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Life Quality of Russian Immigrants to Israel: Patterns of Success and of Unsuccess

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Abstract Two different perspectives on immigration outcomes are employed and interrelated: Overall assessments of the success in immigration and systemic quality of life assessments (using SQOL model, Shye in Soc Indic Res, 21:243–378, 1989). Data were collected from a sample of 337 immigrants to Israel from the former USSR. Results reveal that quality of life is a good indicator of perceived success in immigration and that, of the 16 SQOL components, the expressive and the conservative modes of the personality and of the social subsystems are the four most important SQOL components that determine successful immigration. The findings underscore the value of using a comprehensive theory-based conception of quality of life in immigration research.

Keywords Perceived success · Immigration · The systemic quality of life model

1 Introduction

Immigration to a new country involves changes in all areas of life—the economic, the cultural, the social and the psychological. While some people may experience the process of immigration as positive and contributing to personal development, others feel frustrated and disappointed. This paper aims to explore differences in quality of life of immigrants who feel that their immigration was successful, and those who do not.

Two different perspectives on immigration outcomes are brought together here: the first, *success in immigration* (Benish-Weisman 2007), is a holistic and purely phenomenological perspective that intends to capture directly and summarily the immigrant's viewpoint. The second, the systemic quality of life (Shye 1989), is a detailed and structured perspective

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based on a model that presents a rationalized set of quality of life components. A major focus of this study was to empirically relate these two perspectives, by (a) identifying those components of quality of life most closely associated with perceived successful immigration, and (b) describing how a successful immigration would look like in terms of the empirical *structure* of quality of life.

2 Overall Success in Immigration

Immigration research includes a variety of immigration outcomes. Concepts such as absence of psychological stress (Lerner et al. 2005), family relations (Rick and Forward 1992), success at work (Ouarasse and van-de-Vijver 2005), success at school (Birman et al. 2005; Lese and Robbins 1994), socialization, and lack of anti-social behavior (Wall et al. 1993) have been used in defining successful immigration. While previous studies provided varied and sophisticated ways to measure desirable immigration outcomes, they shared the same limitation of not addressing the phenomenological point of view of the individual. In other words, they tell us very little about how successful is the immigration from the immigrant's viewpoint. Although the measures of psychological adjustment (Searle and Ward 1990; Ward and Kennedy 1993; Ward and Rana-Deuba 1999) offer evaluations of the immigrant's subjective experience, the *criteria* for the evaluation are *set by the researcher*. This means that before collecting the data, the researcher decides what constitutes "good" immigration outcomes and then investigates to what extent the immigrant fits this definition. The researcher's definition of good immigration outcomes (or adjustment as some researchers call it) might not agree with those of the individual immigrants themselves. Traditionally, for example, psychological adjustment has been associated with the adjustment of the individual, whereas the immigrant's definition of adjustment might be wider so as to include immigrant's perception of his/her family or even community's success in immigration (Benish-Weisman 2007). This paper introduces a new, holistic, perspective for assessing success in immigration, based on the subjective viewpoint of the individual immigrants.

3 Quality of Life (QOL)

Interest in quality of life has become widespread in recent years. For example, popular magazines rate the quality of life in different cities, and in order to improve life quality people move from the city to the country or migrate from one country to another. Academic research has also focused on issues related to life quality in fields such as medicine, psychology, economics, or sociology (Seed and Lloyd 1997). This term has had several definitions: immediately after World War II it was defined quantitatively as the possession of property (Hanestad 1990). By the end of the 1960s, following political and social changes in the US, it became clear that while economic measures matter, they do not capture other relevant aspects of life quality such as education, employment, health, or crime levels (Campbell 1976). Social measures provided a broader definition of a person's quality of life but were still purely objective, ignoring one's perception of one's life. Studies showing no correspondence between objective and subjective ratings of life quality (e.g., Schneider 1975) strengthened the understanding that quality of life is based on a

person's subjective experience. This understanding led to a transition from objective measurement of life quality (either economic or social) to measurement that addresses more subjective ratings of affect, satisfaction, or emotional distress (Campbell 1976), as well as personal values of individual autonomy, enjoyment, and well being (Campbell 1981). Thus, subjective definitions replaced the objective ones, with the assumption that a person's perception of his/her life quality is no less, and may be more, indicative of quality of life than, say, the number of cars that one owns (Abrams 1973).

Many instruments for assessing quality of life are available in the literature and many conceptions are presented. Nevertheless, it is difficult to find an agreed-upon definition of this concept (Sullivan 1992), as it differs across studies (Farquhar 1995) and across disciplines (Phillips 2006). Even when examining one theoretical approach (for example, the approach by which life quality is defined subjectively), not everyone agrees about what should be measured. For instance, should satisfaction be measured (Taylor and Bogdan 1996) or well being (Felce and Perry 1995)? The lack of agreement makes it difficult to compare the various models.

Taillefer et al. (2003) reviewed 68 quality of life models that had been published between 1965 and 2001. The criteria used to evaluate these models included (a) the level of conceptualization of the model (does the model just specify QOL components or does it refer to relationships among QOL components or, even better, does it include a theoretical explanation for such relationships); (b) Definitional clarity (Does the model specify a main construct for QOL, and if so, determination of the construct–type—e.g., well-being, satisfaction, functioning, etc.); (c) Distinction between factors that may influence QOL and QOL *per se*; (d) the presence of instruments for measuring QOL.

Shye's (1989) systemic life quality model was rated first among the 68 reviewed models (Taillefer et al. 2003). Since the systemic model is at the basis of this study's design and since our conclusions are cast in its language, we turn to a brief review of the Systemic Quality of Life (SQOL) Model.

4 The Systemic Quality of Life (SQOL) Model

The Systemic Quality of Life Model has been described by Shye (1979, 1989). On the basis of two system-theoretic axioms it exhaustively identifies four subsystems in which the individual human being functions: (a) the personality (mental), (b) the physical (biological), (c) the social (institutional as well as interpersonal relations) and the (d) cultural (collective norms and values) subsystems. Further, the model specifies that within each of the four subsystems, people function in four modes: the expressive (exercising power over environment), the adaptive (negotiating conditions with environment), the integrative (continually striving to reduce internal conflict and promote internal balance) and the conservative (adhering to defining characteristics endowed to the subsystem from without). Quality of life is then defined as effective functioning in the 16 resulting functioning components (See Fig. 1). In this section we review only some features of the Systemic Quality of Life (SQOL) Model that are directly employed in this study. For a complete exposition of the systemic approach and especially to the systemic quality of life model the reader is referred to the original work (Shye 1989). The general behavioral action-system approach is presented in Shye (1985). SQOL theory has been applied and validated in numerous studies covering diverse domains of research such as the assessment of nuclear power plant (Shye 1975, 1982), of institutions for juvenile delinquent (Wolins et al. 1980), health (Cairns 1990), social work (Davidson-Arad and Wozner 2001), urban renewal,

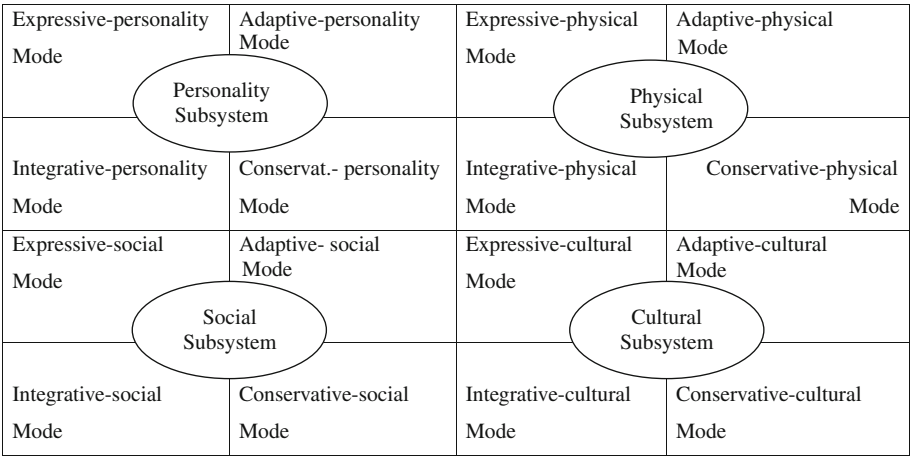


Fig. 1 The general human system: functioning subsystems and modes for assessing human quality of life

(Shye et al. 1980, 1989; Joelson et al. 1982), psychotherapy (Ezrachi 2008), quality of life assessments of the general population (Choshen and Greenbaum 1992) among many other research areas.

4.1 The Model's Conception of Effective Functioning

4.1.1 The Subsystems

The depiction in Fig. 1 of the four functioning subsystems as a 2 × 2 array represents the theoretical assumption that the four subsystems are conceptually interrelated, as can be seen by classifying them in two ways. The first classification distinguishes between subsystems that are *intra-human* from those that are *extra-human*: the two subsystems on the left-hand side (personality, social) relate directly to the human-ness of the individual and are termed *intra-human subsystems*. The two subsystems on the right-hand side (physical, cultural) refer to interactions that extend beyond human-ness and are termed *extra-human subsystems*. The second classification of the four subsystems distinguishes those that center on the individual (the personality and the physical subsystems; top of Fig. 1) from those that, by their very definition, rely on a collectivity (the social and the cultural; bottom of Fig. 1). These two classifications of the four subsystems (anchored in a detailed axiomatic theory presented in Shye 1985, 1989), gives rise to the specific structure of sub-systemic interrelationships shown in Fig. 1, namely, the personality subsystem appears opposite the cultural, and the social subsystem opposite the physical. The validity of this pattern can be tested for empirically, as we will show below. Thus, while other patterns of interrelationships are possible and sometimes observed, we shall refer to the one shown in Fig. 1 as the *classical pattern,* suggesting that according to the systemic theory, this particular pattern represents a standard, well-structured, perhaps "healthier", system. Indeed, the logic of the classical pattern can be heuristically argued thus: The potential implicit in the cultural value system is realized in the personalities of the individuals who subscribe to that system. This realization is not direct, but rather mediated and facilitated through interactions that take place in two distinct environments, the physical and the social. Thus, the physical and social environments may be conceived of as the concrete milieus through

which the potential implicit in culture is actually fulfilled in the personality. As mediating-subsystems they naturally find their place in between the cultural and the personality subsystems.

For example, consider an individual who personally undertakes and acts upon (personality subsystem) the Zionist tenet of immigration to Israel, in which he believes as an ideology (cultural subsystem). In realizing his actual immigration, that person must deal and be involved with material actions, interactions, adjustments, and resources (physical subsystem) as well as with social interactions—those that are formal and institutional and those that are less formal, such as community, family and friends (social subsystem). If the personality subsystem were to connect directly to the cultural subsystem, without the mediation of the physical and social subsystems, the process would fail. That is to say, pure idealism with no regard to realistic physical and social contexts and considerations may lead a person to a Don Quixotic practices, being unable to fulfill any of his or her goals.

The systemic theory predicts that the classical pattern, representing a preferred functioning pattern, would be observed among the more successful populations, people whose lives are better conducted. In the present context, it is hypothesized that the systemic quality of life data of the successful immigrants would follow the structure depicted in Fig. 1: the personality subsystem would appear opposite the cultural, and the social subsystem opposite the physical. In terms of the foregoing heuristic argument this would mean that the successful immigrant's aspirations and mental well being are facilitated through appropriate physical and social interactions.

4.1.1.1 The Functioning Modes Two of the four functioning modes involve crossing of the system boundaries: The expressive (from the system outward) and the conservative (from the environment inward). Thus, the expressive mode concerns phenomena that originate within the person and are manifested outside the person. For example, an immigrant who comes from a totalitarian country to a democratic country may experience improved functioning in the expressive mode in the new country by airing his ideas, thoughts and desires through creative writing, journal publication and so on. In the conservative mode, on the other hand, a person adheres to patterns she has internalized from the external environment such as norms or rules. For example, an immigrant often adheres to ideas and norms that have been internalized in the old country.

Because both these modes, the expressive and the conservative, involve boundary crossing (from the person to the environment or from the environment to the person), they are called *directional* modes. Functioning in these directional modes is defined by the systemic theory (Shye 1985, 1989) to be more *effective*, the greater is the similarity between the origination and the manifestation aspects of the relevant phenomenon: For example, if an immigrant, after his immigration, behaves, acts, and voices opinions that are truer and more similar to his inner thoughts and beliefs than he did before his immigration, it would be said that he functions more effectively in the expressive mode.

In contrast, in the modes of adaptation and of integration, no boundaries are crossed and the events occur entirely (i.e., both their origination and manifestation) either outside or inside the system, respectively. The systemic theory defines effective functioning in *these* two modes in terms of mutual compensation, complementarily or negotiation. Hence these two modes are called the *negotiative* modes. Thus, the better the various subsystemic components complement and balance each other, the better would the functioning in the integrative mode be. For example, an immigrant who arrives to a new country might feel

distress and tension in the face of difficulties he meets. To the extent that he can reduce ill feelings and increase emotional harmony, his functioning in the integrative mode (of the personality subsystem) would be enhanced.

4.2 Is SQOL Subjective or Objective?

While assessments provided by one of one's SQOL—i.e., of one's functioning in specific modes—are clearly subjective assessments, they do refer to states of reality that can, in principle, be assessed by other people who are sufficiently acquainted with the subject. For example, the question of how well one fulfills one's aspirations can be (subjectively) assessed also by one's husband, or close friend, or parent. This in fact has been done in several studies (e.g., where social workers assessed SQOL of children at risk Davidson-Arad and Wozner 2001; or where therapists and patients both assessed patients' SQOL at different time-points during therapy, with impressive agreement Ezrachi 2008) thereby validating SQOL instruments. Hence, in a sense, it may be said that SQOL assessments are subjective assessments of objective states. In contrast, subjective perception of one's success in immigration is purely subjective: it cannot be directly assessed by others.

5 Immigration and Quality of Life

Studies of immigration and quality of life often compare immigrants to the population in the host country. For example, a study that looked at three groups: Jewish immigrants from the former USSR to Israel, Jews who live in the USSR, and Israeli-born residents of Israel, showed that there were significant differences in quality of life between the Israeli born group and the other two groups (Amir et al. 1999). Thus, the quality of life of the immigrants was lower than that of the Israeli-born individuals. Other studies have also reported that even years after immigration, immigrants differed in their life quality from the native population (e.g., Berdes and Zych 2000).

While previous quality of life research compares immigrants to the local native population, a comparison which can be biased by many variables (such as diverse background, different in values and in norms), the current research focuses upon comparison among the immigrants themselves. That is, the differences in the quality of life of people who feel that their immigration was successful and those who do not feel so.

Moreover, usually, immigration research examines the variable of quality of life as a criterion to immigration outcome. That is, people who enjoy higher quality of life are considered to experience successful immigration. Little attention has been given to the relationship between quality of life and the subjective assessment by the immigrants themselves. Even less attention has been given to identifying those aspects of quality of life are the most important to successful immigration. This study aims to fill these gaps.

6 Immigration to Israel

Following the political and economic crisis that befell the former USSR after the collapse of the Soviet regime, a massive wave of immigration into Israel took place. This wave

occurred mostly between 1990 and 1995, bringing into a country approximately 600,000 new immigrants (Sicron 1998). This massive immigration of the 1990s has had a tremendous effect on Israeli society, with the new immigrants constituting 12% of the general population and 14% of the Jewish population (Leshem and Lissak 2000).

We anticipated that immigrants to Israel from the former USSR who reported overall successful immigration would experience higher levels of SQOL than those who reported unsuccessful immigration. Moreover, we anticipated that the *structure* of the SQOL for the two groups would be different: While the successful group SQOL structure would conform to that represented by the classical pattern, representing a better structured pattern of subsystemic interrelationships, the SQOL structure of the unsuccessful group would not conform to the classical pattern.

Since we had no prior indications as to which components of the Systemic Quality of Life Model (Shye 1989) would be associated most with successful immigration, this question was left for empirical exploration.

7 Research Hypotheses

Immigrants who experience their immigration as successful will demonstrate higher quality of life than those who experience their immigration as unsuccessful. This hypothesis will be tested by comparing ratings of life quality in both groups.

Immigrants who experience their immigration as successful will exhibit (using an appropriate structural data analytic procedure) the *classical pattern* for the SQOL structure. Specifically, in a spatial representation of observed interrelationships conducted by Faceted Smallest Space Analysis (FSSA[1]) among SQOL variables, the personality subsystem would appear opposite the cultural, and the social subsystem opposite the physical. The corresponding structure for the unsuccessful group, on the other hand, would exhibit a poorer fit with the classical pattern. (Note that this hypothesis contains—in fact, is contingent upon—the verification of a prior hypothesis for the successful group: that each of the subsystems is represented by a distinct region in the representation space).[2]

In addition, an exploratory analysis has been conducted to identify those aspects of life quality that are most closely associated with successful immigration. In the spirit of Facet Theory (Shye and Elizur 1994) this analysis is carried out by identifying those SQOL variables that are highly correlated with the success variable, and then inquiring into whether they delineate a well defined region in the SQOL space as depicted by Faceted Smallest Space Analysis (FSSA) If indeed they do, then by the continuity principle (Shye 1998, p. 166; Shye and Elizur 1994, p. 101), a distinct life-quality content subspace is identified that is best associated with successful immigration. In this fashion, success in immigration is incorporated into the FSSA space as an *external variable*. (Denesh and Shye 1993).

[1] A modern development of multidimensional scaling that integrated space-partitioning into the analysis.

[2] In general, populations we usually expect stability in structure. But in specific populations–esp. if their defining characteristic overlaps conceptually the content universe studied (as here: success in immigration and SQOL both concern success in achieving good life), structural differences may be hypothesized and are often found. (See e.g., Elizur and Shye 1976, where Israeli emigrants to the US and to France exhibit two different structural patterns with respect to their satisfaction with life conditions in different geographic and temporal situation.).

8 Method

8.1 Participants

The sample in this study consists of 337 participants, 200 women and 137 men, who migrated from the former USSR to Israel during the period 1990–1995. Their age range was 41–65 (i.e., all were before the official retirement age of 65. $M = 52.7$, $SD = 5.7$). The purpose of this study was to focus on the age group of 41–65 years old. The uniqueness of this age group is that these immigrants have gone through socialization process in former SU, but still had the potential to integrated socially and occupationally in Israel.

The former USSR immigrants population is highly educated; sixty percent of immigrants have a college diploma (and above), compared to 30% of the overall Israeli population (Leshem and Lissak 2000). For that reason our sample consisted of educated respondents. 20% of the respondents had a first degree, 72% of the respondents had a second degree and 8% had a third degree.

The sample was collected from all across Israel and from different types of settlements (central and peripheral cities, urban settlements and cooperative Israeli settlements). Potential participants were identified from lists maintained by Russian libraries, community centers, immigrants' associations, and municipalities, as well as by "snow ball sampling", in which participants referred other potential participants.

8.2 Procedure

Questionnaires were administered in personal interviews with the 337 participants by specially trained research assistants of Russian origin. The structured interviews, which lasted 50–100 min, were held in surroundings familiar to the participants (home, work), or other places convenient to them.

8.3 Questionnaires

The success-in-immigration questionnaire contained four questions designed to measure participants' subjective feelings of success. The questions were holistic, in that they referred to the immigration experience as a whole, and not to its specific aspects.

Using Likert scales, participants provided an overall rating of their immigration experiences by responding to four questions. In the first question: "to what extent do you experience your immigration as successful ?" the response scale ranged from 1, indicating a "very unsuccessful" immigration experience to 8, indicating a "very successful" immigration experience. In the second question, participants were asked to compare their immigration experiences with those of others: "to what extent do you experience your immigration as successful compared to others?" Possible ratings ranged from 1 (my immigration experience was very unsuccessful compared to others') to 6 (my immigration experience was very successful compared to others'). The third question was a combination of two questions: first, participants were simply asked: "Was your immigration experience successful?" to which they responded with either yes $= 1$, no $= -1$. Their answers to this question were multiplied by the level of certainty ("How certain were you in responding to the previous question?") assessed on a six-point scale, Thus, the third success variable produced scores that ranged from -6 (certainly unsuccessful) to $+6$ (certainly successful). The fourth question

Table 1 The contents of the 16 sub-domains (functioning modes) of the systemic quality of life (SQOL) Model

Subsystem Mode	Personal	Physical	Social	Cultural
Expressive	**1** Self fulfillment	**5** Physical abilities & control of environment	**9** Social status	**13** Expression of values & beliefs
Adaptive	**2** Rest & recreation	**6** Comfortable physical conditions incl. air, food & shelter	**10** Relations with institutions (governmental, work, services etc.)	**14** Relations with cultural environment incl. cultural institutions & means
Integrative	**3** Mental well-being	**7** Physical health	**11** Close interpersonal Relationships	**15** Integration between different values
Conservative	**4** Self confidence	**8** Physical confidence	**12** Social belonging	**16** Cultural belonging

aimed to legitimate the bad feelings that some immigrants may have toward their immigration. It read: "Many immigrants feel that their immigration experience was unsuccessful. To what extent do you feel the same?" It was rated between 1 (not at all) to 6 (very much).

The internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha) between the four questions was 0.77.

The quality of life questionnaire contained 16 questions, which are based on the combination of four functioning modes (expressive, adaptive, integrative and conservative) and four subsystems (personality, physical, social and cultural; see Table 1). It was translated to Russian in the framework of a previous study (Shye et al. 1991).

The answers ranged between 1 (very little) and 6 (very much). The 4 × 4 table below presents the contents of the 16 variables used to form the SQOL questionnaire in this study.[3] The correlations matrix appears in Appendix.

Examples of SQOL questionnaire items are "To what extent do you feel physically healthy?" (the combination of physical subsystem and integrative mode); and "To what extent do you succeed in expressing beliefs and values that are important to you?" (the combination of the cultural subsystem and the expressive mode).

8.4 Data Analysis

Data analyses were done by FSSAWIN program (Shye 1991, 2001) for the Faceted Smallest Space Analysis.

8.4.1 Smallest Space Analysis (SSA)

Smallest Space Analysis (SSA. Guttman 1968) creates a graphic representation of the investigated domain thus: Every observed variable (questionnaire item) is mapped as a point into a geometric space subject to the condition that the higher the correlation between two variables, the closer are the points representing them in space. (In SSA the space

[3] The systemic quality of life theory (SQOL) specifies the essential contents of each content profile (or content sub-domain; i.e. a selection of one of the four subsystems together with a selection of one of the four modes). In any particular application the researcher creates suitable variables that systematically sample the 16 SQOL content profiles.

coordinates have no substantive significance and serve only to identify the location of observed variables in the representation space.)

One of the greatest advantages of SSA is that it can treat observed variables as a sample taken from a domain of infinitely many variables and, based on the finite set of observed variables, it allows inferences about the structure of the entire investigated domain. These inferences are formulated in terms of partitioning of the space into regions that correspond to substantive constructs. Thus, observed variables are studied not for themselves but for the content universe that they represent. (See *Continuity Principle* and *Regional Hypotheses*, Shye 1998, 1999; Shye and Elizur 1994).

FSSAWIN computer program enables, additionally, to perform confirmatory SSA. It automatically partitions the geometric representation space into distinct regions in accordance with prior classifications of the variables provided by the researcher. Thus theories regarding the structure of the domain can be tested. The program computes a coefficient of goodness-of-fit which reflects how well the best partition (of a given type) accommodates the a priori theoretical classification of variables. This coefficient, called the Separation Index, ranges between 0 (very bad differentiation) to 1 (a perfect differentiation).

9 Results

9.1 Testing the Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 Success versus No-success—Comparing SQOL levels

1. (a). People who experience their immigration as successful will have higher level of quality of life compared to those who do not.

In order to conduct this comparison, from the total sample of 337, two sub-samples were selected. The first included those participants who felt that their immigration was highly successful, and the second included those participants who felt that their immigration was highly unsuccessful. The selection of the extreme poles was done in order to achieve two significantly different maps. That is, those scoring very high (average score 5 or above) or very low (average score 2 or below) in all four questions were selected to participate in the qualitative study. The successful sub-sample turned out to contain 61 participants and the unsuccessful sub-sample, 28 participants. For each participant in these two sub-samples, a mean score of the SQOL questions was calculated. The average SQOL score for the successful sub-sample was found to be 4.45, and for the unsuccessful sub-sample, 3.18. A *t*-test for independent samples of these averages in the two groups revealed the difference to be highly significant ($t(86) = 8.39$, $p < .001$). Thus, participants in the success group rated their subjective life quality as significantly higher than participants in the no-success group.

Hypothesis 2 Success versus Unsuccess—Comparing SQOL Structures

In this section, we compare the two groups, of successful and of unsuccessful immigrants, with respect to their SQOL structures as manifested in their FSSA maps. As noted earlier, based on theoretical considerations, the Systemic Quality of Life Model specifies a particular structure as one that represents the classical, or well-structured pattern of interrelationships among the functioning subsystems Hence our second hypothesis anticipates that the success group would exhibit a structure (in effect, a partition pattern in SSA) that is closer to the classical structure than that of the unsuccess group.

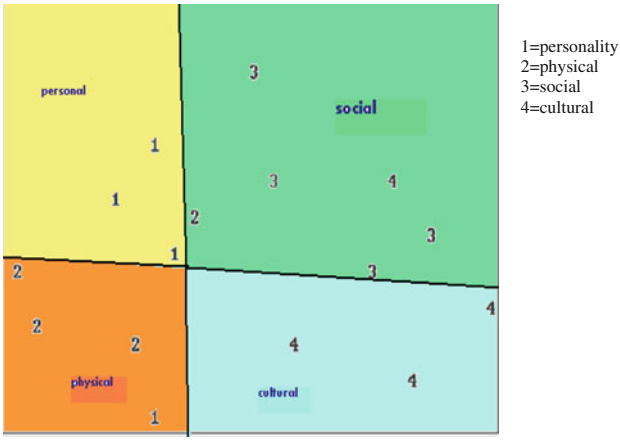


Fig. 2 Systemic quality of life map of the success group ($N_1 = 61$) partitioned for subsystems (SI = .85)

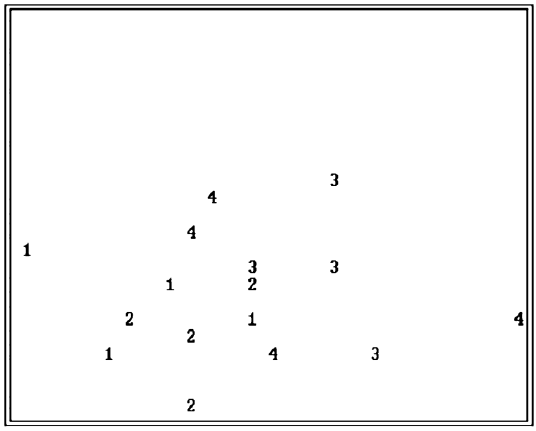


Fig. 3 Systemic quality of life map of the no—success group ($N_2 = 28$). (1 = personality; 2 = physical; 3 = social; 4 = cultural)

Results of the SSA for the two groups are shown in Figs. 2 and 3.

Figure 2 shows the life quality map of the success group, and Fig. 3 shows the equivalent map of the unsuccess group. The maps show distribution in space of the 16 quality of life variables, labeled by their classification into the four subsystems: 1 (personality), 2 (physical), 3 (social) and 4 (cultural). In Fig. 2, the partition of the space into subsystems by the angular partition pattern is very good (Separation Index = .846). Moreover, as predicted, the map demonstrates the anticipated polarities between the personality subsystem (1) and the cultural subsystem (4); and between the physical (2) and social (3) subsystems, thereby establishing the expected classical, well-structured pattern in the case of the successful immigrants.

When examining the life quality map of the unsuccess group, (Fig. 3), a different picture is revealed. The partition according to subsystems is not as good (Separation Index = 0.757), and it is difficult to define the boundaries between the personality subsystem and the physical subsystem, as well as between the cultural and the social

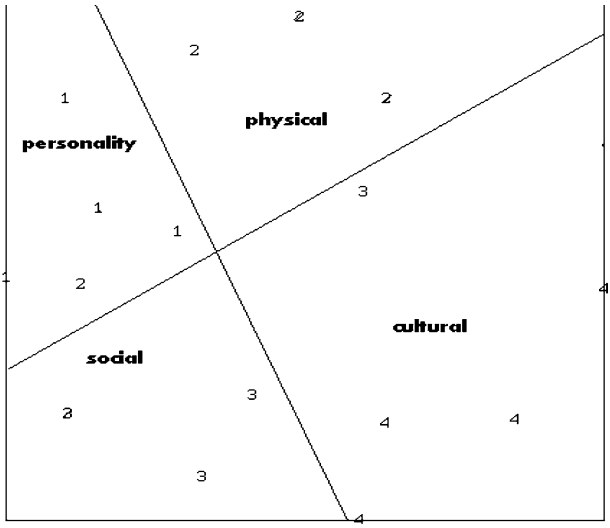


Fig. 4 Systemic quality of life map for a small sub-sample of the success group ($N_{1a} = 30$) again confirms the structural hypothesis

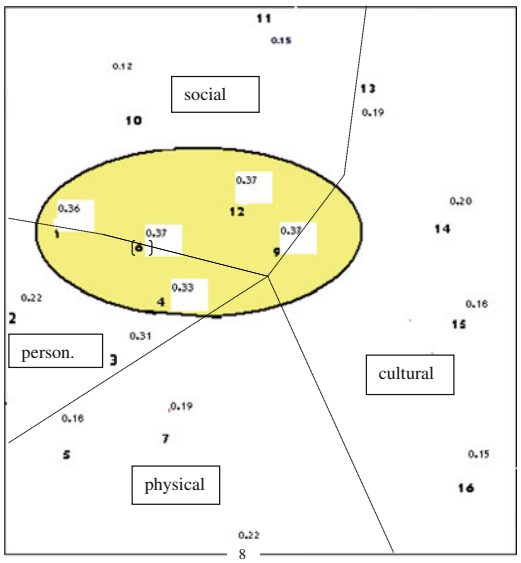
subsystems. Thus, this map does not show the classical pattern (having no polarization between the personal and the cultural). The second hypothesis is therefore supported.

In order to exclude the possibility that the structural differences between the two groups are explained by the inequality in the group sizes (or by the small size of the No-Success group), the analysis was repeated for a small sub-sample of 30 randomly selected cases out of the original Success group of 61 cases. The same structure resulted again (Separation Index = .926). See Fig. 4.[4]

9.2 Exploratory Analysis (A): Identifying SQOL Functionings with the Strongest Relationship to Success in Immigration: The Faceted External Variable Procedure

It is of interest to identify those aspects of the systemic quality of life most closely related to successful immigration. One way of examining the relationship between a facet-structured concept and an external variable is to find out with which regions within the concept space the external variable is most closely associated. To do this, we compute the correlations between the external variable and each of the observed internal variables in the concept (Denesh and Shye 1993), with the expectation that the sizes of these correlations would reveal some regularity within the concept space. That is, in this analysis we identify those SQOL variables that have a relatively high correlation with the success variable, and inquire whether they delineate a simple connected region in that space.

[4] It is important to note that although the physical and the social switch places—the structure remains the same: the personality and the cultural subsystem are opposite each other and are mediated by the physical and social subsystems.



1 Self fulfillment

2 Rest & recreation

3 Mental well- being

4 Self confidence

5 Physical abilities & control of environment

6 Comfortable physical conditions incl. air, food & shelter

7 Physical health

8 Physical confidence

9 Social status

10 Relations with institutions

(governmental, work, services etc.)

11 Close interpersonal Relationships

12 Social belonging

13 Expression of values & beliefs

14 Relations with cultural environment incl. cultural institutions & means

15 Integration between dif ferent values

16 Cultural belonging

Fig. 5 Systemic quality of life map: mean correlations with success in immigration induce a simple partition of the SQOL Space. The central region is found to contain five core life quality variables

Figure 5 applies this procedure to the SQOL content universe of the entire sample with the success-in-immigration as the external variable. Numbers **1–16** in bold print are of the 16 life quality variables (numbered as their corresponding modes in Table 1). Next to each of these variables, the mean of the four correlation coefficients between that variable and the four success questions, is noted. (There were four overall-success questions, see the method section, but in order to simplify the display, instead of four maps just one, which displays the mean of the four correlations, is presented here). As Fig. 5 shows, a clear partition of the SQOL space is apparent, separating the variables that are relatively highly correlated (correlation coefficient equals 0.33 or higher) with success (at the center of the map) from those whose correlation with success is not so high (in the periphery). Thus a core set of SQOL variables is identified. Significantly, this very same pattern appeared in all the four maps, when the role of the external variable was played by each of the success questions separately.

Although positive correlations where found between all SQOL variables and the success questions, relatively *high* correlation coefficients were found between the success variable and five variables that stand for five SQOL sub-domains. Significantly, these high correlations were found to be high for each of the success questions separately, a fact that further validates the findings. The five core sub-domains, (SQOL functioning modes) which delineate a distinct region in the SQOL space, are:

SQOL mode 1. The expressive mode of the personality subsystem (self fulfillment);
SQOL mode 4. The conservative mode of the personality subsystem (self confidence);
SQOL mode 9. The expressive mode of the social subsystem (social status, interpersonal influence);

SQOL mode 12. The conservative mode of the social subsystem (social belonging, social trust);
SQOL mode 6. The adaptive mode of the physical subsystem (food, shelter, comfortable physical conditions).

Thus, of the 16 SQOL functioning modes five "core functioning modes" have been found to be closely associated with successful immigration of Russian immigrants to Israel. Inspecting the five core functioning mode we note one of them (**6**) refers to basic biological needs (cf. also Maslow 1954) required for day to day existence in all circumstances. The remaining four (**1, 4, 9, 12**) may be considered specific to the present context of immigration. In systemic terms, this "immigration functioning-mode quartet" has a simple, symmetrical structure that enables us to characterize it compactly as the expressive and conservative modes of the personality and social subsystems. And, using the suggestive systemic language presented above, this conclusion can be expressed concisely as follows: The determining factors of successful immigration are *the directional functioning-modes of the intra-human subsystems*. In other words, the immigrant who experiences a successful immigration will be the one who feels secure and has confidence both in himself and in his social environment, while he is able to express his personality as well as exercise some social influence (attain a social status).

10 Discussion

This study brought together two different perspectives to assess immigration outcomes: the first, success in immigration (Benish-Weisman 2007), is a phenomenological and holistic perspective that intends to capture the individualistic viewpoint of the immigrant. The second, the systemic quality of life (Shye 1989), is a structured perspective based on a model that presents a rationalized set of functioning subsystems and functioning modes. The model predicts that a particular spatial arrangement of the subsystems in the Faceted SSA space (the "classical partition pattern" representing effective inter-subsystemic relationships) would characterize the group of successful immigrants, but not that of the unsuccessful ones. Looking at the same phenomenon from these two different perspectives strengthens the validity of the findings and provides rich and novel way for understanding successful immigration.

Our hypotheses were confirmed: The findings reveal a significant difference in the quality of life of immigrants who experience their immigration as successful and those who do not. Therefore, the systemic quality of life reflects indeed the subjective experience of immigrants, and hence it can be recommended for evaluating immigration outcome.

Furthermore, in the life quality FSSA maps, while the success group follows the prediction of the model for well-structured classical pattern, the unsuccess group does not.

However, not all the components in the Systemic Quality of Life Model have been found to be equally important for successful immigration. Five components of the model were most strongly related to success, occupying a well defined region in SQOL space (the "core region"): self-fulfillment; (b) self-confidence; (c) social status; and (e) social belonging. (e) comfortable life conditions.

The first four SQOL components can be content-analyzed into a compact 2×2 matrix (see Table 2):

Table 2 Four of the SQOL core functioning modes can be analyzed to constitute a Cartesian product of two of the two intra-human subsystems and the two directional systemic modes

	Personality subsystem	Social subsystem
Expressive mode	Self-fulfillment	Social status
Conservative mode	Self-confidence	Social belonging

Some of the present findings are in line with current immigration literature, while others seem to shed a new light on the immigration phenomenon. We will consider first similarities of our results to previous studies, found from the perspective of the personality and the social subsystems. Then turn to pointing out surprising discrepancies revealed when results are viewed from the perspective of the expressive and conservative modes.

The ability to operate and control the external environment by the inner motivations and desires, akin to our *expressive mode of the personality subsystem*, was found to be an important factor in immigration adjustment. Garcia et al. (2002), for example, show that the internal locus of control (the attribution of good events that happen in one's life to inner characteristics) are positively connected to psychological well being of immigrants; while external locus of control is positively connected to bad adjustment of sojourns (Ward and Kennedy 1992, 1993).

The importance of the social environment has been also acknowledged in previous studies. It has been shown that social support following immigration facilitates better mental health (Ward 1996), is associated with a decrease in depression (Golding and Burnam 1990) and increased adjustment (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2006).

The present study reveals—and confirms—the dominance of the intra-human subsystems, the personality and the social, for successful immigration. As opposed to perspectives that emphasize the material components of immigration (e.g. advance in financial status; or material quality of life conceptions as describe in the introduction), it seems that the dominate factors in successful immigration are related to the human world—the immigrant himself and how the immigrant interacts with his or her human environment.

Based on Faceted SSA two functioning modes within the intra-human subsystems (namely, the personality and the social subsystems), were found to be related to success in immigration: the conservative mode and the expressive mode.

The conservative mode represents the need for stability and security. The experience of immigration, by its very nature involves a major change in one's life—physical re-location accompanied by a change in the human environment. In fact, immigration represents a total replacement of the external reality. It seems that in such a potentially confusing state, it is especially important to find anchor both in one's own personal identity and in a supportive social network.

Interestingly, the *expressive modes* in the intra-human subsystems were found to be significant as well in successful immigration. The ability to fulfill one's personal aspirations as well as to have some influence over one's social environment, attest to and promote a genuine integration. Both functioning modes suggest that the new immigrant is not a mere object defined by the absorbing society, but rather that she has some control over her human environment and is an active participant in it. Specifically, in our present

context, it is perhaps likely that the transition from a totalitarian society (former USSR) to a democratic one (Israel) made it easier for some of the immigrants to improve their expressive functioning in all subsystems. Immigrants who were able to take advantage of this possibility experienced successful immigration.

The present study, then, reveals the importance of the *directional modes* (the expressive and the conservative modes). This result is somewhat unexpected: Normally we think of successful immigration in terms of adaptability, adjustments, accommodations or, in short, *negotiative* processes as comprising the essence of fashioning one's life in a new environment. These processes that are represented in the SQOL theory by the *negotiative modes* namely, the integrative and the adaptive functioning modes. Indeed, it is commonly believed that people who experience successful immigration are the people who can change and modify themselves in order to minimize conflicts and mismatches between themselves and their surroundings. For example, people who can switch easily from one strategy to another (flexibility), will enjoy high levels of job satisfaction and social support (van Oudenhoven et al. 2003).

Here we find, to the contrary, that the directional functioning modes, those that require on the one hand, adherence to basic patterns and on the other the exercise of power over the environment (always within the intra-human subsystems, it would be recalled), are more dominant in determining the subjective perception of successful immigration than the negotiative functioning modes. Does this finding tap a general phenomenon, one that is valid in most cases of immigration, or is it peculiar to the present case of Russian immigration to Israel? Only additional studies can answer this question.

According to the systemic quality of life model, the expressive and conservative functioning modes stand in polar opposition to each other, but they also complement each other. If the conservative functioning greatly exceeds expressive functioning, stagnation may result. On the other hand, if the expressive functioning greatly exceeds the conservative functioning over-exertion and disintegration may result (Shye 1985). Thus, while in the process of successful immigration, functioning well enough in both modes is necessary, it is also important that the two functioning modes maintain a balance between them.

The findings show that the relationship between life quality and success in immigration relies on balancing between extremes: on the one hand, it is important to experience stability and power at the personality sphere level (self-expression and self-confidence), and on the other hand, to experience stability and power in the social context (social status and social belonging). Thus, because of the major changes involved in the immigration process, the two "primary" modes become central: the one representing growth and development (self-fulfillment, social status), and the one representing adherence one's identity and continuity (self-confidence, social belonging). The immigrant who succeeds in navigating between these extremes, between the personal and the collective, between development and stability, is likely to experience his or her immigration as successful.

Appendix

See Table 3.

Table 3 Correlations matrix of the 16 SQOL variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1 Self fulfillment	1	.292(**)	.243(**)	.428(**)	.147(**)	.379(**)	.261(**)	.180(**)	.274(**)	.179(**)	.139(*)	.260(**)	0.096	.139(*)	.073	.064
2 Rest & recreation	.292(**)	1	.323(**)	.353(**)	.322(**).	407(**)	.200(**)	.155(**)	.150(**)	.181(**)	.157(**)	.257(**)	.114(*)	.097	.095	.029
3 Mental well-being	.243(**)	.323(**)	1	.467(**)	.343(**)	.445(**)	.303(**)	.159(**)	.186(**)	.160(**)	.131(*)	.296(**)	.103	.126(*)	.203(**)	.072
4 Self confidence	.428(**)	.353(**)	.467(**)	1	.347(**)	.422(**)	.355(**)	.320(**)	.396(**)	.343(**)	.241(**)	.359(**)	.247(**)	.133(*)	.245(**)	.167(**)
5 Physical abilities & control of environment	.147(**)	.322(**)	.343(**)	.347(**)	1	.287(**)	.325(**)	.252(**)	.179(**)	.160(**)	.102	.228(**)	.118(*)	−.023	.134(*)	.1
6 Comfortable physical conditions incl. air, food & shelter	.379(**)	.407(**)	.445(**)	.422(**)	.287(**)	1	.303(**)	.088	.346(**)	.256(**)	.243(**)	.395(**)	.248(**)	.207(**)	.196(**)	.126(*)
7 Physical health	.261(**)	.200(**)	.303(**)	.355(**)	.325(**)	.303(**)	1	.365(**)	.224(**)	.171(**)	.125(*)	.246(**)	.148(**)	.200(**)	.087	.049
8 Physical confidence	.180(**)	.155(**)	.159(**)	.320(**)	.252(**)	.088	.365(**)	1	.245(**)	.014	.064	.153(**)	.132(*)	.135(*)	.121(*)	.187(**)
9 Social status	.274(**)	.150(**)	.186(**)	.396(**)	.179(**)	.346(**)	.224(**)	.245(**)	1	.313(**)	.268(**)	.331(**)	.287(**)	.216(**)	.172(**)	.225(**)
10 Relations with institutions (governmental, work, services etc.)	.179(**)	.181(**)	.160(**)	.343(**)	.160(**)	.256(**)	.171(**)	.014	.313(**)	1	.193(**)	.278(**)	.134(*)	.118(*)	.179(**)	.076
11 Close interpersonal relationships	.139(*)	.157(**)	.131(*)	.241(**)	.102	.243(**)	.125(*)	.064	.268(**)	.193(**)	1	.323(**)	.270(**)	.212(**)	.055	.103
12 Social belonging	.260(**)	.257(**)	.296(**)	.359(**)	.228(**)	.395(**)	.246(**)	.153(**)	.331(**)	.278(**)	.323(**)	1	.269(**)	.343(**)	.247(**)	.151(**)
13 Expression of values & beliefs	.096	.114(*)	.103	.247(**)	.118(*)	.248(**)	.148(**)	.132(*)	.287(**)	.134(*)	.270(**)	.269(**)	1	.253(**)	.124(*)	.098
14 Relations with cultural environment incl. cultural institutions & means	.139(*)	.097	.126(*)	.133(*)	−.023	.207(**)	.200(**)	.135(*)	.216(**)	.118(*)	.212(**)	.343(**)	.253(**)	1	.379(**)	.200(**)
15 Integration between different values	.073	.095	.203(**)	.245(**)	.134(*)	.196(**)	.087	.121(*)	.172(**)	.179(**)	.055	.247(**)	.124(*)	.379(**)	1	.193(**)
16 Cultural belonging	.064	.029	.072	.167(**)	.100	.126(*)	.049	.187(**)	.225(**)	.076	.103	.151(**)	.098	.200(**)	.193(**)	1

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

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