

Jewish Emigrants from Israel in the United States

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The importance of emigration from Israel (*yeridah*) is over and above its demographic and economic implications. Emigration contrasts with the Zionist ideology and is perceived as a failure in achieving the ideal of gathering the Jews into Israel. Therefore, the size and structure of emigration have become a public and political issue of major importance.

The difficulties in the measurement of emigration and its characteristics are well known. The problem lies not only in the theoretical definition of the phenomenon, but mainly in its operational definition, i.e., how to measure the cumulation and the annual flow of emigration and its characteristics. The problems of definition and measurement leave too wide a range for 'impressions' and 'guesstimates', and some of the published estimates are totally impossible when we relate them to the partial statistics that exist on this topic.

Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) publishes several estimates of the number of Israelis who stay abroad for lengthy periods, though it does not label them as 'emigrants' (CBS, 1985a, 1985b). These estimates are based on the records of departures and arrivals of residents which are administered by the Border Police. Data are published according to several definitions, some of which refer to the net balance of residents' departures and returns in a certain year and some to the length of continuous stay abroad of residents who left the country in a certain year. One drawback of the latter method is that the period of stay abroad is calculated from the time of latest departure. Thus according to the existing statistics, each visit to Israel of an emigrant is considered 'return', and when the emigrant again leaves the country, the count of his period of stay abroad starts anew. The use of net balances of cross-border movements and of residents' continuous stay abroad solves this drawback at least partially. It is difficult, however, to relate emigration to a certain year of departure. Thus, the annual figures may indicate, at most, the trends of emigration, but their main value lies in making cumulations over time possible.

It is evident that data on the characteristics of the emigrants and their countries of residence are even more difficult to obtain. Thus, in addition to its own regular estimates, the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics utilizes the data of migration authorities in the countries of destination (CBS, 1986). This information, though partial, can serve for estimating the distribution of emigrants by country of destination and for checking the consistency of estimates based on the various sources.

Another source of data on emigration are the results of censuses taken in other countries. In general, census information includes data on the countries of birth of the enumerated population, hence one may utilize other countries' census results for

the estimation of the size and destinations of the emigration streams from a certain country. But since most of Israel's adult population was born abroad, respective census data from other countries may at best provide partial information. Moreover, some of the emigrants return to their countries of origin and cannot be distinguished from the native populations of those countries.

In recent years much attention has been paid to emigration of the Israeli-born. This group is very young in age structure but its size as well as its proportion in the main emigration age groups is increasing rapidly. For example, in 1983 there were in Israel 180,000 Israeli-born aged 25–29, 22% more than five years earlier, and 170% more than ten years earlier. In ten years, the proportion of Israeli-born in this age group increased from 30% to 70%. Evidently, the proportion of the Israeli-born among the emigrants from Israel is increasing rapidly, many of these being children born in Israel to immigrants. The main destination of young emigrants is the United States.

The purpose of this paper is:

- (a) to suggest a rough estimate of the total number of Israeli emigrants in the United States;
- (b) to analyze and describe the characteristics of those who were born in Israel and were enumerated in the 1980 census of the United States;
- (c) to compare the characteristics of the latter with those of the Israeli-born population living in Israel.

The Data

The following analysis is based on tables prepared by the United States Bureau of the Census for each country that was reported in the 1980 census as a 'country of birth' (US Bureau of the Census, 1984b). 67,000 Israeli-born were enumerated in that census.¹ The Israeli-born group includes also Israeli-born Arabs who came to the United States mainly since 1948 (when the State of Israel was established). The Israeli-born Arabs in the United States consist of two groups:

- (a) Israeli Arabs who emigrated directly to the United States; and
- (b) Arabs who were born in Israel before 1948, left in 1948/49 or afterwards and emigrated to the United States later through an Arab (i.e., Lebanon, Jordan) or other country. In the census they were defined as Israeli-born according to the present boundaries.²

As we are interested in Jewish emigration, these two groups are not relevant to our analysis but it is difficult to sort them out. However, the second group is more concentrated in the older ages and among those who arrived in the United States before 1960. A more detailed and accurate analysis of Jewish emigration from Israel could have been made by utilizing additional information that was included in the census forms. Use of variables such as: ancestry, second language spoken at home (Hebrew or Arabic), and country of residence five years before the census, could improve the estimates of the size and characteristics of Jewish emigration from Israel to the United States. This has not been done so far.

How Many Israelis Live in the United States?

Many estimates have been published particularly in the media as to the total number of Israelis living abroad and especially in the United States. Some of these estimates are incredibly high (300–500,000 in the U.S. alone). These publications are either politically motivated or indicate misunderstanding of the existing data.

According to data published by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 1985a) at the end of 1980 270,000 Israeli residents had left the country since 1948 and were living abroad for more than a year. To this we may add an estimated number of 'emigrants' who visited Israel during 1980 (and hence at the end of that year were staying abroad for less than a year) as well as the estimated number of 'new emigrants' of 1980. If we assume about 20,000 for the first group and about 25,000 for the second group ('emigration' was high in 1980 by all indicators), we obtain the total number of about 315,000 Israelis staying abroad for a lengthy period at the end of 1980. This figure takes into account interrupted stay abroad, 'new emigrants', and also persons living abroad temporarily (more than one year) for studies, sabbatical leave, etc. On the other hand, from this estimate we should deduct an estimate of Israelis who died abroad (about 20,000 between 1948 and 1980). Furthermore, as we are interested in Jewish emigration from Israel, we should deduct the estimated number of non-Jews, who account for 8–10% of total 'emigration' (CBS, 1985b). Thus the total number of Jewish Israeli residents living abroad for a lengthy period at the end of 1980 may be put at circa 270,000.

As for the total number of Israelis staying for a lengthy period in the United States, the data are less clear. In the last few years, some serious work was done on this question. Herman and Lafontaine (1983) relying mainly on the reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), estimated that about 130,000 Israeli emigrants live in the United States. The Committee on National Statistics (headed by D.B. Levine) wrote that: "At the time of the 1980 census, there were 100,000 people living in the United States who had, at one time or another, been resident in Israel, give or take a few tens of thousands." That committee suggested an upper limit of 136,500 which however did not exclude the non-Jews. The report issued in 1984 was based on the data of the INS, 1980 U.S. Population Census and on current data from Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics.

It is possible to suggest some other estimates that would employ the data of the 1980 U.S. Population Census, as well as data from Israeli border control statistics and on the structure of the population of Israel. In broad lines we may use the following procedures:

One very rough way is to compute ratios of the Israeli-born who live in the United States (1980 census figures), to the corresponding population group in Israel. Assuming that these ratios, by age and sex, represent migration patterns in the entire Jewish population of Israel – and correcting for the proportion of Arabs – which is larger in the older age groups,³ we can compute a total estimate for Israelis who live in the United States. We thus arrive at an estimate of about 160–170,000 Jewish Israelis who lived in the United States at the time of the 1980 census.

Another estimate may be obtained by utilizing the partial data on country of birth of persons who left Israel for a lengthy absence. Such data exist for several periods and give information on the proportion of Israeli-born among the total number of

Israelis who stay abroad for say, two years. Assuming that 8–10% of total Israeli emigrants are Arabs (virtually all Israeli-born), we may arrive at the an estimated proportion of Jewish Israeli-born from the total of Israeli-born staying abroad for a lengthy period. These proportions should be computed for periods that parallel the periods of arrival to the United States as published in the 1980 census. This procedure of estimating is as follows:

(a) From the data supplied by Israel's border control reports, proportions of Israeli-born Jews among the total Jews staying abroad for about two years were estimated. We shall assume, though perhaps inaccurately, that these proportions apply also to emigration to the United States. The period of two years' stay abroad was chosen since emigrants, and particularly the Israeli-born who stay abroad for longer periods, tend to come on visits to Israel, which interrupts the continuity of their stay abroad. These proportions, by period of departure, were approximately: 26% in 1960–64, 32% in 1965–69, 35% in 1970–74, and 40% in 1975–80. For emigration before 1960 about 15% of Israeli-born may be assumed.

(b) If non-Jews amount to 8–10% of the total emigrants from Israel, the proportion of non-Jews among Israeli-born emigrants may be estimated at 25–30% for 1960–64, 22–26% for 1965–69, 22–24% for 1970–74, and 18–20% for 1975–79. For the period before 1960 we assume this proportion to be 50% or even more, as several indicators point to high percentages of non-Jews among the Israeli-born who emigrated to the United States in that period.

(c) According to these proportions of non-Jews, we may 'reduce' the Israeli-born enumerated in the 1980 U.S. census, i.e., estimate the number of Jewish Israeli-born by period of immigration to the United States. Dividing the estimates of Jewish Israeli-born by the proportion of Israeli-born among all Jews emigrating from Israel, we obtain estimates of the total number of Jewish emigrants to the United States by period of migration (Table 1).

Again, the total number of Jewish Israelis living in the United States in 1980 turned out to be around 160,000. This figure does not include the children born to Israelis in the United States, nor the non-Israeli spouses they may have married there.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATES OF ISRAELI-BORN AND TOTAL ISRAELI JEWISH EMIGRANTS, BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1980

Year of arrival	Israeli-born emigrants		Total Israeli Jewish emigrants
	Total Israeli-born	Thereof: Jews	
Total	67,000	45,900-48,700	152-168,000
Up to 1959	14,800	6,000- 7,300	39-49,000
1960-64	6,600	4,600- 4,900	18-19,000
1965-69	10,100	7,500- 8,000	23-25,000
1970-74	12,700	9,600- 9,800	27-28,000
1975-80	22,800	18,200-18,700	45-47,000

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census.

Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Israeli-Born Population in the United States

Period of Immigration to the United States and Citizenship

67,000 Israeli-born were enumerated in the 1980 U.S. census; of these, 35,000 had arrived in the United States since 1970 (Table 2). In the 1970 census, 36,000 Israeli-born were enumerated, indicating that about 5,000 of those enumerated in 1970 did not stay in the United States until 1980, or died. (This assumes that there were no important differences in the coverage of the respective population in the two censuses.) About 23,000 arrived since 1975; among them many were in the United States by 1980 for work, study, sabbatical leave, etc., and were likely to return to Israel. On the other hand, 15,000 had arrived before 1960. All these figures include an unknown proportion of Arabs.

TABLE 2. ISRAELI-BORN, BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, UNITED STATES, 1980

Year of arrival	Thousands
Total	66.8
Up to 1959	14.7
1960-64	6.6
1965-69	10.1
1970-74	12.6
1975-80	22.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

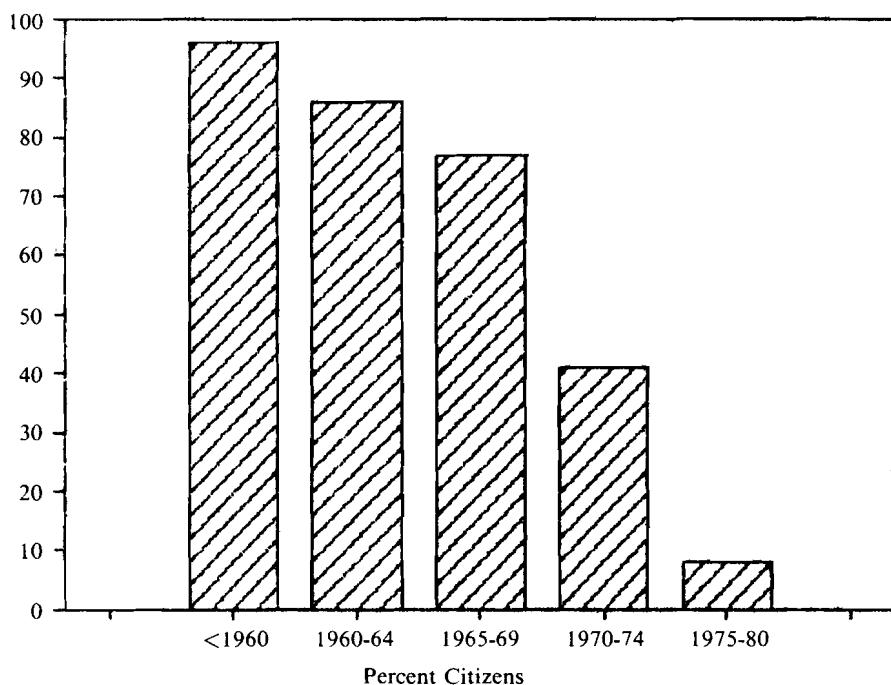
According to the 1980 census findings, 52% of the Israeli-born are naturalized citizens of the United States. The proportion of citizens increases over time (Figure 1); almost all those who arrived before 1960 are now American citizens, but after 10-15 years almost a quarter had not yet achieved citizenship. Among more recent immigrants (1975-80) only 8% were citizens by 1980.

The INS states in its publications that between 1951 and 1980 a total of 49,000 Israeli-born received permission for permanent residence (U.S. National Research Council, 1983). Accordingly, Warren and Passel (1985) estimated that about 18,000 Israeli-born persons live in the United States illegally. But, as will be shown later, many of those who arrived in the United States recently and were enumerated in 1980, were likely to return to Israel after a relatively short period. Also, there are probably a few thousand Israeli-born residents who came to the United States before 1951. Thus, the estimate of the illegal Israeli-born residents should be well under 18,000.

Households Headed by Israeli-born

34,000 households headed by an Israeli-born (head or spouse) were enumerated by

FIGURE 1. PERCENT CITIZENS, BY PERIOD OF ARRIVAL, ISRAELI-BORN IN THE UNITED STATES, 1980



the census (Table 3). In 15,400 of these households (45%) there were no children under age 20. In the other 19,000 households there were about 42,000 children, 2.2 children per household. 75% of these children were born in the United States. From the structure of these households and from the age distribution of the Israeli-born we learn that

TABLE 3. ISRAELI-BORN POPULATION AND HOUSEHOLDS^a, BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, UNITED STATES, 1980

Year of arrival	Persons	Households		
		Total	With children	No children
Total (thousands)	67.0	34.4	19.0	15.4
Total, %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Up to 1959	22.0	32.0	26.0	38.0
1960-64	10.0	12.0	13.0	9.0
1965-69	15.0	15.0	19.0	10.0
1970-74	19.0	18.0	21.0	16.0
1975-80	34.0	23.0	21.0	27.0

a. Head of household or spouse Israeli-born.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

more than 70% of the children (under 20) who were born in Israel, lived in households headed by an Israeli-born.

Geographic Distributions in the United States

Of the Israeli-born 77% are concentrated in seven states, and within these states, mainly in the larger cities (Table 4). 36% live in New York and New Jersey, 23% in California, 6% in Illinois, 5% in Michigan, 4% in Florida and 3% in Texas. If this represents the distribution of the total Israeli immigration to the United States, and if we estimate the total number of Israeli emigrants in the United States at around 160,000 in 1980 (see above) then almost 60,000 live in the states of New York and New Jersey, less than 40,000 in California and about 10,000 in Illinois. The distribution in 1980 by state and period of immigration to the United States, compared to the previous distribution given in the reports of the (INS) shows that many immigrants move from the east to the west after a few years of stay in the United States. According to INS

TABLE 4. ISRAELI-BORN, BY STATE (WITH 2,000+) AND PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, UNITED STATES, 1980

State	Year of arrival					
	Total	1975-	1970-	1965-	1960-	Up to
		1980	1974	1969	1964	1959
Absolute numbers						
Total United States	67,000	222,800	12,700	10,100	6,600	14,800
thereof:						
California	15,700	5,900	2,900	2,500	1,400	3,000
Florida	2,800	900	400	400	300	800
Illinois	4,100	1,500	900	600	400	700
Michigan	3,000	900	700	500	200	700
New Jersey	4,200	1,200	800	700	500	1,000
New York	20,100	5,500	4,100	3,000	2,500	4,900
Texas	2,200	800	500	300	200	400
Percentages						
Total in 7 states	78	73	81	79	83	78
California	23	26	23	25	21	20
Florida	4	4	3	4	5	5
Illinois	6	7	7	6	6	5
Michigan	5	4	6	5	3	5
New Jersey	6	5	6	7	8	7
New York	30	24	32	30	38	33
Texas	3	4	4	3	3	3

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1984b), Table 15.

annual reports. 56% originally settled in New York and in New Jersey, 15% in California, etc. (Herman and Lafontaine, 1983).

Age and Sex

Only 19% of the Israeli-born in the United States are under the age of 20 (Table 5). This percentage is low, but typical of a migrant population, whose children are often already born in the new country of settlement. Among the migrants who arrived since 1975, 35% were under 20, similar to the proportion in the total Jewish population in Israel (38%). About a third of the Israeli-born population in the United States is aged 25–34 years.

TABLE 5. ISRAELI-BORN, BY AGE AND SEX, UNITED STATES, 1980

Age	Total		Male	Female	Ratio M/F
	Number	%			
Total	66,961	100.0	37,312	29,649	1.260
0-14	8,945	13.4	4,646	4,299	1.081
15-19	3,676	5.5	1,925	1,751	1.099
20-24	6,352	9.5	3,567	2,785	1.281
25-34	22,095	33.0	12,497	9,598	1.302
35-44	12,567	18.8	7,478	5,089	1.469
45-64	9,520	14.2	5,284	4,236	1.247
65+	3,806	5.7	1,915	1,891	1.013

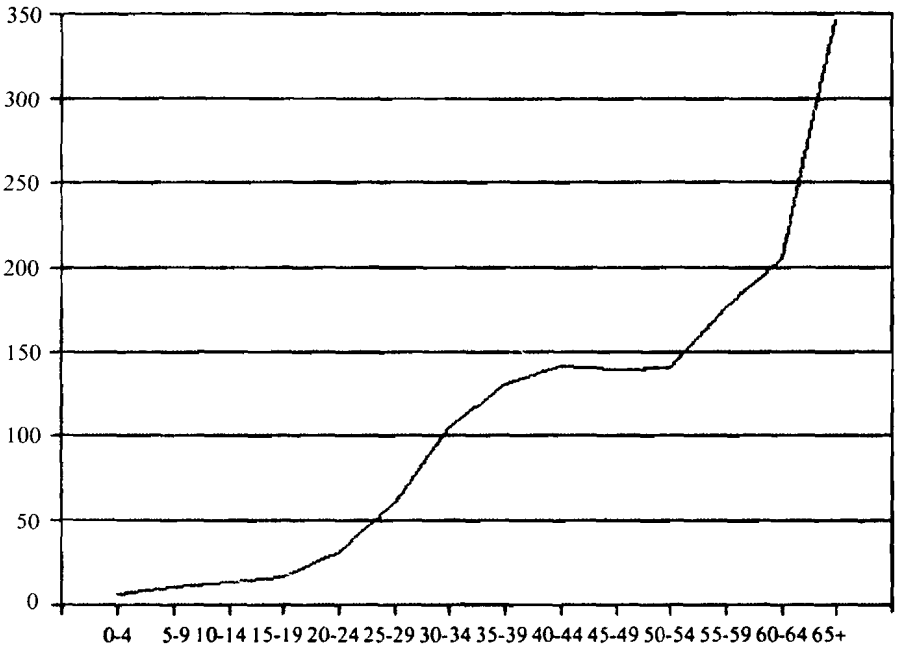
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1984b), Table 15.

The proportion of older persons is high – 10% are 55 years and over. This seems too high for the Israeli-born population (which is very youthful) even if we take into account that a large part of them came to the United States many years ago. Comparison of the Israeli-born who stay in the United States to the source population in Israel by age, gives us a migration ratio of those who left Israel for the United States: for ages 55 and over, this ratio is 200 in the U.S. per 1,000 in Israel; for the 65+ age group the ratio is even higher – 300 per 1,000 (Figure 2).

The high ratios among the older age groups indicate that part of the Israeli-born living in the United States are probably Israeli-born Arabs, whose proportion increases with age.

To get an estimate of the recent migration flows from Israel to the United States, we may compute migration ratios for the recent migrants arrived in 1975–80 (Figure 3). The ratio for Israeli-born aged 20 and over who arrived annually in the United States was 4 per 1,000 in Israel. Among the 25–29 age group the ratio was 5 per 1,000. For the older age groups the ratios seem too high, both in general, and even for the recent period. However, these ratios are somewhat upwardly biased, as a substantial part of the recent migrants was likely to return to Israel.

FIGURE 2. 'RATIO' OF ISRAELI-BORN IN THE UNITED STATES PER 1,000 ISRAELI-BORN IN ISRAEL, BY AGE, 1980



There are more males than females in all age groups. The sex-ratio among ages 15-44 was 1.32 (Table 5). The ratio is similar among the more recent migrants.

Marital Status

31% of males and 22.5% of females aged 15 to 44 are single (Table 6). The proportions of singles are lower in comparison to the source population in Israel (57% and 45% respectively). This may be explained by the differentials in age and marital status structure of migrants and by different marriage patterns in Israel and in the United States.

The proportion of never-married among the Israeli-born emigrants of the 20-24 age group is lower than among the comparable group in Israel. One of the reasons is that the 20-24 age group in the United States, and mainly among the more recent migrants, is older than this group in Israel. This is so because very few young adults migrate before the end of their military service, and thus the 20-24 age group in the United States is actually concentrated in ages 22-24.

The 25-29 age group has an interesting marriage pattern: there are substantial differences in the proportion of never-married among migration cohorts (Table 7). Among males who arrived in the United States in 1975-80 the proportion of never-

FIGURE 3. 'RATIO' OF ISRAELI-BORN IMMIGRATED IN THE US IN 1975-80 PER 1,000 ISRAELI-BORN IN ISRAEL, BY AGE, 1980

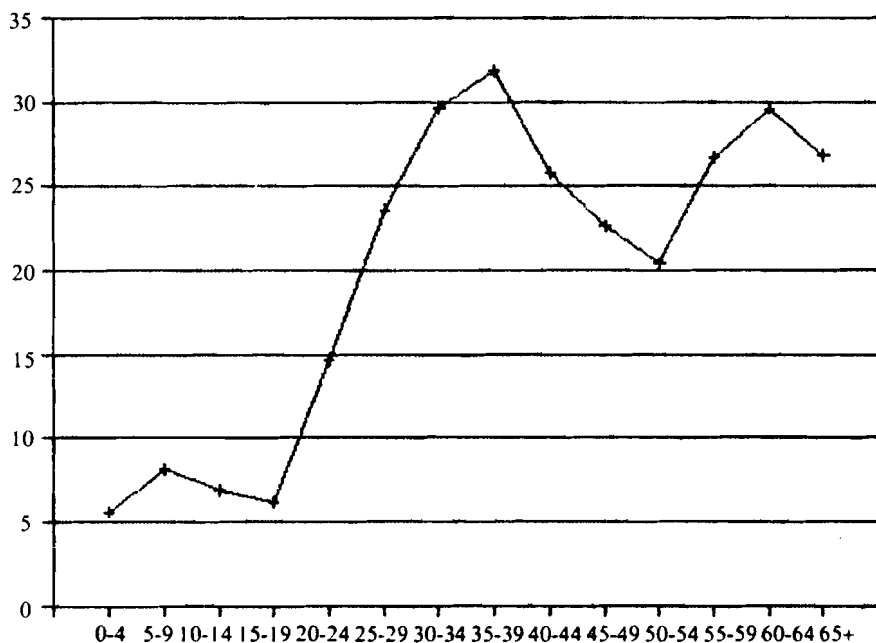


TABLE 6. PERCENT NEVER MARRIED, BY AGE AND SEX - ISRAELI-BORN AGED 15-44 IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN ISRAEL, 1980

Age	In the U.S. ^a		In Israel ^b	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total 15-44	31.4	22.5	57.3	44.8
15-19	97.8	85.9	99.2	95.8
20-24	70.4	39.7	84.1	55.0
25-29	34.0	17.3	36.6	19.5
30-34	15.4	13.0	12.1	10.7
34-39	8.3	3.9	5.9	8.1
40-44	4.1	5.7	3.7	5.4

a. U.S. Bureau of the Census.

b. Israel Central Bureau of Statistics

married (38%) is very similar to the proportion found among Israeli-born in Israel (37% in 1983). The proportion single is lower for those who arrived in the United States in 1970-74 and it increases for earlier periods of arrival: 47% of males who had arrived before 1965 were never married.

TABLE 7. PERCENT NEVER MARRIED, BY SEX AND MIGRATION COHORT - ISRAELI-BORN AGED 25-34 IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN ISRAEL, 1980

Year of arrival	25-29		30-34	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
In the U.S.				
Total	34	17	15	13
Up to 1959	47	27	21	22
1960-64	46	32	13	12
1965-69	29	30	12	13
1970-74	18	6	16	13
1975-80	38	10	17	7
Total U.S. whites ^a	31	19	14	9
In Israel^b				
Total	37	20	12	11
Father born				
Europe-America	36	20	11	10

a. U.S. Bureau of the Census.

b. Israel Central Bureau of Statistics

For females aged 25-29, the proportion never-married in the recent migration cohort is much lower (10%) than among the relevant age group in Israel (20%), which show that single women's tendency to migrate is lower than that of single males. However, the pattern of higher proportions of never-married among cohorts who arrived at earlier periods, is found also among women. The proportion single among the cohorts that arrived before 1965 is higher not only in comparison to the Israeli-born in Israel's population, but also in comparison to the white population in the United States (1980).⁴

Similar patterns, with similar differentials are found in the 30-34 age group.

Education

Education levels among the Israeli-born in the United States are relatively high (Table 8). More than half of them studied for 13 years or more and about a third studied for 16 years or more. Education is much higher than among the relevant source population in Israel. The main difference is in academic education, i.e., 16+ years of study. As an example, in the 25-34 age group, 23% of the group in the United States studied for 13-15 years, similar to this age group in Israel. But, as to higher studies, 39% of the group in the United States studied for 16 years or more, as compared to only 16% of the group in Israel. Thus 62% of this group in the United States studied for 13 years or more (37% in Israel). The level of education among the Israeli-born in the United States is also much higher than among the white population there.⁵

TABLE 8. PERCENT HIGHLY EDUCATED, BY AGE, AMONG THE ISRAELI-BORN IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN ISRAEL, 1980

Age	In the U.S. ^a		In Israel ^b	
	13+ years	16+ years	13+ years	16+ years
25-34	62	39	37	16
35-44	58	39	47	25
45-54	44	31	37	19
55-64	34	22	23	11
65+	22	12	16	7

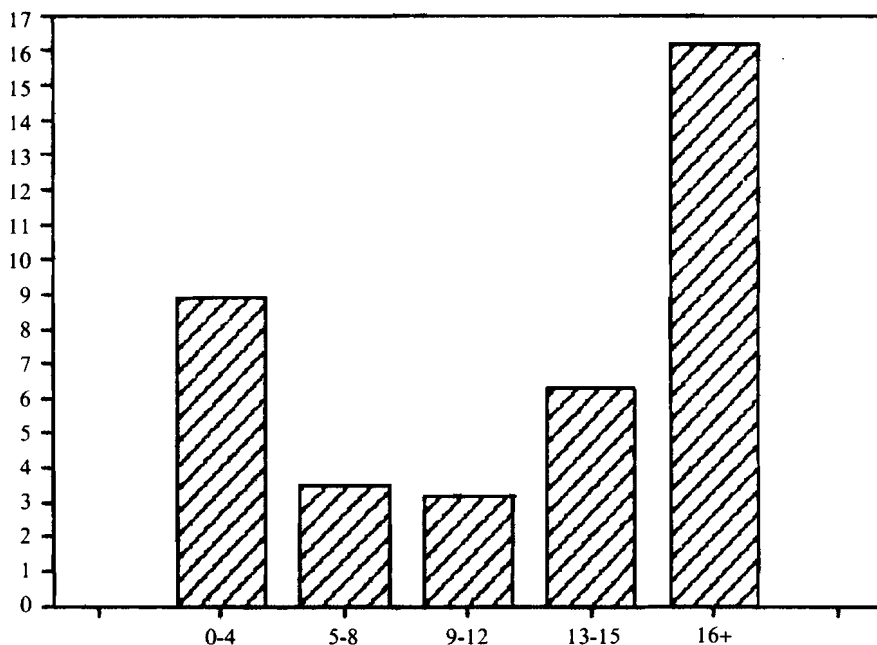
a. U.S. Bureau of the Census.

b. Israel Central Bureau of Statistics

Per 100 Israeli-born with 16+ years of study who live in Israel, 16 are living in the United States, in comparison to 5 per 100 of the total Israeli-born population (Figure 4). This is an indication of the greater tendency to migrate among those with higher education, and/or that those who went to continue their studies in the United States, tend more to stay there.

Attendance in higher education is greater in the United States than in the relevant

FIGURE 4. 'RATIO' OF ISRAELI-BORN IN THE UNITED STATES PER 1,000 ISRAELI-BORN IN ISRAEL, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, 1980



population in Israel. At age 25-29 the respective percentages were 21% compared with only 9% (Table 9). Among the more recent migrants attendance is 2-3 times higher than among the other groups (Figure 5). Again, many students stay for a short time in the United States and will probably return to Israel.

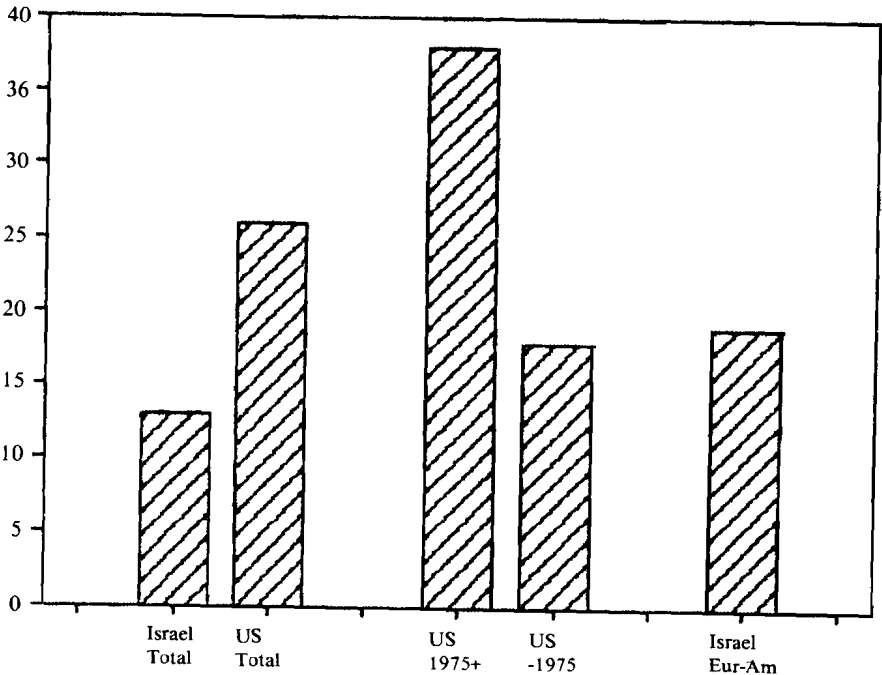
TABLE 9. PERCENTAGES STUDYING AMONG THE 25-29 AGE GROUP, BY SEX - ISRAELI-BORN IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN ISRAEL, 1980

Sex	In the U.S. ^a		In Israel ^b	
	Total	Migrated 1975+	Total	Father born Europe-America
Total	21.4	30.9	9.4	13.9
Male	26.1	38.3	13.0	19.2
Female	15.6	21.3	6.0	9.2

a. U.S. Bureau of the Census.

b. Israel Central Bureau of Statistics

FIGURE 5. PERCENT ATTENDING SCHOOL AT AGE 25-29 AMONG ISRAELI-BORN MALES IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN ISRAEL, 1980



Labor Force Characteristics and Income

81% of males and 45% of females (16 years and over) belong to the labor force (Table 10).⁶ Among the more recent migrants lower rates belong to the labor force: 73% and 38% respectively.

85% worked as employees and 14% as self-employed. Almost 4,000 (11%) stated that they were government employees. The percent of government employees among the Israeli-born who arrived before 1975 was 10% compared to 14% among those arriving in 1975-80, which suggest that the last group includes officials of the Israeli government who should not be counted as emigrants.

The Israeli-born population has a high occupational structure: 40% are professionals and managers, and only 20% work in production or as laborers (Table 11).

Income increases over time: migrants who stay for a longer period have a higher

TABLE 10. PERCENTAGES IN LABOR FORCE - ISRAELI-BORN AGED 16 AND OVER IN THE UNITED STATES, 1980

Age	Male	Female
Total	80.7	45.1
16-19	37.4	32.4
20-24	63.8	47.3
25-34	89.0	49.5
35-44	94.4	51.2
45-54	92.1	52.1
55-64	73.4	40.1
65+	22.8	6.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

TABLE 11. EMPLOYED ISRAELI-BORN AGED 16 AND OVER, BY OCCUPATION AND SEX, UNITED STATES, 1980

Occupation	Total	Male	Female
Total, thousands	35.2	24.8	10.4
Total, %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Executive, administrative managerial	16.2	18.7	10.3
Professional	25.0	23.0	29.5
Technical, sales and administrative support	32.2	28.2	41.7
Technicians	4.6	4.7	4.4
Sales	17.6	18.8	14.8
Administrative and clerical	10.0	4.7	22.5
Services	6.8	5.1	10.9
Farming, forestry and fishing	0.4	0.4	0.3
Production	10.0	13.5	1.8
Operators, laborers	9.4	11.1	5.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1984b), Table 7.

income. The median income (for full time work) of migrants who arrived before 1960 was 35% higher than that of the Israeli-born who came since 1975 (Table 12). There are almost no differences in the median income among cohorts that arrived between 1960 to 1974. The per capita income in households headed by Israeli-born who arrived before 1960 was 85% higher than among the recent migrants. It is possible, however, that these differences are partly due to a different age and household structure of the various immigrant cohorts in the 1980 census. According to the definitions used by the U.S. census,⁷ 12% of the households headed by an Israeli-born were below the poverty line: 22% of the more recent migrants and only 5% of migrants who arrived before 1960 were included in this definition of low income.

TABLE 12. INCOME INDICATORS (1979) OF ISRAELI-BORN, BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION, UNITED STATES, 1980

Income	Year of arrival					
	Total	1975-1980	1970-1974	1965-1969	1960-1964	Up to 1959
Median income ^a	12,879	10,696	12,816	12,685	12,829	14,430
Per capita income ^a	7,906	5,568	7,067	7,333	8,550	10,220
% Families below U.S. poverty line	11.8	21.8	13.7	10.9	7.20	5.4

a. Full-time worker.

b. Head of household or spouse Israel-born.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Notes

1. According to the definitions used in the 1980 census all persons staying in a given dwelling were to be enumerated. The information on country of birth is based on a sample of about 19% (see U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984b, Appendices C and D). Children born abroad but who had at least one American parent, were not counted as foreign-born. Thus, children born in Israel to immigrants or 'potential immigrants' from the United States who left with their parents for the States, were not included as Israeli-born by the 1980 U.S. census.
2. Both categories a. and b. contain some persons who were born in Judea-Samaria and the Gaza Strip.
3. According to data of the 1986 population census of Canada, which include information on both religion and ethnicity, the proportion of non-Jews among the Israeli-born aged 65 and over was rather high. Non-Jews constituted about 70% of the Israeli-born aged 45-54, about 80% of those aged 55-64, and about 90% of those aged 65 and over. This may indicate a similarly high proportion of Arabs among older Israeli-born who live in the United States.
4. In the 25-29 age group of the white population of the United States, the proportion of never-married was (1980) 31% among males and 19% among females. In the 30-34 age group, 14% and 9%, respectively (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984a).
5. Among the 25-34 age group of the white population of the United States 16% studied for 16 years or more, similar to the Israeli-born who live in Israel (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984a).

6. Labor force includes persons who stated in the census that they were employed or seeking work (unemployed) during the reference week.
7. The average poverty threshold for a family of four persons was \$7,412 in 1979. The poverty thresholds are revised annually to allow for changes in the cost of living as reflected in the Consumer Price Index. For additional explanations, see: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1984b), pp. 8–10.

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