists for the veteran population.

In 1990 there were 19,041 beds for the elderly in long-term care institutions. Of these, 7,658 are for the severely dependent and mentally frail elderly, 4,577 for the frail, and 6,806 for semi-independent. By the end of the decade, 30,900 beds will be needed, an increase of almost 12,000 beds. Almost one-half of these will be required for severely dependent and mentally frail.

The need for long-term care beds for immigrants is estimated to be 5,700 by 1995 and 8,000 by 2000. This represents two-thirds of the additional beds required by the year 2000 to meet the needs of the elderly (see Table A3).

It is possible that the need for beds as detailed above will not be translated immediately into actual demand. This could happen if severely disabled elderly who are currently institutionalized in the Soviet Union do not immigrate to Israel. In such a case, the monthly rate of admissions to institutions during the first year following immigration will be parallel to the natural incidence rate, and not to the prevalence of institutionalization as a percentage of the population. Since the life expectancy of the severely dependent elderly in institutions is approximately one year, and that of the frail is three years, the percentage of immigrants institutionalized per month (incidence) will be 1/12 of the existing prevalence for severely dependent elderly and 1/36 of that for frail elderly. It should therefore be expected to take one and a half years for institutionalization levels to reach the estimates presented here. Indeed, it was found that as of January 1992, when the number of elderly immigrants had reached 42,800, only 230 elderly (most of them severely dependent) had been institutionalized. This number is in accord with the assumption that the rate of new institutionalizations per month is 1/12

of the existing prevalence. It is thus possible that those needing immediate institutionalization did not arrive with this group of the immigrants. This matches the rate estimated according to the incidence rates of the veteran population. These developments were not taken into account in this study. If taken into account, it is possible that the estimates for 1995 will need to be adjusted by one half year.

The cost of maintaining elderly individuals in institutions varies according to the functional level of the elderly individual and the type and ownership of the institution in which he has been hospitalized. The average monthly fees for maintaining an elderly individual in an institution to which he has been referred by the government, with full or partial subsidy are: for semi-independent, \$556; for frail, \$818; and for severely dependent and mentally frail, \$1,546.

Based on these fee levels the operating costs for all beds were \$217 million in 1990 and are expected to increase to \$353 million by the end of the decade (Table A4).

In Israel there are two ways to enter an institution: by self-referral, in which the cost is borne by the elderly and his family; or by referral from a governmental agency, in which case the government participates fully or partially in financing the operating costs. In any case, all elderly must contribute a minimum payment equivalent to 80% of the old-age pension to which they are entitled to under social security. In 1990, \$92 million (out of a total of \$217) were financed by public funds. By the end of the decade, the contribution of public financing will double, if we assume that all the elderly immigrants will be referred by governmental agencies (see Table A4).

The cost of constructing a bed in a new institution (or building) was estimated by the Ministries of Health and Social Affairs to be \$40,000, based on the accepted standards of the Ministry. The cost of construction is identical for all types of beds in institutions. The cost of building the needed beds in new institutions is estimated at \$413 million up to 1995 (see Table 12). In light of the expected needs resulting from immigration, suggestions have been made to lower standards temporarily, at least for those beds that will be built with public subsidies. However, this possibility was not considered in the estimates presented here.

### **b. Community Services**

These services include services provided in the home of the elderly individual (help with personal care, homecare, meals-on-wheels) and services provided in the community (day care centers, senior social clubs).

The estimate of the need for community services was made in two stages. In the first stage, the degree of disability of the elderly by demographic characteristics was estimated. In the second stage, the need for home care services.

In the first stage, the number of disabled elderly was calculated using specific rates of disability by age, gender, and origin among those needing personal care and homemaking. Estimates of disability were made using multivariate models constructed on the basis of data from a national survey of individuals age 60 and over, living in the community, which was conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics in 1985 (Factor and Primak, 1990). The number and demographic composition of elderly immigrants in the community was calculated by subtracting the estimated number of elderly in institutions by demographic composition from the distribution of the total elderly. The number of disabled elderly needing personal care and homemaking was estimated by applying the disability rates to the distribution of elderly immigrants expected to reside in the community.

During the second stage of the estimate, need for each specific service was determined by multiplying the number of disabled (by characteristic) by the number of hours of assistance required. In addition, an estimate of the expected distribution of service provision between family and formal services was made, based on currently acceptable standards (for a detailed explanation of the methodological approach to this issue, see Factor and Habib, 1986).

The costs of community services were calculated according to prices and fees prevailing in the public sector, as follows: \$6.50 for an hour of assistance in personal care; \$5.00 for an hour of assistance in homemaking (public cost \$4.50); \$2.00 for a meal brought to the home of an elderly individual (public cost \$1.00); \$17.50 for one day of day care (public cost \$16.00); and \$1.50 for a visit to a senior social club.

In 1990, the number of elderly disabled in activities of daily living (ADL) (those in need of assistance in bathing, dressing and eating) was 40,000, representing 9.8% of the elderly living in the community. By 1995, the number disabled in ADL will be 55,000, representing 9.6% of the elderly

living in the community. By the end of the decade, this number will increase to 62,000 (10.3%). Of these, 11,250 will be from among the new immigrant population (see Tables A6-A8). The relatively low estimate of disability in ADL among elderly immigrants (7%) is due to their being relatively younger than the veteran elderly. The cost of providing personal care to this group is estimated at \$134 million in 1990 and will increase to \$184 million by 1995. Of this, an estimated \$98 million in 1990 and \$170 million in 1995 will be provided by the National Insurance Institute under the Community Long-Term Care Insurance Law on a universal basis and the remainder will need to be provided by other organizations on a discretionary basis.

Another group of disabled elderly are those who need assistance in homemaking (cleaning, cooking, laundry and shopping), because there is no one who can provide these activities in the household. The number of disabled in this category is estimated at 162,000 and is expected to grow to 231,000 in 1995 and to 250,000 by the end of 2000 (41% of the elderly). In 1990, only 9,200 elderly received formal services, and if the provision patterns remain the same 15,300 will receive them by 1995 and 16,500 at the end of the decade.

The proportion of elderly needing meals-on-wheels and assistance in homemaking was determined through a multivariate analysis based on the CBS national survey. An estimate of the need for formal services in these areas was made based on the ideal distribution of service provision between families and formal agencies, revealed in local surveys and in a survey of service recipients (Zilberstein, 1981; Habib et al., 1986). In 1990 the number of elderly in need of meals on wheels was estimated at 17,300 and the number will grow to 24,800 in 1995 and to 26,000 by the end of the decade.

Assessments of the need for day care centers for the disabled were made according to actual rates of utilization of all day care settings in Israel. The assessments were based on data in a database compiled by the JDC-Brookdale Institute, as well as on alternative assumptions about the desired level of utilization of day care centers. At present, 1% of the elderly living in the community visit day care centers an average of three times a week. On the basis of these rates, it was estimated that 100 immigrants would visit day care centers three times a week – that is 15,600 visits per year. Since day care center services are relatively new, there is still no consensus about the ideal level of utilization. Some claim that the current percentage should be doubled, at the very least.

While disabled elderly may receive social-recreational services through day care centers, the independent elderly can receive these services through senior social clubs. Data on patterns of utilization, by age and gender, of senior social clubs was taken from the CBS national survey. Today 4,000 elderly visit day care centers three times per week. If the same pattern of utilization continues, the number of visits will increase to 5,750 in 1995 and 6,000 by the year 2000.

On the assumption that the proportion of immigrant service recipients would be similar to that of the veteran population, it was estimated that the annual cost of these community services for elderly immigrants would be \$3.3 million, according to the following breakdown: personal care \$2.1 million; assistance with homemaking \$137,000; meals-on-wheels \$309,000; senior social clubs \$480,000; day care centers \$270,000 (see Table A8).

### **The Resettlement Allowance**

The resettlement allowance that is given to every immigrant is meant to cover initial expenditures, living expenses for six months, rental and maintenance of an apartment for one year, basic household equipment and the expenses associated with the tuition for and transportation to Hebrew language classes. Elderly individuals who receive old-age and survivors' pensions from the National Insurance Institute upon arrival in Israel are not eligible for living expenses.

The resettlement allowance provided to an elderly immigrant couple in 1990 was \$4,250 and \$2,815 for a single person. The overall cost to provide this minimum income maintenance for the elderly among the one million immigrants is \$352 million.

Table A1: The Needs for Selected Health Services 1990-2000: Veterans and Total Elderly Population

	Veterans 1990	Total 1995	Total 2000
<b>Hospitalization Services (General and Rehabilitation)</b>			
Hospitalization Days (thousands)	1,418	2,006	2,146
Number of Beds (thousands)	4,605	6,196	6,626
External Clinics – Visits (thousands)	794	1,132	1,200
<b>Ambulatory Services</b>			
Physician Visits (thousands)	7,564	10,859	11,460
Nurse Visits (thousands)	1,445	2,110	2,209
Emergency Room Visits (thousands)	228	326	347
Laboratory Tests (thousands)	1,260	1,821	1,917
X-Ray (thousands)	391	557	585
<b>Mental Health Services</b>			
Psychiatric Hospitals			
Patients	1,811	2,612	2,756
Hospitalization Days (thousands)	589	849	896
Number of Beds	1,016	1,465	1,546
Day Care			
Visits (thousands)	18	27	28
Number of Beds	73	104	110
Ambulatory Care			
Visits (thousands)	57	83	86
Patients per Week	840	1,229	1,279

Table A2: Operating Costs of Selected Health Services 1990-2000 (in million US dollars)

	1990	1995	2000
<b>TOTAL POPULATION</b>	<b>737</b>	<b>995</b>	<b>1,080</b>
<b>Hospitalization Services (General and Rehabilitation)</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>518</b>	<b>563</b>
Hospitalization Days	314	423	452
External Clinics – Visits	70	95	101
<b>Ambulatory Services</b>	<b>311</b>	<b>420</b>	<b>456</b>
<b>Mental Health Services</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>61</b>
Psychiatric Hospitals	41	55	59
Day Care	1	1	1
Ambulatory Care	1	1	1
<b>RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>249</b>
<b>Hospitalization Services (General and Rehabilitation)</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>130</b>
Hospitalization Days	15	100	106
External Clinics Visits	4	23	24
<b>Ambulatory Services</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>Mental Health Services</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>
Psychiatric Hospitals	2	13	14
Day Care	0	0	0
Ambulatory Care	0	0	0

Table A3: The Need for Long-Term Care Beds for the Elderly: 1990-2000

	Actual		
	1990	1995	2000
<b>Overall Population</b>	<b>19,041</b>	<b>27,299</b>	<b>30,875</b>
Semi-independent	6,806	8,871	9,962
Frail	4,577	6,634	7,545
Severely Dependent/Mentally Frail	7,658	11,794	13,368
<b>Israeli Population</b>	<b>19,041</b>	<b>21,614</b>	<b>22,858</b>
Semi-independent	6,806	6,931	7,220
Frail	4,577	5,291	5,591
Severely Dependent/Mentally Frail	7,658	9,392	10,047
<b>Russian Immigrants</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5,685</b>	<b>8,017</b>
Semi-independent	–	1,940	2,742
Frail	–	1,343	1,954
Severely Dependent/Mentally Frail	–	2,402	3,321

Table A4: Operating Costs of Long-Term Care Beds 1990-2000: (in million US dollars)

	Actual		
	1990	1995	2000
<b>Overall Population</b>	<b>216.9</b>	<b>311.7</b>	<b>352.9</b>
Semi-independent	37.8	53.8	60.4
Frail	41.1	59.2	67.3
Severely Dependent/Mentally Frail	138.0	198.7	225.3
<b>Israeli Population</b>	<b>216.9</b>	<b>247.4</b>	<b>262.9</b>
Semi-independent	37.8	42.0	43.8
Frail	41.1	47.2	49.8
Severely Dependent/Mentally Frail	138.0	158.3	169.3
<b>Russian Immigrants</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>64.2</b>	<b>90.0</b>
Semi-independent	0.0	11.8	16.6
Frail	0.0	12.0	17.4
Severely Dependent/Mentally Frail	0.0	40.5	56.0

Table A5: Public Financed Operating Costs of Long-Term Care Beds: 1990-2000 (in million US dollars)

	Actual		
	1990	1995	2000
<b>Overall Population</b>	<b>91.6</b>	<b>155.6</b>	<b>182.8</b>
Semi-independent	1.9	9.2	12.2
Frail	13.1	23.8	28.6
Severely Dependent/Mentally Frail	76.6	122.6	142.0
<b>Israeli Population</b>	<b>91.6</b>	<b>105.0</b>	<b>112.0</b>
Semi-independent	1.9	2.1	2.2
Frail	13.1	15.0	15.9
Severely Dependent/Mentally Frail	76.6	87.8	94.0
<b>Russian Immigrants</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>50.6</b>	<b>70.8</b>
Semi-independent	0.0	7.1	10.0
Frail	0.0	8.8	13.7
Severely Dependent/Mentally Frail	0.0	34.7	48.0

Table A6: Number and Percent of Elderly Disabled in Activities of Daily Living and Homemaking, Living in the Community: 1990-2000

		1990	1995	2000
<b>Overall Population</b>				
Disabled in ADL	- Number	41,462	55,030	62,026
	- Percent	9.8%	9.6%	10.3%
Disabled in Homemaking	- Number	170,133	231,291	249,253
	- Percent	40.1%	40.2%	41.3%
<b>Israeli Population</b>				
Disabled in ADL	- Number	39,938	45,262	50,780
	- Percent	9.9%	10.4%	11.0%
Disabled in Homemaking	- Number	162,220	179,469	193,784
	- Percent	40.3%	41.3%	42.0%
<b>Russian Immigrants</b>				
Disabled in ADL	- Number	1,524	9,768	11,246
	- Percent	7.1%	6.9%	7.9%
Disabled in Homemaking	- Number	7,913	51,822	55,469
	- Percent	36.7%	36.8%	39.0%

Table A7: Elderly in Need of Selected Community Long-Term Care Services: 1990-2000

	1990	1995	2000
<b>OVERALL POPULATION</b>			
Personal Care	41,462	55,030	62,026
Homemaking – all formal needs	106,828	169,868	182,833
– actual utilization	9,614	15,288	16,455
Meals on Wheels	18,231	24,760	25,936
Day Care Center – actual utilizations*	4,240	5,758	6,032
– 2% of population**	8,480	11,516	12,063
Senior Social Clubs	86,125	118,218	123,568
<b>ISRAELI POPULATION</b>			
Personal Care	39,938	45,262	50,780
Homemaking – all formal needs	102,080	138,775	149,552
– actual utilization	9,187	12,490	13,460
Meals on Wheels	17,303	18,708	19,821
Day Care Center – actual utilization	4,024	4,351	4,609
– 2% of population	8,048	8,701	9,219
Senior Social Clubs	81,767	88,972	94,171
<b>RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS</b>			
Personal Care	1,524	9,768	11,246
Homemaking – all formal needs	4,748	31,093	33,281
– actual utilization	427	2,798	2,995
Meals on Wheels	928	6,052	6,115
Day Care Center – actual utilization	216	1,407	1,422
– 2% of population	432	2,815	2,844
Senior Social Clubs	4,358	29,245	29,397

\* Three visits per week

\*\* Four visits per week

Table A8: The Cost of Selected Community Long-Term Care Services for the Elderly (in million US dollars)

	1990	1995	2000
<b>OVERALL POPULATION</b>			
Personal Care	138.8	184.2	207.6
Homemaking – all formal needs	96.3	153.0	164.7
– actual utilization	6.9	11.0	11.9
Meals on Wheels	13.1	17.8	18.7
Day Care Center – actual utilizations*	11.5	15.6	16.3
– 2% of population**	30.6	41.5	43.5
Senior Social Clubs	20.4	28.0	29.3
<b>ISRAELI POPULATION</b>			
Personal Care	133.7	151.5	169.9
Homemaking – all formal needs	92.0	125.0	134.7
– actual utilization	6.6	9.0	9.7
Meals on Wheels	12.5	13.5	14.3
Day Care Center – actual utilization	10.9	11.8	12.5
– 2% of population	29.0	31.4	33.2
Senior Social Clubs	19.4	21.1	22.3
<b>RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS</b>			
Personal Care	5.1	32.7	37.6
Homemaking – all formal needs	4.3	28.0	30.0
– actual utilization	0.3	2.0	2.2
Meals on Wheels	0.7	4.4	4.4
Day Care Center – actual utilization	0.6	3.8	3.8
– 2% of population	1.6	10.1	10.3
Senior Social Clubs	1.0	6.9	7.0

\* Three visits per week

\*\* Four visits per week

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## ***ELDERLY IMMIGRANTS***

### **Resettling Elderly Soviet Immigrants in Israel: Family Ties and the Housing Dilemma**

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## Background

Since October 1989, there has been significant immigration to Israel, the majority of immigrants arriving from the former Soviet Union. By mid-1993 almost half a million immigrants had arrived in Israel, increasing the total population by more than 10% (see Table 1).

Table 1: Total Jewish Population and Immigrants from former Soviet Union and Total Immigrants, October 1989 – March 1993

	Jewish Population	Total Immigrants	Immigrants from former Soviet Union
All Ages	4,242,539	471,344	414,769
Elderly Aged 65+	458,295	58,545	54,638
% Elderly	10.8	12.4	13.2

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), 1993a, 1993b, 1992, 1991. (Calculations performed by JDC-Brookdale Institute.)

The successful absorption of these immigrants into all aspects of life – adequate level of income, housing, learning the language – requires sensitivity to the needs of special groups, such as the elderly. Clearly, the need to adjust to a new physical and social environment and adapt to new cultural norms and values may pose greater difficulties for elderly immigrants than for younger ones. Moreover, the need to acclimate to a new society just when their ability to support themselves through employment is greatly diminished and their health may be deteriorating, may compound the problems faced by the elderly immigrant.

The 55,000 elderly who have arrived since 1989 from the former Soviet Union have increased the total number of elderly in Israel by 13%. Even though the influx of immigrants has slowed, about 10,000 elderly continue to arrive each year. The proportion of elderly among more recent groups is even higher than in the past. As a result, the annual increase in Israel's total number of elderly due to immigration has been significantly higher than the increase due to the natural aging of the general Israeli population even in 1992 and 1993.

## Israel's Immigration Policy and the Elderly

The Law of Return grants automatic citizenship to every Jew who immigrates to Israel irrespective of age. As citizens, the immigrant elderly are eligible for the same basic benefits as are non-immigrant elderly (Habib, Factor and Benita, 1991; Benita, Habib and Factor, 1991).<sup>1</sup> They are entitled to flat rate and supplementary old age benefits from the National Insurance Institute, Israel's Social Security Administration, which are designed to provide a guaranteed minimum income. They are not eligible for occupational pensions, as is also the case for many longer-term immigrant elderly who have not accumulated pension benefits in Israel. All elderly are covered by health insurance and are eligible for long-term care services in both institutional and community settings.

In addition to the benefits they receive as citizens, elderly immigrants are entitled to many of the benefits that are provided specially to immigrants. These include:

- a basic cash grant for living expenses for the first six months and basic purchases
- permanent monthly rental subsidies (in cash) after the first six months, even for elderly who live with their children<sup>2</sup>
- a cash grant, usually given in the 13th month of residence, to compensate for eliminating the tax exemption previously granted to immigrant for purchasing household appliances
- publicly-subsidized mortgages, which carry minimal interest rates and a long period of repayment
- preference for publicly-subsidized housing, when available

In addition, the immigrants are eligible for a one-time loan, to be repaid over a ten year period, beginning three years from the date of the loan (Habib, Factor and Tamir, Forthcoming).

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1 This paper confines itself to a description of the benefits to which immigrants from "hardship countries", such as the former Soviet Union, are entitled. These benefits are broader than those provided to immigrants from Western countries.

2 It is possible for an elderly person to live in an apartment owned by a family member, and still receive a rent subsidy.

Unfortunately, the elderly immigrants are no longer eligible on a universal basis to attend free Hebrew-language courses, as was the case in the past. Because of the large number of immigrants, preference is now being given to those of working age who require language skills. Access is now a function of local municipal or voluntary initiatives.

While it is clear that national policy favors immigration and that much is done to ease immigrant absorption, elderly immigrants remain a high-risk population.

One of the central concerns of immigrant absorption is housing. The situation for elderly immigrants is particularly difficult for three reasons. First of all, the cost of rental housing is prohibitively high. In general, home ownership is predominant in Israel even among the elderly and the rental market is limited. Rents went sky-high as a result of the massive immigration, which increased the demand for temporary rental housing. Secondly, there is a severe shortage of subsidized public housing for the elderly. Thirdly, an older couple, although entitled to a mortgage, will not be able to purchase an apartment of their own, because it is necessary to be employed as collateral against meeting the mortgage payment, and the payments, despite the subsidy, may prove to be too high.

As a result, a major crisis has developed with respect to access of the elderly immigrants to housing. The crisis was reflected directly in demonstrations by elderly immigrants related to lack of housing as well as indirectly in growing signs of severe economic hardship among elderly immigrants, in large measure a result of their inability to access affordable housing. The growth of soup kitchens all around the country to provide hot meals to the needy immigrants, mostly elderly, was one of the symptoms.

One of the major issues that arose in planning housing policy for the elderly relates to the extent to which the elderly could and would live with their families in multigenerational households as opposed to requiring separate housing solutions. This indeed is perhaps the single most important factor in determining the extent of housing demands and the kinds of solutions that should be implemented. However, no information was available either on how the elderly immigrants were managing, given the difficult conditions described above, or what was the role of joint family living arrangements in meeting their needs. All these factors led to interest in an in-depth study of the absorption of the elderly immigrants and their housing problems.

The JDC-Brookdale Institute was approached to conduct the study and a consortium was formed of major ministries involved in addressing the issues: the Ministry of Housing, the Ministry of Absorption, and JDC-ESHEL (The Association for the Planning and Development of Services for the Elderly in Israel).<sup>3</sup>

The study, completed in 1993, is now playing an important role in the development of a housing policy for elderly immigrants. This paper presents selected findings from the study. It examined the housing needs of elderly Soviet immigrants, their demographic characteristics (age, sex, family status); health and functional status; family relations and the adequacy of existing housing arrangements, and their housing preferences.

### **Considerations in Developing Housing Solutions for Elderly Immigrants**

Both the housing unit and the living arrangement are crucial to the quality of life and functional ability of the elderly. This is particularly true for elderly immigrants, whose social contacts are limited and who are often dependent on a number of public agencies.

First and foremost, housing must be affordable, given the limited financial resources of the elderly immigrants. Secondly, housing should be physically safe and designed for the elderly's physical limitations (Lawton, 1970; Carp, 1976), and located within a convenient distance of neighborhood activities and services (Hunt and Hunt, 1985; Regnier and Gelwicks, 1981). Lastly, as the elderly person's world is narrowed to his immediate physical surroundings, attention must also be given to the importance of the neighborhood in reducing social isolation and enhancing involvement in community, social and cultural activities (Carp and Carp, 1984; Lawton, 1980; Golant, 1989).

On another level, the characteristics of an elderly person's family network significantly affect his independence, interaction with institutions and services, and social contacts. Living with or near family can help minimize an elderly person's dependence on the formal service system or facilitate his contacts with that system. On the other hand, living in a multigenerational

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<sup>3</sup> ESHEL is a partnership between the AJJDC (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) and the major governmental and public organizations with responsibility for developing services for the elderly in Israel.

family situation can be stressful for all concerned because of crowded conditions and increased tensions.

The elderly are not a homogenous population; individuals differ in their functional levels and ability to live an independent life, as well as in their need or desire for social contact, and the support network available to them. They also differ in their preference for living alone or in multigenerational households. These reflect objective factors, general values and attitudes as well as the nature of relationships between the elderly and their children and sons- and daughters-in-law. Moreover, housing solutions must not only consider the elderly's preference but the implications of their living arrangements for public expenditures and support levels.

In addressing the question of housing preferences and incentives, particularly in relation to the immigrant population, one has to relate to the time dimension. During the first period of immigration there are many factors motivating joint residence. During that period, the financial strains on the younger couple are likely to be most severe and the economic incentive for joint arrangements is most compelling. Moreover, the obvious difficulties of making long-term housing arrangements for both the younger people and the elderly promote a period of joint living. These considerations change in importance, particularly after the second year in Israel when most of the immigrants begin to obtain stable employment and are prepared to choose a permanent place of residence and begin buying homes in considerable numbers. It is at this point that the family has to decide on what kind of long-term housing purchase is to be made, taking into account the mortgage rights of the elderly and the space the family would require, if the living arrangements are to be shared. It is also possible that, in cases where the families did not live together in the Soviet Union, or as a result of the tensions associated with the difficult absorption process, after two years of such arrangements, problems begin to emerge and become more acute. This is another reason why this becomes a critical period and why the whole issue of housing for the elderly came to the fore only more recently, as more and more of the olim reach this phase of their absorption in Israel. As of March 1993, 52% of the immigrants had already been in Israel more than two years and this percentage is increasing rapidly as time goes on.

## Methodology

The study was based on a national representative survey of 810 Russian-speaking immigrants aged 55 and over who immigrated since 1989 and who had been in Israel for at least six months. Those aged 55-64 were included in the survey, since they have problems similar to those of immigrants aged 65 and over, such as limited financial resources, and increased need for health and social services. In addition, the study of those aged 55 to 64 has important implications for longer-range planning. However, as the rights accruing to immigrants in each of these two age groups differ, this report is confined to the needs and difficulties of immigrants aged 65 and over.

## Demographic Background

Some of the basic characteristics of the immigrant elderly and the general elderly population are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Selected Characteristics of the Elderly Immigrant and General Elderly Populations (in %)

	Immigrant Elderly	General Elderly*
Aged 75+	35	42
Women	63	56
Unmarried	53	39
Unmarried Women	44	33
Post-secondary Education	60	20

\* Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1987, *Survey of Persons Aged 60 and Over*. Special Series, No. 913, Jerusalem.

Of the total number of immigrants over the age of 65, 35% are over the age of 75. This percentage is lower than that for the general elderly population, where 42% of the elderly are over the age of 75. Two-thirds of the elderly immigrants are women. The rate of widowhood is very high: 44% of the elderly immigrants are unmarried women, as compared to only one-third of the general elderly population.

Their levels of education are much higher: 60% of the elderly Soviet immigrants have post-secondary education, as compared to only 20% of the general elderly population. In part because free Hebrew classes are unavailable to the elderly, their proficiency in Hebrew is low: even after two years in the country over 50% are unable to carry on a simple conversation; approximately 80% cannot write a simple letter or read.<sup>4</sup> These last two factors can significantly reduce the capacity for separate living arrangements.

### **Living Arrangements and Housing Status**

In light of the difficulties we described with respect to the access to housing, it is not surprising that housing difficulties were cited with the greatest frequency (75%) by elderly immigrants when asked about the two main problems they had encountered during the absorption process. About half of the immigrants cited financial difficulties, and only 10% cited employment.

The first question that arises, therefore, is how the elderly access housing during the initial phases of their absorption in Israel. The solution was found within the family network. One of the most important findings is that for the most part the elderly did not come on their own. Most of the elderly immigrants came with their children, as indeed 90% have children in Israel.

In Table 3 we present the living arrangements of the elderly. Three-quarters of the immigrants live with their children, as compared to only 20% of the general elderly population. Only 3% of the elderly immigrants live alone compared to 28% of the general elderly population.

### **Housing Status, Preferences and Satisfaction**

One of the most difficult issues faced by Israeli policymakers is the interpretation of the significance of the prevalence of the joint living arrangements. In contrast to the general preconception, the rates of elderly who had lived with their children in the former Soviet Union were found to be lower than had been expected – only 40%.

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4 Among those aged 55-64 who are eligible for Hebrew classes, less than 20% report they are unable to carry on a conversation; slightly more than 40% are unable to read or write.

Table 3: Living Arrangements of Elderly Soviet Immigrants and General Elderly (in %)

	Immigrant	General Elderly*
Lives Alone	3	28
Lives with Spouse Only	12	51
Lives with Children (with or without spouse)	74	20
Lives with Other	11	1

\* Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1987, *Survey of Persons Aged 60 and Over*. Special Series, No. 913, Jerusalem.

Thus, one consequence of the process of immigration to Israel has been a change in household composition. As shown in Table 4, almost all of those who lived with their children in the Soviet Union continue to live with them in Israel (92%). However, most of those who lived alone or with a spouse in the Soviet Union now live with their children (73% and 60%, respectively). In all, only 40% of those living with their children in Israel had lived with them in the Soviet Union. It may therefore be concluded that in 60% of the cases, the joint living arrangement is a consequence of the difficulties of immigration, and not a continuation of former living arrangements.

It would seem that the major reason for the change in the degree of joint living arrangements is economic: 80% cited economic considerations as the primary reason for living with their children. The majority of elderly immigrants rent flats on the open market; only a small proportion own their own apartment or live in publicly-subsidized housing (see Table 5).

In the majority of cases, rent subsidies cover only part of rental payments. Elderly immigrants find it nearly impossible to make up the difference with their old age benefits. While joint living arrangements help to distribute the financial burden, rent costs remain a serious problem. About 85% of elderly immigrants live in apartments with a monthly rent of over \$300, and about one-third in apartments with a monthly rent of over \$500. Rent subsidies range from only \$180 to \$220, depending on the immigrant's marital status.

Table 4: Living Arrangements After Immigration, by Living Arrangements Before Immigration (in %)

Living Arrangement in Israel	Total	Living Arrangement in the Soviet Union			
		Lived Alone	Lived with Spouse	Lived with Children	Lived with Other
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
Lives Alone	3	6	2	2	5
Lives with Spouse	12	2	30	1	4
Lives with Children	74	73	60	92	46
Lives with Other	11	19	8	5	44

Table 5: Housing Status of Elderly Immigrants from Former Soviet Union by Length of Time in Israel (in %)

	Total Elderly Immigrants (from 10/89)	Immigrants Two or More Years In Israel
Owned by Elderly Individual	1	2
Joint Ownership with Family	8	12
Owned by Family Member	3	5
Publicly-subsidized Housing	7	15
Rented on the Open Market	81	66

The general housing conditions also influence younger families during the initial period of absorption, as they also rent on the private market until they are in a position to buy an apartment. Thus, another incentive for joint living arrangements is the elderly's income which, no matter how small, significantly contributes to total household income; in fact, one-third of the

elderly immigrants reported that they provide financial assistance to their children.

In light of the very high level of housing costs in relation to income, it is not surprising that as many as 85% of the immigrants surveyed reported that they had difficulty meeting their basic needs, including food, transportation, and utilities.

While the main reason for joint living arrangements is economic, there are some other advantages, both for the elderly person and for his family. Grandmothers usually take care of their grandchildren, enabling their children to work or look for a job. Over sixty percent of the elderly immigrants living with their children in Israel reported that they assist them in child care and household tasks.

The assistance an immigrant family provides its elderly members is even more crucial than that provided in families of long-term residents, largely because of the elderly immigrants' difficulty adapting to a new physical and social environment. Joint living arrangements also offer an alternative to the long-term care system.

Elderly immigrants are much more disabled than the general elderly population. For example, 26% of immigrants aged 75 and over need assistance with personal care (ADL), as compared with 15% of general elderly population (see Table 6); 74% need help with household tasks (IADL), as opposed to 55% of the general elderly. As yet, the majority of assistance is provided by families who live with their elderly relatives, resulting in fewer applications for formal services than might be expected. Thus any move to independent housing units would decrease the availability of informal support from family members and increase the burden on the service system.

In the final analysis, the question is to what extent the elderly prefer their existing arrangements or are interested in moving to independent housing. This question was posed directly to the elderly in the survey. Their responses indicate that many elderly would prefer moving to an independent housing unit: 40% of those living with their children reported that they were not satisfied with this arrangement, and complained of tension, conflicts and overcrowding. The degree of dissatisfaction is even higher when an elderly couple lives with their children, as is to be expected.

Table 6: Health and Functional Status of Elderly Immigrants Living in the Community Compared with Longer-Term Elderly (in %)

	Immigrants	General Elderly*
Disabled in ADL**		
65-74	6	5
75 and over	25	14
Disabled in IADL***		
65-74	40	40
75 and over	74	55

\* Factor and Primak, 1990; National Information Center for Services for the Elderly, JDC-Brookdale Institute

\*\* Bathing, dressing, eating and mobility in the home

\*\*\* Cleaning, laundry, shopping and cooking

Table 7: Satisfaction of Elderly Immigrants with Current Living Arrangements, by Household Composition (in %)

	Total Living with Others	Lives with Spouse & Children	Lives with Children Only	Lives with Other Family Member*
Satisfied	61	50	67	69
Not so				
Satisfied	26	32	22	22
Dissatisfied	13	18	11	9

\* Includes siblings, cousins, and parents

Those who are dissatisfied with joint living arrangements cite family tension (40%), noise (42%), overcrowding (36%), and lack of privacy (35%) as the primary sources of dissatisfaction. As an example of overcrowding, one-third of widowed elderly who reside with their children have no room of their own. It should also be emphasized that 60% indicated satisfaction with the mutual living arrangements, citing the opportunities for mutual help and avoidance of isolation.

Forty percent of all the elderly expressed an interest in living in sheltered housing or other forms of adapted housing for the elderly. This includes both elderly who are now living on their own or with a spouse as well as those living with children. The diverse responses of the elderly with respect to their present living arrangements reinforces the need for a set of policies that will take this heterogeneity into account. In any case, it is clear that there is a significant unmet need for housing solutions among the immigrant elderly.

### **Policy Implications**

In light of the substantial increase in the number of elderly resulting from the recent wave of immigration, and the unique characteristics and needs of the elderly immigrant population, it will be necessary to give immediate attention to the development of services in a number of areas.

Housing is one of the central concerns for the elderly immigrants, as it influences their financial situation and general wellbeing. As has been shown, the majority of the elderly immigrants live with their children – far more than is customary among the general elderly population in Israel and more than was customary in the former Soviet Union. A significant percentage is not satisfied with these joint living arrangements and would prefer independent housing. On the other hand, the majority would seem to be prefer to maintain these arrangements, including many who did not live with their families in the Soviet Union. While economic considerations promote joint living arrangements, it is not clear what will happen in the future, when the children become more established financially and the incentives for these arrangements decrease. If even 10% of these immigrants make the move to some form of independent housing, an additional 4,000 housing units will still be needed.

The question of housing for the elderly immigrants was not a major focus of the attention of public policymakers in Israel in the early years of the massive immigration. At that time, there was a major concern to provide sufficient housing units for the immigrants as a whole in a race against time. As it turned out, as the rate of immigration began to decline the housing problem began to ease, although it has taken on a new shape. In the end, it turns out that there was massive over-construction relative to the demand in the peripheral areas of the country and the government was forced to buy up thousands of housing units which had not been sold from the contractors, while in the center of the country housing remained in short supply relative to

the demand. New construction was based on the desire of the government for broader geographical dispersion of the immigrants; if the rate of immigration had continued at the high rates it achieved in 1990, with a peak of 200,000 immigrants, the program might have succeeded.

For the various reasons we have alluded to, the problems of the elderly began to emerge more recently and this delay is perhaps understandable in light of the findings of the study. In June of 1992, the government took a number of new policy measures to address the needs of housing for the elderly to allocate some 6,000 units that had not been sold in the more peripheral areas for weaker groups among the immigrants – one-parent families, elderly and the disabled – thus creating a network of public subsidized housing for these groups.

Secondly, a decision was made to allocate special funds to subdivide larger apartments into smaller units suitable to the elderly. Thirdly, discussions are seriously underway to expand the sheltered housing for the elderly in the center of the country, where the majority of elderly immigrants are concentrated.

As of now, some 450 units are under construction by the Housing Ministry in cooperation with ESHEL, however, very significant expansion is under consideration at the time this paper is being written.

One of the reasons for the delay in the construction of sheltered housing is that in contrast to earlier period, the government has, in recent years, largely refrained from the development of public sheltered housing and has left it primarily to the development of the private sector. Thus the question was not only to recognize the needs of the elderly immigrants, but also the reluctance of the government to reenter this area to launch a new commitment to public intervention in a significant way. Even the stock of existing public-subsidized housing was being sold off to the residents over the years, reflecting the desire of the government to reduce the role of the public sector (Shtarkshall, 1987).

The magnitude of the immigration in general and the large numbers of elderly immigrants has had a major impact on many aspects of Israeli social policy. It thus required a reassessment of all the existing approaches to addressing housing needs and to consider not only changes in the general policies but solutions and programs that would be specific to the needs of the immigrant elderly.

The need to rapidly expand services that will meet the needs of the elderly immigrant population has brought to the fore the question of standards. On the one hand, there was considerable pressure to lower standards in order to increase coverage. It was also argued that lowering standards would be a mistake, given the time and effort invested in establishing them. Ultimately, both long-term residents and the immigrant elderly populations will have to use the facilities or services that are developed. In general, standards were lowered in both the housing area in terms of the size of the apartments and construction standards, and the basic cost per bed for long-term care beds was also reduced by decreasing space per resident.

We have referred in the paper to the high rates of disability among the elderly olim. It is worth noting that the national efforts made to address the long-term needs of elderly olim differ significantly from that which was made in the area of housing. Very early on, projections were made of the number of disabled elderly that are likely to arrive based on the initial assumption of 1,000,000 immigrants within 6-7 years. In addition, estimates were made of the community and institutional services that would be required to meet their needs (Habib and Factor, 1991). On the basis of these projections, a consortium was formed between the Claims Conference,<sup>5</sup> the AJJDC, and the Israeli government to construct 3,000 additional institutional beds over the period 1990-96. This plan is being implemented on schedule and has averted a crisis in the access of either the new immigrants or the general elderly population to long-term institutional care, despite the huge increase in needs. In addition, the immigrants were given immediate access to the entitlements that exist for community services under the Community Long-term Care Insurance Law, which is part of Israel's social security system.

There is a close interaction between the availability of housing and the need for long-term care and other health and social services. The rate of utilization of long-term institutional beds by the immigrants has been rising dramatically. For example, the number of elderly immigrants living in institutional settings doubled from 350 at the beginning of 1992, to 770 at the beginning of 1993 (Be'er and Factor, 1993). Clearly, any further unmet needs that develop in the area of housing will exacerbate the demand for institutional care. At the same time, the mutual living arrangements also have a restraining influence on the need for formal and community services. For

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<sup>5</sup> The organization responsible for negotiating and distributing reparations to German/Austrian survivors of the Holocaust.

those families that have an interest in maintaining mutual living arrangements and caring for disabled parents in that framework, the availability of support for these living arrangements is another critical area for policy intervention. This includes adequate financial incentives to address the housing needs and avoid overcrowding in such mutual living arrangements as well as the availability of the community services to assist the family in caring for those elderly with special needs.

It should be emphasized that there is also a need to address the cultural and social absorption of the elderly immigrants. This need arises whether they live with their children or in separate living arrangements. For example, JDC-ESHEL has developed a network of social clubs for the elderly olim in cooperation with the Ministry of Absorption and local municipalities which meet a range of cultural and functional needs while providing language training and acculturation-related programs. These have sometimes represented the only avenue of contact with the broader Israeli society and the provision of opportunities to fill in the gaps in their knowledge of Jewish history, culture and traditions. The participation in such activities has broad significance for the morale of the elderly and in turn for their role within the broader family unit. Many of the more disabled elderly are being absorbed into a special network of day-care centers that ESHEL has developed all over the country.

The interaction between the elderly and his family has broad implications for the welfare of the elderly individual, the welfare of the family, and the nature of the needs and demands on the public service system. This paper has shown how the immigration process changes previous balances or relationships between the elderly and his family and interacts with the need for services in the absorbing society. On the one hand both the elderly person and his family can provide a mutual buffer to address the difficulties of absorption into a new society. On the other hand, their difficulties can be mutually reinforcing and thus enhance the problems faced by both generations. The willingness to make special efforts in both directions probably increases during the initial phases of immigration but the question of the long-term equilibrium then becomes a very critical one. Public policies interact in complex ways with these internal family processes, by affecting the nature of the opportunities and options available to the elderly person and his family, which in turn affect their considerations and decisions. In addition, their decisions are influenced

by the preferences and priorities of the elderly and their children for solutions within the family as opposed to reliance on external sources of support.

The saga of the elderly olim that have come to Israel as part of the recent massive immigration is one that is still unfolding. As we have shown, there are indications that too much reliance was placed on the informal support system in the early phases of the mass immigration and there is a focused effort to expand public solutions. At the same time, it does seem likely that for a range of reasons, intergenerational arrangements will play a greater long-term role among the immigrants than they played within the former Soviet Union. Thus public policy will need to continue to monitor very carefully the development of these family relationships and the quality of the solutions provided by the intergenerational framework in order to respond sensitively both to the needs of those elderly wishing to live independently and the needs of those elderly who wish to continue living with their families.

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## **Appendix 1:**

### **Information for Planning and Evaluation on Immigration and Immigrant Absorption: A Survey of Studies Conducted by the JDC-Brookdale Institute**

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## **The Absorption of Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union**

### **1. Evaluation of the Social, Health, and Housing Needs of Immigrants Aged 55 and Over from the Former Soviet Union**

Sensitivity is increasing to the unique needs of those immigrants who, like the elderly, are encountering more serious difficulties in the absorption process. Immigrants aged 55-65 are also likely to encounter difficulties in becoming integrated into the job market and, as a result, in financing housing and meeting their daily needs. The goal of this study was to identify the housing, health, and welfare needs of immigrants aged 55 and over, and to determine the implications of these needs for the development of appropriate services. In particular, the study examined the degree to which various housing alternatives meet the needs of this population.

Interviews were conducted with a national sample of 800 immigrants aged 55 and over.

A preliminary report of the findings has been completed. During early 1994, follow-up interviews will be conducted with all the immigrants in the sample.

This study is being conducted in cooperation with the National Insurance Institute, ESHEL - The Association for the Planning and Development of Services for the Aged in Israel, the Ministry of Housing and Construction, and JDC-Israel.

### **2. The Absorption into Employment of Immigrants Aged 25-64 from the Former Soviet Union**

The goals of this study are as follows: to determine the quality of the integration of immigrants from the former Soviet Union into the job market in Israel; to identify steps that may be taken to improve their integration into employment; to understand the immigrants' expectations of their future in Israel, particularly regarding employment and housing; and to determine to what extent immigrants realistically evaluate the chances for eventual improvement of their situation. The study analyzes the process of vocational training and retraining, and the immigrants' evaluation of the degree to which vocational training courses have helped them become integrated into the job

market. As part of the study, data were also collected on the social absorption of the immigrants.

Interviews were conducted with 1,200 immigrants aged 25-64 from the former Soviet Union who arrived in Israel after September 1989 and who had been in Israel for at least six months.

A preliminary report of the findings has been completed. In early 1994 follow-up interviews will be conducted to determine the immigrants' progress over time.

This study is being conducted in cooperation with JDC-Israel.

### **3. Employers' Attitudes and Policies on the Employment of Immigrants**

The goal of this study is to learn about the absorption into employment of immigrants from the former Soviet Union from the employer's perspective. Issues which were examined included factors considered when deciding to hire immigrants; the extent to which employers take advantage of special arrangements and incentives intended to promote the employment of immigrants; the success of programs intended to ease absorption into the work place; the conditions under which immigrants are employed; and employers' intentions regarding the continued employment of immigrants.

The study sample consisted of 104 places of employment, including industries and services, in the government, public, and private sectors. Places of employment with the potential to hire immigrants with the professions most prevalent among this population, and places of employment from both the center and the periphery were represented in the sample. Also included in the sample were 11 places of employment that had never employed immigrants.

A preliminary report of the findings has been completed, and a final report is being prepared.

This study was conducted in cooperation with the Manpower Development Authority of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.

#### **4. The Absorption into Employment of Immigrant Physicians from the Former Soviet Union**

In order to provide systematic data that will contribute to developing employment solutions for the population of immigrant physicians from the former Soviet Union, this study is examining the manner and quality of their integration into the labor force – whether into medical and related professions, or into alternative professions. The study aims to learn how physicians evaluate the training and retraining courses, including what they consider to be the positive aspects of such courses, and what difficulties they encounter during the training process. The study will analyze the processes of preparation for licensing (e.g., courses and observation periods), in-service training for various medical specialties, and the process for transfer to other professions. Data collected will be used to evaluate the degree to which these processes achieve their goals and to identify ways of improving them. In addition, an evaluation will be made of the willingness of immigrant physicians to switch to professions for which there is a demand in the job market. An examination of factors associated with the willingness to change professions will assist in establishing policy regarding retraining for immigrant physicians.

The first stage of the study involved a comprehensive investigation of the licensing procedure for immigrant physicians. A paper describing the licensing process and containing data on the number of immigrant physicians at each stage of the process between September 1989 and December 1991 has been presented to policymakers in the Ministry of Health and researchers in health policy.

This study is being conducted in cooperation with the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption.

#### **5. The Evaluation of a Program to Promote the Employment of Heads of Single-Parent Families**

This study is evaluating a program to assist professional immigrant women from the former Soviet Union to find suitable employment. In particular, the program aims to help heads of single-parent families, on the assumption that these women will encounter special difficulty in becoming integrated into employment. The program includes group counseling sessions on job hunting techniques and on Israel's job market. In addition, each immigrant

is assigned a volunteer “mentor” in her profession. An examination is being made of the program’s effectiveness in achieving its aims of acquainting the immigrants with the various possibilities for employment and of integrating them into jobs that make the most of their professional skills.

This study is being conducted in cooperation with JDC-Israel.

## **6. Local Surveys of Immigrants for Municipal Planning**

A model for conducting local surveys and censuses has been developed to gather comprehensive data on the status of immigrants with regard to housing, employment, the education system and integration into Israeli society. Experimental use of this model was made in the city of Lod, where 3,205 immigrants from the former Soviet Union were located. In interviews with all the heads of immigrant households in Lod, data were gathered on the socio-demographic characteristics of the immigrants and on their absorption. These data are being used to plan education, employment, and housing services, and to identify and develop solutions for the principal problems encountered by immigrants in various areas of life. As part of the Lod survey, groups of immigrants “at risk” – the disabled and chronically ill, single-parent families, and the elderly – were identified. In addition, data were gathered on the immigrants’ familiarity with Lod’s health and social welfare services, on their patterns of utilization of these services, and on the problems they encountered in the course of utilization.

The report on the findings of the Lod Survey has been published.

The model tested in Lod was later used to conduct a survey of immigrants in the town of Netivot, as part of a broader project to develop the Sha’ar HaNegev region through immigrant absorption (Project SHINAR). At present, a survey of immigrants in Beer Sheva is underway. In the framework of this survey, interviews will be conducted with 6,000 heads of households of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, as well as with other immigrants.

These surveys are being conducted in cooperation with JDC-Israel and the relevant municipalities.

## **7. The Absorption of Immigrant Youth**

In light of their special needs, research efforts are being directed toward determining the extent of integration of immigrant youth. Special emphasis

is being placed on evaluating the scope of special problems among youth, and on identifying ways of coping with these problems. Data collection has been begun in Nazareth Illit, Lod, and Jerusalem. In the near future a survey will be conducted of those immigrant families in Carmiel with adolescent children. Detailed data will be gathered on the youths' absorption into educational frameworks, problems related to interaction within the family, and the youths' social integration from their perspective and that of their parents. The findings of the study will provide important input into the development of a comprehensive program for immigrant youth in the city.

This study is being conducted in cooperation with the JDC-Falk Institute and with JDC-Brookdale Institute researchers specializing in the area of children at risk. In addition, the Ministry of Education has asked JDC-Brookdale Institute researchers to assist in evaluating national programs to promote the social integration of immigrant youth in school settings.

## **8. An Evaluation of Intervention Programs to Promote the Employment of Immigrants Over 50**

In light of the special difficulties in finding employment which immigrants over 50 face, and particularly in finding employment which utilizes their professional skills and experience – various programs have been developed. These include providing incentives to employers who hire older immigrants, centers for job counseling, workshops on job hunting, vocational training courses, and in-service training at the workplace. The goal of this project is to evaluate the effectiveness of such programs from the perspective of immigrants and from that of both actual and potential employers. The project will also identify sub-groups (women, immigrants with specific professions) for whom such programs are particularly effective.

This study is being conducted in cooperation with JDC-Israel.

## **9. The Evaluation of Programs to Assist Single-Parent Families**

The most recent wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union included approximately 18,000 single-parent families, most of them headed by women. These families have special difficulty finding housing and employment and meeting their basic needs. This study will examine in depth these families'

needs in a variety of areas, and will evaluate the policies and programs which have been developed to meet these needs.

This study will be conducted in cooperation with JDC-Israel.

## **10. An Evaluation of Vocational Guidance Centers for Immigrants**

The Ministry of Immigrant Absorption operates five vocational guidance centers around Israel. These centers provide vocational counselling, vocational training and retraining courses, intensive courses in the Hebrew language, and job placement services. The centers place particular emphasis on providing assistance to immigrants over 50 in finding employment. The goal of this study is to evaluate the effectiveness of the programs and activities provided by these centers through the follow-up of center "graduates".

This study will be conducted in cooperation with the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption.

## **The Absorption of Ethiopian Immigrants**

### **1. The Absorption of Young Ethiopian Immigrants**

The goal of this study is to learn about the absorption into the army, the education system, and the job market of young Ethiopian immigrants who arrived in Israel during "Operation Moses". This study represented a first attempt to collect systematic data on this subject. An additional focus of the study is the evaluation of the contribution of vocational training to absorption into employment.

In the framework of the study interviews were conducted with approximately 650 young adults, Ethiopian immigrants, from around the country, half of them graduates of vocational training programs. A comparison will be made between those who completed vocational training programs and those who did not, in order to determine the programs' contribution to the immigrants' absorption, particularly into employment.

A preliminary report of the findings has been completed.

This study is being conducted in cooperation with JDC-Israel.

## **2. Local Surveys of Ethiopian Immigrants**

The need to absorb the immigrants who arrived in Israel as part of "Operation Solomon" exposed the lack of systematic data on the socio-demographic characteristics of veteran Ethiopian immigrants (those who arrived during "Operation Moses"), and on the extent of their integration into principal areas of life such as employment, the education system and Israeli society.

This project represents a first attempt to gather comprehensive data on Ethiopian immigrants of all ages who have been in Israel for varying lengths of time. To date, surveys have been completed of the Ethiopian immigrants in Kiryat Gat and Netanya, and a survey of the Ethiopian immigrants in Afula is nearing completion. In the framework of these surveys information is being gathered on the integration of heads of households and their spouses into employment, the integration of children and youth into the education system, and the immigrants' housing conditions, familiarity with and utilization of health and welfare services, and relationships with veteran Israelis. An attempt has been made to identify the principal difficulties encountered by the immigrants in their contacts with the various services. In addition, groups of immigrants identified as being "at risk", such as the elderly, the disabled, single-parent families, and families suffering economic hardship have been located and interviewed.

A report of the Kiryat Gat Survey has been completed, and a report of the Netanya Survey is being prepared.

These surveys are being conducted in cooperation with JDC-Israel, the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, and the relevant local authorities.

## **3. The Absorption of Immigrants at Caravan Sites**

For the majority of immigrants from Ethiopia and some immigrants from the former Soviet Union, caravan sites are the first residence in Israel. The need to evaluate the absorption process of immigrants residing at these sites has raised the following questions: To what extent are these immigrants' needs being met on-site? To what extent are systems of services being developed on-site, and what problems arise in the course of the utilization of these services? Are there specific sub-groups of the immigrant population whose needs are not being met? What activities are being planned to aid those who are finding absorption difficult? To what degree do residents participate in the

management and development of the sites? As part of a preliminary study, interviews were conducted with all heads of households at the Hulda caravan site.

A report of the findings has been completed.

#### **4. A Database for Monitoring the Vocational Training of Ethiopian Immigrants**

In order to monitor the outcome of various vocational training programs for Ethiopian immigrants as measured by the graduates' integration into employment, particularly in the vocation learned, a database is being constructed including information on the characteristics and expectations of program participants. At the end of each program or course, follow-up data will be gathered on the participants' evaluation of that course and their success in finding jobs. This information will be used to identify successful programs and to determine the relationship between the graduates' characteristics and their chances of finding jobs in given vocations.

This study is being conducted in cooperation with JDC-Israel.

#### **5. Periodic Surveys of Ethiopian Immigrants: Groups at Critical Junctions**

In coordination with the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, a follow-up study was conducted of Ethiopian immigrants who have either graduated from Youth Aliya frameworks, completed compulsory service in the IDF, or who are students at or graduates of post-secondary institutions and universities. The data gathered are being used to monitor the progress of these immigrants; the conclusions drawn will assist in the development of various programs, such as job training and placement programs, and in the provision of assistance at the individual level.

This study is being conducted in cooperation with JDC-Israel.

#### **6. The Integration of Ethiopian Immigrant Children into the Education System**

The cultural background and traditions of the Ethiopian immigrants present the education system with a significant challenge.

The arrival of immigrants as part of "Operation Solomon" created the need for a systematic examination of schools' ability to absorb immigrant pupils and of their staffs' perceptions of the immigrant children's scholastic and social needs. It also became clear that it would be necessary to examine the training of staff assigned to assist this population, the development of educational programs and curricula, the assignment of pupils to integrated classes (immigrants and veterans), and the transfer of immigrant pupils from special classes for immigrants to regular classes. This study will also address the involvement of parents in school activities, the difficulties faced by school staff in assisting the immigrants, and the referral of immigrant pupils to special education frameworks.

Approximately 40 schools throughout Israel that have absorbed immigrant pupils from Ethiopia will be included in the study. Interviews will be conducted with school principals, to get an overall picture of the way schools organized themselves to absorb immigrant pupils, and with teachers and guidance counselors who have daily contact with immigrant pupils and who are therefore familiar with their problems. Data will also be gathered on innovative teaching methods and special programs geared to helping the pupils progress scholastically and integrate socially, and to involving parents in the education of their children.

Drawing on the successes of pedagogic staff, this study will indicate areas where there is a need for additional inputs that will foster the absorption of immigrant children on one hand, and present ways of coping with this population's special needs, on the other.

This study will be conducted in cooperation with JDC-Israel and the Ministry of Education.

## **7. Monitoring the Experimental Implementation of the "Special Mortgages" Program for Ethiopian Immigrants**

The experimental stage of implementation of the "special mortgages" program of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, geared for Ethiopian immigrants, was accompanied by an ongoing monitoring process. Data were gathered on the factors inhibiting the purchase of apartments, on the characteristics of immigrants who purchased apartments in the framework

of the program, and on the quality of the publicity for and promotion of the program. A report of the findings has been completed.

This study was conducted in cooperation with the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption.

## **8. The Absorption of Ethiopian Immigrants in the Move to Permanent Housing**

The goal of this study is to monitor aspects of the absorption of Ethiopian immigrants, as they leave caravan sites and move to permanent housing. With the implementation of the "special mortgages" program, over a thousand immigrant families will be moving to various cities. These cities will face the challenge of integrating the immigrants into the local education system, of meeting their welfare needs, and of ensuring their integration into the community. As part of this study, an examination will be made of local authorities' methods of meeting these challenges. Also, the most pressing needs of the immigrants in the areas of employment, welfare, education, and social integration will be identified. This study will also determine the degree to which the immigrants are becoming integrated as active members and productive citizens of their local communities.

This study is being conducted in cooperation with JDC-Israel and the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption.

## **9. The Evaluation of Informal Education Programs for Ethiopian Children and Youth**

Both at caravan sites and in permanent settlements, informal education programs are being developed to help immigrant children bridge the educational and social gaps between themselves and Israeli children, and to increase their chances of becoming integrated into Israeli society. This study will make an in-depth evaluation of the effectiveness of these programs. This will involve identifying the difficulties involved in operating such programs, and gathering information from the perspectives of those operating the programs, of program participants, and of parents of program participants. The data collected will help to improve existing programs and to develop additional programs in the future.

## **Other Studies**

### **1. The Organization and Functioning of Social Service Departments Caring for Immigrants at Risk**

The goal of this study is to examine the ability and functioning of social services departments caring for immigrants at risk, to identify methods of dealing with these populations, and to determine the implications of these methods for the treatment of immigrants and veteran Israelis.

The study will document both the comprehensive national policy and the actual ways in which local social services departments are coping with the challenge of serving populations that have grown due to the influx of immigrants. The study will use three types of sources: written documents, self-administered forms completed by social workers, and interviews with key personnel in the social service system.

### **2. A National Database for the Development of Services and the Examination of the Implications of Immigration**

The JDC-Brookdale Institute maintains a national database whose purpose is to provide decisionmakers and planners at the local and national levels with up-to-date information on institutional and community services for the elderly and on the needs of the elderly. As part of the effort to provide updated information on the elderly population and to estimate the needs of this population in the future, data are also collected on an ongoing basis on immigrants. It is hoped the database will be used to coordinate service planning and to ensure the rational allocation of resources.

### **3. Health and Welfare Needs in Israel Over the Next Five Years**

As part of this study, an analysis will be conducted of the effect of immigration on the need for welfare services. On the basis of this analysis, a five-year forecast of the increase in needs in major areas of social services will be made.



## **Appendix 2:**

### **Immigrants by Sex and Age: January 1990 – December 1993**

**Prepared by Shmuel Be'er\***

In this appendix we present data on the immigrants by age and sex for the period January 1990 to December 1993, as well as for each of these years separately. The data is presented for all immigrants, as well as for immigrants from the CIS and from Ethiopia.

\* Researcher, JDC-Brookdale Institute

## OLIM: January 1990 – December 1993

AGE	TOTAL OLIM			OLIM FROM CIS			OLIM FROM ETHIOPIA		
	ABSOLUTE NUMBERS			ABSOLUTE NUMBERS			ABSOLUTE NUMBERS		
	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females
<b>Total</b>	<b>529,478</b>	<b>249,628</b>	<b>279,850</b>	<b>464,304</b>	<b>218,196</b>	<b>246,108</b>	<b>28,646</b>	<b>14,267</b>	<b>14,379</b>
0-4	37,294	19,106	18,188	29,565	15,138	14,427	4,711	2,431	2,280
5-9	44,157	22,738	21,419	36,531	18,783	17,748	5,228	2,739	2,489
10-14	39,587	20,359	19,228	33,263	17,091	16,172	4,346	2,305	2,041
15-19	38,736	20,262	18,474	32,949	17,554	15,395	2,860	1,375	1,485
20-24	38,425	18,215	20,210	31,270	15,077	16,193	1,721	803	918
25-29	41,337	19,830	21,507	34,686	16,758	17,928	1,480	673	807
30-34	44,479	21,131	23,348	39,773	18,970	20,803	1,279	529	750
35-39	41,152	19,678	21,474	37,271	17,852	19,419	1,313	559	754
40-44	40,814	19,679	21,135	37,742	18,200	19,542	1,106	484	622
45-49	20,137	9,694	10,443	17,848	8,564	9,284	928	462	466
50-54	27,077	12,493	14,584	25,354	11,684	13,670	743	355	388
55-59	22,183	9,214	12,969	20,525	8,484	12,041	745	361	384
60-64	27,806	11,533	16,273	25,913	10,717	15,196	770	322	448
65-69	27,974	11,426	16,548	26,105	10,365	15,740	732	504	228
70-74	15,151	5,953	9,198	13,930	5,366	8,564	362	205	157
75-79	11,902	4,374	7,528	11,152	4,048	7,104	171	87	84
80+	11,267	3,943	7,324	10,427	3,545	6,882	151	73	78
65+	66,294	25,696	40,598	61,614	23,324	38,290	1,416	869	547

AGE	PERCENTAGES			PERCENTAGES			PERCENTAGES		
	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>								
0-4	7.0	7.7	6.5	6.4	6.9	5.9	16.4	17.0	15.9
5-9	8.3	9.1	7.7	7.9	8.6	7.2	18.3	19.2	17.3
10-14	7.5	8.2	6.9	7.2	7.8	6.6	15.2	16.2	14.2
15-19	7.3	8.1	6.6	7.1	8.0	6.3	10.0	9.6	10.3
20-24	7.3	7.3	7.2	6.7	6.9	6.6	6.0	5.6	6.4
25-29	7.8	7.9	7.7	7.5	7.7	7.3	5.2	4.7	5.6
30-34	8.4	8.5	8.3	8.6	8.7	8.5	4.5	3.7	5.2
35-39	7.8	7.9	7.7	8.0	8.2	7.9	4.6	3.9	5.2
40-44	7.7	7.9	7.6	8.1	8.3	7.9	3.9	3.4	4.3
45-49	3.8	3.9	3.7	3.8	3.9	3.8	3.2	3.2	3.2
50-54	5.1	5.0	5.2	5.5	5.4	5.6	2.6	2.5	2.7
55-59	4.2	3.7	4.6	4.4	3.9	4.9	2.6	2.5	2.7
60-64	5.3	4.6	5.8	5.6	4.9	6.2	2.7	2.3	3.1
65-69	5.3	4.6	5.9	5.6	4.8	6.4	2.6	3.5	1.6
70-74	2.9	2.4	3.3	3.0	2.5	3.5	1.3	1.4	1.1
75-79	2.2	1.8	2.7	2.4	1.9	2.9	0.6	0.6	0.6
80+	2.1	1.6	2.6	2.2	1.6	2.8	0.5	0.5	0.5
65+	12.5	10.3	14.5	13.3	10.7	15.6	4.9	6.1	3.8

Source: JDC-Brookdale Information Center, based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem

**OLIM: January–December 1990**

AGE	TOTAL OLIM ABSOLUTE NUMBERS			OLIM FROM CIS ABSOLUTE NUMBERS			OLIM FROM ETHIOPIA ABSOLUTE NUMBERS		
	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females
<b>Total</b>	<b>199,516</b>	<b>94,030</b>	<b>105,486</b>	<b>185,227</b>	<b>87,238</b>	<b>97,989</b>	<b>4,121</b>	<b>2,024</b>	<b>2,097</b>
0-4	13,450	6,861	6,589	12,160	6,234	5,926	522	259	263
5-9	17,242	8,798	8,444	15,911	8,115	7,796	732	378	354
10-14	15,429	7,908	7,521	14,212	7,278	6,934	682	356	326
15-19	13,885	7,182	6,703	12,452	6,492	5,960	548	280	268
20-24	11,768	5,294	6,474	9,986	4,508	5,478	249	125	124
25-29	15,884	7,417	8,467	14,262	6,663	7,599	161	83	78
30-34	18,511	8,789	9,722	17,459	8,294	9,165	149	65	84
35-39	17,621	8,526	9,095	16,670	8,072	8,598	171	67	104
40-44	16,915	8,465	8,450	16,193	8,090	8,103	126	58	68
45-49	6,396	3,185	3,211	5,947	2,976	2,971	118	53	65
50-54	10,300	4,766	5,534	9,925	4,595	5,330	97	42	55
55-59	7,636	3,239	4,397	7,273	3,104	4,169	109	33	76
60-64	10,780	4,366	6,414	10,311	4,182	6,129	147	49	98
65-69	10,417	4,093	6,324	9,879	3,806	6,073	173	106	67
70-74	5,277	2,133	3,144	4,975	1,993	2,982	72	34	38
75-79	4,371	1,710	2,661	4,164	1,624	2,540	65	36	29
80+	3,634	1,298	2,336	3,448	1,212	2,236	0		
<b>65+</b>	<b>23,699</b>	<b>9,234</b>	<b>14,465</b>	<b>22,466</b>	<b>8,635</b>	<b>13,831</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>176</b>	<b>134</b>

AGE	PERCENTAGES			PERCENTAGES			PERCENTAGES		
	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>								
0-4	6.7	7.3	6.2	6.6	7.1	6.0	12.7	12.8	12.5
5-9	8.6	9.4	8.0	8.6	9.3	8.0	17.8	18.7	16.9
10-14	7.7	8.4	7.1	7.7	8.3	7.1	16.5	17.6	15.5
15-19	7.0	7.6	6.4	6.7	7.4	6.1	13.3	13.8	12.8
20-24	5.9	5.6	6.1	5.4	5.2	5.6	6.0	6.2	5.9
25-29	8.0	7.9	8.0	7.7	7.6	7.8	3.9	4.1	3.7
30-34	9.3	9.3	9.2	9.4	9.5	9.4	3.6	3.2	4.0
35-39	8.8	9.1	8.6	9.0	9.3	8.8	4.1	3.3	5.0
40-44	8.5	9.0	8.0	8.7	9.3	8.3	3.1	2.9	3.2
45-49	3.2	3.4	3.0	3.2	3.4	3.0	2.9	2.6	3.1
50-54	5.2	5.1	5.2	5.4	5.3	5.4	2.4	2.1	2.6
55-59	3.8	3.4	4.2	3.9	3.6	4.3	2.6	1.6	3.6
60-64	5.4	4.6	6.1	5.6	4.8	6.3	3.6	2.4	4.7
65-69	5.2	4.4	6.0	5.3	4.4	6.2	4.2	5.2	3.2
70-74	2.6	2.3	3.0	2.7	2.3	3.0	1.7	1.7	1.8
75-79	2.2	1.8	2.5	2.2	1.9	2.6	1.6	1.8	1.4
80+	1.8	1.4	2.2	1.9	1.4	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
<b>65+</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>13.7</b>	<b>12.1</b>	<b>9.9</b>	<b>14.1</b>	<b>7.5</b>	<b>8.7</b>	<b>6.4</b>

Source: JDC-Brookdale Information Center, based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem

## OLIM: January–December 1991

AGE	TOTAL OLIM ABSOLUTE NUMBERS			OLIM FROM CIS ABSOLUTE NUMBERS			OLIM FROM ETHIOPIA ABSOLUTE NUMBERS		
	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females
<b>Total</b>	<b>176,100</b>	<b>82,955</b>	<b>93,145</b>	<b>147,839</b>	<b>69,075</b>	<b>78,764</b>	<b>20,014</b>	<b>9,939</b>	<b>10,075</b>
0–4	13,123	6,762	6,361	9,117	4,663	4,454	3,411	1,780	1,631
5–9	15,232	7,908	7,324	11,047	5,716	5,331	3,723	1,964	1,759
10–14	13,758	7,046	6,712	10,280	5,234	5,046	3,058	1,610	1,448
15–19	13,068	6,888	6,180	10,482	5,645	4,837	1,874	887	987
20–24	12,220	5,883	6,337	9,842	4,822	5,020	1,084	486	598
25–29	12,789	6,122	6,667	10,582	5,140	5,442	986	410	576
30–34	13,716	6,388	7,328	12,005	5,638	6,367	892	340	552
35–39	12,953	6,124	6,829	11,490	5,456	6,034	917	389	528
40–44	14,191	6,626	7,565	12,919	6,060	6,859	828	357	471
45–49	6,761	3,164	3,597	5,729	2,654	3,075	691	346	345
50–54	10,075	4,701	5,374	9,266	4,309	4,957	569	278	291
55–59	7,336	3,264	4,072	6,597	2,896	3,701	540	277	263
60–64	8,867	3,640	5,227	8,098	3,301	4,797	504	226	278
65–69	9,100	3,722	5,378	8,367	3,243	5,124	484	348	136
70–74	4,923	1,883	3,040	4,509	1,670	2,839	242	141	101
75–79	4,194	1,494	2,700	3,970	1,407	2,563	78	36	42
80+	3,794	1,340	2,454	3,539	1,221	2,318	133	64	69
<b>65+</b>	<b>22,011</b>	<b>8,439</b>	<b>13,572</b>	<b>20,385</b>	<b>7,541</b>	<b>12,844</b>	<b>937</b>	<b>589</b>	<b>348</b>

AGE	PERCENTAGES			PERCENTAGES			PERCENTAGES		
	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>								
0–4	7.5	8.2	6.8	6.2	6.8	5.7	17.0	17.9	16.2
5–9	8.6	9.5	7.9	7.5	8.3	6.8	18.6	19.8	17.5
10–14	7.8	8.5	7.2	7.0	7.6	6.4	15.3	16.2	14.4
15–19	7.4	8.3	6.6	7.1	8.2	6.1	9.4	8.9	9.8
20–24	6.9	7.1	6.8	6.7	7.0	6.4	5.4	4.9	5.9
25–29	7.3	7.4	7.2	7.2	7.4	6.9	4.9	4.1	5.7
30–34	7.8	7.7	7.9	8.1	8.2	8.1	4.5	3.4	5.5
35–39	7.4	7.4	7.3	7.8	7.9	7.7	4.6	3.9	5.2
40–44	8.1	8.0	8.1	8.7	8.8	8.7	4.1	3.6	4.7
45–49	3.8	3.8	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.9	3.5	3.5	3.4
50–54	5.7	5.7	5.8	6.3	6.2	6.3	2.8	2.8	2.9
55–59	4.2	3.9	4.4	4.5	4.2	4.7	2.7	2.8	2.6
60–64	5.0	4.4	5.6	5.5	4.8	6.1	2.5	2.3	2.8
65–69	5.2	4.5	5.8	5.7	4.7	6.5	2.4	3.5	1.3
70–74	2.8	2.3	3.3	3.0	2.4	3.6	1.2	1.4	1.0
75–79	2.4	1.8	2.9	2.7	2.0	3.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
80+	2.2	1.6	2.6	2.4	1.8	2.9	0.7	0.6	0.7
<b>65+</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>10.2</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>13.8</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>16.3</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>3.5</b>

Source: JDC-Brookdale Information Center, based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem

**OLIM: January–December 1992**

AGE	TOTAL OLIM			OLIM FROM CIS			OLIM FROM ETHIOPIA		
	ABSOLUTE NUMBERS			ABSOLUTE NUMBERS			ABSOLUTE NUMBERS		
	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females
<b>Total</b>	<b>77,057</b>	<b>36,485</b>	<b>40,572</b>	<b>65,093</b>	<b>30,718</b>	<b>34,375</b>	<b>3,648</b>	<b>1,857</b>	<b>1,791</b>
0–4	5,505	2,807	2,698	4,117	2,107	2,010	650	325	325
5–9	5,913	3,028	2,885	4,677	2,390	2,287	635	326	309
10–14	5,188	2,728	2,460	4,262	2,233	2,029	475	267	208
15–19	5,738	3,009	2,729	4,772	2,576	2,196	342	149	193
20–24	7,081	3,506	3,575	5,486	2,804	2,682	324	161	163
25–29	6,351	3,169	3,182	4,894	2,467	2,427	277	152	125
30–34	6,177	2,964	3,213	5,210	2,502	2,708	201	107	94
35–39	5,379	2,577	2,802	4,623	2,208	2,415	178	85	93
40–44	5,017	2,412	2,605	4,473	2,145	2,328	124	53	71
45–49	3,374	1,618	1,756	2,973	1,411	1,562	96	55	41
50–54	3,681	1,668	2,013	3,420	1,552	1,868	58	30	28
55–59	3,376	1,333	2,043	3,090	1,205	1,885	76	41	35
60–64	3,903	1,652	2,251	3,585	1,508	2,077	89	33	56
65–69	4,204	1,756	2,448	3,908	1,620	2,288	55	35	20
70–74	2,476	971	1,505	2,238	862	1,376	36	21	15
75–79	1,750	610	1,140	1,603	536	1,067	20	11	9
80+	1,944	677	1,267	1,762	592	1,170	12	6	6
<b>65+</b>	<b>10,374</b>	<b>4,014</b>	<b>6,360</b>	<b>9,511</b>	<b>3,610</b>	<b>5,901</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>50</b>

AGE	PERCENTAGES			PERCENTAGES			PERCENTAGES		
	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>								
0–4	7.1	7.7	6.6	6.3	6.9	5.8	17.8	17.5	18.1
5–9	7.7	8.3	7.1	7.2	7.8	6.7	17.4	17.6	17.3
10–14	6.7	7.5	6.1	6.5	7.3	5.9	13.0	14.4	11.6
15–19	7.4	8.2	6.7	7.3	8.4	6.4	9.4	8.0	10.8
20–24	9.2	9.6	8.8	8.4	9.1	7.8	8.9	8.7	9.1
25–29	8.2	8.7	7.8	7.5	8.0	7.1	7.6	8.2	7.0
30–34	8.0	8.1	7.9	8.0	8.1	7.9	5.5	5.8	5.2
35–39	7.0	7.1	6.9	7.1	7.2	7.0	4.9	4.6	5.2
40–44	6.5	6.6	6.4	6.9	7.0	6.8	3.4	2.9	4.0
45–49	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.6	4.6	4.5	2.6	3.0	2.3
50–54	4.8	4.6	5.0	5.3	5.1	5.4	1.6	1.6	1.6
55–59	4.4	3.7	5.0	4.7	3.9	5.5	2.1	2.2	2.0
60–64	5.1	4.5	5.5	5.5	4.9	6.0	2.4	1.8	3.1
65–69	5.5	4.8	6.0	6.0	5.3	6.7	1.5	1.9	1.1
70–74	3.2	2.7	3.7	3.4	2.8	4.0	1.0	1.1	0.8
75–79	2.3	1.7	2.8	2.5	1.7	3.1	0.5	0.6	0.5
80+	2.5	1.9	3.1	2.7	1.9	3.4	0.3	0.3	0.3
<b>65+</b>	<b>13.5</b>	<b>11.0</b>	<b>15.7</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>11.8</b>	<b>17.2</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>2.8</b>

Source: JDC-Brookdale Information Center, based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem

## OLIM: January–December 1993

AGE	TOTAL OLIM			OLIM FROM CIS			OLIM FROM ETHIOPIA		
	ABSOLUTE NUMBERS			ABSOLUTE NUMBERS			ABSOLUTE NUMBERS		
	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females
<b>Total</b>	<b>76,805</b>	<b>36,158</b>	<b>40,647</b>	<b>66,145</b>	<b>31,165</b>	<b>34,980</b>	<b>863</b>	<b>447</b>	<b>416</b>
0–4	5,216	2,676	2,540	4,171	2,134	2,037	128	67	61
5–9	5,770	3,004	2,766	4,896	2,562	2,334	138	71	67
10–14	5,212	2,677	2,535	4,509	2,346	2,163	131	72	59
15–19	6,045	3,183	2,862	5,243	2,841	2,402	96	59	37
20–24	7,356	3,532	3,824	5,956	2,943	3,013	64	31	33
25–29	6,313	3,122	3,191	4,948	2,488	2,460	56	28	28
30–34	6,075	2,990	3,085	5,099	2,536	2,563	37	17	20
35–39	5,199	2,451	2,748	4,488	2,116	2,372	47	18	29
40–44	4,691	2,176	2,515	4,157	1,905	2,252	28	16	12
45–49	3,606	1,727	1,879	3,199	1,523	1,676	23	8	15
50–54	3,021	1,358	1,663	2,743	1,228	1,515	19	5	14
55–59	3,835	1,378	2,457	3,565	1,279	2,286	20	10	10
60–64	4,256	1,875	2,381	3,919	1,726	2,193	30	14	16
65–69	4,253	1,855	2,398	3,951	1,696	2,255	20	15	5
70–74	2,475	966	1,509	2,208	841	1,367	12	9	3
75–79	1,587	560	1,027	1,415	481	934	8	4	4
80+	1,895	628	1,267	1,678	520	1,158	6	3	3
<b>65+</b>	<b>10,210</b>	<b>4,009</b>	<b>6,201</b>	<b>9,252</b>	<b>3,538</b>	<b>5,714</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>15</b>

AGE	PERCENTAGES			PERCENTAGES			PERCENTAGES		
	total	males	females	total	males	females	total	males	females
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>								
0–4	6.8	7.4	6.2	6.3	6.8	5.8	14.8	15.0	14.7
5–9	7.5	8.3	6.8	7.4	8.2	6.7	16.0	15.9	16.1
10–14	6.8	7.4	6.2	6.8	7.5	6.2	15.2	16.1	14.2
15–19	7.9	8.8	7.0	7.9	9.1	6.9	11.1	13.2	8.9
20–24	9.6	9.8	9.4	9.0	9.4	8.6	7.4	6.9	7.9
25–29	8.2	8.6	7.9	7.5	8.0	7.0	6.5	6.3	6.7
30–34	7.9	8.3	7.6	7.7	8.1	7.3	4.3	3.8	4.8
35–39	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.8	5.4	4.0	7.0
40–44	6.1	6.0	6.2	6.3	6.1	6.4	3.2	3.6	2.9
45–49	4.7	4.8	4.6	4.8	4.9	4.8	2.7	1.8	3.6
50–54	3.9	3.8	4.1	4.1	3.9	4.3	2.2	1.1	3.4
55–59	5.0	3.8	6.0	5.4	4.1	6.5	2.3	2.2	2.4
60–64	5.5	5.2	5.9	5.9	5.5	6.3	3.5	3.1	3.8
65–69	5.5	5.1	5.9	6.0	5.4	6.4	2.3	3.4	1.2
70–74	3.2	2.7	3.7	3.3	2.7	3.9	1.4	2.0	0.7
75–79	2.1	1.5	2.5	2.1	1.5	2.7	0.9	0.9	1.0
80+	2.5	1.7	3.1	2.5	1.7	3.3	0.7	0.7	0.7
<b>65+</b>	<b>13.3</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>15.3</b>	<b>14.0</b>	<b>11.4</b>	<b>16.3</b>	<b>5.3</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>3.6</b>

Source: JDC-Brookdale Information Center, based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem

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Immigrant absorption in Israel :

Noam, Gila



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Immigrant Absorption in  
Israel - A selection of readings  
based on the work  
of the JDC-Brookdale Institute

undertaken in the area of resettlement and aliyah. The authors examine different aspects of the absorption process and present some of the critical issues facing those who work with, or plan services for, new immigrants in Israel.