UCLA
Volume V. 1989-90 - California Immigrants in World Perspective: The Conference Papers, April 1990

Title
Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Israel, Canada and California

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/21f995xx

Author
Razin, Eran

Publication Date
1990-04-07

eScholarship.org
Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

1989-90, Vol. 5, Number 8

Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Israel, Canada and California

by

Eran Razin

ABOUT THE AUTHOR...

ERAN RAZIN: *is a lecturer in the Department of Geography in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem He received his Ph.D. degree from the Hebrew University in 1986. Subject of thesis: "The effect of Organizational structure of industry on the development of periphera7 towns in Israel." In 1986-1987 he was a Post-Doctora Scholar at UCLA, studying the role of foreign migrants in urban economies in the United States. He is currently engaged mainly in studies on (a) location and entrepreneurship among immigrant/ethnic groups in Israel and Canada; (b) evaluation of Israel's spatial industrialization policy; and (c) competition among towns in Israel in a period of local initiative.*

A version of this paper was prepared for the UCLA CONFERENCE ON CALIFORNIA IMMIGRANTS IN WORLD PERSPECTIVE, Apri7 1990. The Conference was coordinated by Institute for Social Science Research and sponsored by the Immigration Research Program the Dean's office of the Division of Social Sciences, and Internationa7 Studies and Overseas Programs, UCLA.

The ISSR Working Papers in the Social Science is a publication series devoted to current research topics undertaken by UCLA academicians and affiliated scholars. Comments or inquiries should be addressed to: The Editor, ISSR Working Papers in the Social Sciences, Institute for Social Science Research, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90024-1484.

IMMIGRANT ENTREPRENEURS IN ISRAEL, CANADA AND CALIFORNIA

1. Introduction

Entrepreneurial activity has served as a route of economic advancement and social mobility for many of the more successful immigrant groups in their new host countries. In addition to varying ethnic resources, the formation of small-businesses by new immigrants depends greatly on characteristics of the host country and the specific urban area. Moreover, interaction of location and ethnicity factors may influence entrepreneurial behavior of immigrant groups; i.e. the role of location may differ for each immigrant group. This role of location has been given only cursory treatment in most previous studies of immigrant entrepreneurs.

This paper outlines the relation between theories of entrepreneurship among immigrant groups and studies on entrepreneurship in space. Then, it focuses on case studies of self-employment among recent immigrants in Israel, Canada end California, basing the analysis on national censuses of population from the early 1980s. Special attention has been put on the influence of location on the propensity of immigrants from various origins to engage in self-employment, and on the types of entrepreneurial activities performed by different immigrant groups. The influence of human capital attributes, ethnic networks and local opportunity structures on spatial variations in entrepreneurial behavior of immigrants is discussed.

Immigrant entrepreneurship is assessed in the context of changing realities of the 1970s and 1980s. These years witnessed a certain revival in the role of small businesses in job creation in many Western countries. A new role has been assigned to local entrepreneurs in public economic development efforts, replacing post-war strategies, based on capital-intensive industrialization

(Storey 1988). International migration flows have also reemerged as a political and economic phenomenon of major importance, due to the passage of liberal immigration legislature in countries of destination during the period of economic growth and prosperity in the 1960s, and due to pressures in the countries of origin, aggravated by the economic crises of the 1970's and 1980s. Thus, the phenomenon of entrepreneurship among immigrant groups has a growing significance in assessing local economic development processes and social change.

2. Theoretical Outline

2.1 Factors Influencing the Propensity to Become an Entrepreneur

The propensity of an individual to engage in entrepreneurial activity can be attributed to four major factors:

1. **Personal character** Prospects for becoming an entrepreneur depend cn personal inclination towards risk taking, ambition and desire for independence (Carland et al. 1984). This inclination can be explained in personal psychological terms but is also influenced by cultural values and social environment.

2. **Human capital and personal resources**. Education, skills, knowledge of language of host country, financial wealth and other personal characteristics, such as sex, age and marital status strongly influence the prcpensity of becoming self-employed (Ben Porath 1988a). Moreover, individuals possessing particular occupations, such as dentists, have inherently a higher probability of becoming self-employed.

3. **Social networks** Entrepreneurial skills and behavior are often acquired through personal contacts, and acquaintanceship with other entrepreneurs (Zimmer and Aldrich 1987; Johannisson 1988), and not through formal education and vocational training. Family contacts, community and ethnic networks may be of

crucial importance in this respect, as well as experience gained by working with business proprietors.

4. Opportunities offered by local economy: These are opportunities created by geographical location, local economic structure, size and other attributes of local markets and local political-organizational attitude towards small businesses and entrepreneurs.

2.2 Entrepreneurship Among Immigrant Groups

Theories focusing on the great variations in entrepreneurial activity among immigrant groups refer to all the above four factors, but stress particularly the role of social networks (Light 1984; Mars and Ward 1984; Portes and Bach 1985). Entrepreneurial immigrant groups have been found to follow the path of preserving ethnic ties and forming **enclaves** of **entrepreneurial activity** based on such assets as family cohesion, trust relations, common language, culture and life habits. These enclaves have been characterized by extensive informal ethnic networks utilized as major channels for recruiting labor, gathering information, transmitting entrepreneurial skills, and in some cases also forming input and output linkages. Tradition of enterprise and ethnic informal institutions such as rotating credit associations are all elements characterizing these ethnic networks. Employment in such ethnic enclaves has opened the way for immigrants to acquire entrepreneurial skills more than employment in similar occupations in the general labor market. Whereas it can be argued that similar traits are common to most small business owners and not only to immigrants and ethnic minorities (Zimmer and Aldrich 1987), immigrant groups which do not form such ethnic networks, are at disadvantage with respect to utilizing various niches of entrepreneurial opportunities.

The immigrants' ethnic origin also influences their personal inclination

towards entrepreneurship, mostly through cultural values brought from their home country. Furthermore, immigrants may favor risk-taking over job security when they consider themselves as sojourners (Bonacich and Modell 1980). However, human capital and personal resources, termed class resources by Light (1984), are the major variables which have to be distinguished from ethnic networks in explaining variations in entrepreneurial behavior. Immigrant groups vary in their education, skills and availability of capital. Sanders and Nee (198'7) assigned such variables an overriding role in a critical examination of the ethnic enclave hypothesis. Differences in the local opportunity structure can attract immigrants with varying human capital attributes to different locations. However, it can be argued that identifying the net ethnic effect requires to hold these human capital attributes constant.

The above ethnic influences are termed supply variables in entrepreneurship by Light and Rosenstein (1989). A contextual factor, depending on ethnic origin, which is part of the local opportunity structure, is discrimination. Discrimination may either push immigrants to self-employment, by blocking alternative mobility paths in the labor market, or block their way to certain self-employment opportunities. Discrimination may also influence variations across countries and even regions and urban areas in which different groups are discriminated at different levels. Other factors influencing the opportunity structure for immigrant businesses, termed demand variables by Light and Rosenstein (1989), are discussed in the following section.

2.3 Entrepreneurship in Space

Empirical studies of entrepreneurship in space have emphasized the significance of variables such as size, industrial structure, business size composition and social features of the urban area in order to explain regional

variations in business formation (Keeble and Wever 1986; Razin 1990). These studies usually focused on implications for regional development policies (Giaoutzi, Nijkamp and Storey 1988). However, a broader theoretical debate concerned the growth and decline of entrepreneurship-intensive environments, termed flexible production complexes or Marshallian industrial districts. Such spatial agglomerations evolve in activities facing unstable and fragmented markets, characterized by high levels of uncertainty, in which the need for flexibility outweighs economies of scale and leads to the disintegration of the production process into a large number of small independent businesses. These businesses have dynamic and complex linkage patterns, leading them to agglomerate locationally together in order to reduce the spatially dependent costs of external transactions and face-to-face communications (Scott 1988).

Storper and Scott (1989) and Piore and Sabel (1984) carry this argument further by suggesting that shifts in the world economy, since the 1970s, are leading to a 'second industrial divide' or a 'post-Fordist era', characterized by greater instability, uncertainty, fragmentation of demand, and the introduction of new flexible production methods. This shift, reflected by statistical evidence on the revival of the small-business economy (Blau 1987; Brock and Evans 1989; Storey 1988), leads to the re-agglomeration of production and the resurgence of industrial districts. These new flexible industrial oomplexes are typically composed either of high-technology industry, revitalized craft production or business services. Different location factors influence each of them Local social networks associated with tradition of skills of family, community or ethnic origin are particularly central in revitalized craft production complexes. In the most publicized case, such networks based on trust relations and unwritten business norms, have led to the emergence of thriving small-business complexes in small and medium-sized towns in central and north-

eastern Italy, known as the Third Italy (Brusco 1962).

These arguments have been challenged by Amin and Robins (1969), who raised doubts as to whether the contemporary resurgence of industrial districts is more than a temporary or transitional phenomenon. Furthermore, they argued that heterogeneous developments such as Italian industrial districts (revitalized craft clusters), high-tech growth centers (product pioneering agglomerations) and metropolitan service and control agglomerations can not collapse together. Even within Third Italy, there have been significant differences between the clusters of small family and craft based firms. A few clusters conform with the ideal model of flexibly organized and internationally competitive Marshallian industrial districts. However, most are little more than clusters of small family firms producing the same medium-to-poor quality product for few large subcontractors or wholesalers. Often, these producers have few entrepreneurial skills and little access to technology. The local businesses are in fierce competition with each other, and are based on self-exploitation, use of family labor, poor wages and evasion of tax and social security contributions.

Entrepreneurial networks can, therefore, take diverse forms in different locations. In metropolitan areas, such networks can be extensive and dynamic, dominated by business-oriented local ties. Networks would be more stable and cosmopolitan in areas dominated by high-techology industry. In flourishing small-business (craft) regions, entrepreneurial networks would still be extensive, but based mostly on stable local social ties, whereas in other non-oentral areas such networks would be much narrower (Johannisson 1966).

Ethnic entrepreneurial enclaves formed by new immigrants should be examined in light of these generalizations. Most enclaves develop in metropolitan areas, but different metropolitan economies may generate different types of ethic entrepreneurial networks. Thus, the role of self-employment either as a

significant route for upward mobility of new immigrants or as a no choice retreat (Ladbury 1984), depends on the type of ethnic entrepreneurial network, reflecting both ethnic attributes and location characteristics. Most ethnic enclaves probably resemble networks such as those characterizing the less ideal types of industrial districts in Third Italy, concentrating in various service, trade and construction activities. Immigrant entrepreneurs penetrating sectors such as garment industry, wholesale or business services may form more advanced networks. Nevertheless, even the less ideal complexes can be significant for the local economy, and serve as a vital first step in the upward mobility route of new immigrants, enabling some capital accumulation and further advancement in the labor market for the second generation.

The opportunity structure for immigrant entrepreneurs depends not only on the structure of the local economy, but also on the socio-ethnic structure of the urban area. Multi-ethnic urban areas create particular opportunities for small businesses to compete; first, by forming fragmented patterns of demand which reduce economies of scale in serving the local population; end second, by offering large niches serving central city minority slums, which do not attract main-stream firms or native middle-class population (Light and Rosenstein 1989).

Location and ethnicity may interact with regards to their influence on entrepreneurship among immigrants. Such interaction effect, termed specific demand factors by Light and Rosenstein (1989), was identified by Razin (1988a) in California. In addition to the role of discrimination, mentioned earlier, immigrants from a common country of origin reaching different urban areas may vary in their human capital attributes. These variations can be an outcome of different opportunity structures, attracting immigrants with specific qualifications to each location. They can also stem from the major role of family and ethnic networks in the immigration process, leading immigrants from

particular regions within the country of origin to concentrate in different urban areas. In addition, ethnic entrepreneurial networks tend to form only in some of the locations in which the ethnic group is present, and can differ from place to place in their characteristics. Thus, even when human capital variables are kept constant, the influence of location on entrepreneurship may vary across immigrant groups.

3. Comparing the Israeli, Canadian and American cases

International comparisons of entrepreneurship among immigrants should emphasize two major facets: (1) Differences across receiving countries in the attributes of immigrants, stemming, to a large extent, from the immigration policies of these countries. (2) Differences in the economic characteristics and particularly the political-organizational attitude toward small businesses, and legal requirements and obstacles for starting a business (Ward 1987). Interaction effects of country of origin and country of destination on entrepreneurship can be assumed to evolve from variations in human capital attributes of immigrants attracted to different destinations. They can also be caused by differing levels of discrimination toward specific immigrant groups, whereas localized ethnic entrepreneurial networks can be expected to have a more central influence in the inter-metropolitan scale.

3.1 Immigration and Absorption Policies and Their Impact on Entrepreneurship

The United States, Canada and Israel are among the few countries with a tradition of accepting permanent settlers (United Nations 1982). It is beyond the scope of this paper to present a comparative historical account of immigration to the three countries, or to compare detailed principles guiding present policies. Nevertheless, some general observations are important for

evaluating entrepreneurial behavior of immigrants in each of the countries.

Immigration to the United States and Canada have many common traits; Canadian policies being somewhat influenced by American practices. Prejudices towards certain immigrant groups such as Chinese have been common to both countries, end both have liberalized their immigration policies during the 1960s, eliminating discrimination on ethnic grounds, thus enabling an unprecedented influx of immigrants from Third World countries. However, a closer look reveals some noteworthy distinctions. First, European, end particularly British immigrants have remained more dominant in Canada (Statistics Canada 1984). Second, The ratio of immigrants per population has been much higher in Canada. Thus, immigration could influence more its economy and demographic composition (Goldberg and Mercer 1986).

Third, it seems that economic development needs and labor market considerations have played a greater role in Canada (Statistics Canada 1984). Immigration to the United States, on the other hand, has been based more on precedent and on national tradition than on any recognized economic or demographic needs (United Nations 1982). Fourth, the share of illegal immigrants has been far greater in the United States. As a consequence of these last two factors, the occupational mix of immigrants in Canada, including that of non-whites, has been more tilted toward the upper levels of the occupational ladder (Keely and Elwell 1981; Ramcharan 1962).

Emphasizing economic considerations, Canada has also implemented, since 1978, a specific program for attracting immigrant entrepreneurs, intending to establish and manage businesses creating or retaining jobs for Canadians, or at least creating their own job. A more recent investor program has been **aimed** towards the wealthy who intend to invest large sums in the Canadian economy (Nash 1987). The Canadian program has been aimed towards those coming with

substantial capital, proven record of business and definitive plans for establishing one in Canada. These are not new immigrants striving for economic success and upward mobility through entrepreneurial activity in an ethnic enclave, but rather wealthy businessmen who are expected to enter the higher economic strata of Canadian society soon after arrival. This policy has been perceived to have had some positive impact on the Canadian economy, but was devoid of close monitoring (Nash 1987). Concern has been raised to unknown levels of abuse of the policy by immigrants, not residing in the province sponsoring them, and not accomplishing the promised investment, "but rather continuing business as usual in Hong Kong, while their families are safely settled in some posh Canadian suburb" (Malarek 1987). It can also be claimed that non-economic family unification criteria are not less conducive for entrepreneurship, since family ties provide a good basis for the integration of new immigrants into society, and can in particular open paths for entrepreneurial careers.

The Israeli case differs fundamentally from the American and Canadian cases. Immigration policy has been motivated by maintenance of national identity considerations, and the almost sole criteria for granting Israeli citizenship has been the Jewish religious denomination. Immigrants to Israel have not been usually motivated by economic considerations. However, deteriorating economic and political conditions since 1973 have reduced immigration flows to Israel, despite all incentives (DellaPergola 1988). It should be noted, that towards the late 1980s, labor migration from countries such as the Philippines, Portugal and Poland has become more visible, partly due to deteriorating Jewish-Arab relations, leading to a diminishing attractiveness of the later as a pool of cheap unorganized labor. These immigrant flows are partly illegal, perceived only as temporary, and have not influenced significantly the self-employed

sector, except perhaps for household work.

Absorption patterns varied considerably between the three countries. The strong appeal of the United States has been based on its perception as the land of endless opportunities (Sobel 1988). Immigrants knew that they have to make it on their own, and practical assistance for immigrants has been mostly limited to a network of voluntary organizations, mainly on an ethnic basis. Canada might have not been that different, but government and provincial agencies assumed more responsibility for the welfare and settlement of immigrants (United Nations 1982). In Israel, the government took responsibility for the first steps of absorption, assisting immigrants in acquiring language and other skills and helping in housing and job search.

It can be argued that the greater dependency of immigrants in Israel on recourse to major public agencies for the allocation of rewards and facilities, reduces the probability of forming ethnic entrepreneurial sub-economies. It has also been argued that the Israeli absorption system tends to attract the non-entrepreneurial, elderly and poor, whereas Jews having some capital and entrepreneurial skills may forgo the Israeli government support systems for better economic opportunities in Western Europe and North America. It is difficult to differentiate the influence of the initial immigrant selection from the impact of the absorbing systems (Inbar and Adler 1977). Nevertheless, in Israel, cohesive immigrant groups also evinced higher capacity to adjust to the new society. Self-employment have served, to a limited extent, as an alternative mobility route for Jews of Eastern origins, immigrating to Israel in the 1950s and early 1980s and lacking formal education and skills necessary for advancement as employees (Nahon 1989; Razin 1988b).

The Canadian emphasis on multiculturalism, which differs from American and Israeli assimilationist "melting pot" ideologies, may be assumed to slow

assimilation, particularly in bilingual localities such as Montreal. However, evidence concerning this argument is not definitive. It seems that the myth of advancement through preserving ethnic ties and culture emerged paradoxically in the United States, whereas rapid cultural assimilation was considered as beneficial for promoting economic mobility among immigrants in Israel and Canada.

3.2 The Economic Environment and Entrepreneurship

The economic and political-organizational environment can be assumed to be most conducive to entrepreneurship in the United States, which is most committed to free enterprise ideology, Israel being at the other end. There has been a prevailing perception that the Canadian climate for investors and entrepreneurs is inferior to that in the United States. However, the impression that there is more state involvement in the Canadian economy does not stand close scrutiny. Both Canada and the United States are advanced capitalist societies, and the Canadian economy is only marginally more regulated than the American. Still, there is a difference in the sentiment toward government, and the Canadian government is more willing to engage in public enterprise. The Canadian economy is also more externally controlled, offers smaller internal markets, and is more natural resources-based, attributes that can deter entrepreneurship (Goldberg and Mercer 1988). According to Peterson (1977), both the merchant and the manufacturing entrepreneur did not enjoy high social status in Canada, and Canadian entrepreneurs tended in particular to avoid manufacturing. He argued that a negative attitude for entrepreneurship in Canada resulted from being too comfortable in the paternalistic shadow of a great neighbor, who along with other countries has supported Canadian unearned high standard of living by buying Canadian natural resources. Without discussing the validity of these

arguments in the past, it should be noted that these attitudes have been changing. The "quiet revolution" in Quebec has been accompanied by changing attitudes towards small-businesses, and Canadian regional policies have also shifted towards promoting local entrepreneurship (Savoie 1987).

Ethnic networks have been critical in attaining economic success also in Canada, as demonstrated in a study of Portuguese immigrants (Anderson 1974). However, in the case of the non-enterprising Portuguese immigrants, jobs considered to serve as "stepping stones" were usually unionized jobs. Other groups were more entrepreneurial and unlike majority group entrepreneurs, minorities typically chose in the first place the route of self-employment, and could have changed from one type of business to another in search for success, utilizing kinship networks and broader ethno-religious ties (Kallen and Kelner 1983). It could be argued that Canadian ethnic enclaves tended to operate in a narrower sense than in the American context, serving as ethnic support systems, but not forming complex internal input-output and information linkages. Canadian cities also lacked the large protected niches of serving central city minority slums, utilized by immigrant entrepreneurs in the United States. Still, the Jewish entrepreneurial enclave in Toronto's garment industry, formed during the early 20th century (Hiebert forthcoming), as well as its later succession by Chinese (Wickberg 1982), showed close resemblance to the same phenomenon in New York (Waldinger 1988). Thus, it can be argued that what counts more are not marginal differences between the American and Canadian immigration policies or economic systems, but differences in metropolitan opportunity structures.

The Israeli economy has been characterized by a large public sector and deep government intervention (Ben Porath 1988b), and has not been most receptive toward small entrepreneurs. This was due to early socialist bias favoring enterprises owned by the Federation of Labor, and to later policies oriented

toward large investors, having the ability to face government bureaucracy. A gradual reorientation of public attitude towards entrepreneurship has been visible since the late 1970s, due to pressures stemming from infiltration of "New Right" ideologies from Britain and the United States, as well as to the political change in 1977, and the general stagnation and crisis conditions in many of Israel's large industrial corporations (Razin 1980). However, unlike the reversal of the long term trend of decline in the proportion of self-wployed in the United States (Light end Sanchez 1987) and Canada (Cohen 1988), the percentage of self-employed in Israel has been still declining throughout the early 1980s (Razin 1990), perhaps due to the initially higher rates of self-employment in the less advanced Israeli economy. Israel still offers smaller markets, inferior opportunities for financing ventures, and somewhat greater legal obstacles for starting a business. These factors have been brought up by Israeli immigrants starting businesses in the United States (Sobel 1986), although their role in influencing the decision to migrate to the United States has never been thoroughly examined.

3.3 The Role of Regional Policies

Both Canada (Lithwick 1987) and Israel (Razin forthcoming) employ regional policies aimed at supporting their economically backward regions. Whereas motivations for initiating the policies have differed, the means employed showed closer resemblance, including the recent interest in promoting the small-business sector in backward regions. The United States lacks clear regional policy, but development efforts pursued by local authorities have traditionally emphasized small businesses and entrepreneurs.

Dispersing new immigrants to peripheral localities has been a corner stone in Israel's population dispersal policy since 1948 (Shachar 1971). Measures to

direct immigrants to non-metropolitan development towns were of diminishing effectiveness since the late 1980s. Yet, new immigrants have still tended to disperse more than the general population, due to government involvement in their absorption process, and perhaps also due to the initial dispersed distribution of immigrants, accompanied by relatively low rates of internal migration in Israel. This has not been the case in Canada and the United States, where immigrants tended to gravitate freely towards the largest metropolitan areas. In Canada, the economic advantages of immigration were emphasized by policy makers, and it was stressed that the Canadian entrepreneur immigrant program contributed to widen the gap between the have and the have not provinces, since its main beneficiaries have been the largest metropolitan areas (Nash 1987). A Canadian attempt to implement a policy of settling immigrants in places where labor force is needed, other than Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, has faced the problem that employment opportunities and ethnic ties assisting in economic advancement have been mainly concentrated in the largest metropolitan areas (Anderson and Frideres 1981). In the United States, an attempt was made during the late 1970s to influence the resettlement pattern of Southeast Asian refugees, so that no state would bear a disproportionate burden of resettlement efforts. However, an initially dispersed pattern has soon become concentrated, as a second wave of refugees gravitated towards the largest concentrations of earlier arrivals, and internal migration patterns led to increased clustering of immigrants in a limited number of states (Desbarates 1985). In Israel, where the government has been more successful in dispersing immigrants, it seemed worthwhile to examine to what extent did this dispersal affect their prospects for entrepreneurship.

4. self -Employment Among Recent Immigrants in the Three Countries- A Census Data Analysis

4.1 Data and Methodology

The exploratory analysis presented in this section focuses on the influence of location on the propensity of recent immigrants from various origins to become self-employed, and on the industrial composition of the self-employed immigrants. The analysis treats only new immigrants, thus referring to the particular group of those who turned into self-employment soon after immigration. It is based on the public use files (individual records) of the 1983 Israeli Census of Population, the 1981 Census of Canada, and the 1980 American Census of Population. The Israeli file includes a 20% sample of the total population, the California file is a 5% sample, and the Canadian file is only a 2% sample, lacking sufficient details on some variables. The different sampling, end the fact that the studies on each country were carried out separately, restrict to some extent the level of detail at which comparisons can be made. The present study includes: (a) immigrants who arrived in Israel between 1972 and 1983, and lived in 1983 in one of its metropolitan areas or other towns of over 5000 inhabitants; (b) immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1971 end 1981, and lived in 1981 in one of its 13 major metropolitan areas; and (c) immigrants who arrived in the United States between 1970 and 1980, and lived in 1980 in one of California's three major metropolitan regions. In addition to basic cross-tabulations, logit models for identifying variables influencing the propensity to become self-employed, and log-linear models for identifying factors associated with the industrial composition of the self-employed were constructed for the Israeli and Canadian cases. The following is a summary of some of the general findings.

4.2 Variations in Rates of Self-Employment

Rates of self-employment among new immigrants were highest in the metropolitan areas of California and lowest in Canada (Table 1). Intra-national variations were small in California and Canada, but more marked in Israel, where new immigrants in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem possessed high "Californian" rates of self-employment, whereas those in Haifa and in development towns had particularly low rates. Spatial variations in rates of self-employment among immigrants in Israel and Canada reflected, with a few exceptions, those of the general population, although new immigrants showed a lower propensity to be self-employed (Table 1). Thus, the local opportunity structure clearly influenced the prospects of immigrants to become self-employed.

In Israel, small development towns offered inferior opportunities for entrepreneurship (Table 1), being dominated by externally owned industry and not enjoying significant central place functions, as most Canadian small towns do. A relatively high proportion (24.3%) of the economically active new immigrants in Israel lived in development towns in 1983, and this might have hampered their prospects for entrepreneurship. In Canada, rates of non-agricultural self-employment were lower in metropolitan areas than in smaller urban and rural centers, end were particularly low in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, having the greatest concentrations of large industrial and public administration establishments (Cohen 1988). Thus, immigrants to Canada tended to concentrate in localities which proportionally offered more abundant opportunities as salaried employees than as self-employed.

The ethnic composition of immigrants in each of the three countries differed considerably. Immigrants from the USSR were dominant in Israel, Latin Americans in California, and a mix of Asians end Europeans dominated in Canada. However, these wide differences in country of origin do not appear to influence

markedly the rate of self-employment among immigrants in each country. Immigrants in California, in spite of being dominated by non-entrepreneurial Latin Americans, had the highest rates of self-employment (Table 1). Moreover, these rates were equal in San Francisco and Los Angeles, despite the far greater concentration of Latin American immigrants in the later metropolis (Razin 1988a). Without ignoring the influence of ethnic resources, these findings indicate on a major role of the local opportunity structure in determining the extent of entrepreneurial activity among immigrants. The existence of large non-entrepreneurial groups in California, particularly in Los Angeles, merely opened the way for other immigrant groups to reach extraordinary high rates of self-employment (Table 1).

Turning to specific immigrant groups: rates of self-employment among immigrants from the USSR were much lower in Israel than in California end Canada. This might have been due to (a) the initial preference of North America by more entrepreneurial immigrants; (b) the impact of the Israeli absorption system and economic environment; and (c) the high proportion of poorly-educated Georgians among USSR immigrants to Israel. However, it seems that the absorption system and the economic environment did not play in Israel the major role, since immigrants from the USSR to Tel Aviv had a lower propensity to become self-employed than "average" immigrants or the general population in that metropolis, whereas immigrants to Toronto or Los Angeles had a much higher propensity than "average" to become self-employed (Table 1).

Spatial variations in the entrepreneurial behavior of immigrants from specific countries of origin frequently stem from different class and ethnic backgrounds. Thus, Latin Americans immigrating to Israel were middle-class Jews fleeing economic and political instability, whereas most of those immigrating to North America were lower classes possessing few entrepreneurial capabilities.

Varying ethnic backgrounds could account for differences between Poles immigrating to Israel end Canada, Indians immigrating to Israel and California, and Middle Easterners in Israel and California (Table 1). The wide gap in rates of self-employment between Chinese immigrants in Canada and California, could be either attributed to the Canadian immigration policy, more oriented towards the highly educated and skilled, or to ethnic networks leading Chinese from different backgrounds to different destinations.

Iranian immigrants were more entrepreneurial in California than in Israel. It has been observed that many Jews Iranian preferred California or even left for Los Angeles shortly after immigrating to Israel, due to the greater potential offered by the later for entrepreneurial ventures and profitable utilization of capital brought over from Iran. Still, Iranians were the most entrepreneurial new immigrant group in Israel, and had particularly high rates of self-employment in Tel Aviv (Table 1). Immigrants coming from developed Western countries could be assumed to integrate more rapidly in the host North American societies, utilizing to a lesser extent ethnic networks and resources. It could also be assumed that these immigrants have been mostly absorbed in relatively well paid jobs in the primary labor market, end self-employment did not necessarily mean for them higher levels of economic well-being end better prospects for economic mobility. Still, rates of self-employment among immigrants from countries such as Britain and Germany varied widely between different locations in North America.

Substantial immigration flows existed among the three host countries included in this study. The rate of self-employment among Israelis in Los Angeles was nearly three times as high as the rate among the urban population in Israel (11.7%). This significant difference can be explained in two ways: (1) Israelis with entrepreneurial skills are attracted to the more facilitating

climate for entrepreneurship in the American economy. (2) Israelis in the United States resort to entrepreneurship as a major channel open for those coming with high aspirations to surpass the not so low Israeli levels of well-being, but lacking professional qualifications and contacts to advance rapidly in the primary labor market. This second explanation is likely to be of greater significance than the first.

Whereas Americans showed similar levels of self-employment in American SMSAs (7.2% - Light and Sanchez 1987) and Canadian CMAs (7.5%), Canadians were much more entrepreneurial in California than in their home country. North Americans immigrating to Israel were also more entrepreneurial than the American average, but one should take into account that these were Jews who possessed an above average rate of self-employment in North America. It should also be noted that rates of self-employment among North American migrants varied substantially across metropolitan regions, Los Angeles, Vancouver and Jerusalem being the preferred locations by self-employed in each of the host countries.

The influence of country of birth and urban area of residence on the propensity of male immigrants in Israel and Canada to become self-employed was examined by multi-variate logit models which included the following additional explanatory variables: age, marital status, years of schooling, knowledge of language of host country and industry (Razin and Langlois 1990). Country of birth was identified in both Israel and Canada as a variable of major importance, even when all other explanatory variables were taken into account. Urban area of residence, on the other hand, had a significant impact only in the Israeli case. All other attributes had a very similar influence on the propensity of new immigrants to become self-employed in Israel and in Canada.

4.3 Variations in the Industrial Composition of the Self-Employed

Immigrants to the three countries differed not only in their propensity to become self-employed, but also in the industrial composition. Those turning to self-employment in North America showed a greater propensity to engage in construction, food services, wholesale trade and business services, whereas those turning to self-employment in Israel were represented more in public (mainly health and education) services, and in manufacturing (Table 2). The differences in the industrial composition of the self-employed immigrants were largely influenced by differences in the general composition of the self-employed sector in each country. An exception was the high propensity of immigrants in Israel to engage in public services end their low tendency to engage in construction and food services. This was probably due to the middle-class backgrounds of a large proportion of immigrants in Israel during the 1970s.

Inter-metropolitan variations in the industrial composition of self-employed immigrants were more marked than variations in the rates of self-employment among immigrants. Immigrants had a stronger tendency to establish manufacturing businesses in the largest metropolitan areas - Tel Aviv in Israel, Toronto and Montreal in Canada, and Los Angeles in California. The largest metropolitan centers offered, as expected, an advantage also in wholesale. On the other hand, entrepreneurial opportunities for new immigrants in less central locations, such as Israel's development towns and Canadian smaller CMAs, were relatively concentrated in food services, transportation and personal services (Table 2). Immigrant entrepreneurs showed a particularly strong tendency to gravitate toward food services in Montreal and San Francisco, but this tendency was prominent only for certain groups, namely Chinese, Iranians and Greeks.

Particular local socio-ethnic composition can be considered as part of the

local opportunity structure influencing entrepreneurial behavior of immigrants. Presumptions that the economic conditions (Higgins 1986) and the bilingual character of Montreal (Ossenberg 1964) might provide a milieu less compatible with the economic and social integration of immigrants than in Toronto, were not supported by differences in rates of self-employment among immigrants. However, whereas immigrants in Montreal were slightly more likely to become self-employed than in Toronto (Table 1), the data hints that the bilingual character of Montreal strongly hindered prospects of immigrant entrepreneurs to engage there in business services (Table 2).

Log-linear models for male new immigrants in Israel and Canada who were self-employed, examined the association of education, country of birth, urban area of residence and industry of the self-employed (Razin and Langlois 1990). Industries were grouped into three categories: (1) distribution - mainly trade, restaurants and transportation; (2) blue-collar - mainly manufacturing and construction; and (3) white-collar - mainly business, public and personal services. All first three variables were found to be associated with industry, although the significance of urban area of residence was somewhat lesser than that of the other two variables. The lower educated and those coming from Asian end African (and in the Canadian case also Latin American) origins tended to concentrate in distribution self-employment activities. These immigrants, engaged in distribution small businesses, tended to cluster in the largest and most diversified metropolitan areas - Tel Aviv, Montreal and Toronto. For example, self-employed immigrants coming to Israel from Asian and African countries, particularly from Iran, gravitated towards retail (Table 3), and thus tended to concentrate in the Tel Aviv metropolis, which offered the best self-employment opportunities in retail for immigrants. The more educated and those coming from Europe and North America gravitated toward white-collar activities,

which were less concentrated in the largest metropolitan areas.

The log-linear models, as well as detailed data for each metropolitan area, not presented due to limitation of space, indicate that the interaction of country of birth and urban area of residence clearly influences the industrial composition of immigrant entrepreneurs in North America, but less so in Israel. As much as 70% of the self-employed immigrants coming to Israel from Europe, North America and South America were engaged in business, public and personal services (Table 3). Jerusalem offered ample self-employment opportunities in these activities, linked with its role as Israel's capital and its extraordinary large public services sector (Razin 1990). The relative concentration of these immigrants in Jerusalem, end their high rates of self-employment in that city conformed with their high propensity to engage in white-collar self-employment occupations. This concentration can not be regarded as a typical ethnic entrepreneurial enclaves, which is usually dominated by distribution or blue-collar activities. Nevertheless, it can be claimed that North American and South African immigrants either come to Israel with a greater tradition of enterprise than that characterizing native Israelis, or are pushed to self-employment, since they lack necessary contacts to compete over the few professional job vacancies in the Israeli labor market, characterized by high rates of job tenure, and low turnover of employees.

Various immigrant groups in Canada and California were more active then in Israel in typical ethnic entrepreneurial niches, other than retail, such as construction and food services (Table 3). Self-employed Iranians, for example, were much less concentrated in retail in California than in Israel, showing greater concentrations in construction, food services and particularly business, public and personal services. Such activities of various groups tended to be relatively concentrated in specific metropolitan areas. Self-employed

Northwestern European and American immigrants in Vancouver had relative concentrations in construction, while in Toronto they tended to concentrate in wholesale, retail and business services and in smaller CMAs they were more concentrated in public services. Southern Europeans were mainly concentrated in construction and personal services in Toronto, and the Greeks gravitated particularly to food services in Montreal. Iranians in California were engaged in varied entrepreneurial activities in Los Angeles, while showing a relatively high concentration in food services in San Francisco (28.8%). Chinese entrepreneurs were heavily concentrated in eating and drinking places in San Francisco (34.3%), but were engaged with much more diversified activities in their smaller and more entrepreneurial community in Los Angeles (Razin 1988a). These examples indicate the existence of localized ethnic entrepreneurial enclaves of various types in North America, influenced both by ethnic resources and local opportunities.

5. Conclusions

This paper argues that location and ethnicity influence independently and interact with regards to their influence on entrepreneurship among immigrants. On the international scale, the role of location can be attributed to differences in human capital characteristics of immigrants attracted to various countries, and to differences in opportunities created by the absorbing economic systems. As to the inter-metropolitan scale, an additional role of localized ethnic entrepreneurial enclaves can be of major significance.

The greater bureaucratization of the absorption process in Israel, as well as Israel's economic attributes end implications of its regional policy could have created a climate less conducive for entrepreneurship among immigrants than the North American climate. Canadian attempts to attract entrepreneurs coming

with sufficient capital end proven record of business have been aimed only towards those few coming with qualifications for joining the higher economic strata of Canadian society soon after immigration. The greater emphasis on family and ethnic ties in the United States might have contributed most to the formation of ethnic enclaves, enabling advancement through entrepreneurial careers for large numbers of immigrants lacking prior qualifications to begin at the "top". Still, differences in metropolitan economies, rather than the marginal differences between the US and Canadian economies, might have influenced most the prospects for the evolution of ethnic entrepreneurial enclaves.

The rate of self-employment among new immigrants in each country or metropolitan area was mostly influenced by the local opportunity structure, as reflected by the general size and characteristics of the self-employed sector, rather than by the ethnic resources of the particular mix of immigrants. Thus, the existence of large non-entrepreneurial immigrant groups produced more self-employment opportunities for other immigrants. The metropolitan wider socio-ethnic characteristics, such as the bilingual character of Montreal and the concentrations of central city minority slums in American metropolitan areas, also influenced prospects for utilization of particular self-employment opportunities by immigrants.

Still, ethic origin, approximated by country of birth, had a more central role than location within the country in predicting the entrepreneurial behavior of individual immigrants Whereas the overall entrepreneurial activity of immigrants greatly depended on the local opportunity structure, entrepreneurial behavior of specific immigrant groups in different locations frequently depended on class resources and ethnic networks of immigrants reaching various destinations. The local opportunity structure might have indirectly attracted

the more entrepreneurial immigrants to countries and metropolitan areas offering more ample opportunities for entrepreneurial ventures. However, it seems that a phenomenon such as the extremely high rates of self-employment among Israelis in Los Angeles, reflects more an unintended outcome of blocked opportunities for advancement in the primary labor market, accompanied by ample self-employment opportunities not utilized by other immigrant groups.

Location and ethnicity interact in their influence on self-employment among immigrants more clearly in North America than in Israel. This might indicate the existence of localized ethnic entrepreneurial enclaves in North America specializing in various distribution or blue-collar activities. In Israel, advancement of immigrants with inferior levels of education through entrepreneurial activity was more limited to retail and to the Tel Aviv metropolis. Ethnic entrepreneurial enclaves either do not exist to the same extent, or are limited to the Tel Aviv metropolis in various distribution activities and to Jerusalem in white-collar services. Rates of self-employment among immigrants in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem resembled those in the metropolitan areas of California, and were higher than in Canada. However, the high tendency of self-employed immigrants in Israel to engage in white-collar services, and their relative concentration in Jerusalem differed from the North American experience. These tendencies can be partly attributed to the local opportunity structure, and partly to the attributes of immigrants from Europe and North America, being of middle-class background. These immigrants frequently had ideological-religious motivations and were, thus, attracted to Jerusalem. Their tendency to engage in white-collar self-employment activities in Jerusalem did not represent typical ethnic enclaves. Still, difficulties in penetrating attractive jobs in public and private organizations might have increased their propensity to resort to self-employment. The reemerging debate on where to

settle new immigrants in Israel, and the increasing role assigned by demographic trends to immigration in future expansion of the labor force in North America, emphasizes the significance of patterns identified in this paper for future local and regional development trends.

Footnotes

1. The study of the Israeli case was supported by a grant of the Israel Foundation Trustees. The study of the Canadian case was done with Andre Langlois from University of Ottawa, and was supported by the Programme of Canadian Studies of the Hebrew University.

2. The complete studies, treating wider populations and including formal hypotheses and details of the logit and log-linear models are available by request from the author.

REFERENCES

Amin, A. and K. Robins. 1989. "Industrial Districts and Regional Development: Limits and Possibilities." Unpublished manuscript. Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Anderson, A.B. and J.S. Frideres. 1981. Ethnicity in Canada. Toronto: Butterworths.

Anderson, G.M. 1974. Networks of Contact: the Portuguese and Toronto. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University.

Ben Porath, Y. 1988a. "Self-Employed and Wage Earners in Israel: Findings from the Census of Population 1972." Pp. 245-80 in Studies in the Population of Israel, edited by U.O. Schmelz end G. Nathan. Jerusalem: Magnes.

-------------. 1986. [illegible] Economy, Maturing Through Crises Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Blau, D. 1987. "A Time Series Analysis of Self-Employment." Journal of Political Economy 95: 445-67.

Bonacich, E. and J. Modell. 1980. The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Brock, W.A. end D.S. Evans. 1989. "Small Business Economics." Small Business Economics 1: 7-20.

Brusco, S. 1982. "The Emilian Model: Productive Decentralisation and Social Integration." Cambridge Journal of Economics 8: 167-84.

Carland, J.W., F. Hoy, W.R. Boulton and J.A. Carland. 1884. "Differentiating Entrepreneurs from Small Business Owners: a Conceptualization." Academy of Management Review 9: 354-59.

Cohen, G.L. 1888. Enterprising Canadians The Self-Employed in Canada. 71-538. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

DellaPergola, S. 1986. "Aliya and Other Jewish Migrations: Toward en Integrated Perspeotive." in Studies in the Population of Israel, edited by U.O. Schmelz end G. Nathan. Jerusalem: Magnes.

Desbarats, J. 1985. "Indochinese Resettlement in the United States." Annals the Association of American Geographers 75: 522-38.

Giaoutzi, M., P. Nijkamp and D.J. Storey. 1988. Small and Medium Size Enterprises and Regional Development. London: Routledge.

Goldberg, M.A. end J. Mercer. 1888. The Myth of the North American City. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Hiebert, D. forthcoming. "Integrating Production and Consumption in the Canadian City: Industry, Class, Ethnicity and Neighbourhood." in The Social Geography of Canadian Cities, edited by D. Ley and L.S. Bourne. Queens-McGill University

Press.

Higgins, B. 1988. The Rise and Fall? of Montreal Moncton: Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development.

Inbar, M. and C. Adler. 1977. Ethnic Integration in Israel. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Johannisson, B. 1988. "Regional Variations in Emerging Entrepreneurial Networks." Paper presented at the 28th European Congress of the Regional Science Association, Stockholm.

Kallen, E. and M. Kelner. 1983. Ethnicity Opportunity and Successful Entrepreneurship in Canada Toronto: York University.

Keeble, D. and E. Wever. 1988. New Firms and Regional Development in Europe London: Croom Helm.

Keely, C.B. and P.J. Elwell. 1981. "International Migration: Canada and the United States." Pp. 181-207 in Global Trends in Migration edited by M.M. Kritz, C.B. Keely and S.M. Tomasi. New York: Center for Migration Studies.

Ladbury, S. 1984. "Choice, Chance or No Alternative? Turkish Cypriots in Business in London". Pp. 105-24 in Ethnic Communities in Business, edited by R. Ward end R. Jenkins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Light, I. 1984. "Immigrant and Ethnic Enterprise in North America." Ethnic and Racial Studies 7: 195-216.

---------- and C. Rosenstein. 1989. "Demand Factors in Entrepreneurship." Paper presented at a Conference on New Forms of Entrepreneurship under the auspices of the Research Committee on Economy and Society of the International Sociological Association, Milan.

-------- and A.A. Sanchez. 1987. Immigrant Entrepreneurs in 272 SMSAs." Sociological Perspectives 30: 373-99.

Lithwick, N.H. 1887. "Regional Development Policies: Context and Consequences." Pp. 121-55 in Still Living Together edited by W.J. Coffey and M. Polese. Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Malarek, V. 1987. Haven's Gate, Canada s Immigration Fiasco. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.

Mars, G. and R. Ward. 1984. "Ethnic Business Development in Britain: Opportunities and Resources." Pp. 1-19 in Ethnic Communities in Business, edited by R. Ward and R. Jenkins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nahon, Y. 1989. Self-Employed Workers - the Ethnic Dimension Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies.

Nash, A. 1987. The Economic Impact of the Entrepreneur Immigrant Program. Ottawa: Studies in Social Policy.

Ossenberg, R.J. 1964. "The Social Integration and Adjustment of Post-War Immigrants in Montreal and Toronto." **Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology** 1: 202-14.

Peterson, R. 1977. **Small Business.Building a Balanced Economy**. Erin, Ontario: Porcepic.

Piore, M.J. and C.F. Sabel. 1984. **The Second Industrial Divide**. New York: Basic Books.

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

Ramcharan, S. 1982. **Racism, Nonwhites in Canada**. Toronto: Butterworths.

Razin, E. 1988a. Entrepreneurship Among Foreign Immigrants in the Los Angeles and San Francisco Metropolitan Regions." **Urban Geography** 9: 283-301.

--------. 1988b. Relating Theories of Entrepreneurship Among Ethnic Groups and Entrepreneurship in Space - the Israeli Case." Paper presented at the 28th European Congress of the Regional Science Association, Stockholm.

-------. 1990. "Spatial Variations in the Israeli Small-Business Sector: Implications for Regional Development Policies." **Regional Studies**

---------. forthcoming. "Stages in the Development of Israel's Spatial Industrialization Policy." in **Location and Labour Considerations for Regional Development** edited by F. Dietz and D. Shefer. Gower.

Razin, E. and A. Langlois. 1990. "Location and Entrepreneurship Among New Immigrants in Israel and Canada." Unpublished manuscript, Department of Geography, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

Sanders, J.M. and V. Nee. 1987. "Limits of Ethnic Solidarity in the Enclave Economy". **American Sociological Review** 52: 745-73.

Savoie, D.J. 1987. "Establishing the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency." Unpublished report. Institut Canadien de Recherche sur le Developpement Regional, Moncton.

Scott, A.J. 1988. Metropolis. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Shachar, A.S. 1971. "Israel's Development Towns, Evaluation of National Urbanization Policy." **Journal of the American Institute of Planners**. 37: 382-72.

Sobel, Z. 1988. **Migrants From the Promised Land**. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

Statistics Canada. 1984. **Canada's Immigrants, 1981 Census of Canada**. Ottawa.

Storey, D.J. 1988. "The Role of Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises in European Job Creation: Key Issues for Policy and Research." Pp. 140-60. in **Small and Medium Size Enterprises and Regional Development**, edited by M. Giaoutzi, P. Nijkamp and D.J. Storey. London: Routledge.

Storper, M. and A.J. Scott. 1989. "The Geographical Foundations and Social Regulation of Flexible Production Complexes." in **The Power of Geography: How Territory Shapes Social Life**. Boston: Allen and Unwin.

United Nations. 1982. **International Migration Policies and Programmes: a World Survey.** Population Studies, No. 80. New York: Department of International Economic and Social Affairs.

Waldinger, R. 1988. **Through the Eye of the Needle, Immigrants and Enterprise in New York's Garment Trades** New York: New York University Press.

Ward, R. 1987. "Ethnic Enterprises in Britain and Europe." Pp. 83-104 in **Entrepreneurship in Europe**, edited by R. Coffee and R. Scase. London: Croom Helm.

Wickberg, E. 1982. **From China to Canada**. Toronto: McClelland end Stewart.

Zimmer, C. and H. Aldrich. 1987. "Resource Mobilization Through Ethnic Networks: Kinship and Friendship Ties of Shopkeepers in England." **Sociological Perspectives** 30: 422-45.

TABLE 1: Rates of self-employment among new immigrants in Israel-1983, Canada-1981 and California-1980 by country of birth and urban area of residence.

Country of birth	Israel-1983 All cities & towns		Tel Aviv metro.	Jerusalem metro.	Haifa metro.	Develop. towns14	Canada-1981 13 CMAs		Montreal CMA
				6.8		4.5			
USSR	11668	5.1	5.8	(18.4)	4.1	(5.4)	113	8.8	..
Poland2	240	10.0	9.7		..		132	3.0	..
Germany	173	13.3	11.0	(23.5)	..	..	206	14.8	
Britain4	x	x	x	x	x	x	1372	5.2	4.0
Portugal	x		x	x		x	765	2.4	0.9
Europe-others	2807	4.0	7.0	10.0	4x.7	4.8	1277	8.2	8.8
Irane	875	15.8	18.5	14.0	..	8.5	x	x	x
India7	287	0.3	0	0	..	0.8	x	x	x
Chinae	-	-					1460	5.1	4.3
Israel	-	-					x	x	x
Middle East-others	458	12.0	15.3	(0)	(9.7)	(2.2)	x	x	x
Asia-others	-	-	-	-	-	-	2693	7.1	8.2
Africa	1267	10.8	15.2	12.1	7.9	4.4	778	9.4	9.1
North America	1374	9.8	6.9	12.2	4.8	11.1	583	7.5	7.0
Latin America	1592	10.6	12.6	10.3	7.4	8.4	2131	2.6	2.3
All immigrants	20541	7.0	8.0	9.9	4.8	5.0	11700	5.9	5.9
Total pop.13		11.6	13.3	10.4	10.1	8.4		6.7	6.1

country of birth	Canada-1981 Toronto CMA	Vancouver CMA	Other CMAs16	California-1980 Three metro. regions		Los Ang. SCSA	San Franc. SCSA	San Diego SMSA
USSR	10.9	..	(0)	240	14.2	15.2	7.4	..
Poland2	0		(2.0)	x	x	x	x	x
Germany=	15.1	(14.6)	14.1	169	8.9	13.2	6.4	
Britain*	5.0	8.7	3.9	504	12.7	15.9	8.3	(16.7)
Portugal5	3.3	(0)	1.6	155	1.3	..	1.6	
Europe-others	7.9	7.2	8.6	1029	15.3	15.5	15.1	14.5
Irane	x	x	x	593	24.6	23.7	24.8	(33.3)
India	x	x		410	9.0	12.6	5.6	
Chinae	5.7	5.3	4x.2	1424	15.7	18.3	13.5	(23.5)
Israel	x	x	x	189	28.1	30.5	20.4	..
Middle East-others	x	x	x	605	23.6	23.6	23.0	(28.0)
Asia-others	6.9	6.4	7.3	4887	9.7	13.1	5.8	
Africa	8.3	8.8	11.7	323	13.0	14.4	5.5	(36.6)
North America	7.3	12.3	5.4	299	17.4	18.3	12.7	(27.3)
Latin America	2.3	10.3	2.5	11011	3.6	3.5	3.6	5.6
All immigrants	5.5	7.4	5 7	22881	8.5	8.4	8.4	9.8
Total pop.ls	7.0	8.3	6.4		n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.8.

Table 1 (continued)

1. Sources: national censuses of population. For definitions of populations, see the Data and Methodology section. The Table does not give the details for Israeli non-metropolitan veteran towns in the coastal plain, end for some minor countries of birth. However, these are included in the relevant "total" rows and columns.
The figures in the Table are of % self-employed, except for those in bold which are of the total working population. These figures of the total working population refer to the samples used in the analysis (20% in the Israeli case, 5% in the Californian case, 2% in the Canadian case).

( ) Based on a sample of less than 50.
.. A sample of less than 25.
x The country of birth is included in a broader category in the Table.
- No cases in the sample/irrelevant.

2. Poland - included in Europe-others in the California sample.
3.Germany - including Austria in the Israeli sample; including Austria and the Netherlands in the Canadian sample.
4. Britain - included in Europe-others in the Israeli sample.
5. Portugal - included in Europe-others in the Israeli sample.
6. Iran - included in Asia-others in the Canadian sample.
7. India - included in Asia-others in the Canadian sample.
8. China- including Taiwan and Hong Kong in the California sample; includes Asian born of Chinese ethnic origin in the Canadian sample.
8. Israel - included in Asia-others in the Canadian sample.
10. Middle East-others - not including Fgypt in the Israeli sample; included in Asia-others in the Canadian sample.
11. Africa - not including Egypt in the American sample.
12. North America - including Oceania in the Israeli sample; includes only the USA in the Canadian sample; includes only Canada in the American sample.
13. The rates of self-employment of the total working population refer in the Israeli sample only to Jews.
14. Development towns - all peripheral towns in Israel, including Beer Sheva, and non-metropolitan new towns in the coastal plain populated by immigrants after 1848.
15. Halifax, Quebec, Ottawa-Hull, Hemilton, St. Catharines-Niagara, Kitchener, London, Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton.

TABLE 2: Self-employed immigrants by urban area of residence and industry, Israel-1983, Canada-1981, California-1980[1]

	Agriculture, primary	Manufacturing	Construction	Wholesale	Retail	Food services	Transp., storage, communic.
Israel-urban pop.,1983	0.1	15.8	2.8	4.8	25.8	8.1	5.9
Tel Aviv metro.	0.2	18.3	2.1	7.1	28.7	7.1	4.8
Jerusalem metro.	0	11.3	3.9	2.7	19.8	3.1	3.1
Haifa metro. & veteran towns in coastal plain	0.4	13.4	4.8	3.4	28.1	4.8	5.5
Development towns	0	15.2	1.7	1.3	27.3	8.2	12.8
Canada-13 CMAs 1981	1.9	9.8	8.7	8.0	23.9	9.8	8.4
Montreal CMA	0	10.9	5.0	5.9	24.8	14.9	8.9
Toronto CMA	1.1	11.4	8.4	8.2	28.8	5.0	8.4
Vancouver CMA	8.3	7.9	17.3	7.1	18.5	11.0	2.4
Other CMAs	1.1	7.3	8.4	1.7	21.2	12.8	7.8
California-two major metro. regions,1980	7.8	10.9	9.3	5.9	19.4	10.3	3.3
Los Angeles SCSA	8.1	11.9	9.8	8.5	18.9	8.4	3.2
San Francisco SCSA	8.4	8.4	8.2	4.3	20.7	14.8	3.7

	Business services	Public services	Personal services	Total (abs.no.)
Israel-urban pop.,1983	8.4	19.8	10.9	1378
Tel Aviv metro.	7.1	18.9	8.0	852
Jerusalem metro.	18.0	21.0	19.1	257
Haifa metro. & veteran towns in coastal plain	8.0	23.1	8.9	238
Development towns	4.3	18.9	12.8	231
Canada-13 CMAs, 1981	12.7	8.7	12.5	887
Montreal CMA	4.0	12.9	12.9	101
Toronto CMA	14.3	7.5	11.1	280
Vancouver CMA	13.4	8.3	11.8	127
Other CMAs	14.5	10.1	15.1	179
California-two major metro. regions,1980	10.5	9.9	12.9	1818
Los Angeles SCSA	10.2	9.2	13.8	1281
San Francisco SCSA	11.2	11.8	10.7	535

1. The Table includes only those who immigrated to the three countries during the decade prior to the census. For detailed definitions, see the Data and Methodology section. Classifications of industries differ slightly in each country. Particularly, services are split in a slightly different way into business, public and personal services. Also, horticultural services are included in agriculture in the United States and in services in Israel.

TABLE 3: Self-employed immigrants by country of birth and selected industries, Israel-1983, Canada-1981, California-19801

	Manufacturing	Construction	Retail	Food services	Business services	Public, personal services	Total (absolute numbers)
Israel-1983							
Iran	8.7	1.9	58.2	6.8	1.9	8.8	103
Asia, Africa*	19.0	1.4	36.7	4.2	5.6	18.3	142
USSR	18.5	3.7	25.6	8.2	4.7	28.0	571
Europe	17.3	1.8	17.3	2.8	11.4	43.1	272
North America*	7.3	5.7	6.5	3.3	18.7	51.2	123
Latin America	17.4	1.2	25.2	7.8	15.0	28.2	167
Canada-1981							
USA, North-western Europe	8.4	14.3	13.6	3.9	21.4	28.6	154
Southern Europe	10.7	22.6	15.5	11.9	3.8	23.8	84
Europe-others'	18.7	14.3	19.0	2.4	9.5	23.8	42
Asia	8.9	3.1	34.9	13.0	8.9	13.5	192
Chinese	8.0	5.3	21.3	18.7	13.3	21.3	75
Latin America	14.5	3.6	21.8	1.8	9.1	25.4	55
California-1980							
Latin America	12.4	12.4	10.3	5.7	10.0	20.4	371
China, Taiwan	11.9	4.0	21.3	25.2	10.9	15.3	202
East and south Asia-others	10.1	6.4	23.8	9.9	9.8	23.9	516
'Iran	7.6	12.8	21.8	14.3	12.8	16.9	133
Middle East-others	9.2	5.9	34.4	7.5	7.0	24.7	186
Europe	13.0	15.2	11.2	10.3	13.4	21.0	224

1. See note no. 1 for Table 2. The Table does not include countries of birth classified as others in the Canada end California samples.
2. Not including Iran and South Africa.
3. Including South Africa.
4. Including Oceania.
5. USA, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Germany, Netherlands, Austria, Ireland, Britain.
8. Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy, Portugal.
7. Mostly East European countries and the USSR.
8. Not including those of Chinese ethnic origin.
9. Chines8 ethnic origin born in Asia.
10. Not including the USSR.
11. Including also industries not specified in the Table: agriculture, other primary, wholesale, transportation, storage and communication.