

SOME OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS
OF WESTERN JEWS IN ISRAEL

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Israel

1. Introduction⁽¹⁾

Attempts to develop systematic typologies⁽²⁾, or comprehensive theories of the determinants and consequences of social and demographic trends among contemporary world Jewish communities are still hindered by insufficiency of relevant information. While basic indicators are lacking in respect of large sections of diaspora Jewry - despite the increasing volume of ongoing research⁽³⁾ - certain lacunae persist also with regard to Jews in Israel. E.g., reference to Jews from Western countries in Israel is relatively scarce and undifferentiated in demographic and sociological research, an important section of which deals with immigration and immigrant absorption. This paper aims to present some elements for a discussion of occupational characteristics of Western Jews in Israel, and should only be regarded as part of a more comprehensive study which is in the process of preparation.

(1) We acknowledge with thanks computer programming and other computational help by Mr. Hector Jaimovich, Mrs. Dorit Tal and Mr. Shmuel Peleg. We also wish to express our appreciation to Mrs. Ora Fleischer and Mrs. Lea Opatowski, both of Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, for their assistance in collecting unpublished official data.

(2) See, e.g.: Matras, J. "On Changing Marriage and Family Formation among Jewish Immigrant Communities in Israel: Some Findings and Some Further Problems". In: Schmelz, U.O., Glikson P. and Della Pergola, S. (eds.). *Papers in Jewish Demography, 1969*. Jerusalem, World Union of Jewish Studies; and The Hebrew University, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, 1973. Diagram 1, p. 274-275. Based on: Weintraub, D., and associates. *Social Change and Development*. Jerusalem, Israel Universities Press, 1969.

(3) See: Schmelz, U.O., Glikson, P. and Gould, S.J. *Studies in Jewish Demography; Survey for 1969-1971*. Jerusalem, The Hebrew University, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry; and London, Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1975. p. 229-335; and *Studies in Jewish Demography, 1972-1976* (forthcoming).

In this paper we refrain from the acceptance of the term "Western" Jews, frequently met in literature, as inclusive of all Jews of European and American origin⁽⁴⁾. Such a group is actually composed in the main by Jews of Eastern Europe. Rather we intend to define an operational framework which can be set according to one or more of the following criteria:

<i>Criterion</i>	<i>Category</i>
Geographical location	Western countries
Religious background	Non-Moslem countries
Political regime	Non-Communist countries
Economic characteristics	Developed countries
Income level	Affluent countries
Migrations regulation	Free-emigration countries
Jewish community status	' <i>Revachah</i> ' (welfare) countries
Freedom of information	Countries for which data on <i>aliya</i> are released

Close inspection of the prevailing characteristics in each country in the world would probably show a large degree of overlap between the different criteria listed above, though there are also many discrepancies. Besides it should be taken into consideration that the position of a particular Jewish community may differ from the general characteristics of the society in which it is located. In this paper we shall refer to a broad geographical framework, including more than 50 countries, or about 20 large units of one or more states. It may be useful to subdivide our area of interest into five geocultural divisions, as follows:

- (a) *Western Europe*: Spain⁽⁵⁾; Portugal; Gibraltar; Italy; France; Switzerland; Belgium; Luxembourg; Netherlands; Denmark; Sweden; Norway; Finland.
- (b) *German speaking countries*: Germany; Austria.

(4) See, e.g., the otherwise very valuable paper by: Ben-Porath, Y. "On East-West Differences in Occupational Structure in Israel". In: Curtis, M. and Chertoff, M. (eds.). *Israel: Social Structure and Change*. New Brunswick, Transaction Books, 1973. p. 215-233. In the usual terminology, "Western" Jews are the counterpart of "Oriental" Jews - immigrants from Moslem countries. But among the latter are the immigrants from the Maghreb countries, who were the original bearers of the denomination of *Edah Ma'aravit* (Western congregation) in Israel.

(5) From this paper it will appear that the data on most Spanish-born Jews in Israel are probably not pertinent for an analysis of Western Jews. Indeed, most Spanish-born Jewish immigrants seem to have come from the Spanish towns of Ceuta and Melilla on the Moroccan sea coast; therefore, they are much more similar to Jews from Morocco than from other Western European countries. However, recent *aliya* from Spain is more properly Western in style and characteristics.

- (c) *Balkan countries*: Yugoslavia⁽⁶⁾; Greece.
- (d) *Latin America*: Argentina; Brazil; Uruguay; Chile; Mexico; Central and Caribbean America; other countries in Southern America.
- (e) *English speaking countries*: British isles; the United States; Canada; Australia; New Zealand; South Africa; Rhodesia.

Most of the countries mentioned here are grouped in many Israeli official statistical publications into a residual category of Jews from "other countries", which sometimes also includes persons whose country of origin (either birthplace or previous country of residence) is unknown. Though this categorization is explained by the relatively small number of Western Jews in Israel, its informative value is limited; it does not permit study of the existing differentials among Jews from Western countries. It often happens, indeed, that all Western Jews are perceived as one group, notwithstanding the deep linguistic, political and economic differences between the respective countries of origin, and the variety of historical developments and organizational structures of Jewish communities in these countries.

Actually, since the establishment of the State of Israel, most Jewish immigration has come from the so called *metzukah* (distressed) communities. These are usually located in non-Western countries in which conditions of the Jews have been characterized by want of civil rights and equal economic opportunities, whether or not in the form of legally recognized discrimination, or even outright persecution, all of which have caused the Jews severe strain and uncertainty about their future as individuals and as a group. Free emigration of Jews from such countries is officially forbidden or strongly handicapped. Yet some 87 per cent of all immigration to Israel during the years 1948-1976 originated from countries in Asia, Africa, Eastern and Central Europe in which the Jews were, and still are, subject to a regime of duress. Studies of immigration and immigrant absorption in Israel have had to deal mostly with Jews coming from the *metzukah* areas. Notwithstanding the invaluable contribution of such studies towards an understanding of the development of Israeli society, and also of the broader mechanisms of human migrations, Jewish migrations from Western countries display their own special characteristics and deserve a separate analysis⁽⁷⁾.

(6) Though a communist country, Yugoslavia has been included in our definition in view of the existing freedom of emigration for its citizens. The characteristics of Yugoslav Jews in Israel are fully congruent with those of other Western Jews.

(7) Among recent studies of Jewish immigrants from Western countries, see: Wilder-Okladek, F. "Austrian and German Immigration in Israel". In: *International Migration*. Vol. 4, no. 1. 1966. p. 83-90; Weinberg, A.A. "Immigration from Western Countries to Israel". In: *Migrations Internationales*. Vol. 5, no. 1. 1967. p. 22-37; Mankowitz, C. "South African Jewish Immigration - Integration and *Yerida*". In: Lissak, B., Misrachi, B., Ben-David, O. (eds.). *Olim beIsrael*. Jerusalem, Akademon, 1969. p. 809-833; Engel, G. "North American Jewish Settlers in Israel". In: *American*

An accurate study of Western immigrants may be of some strategic use for the planning of future *aliya* when we consider that most future immigration to Israel will, if at all, necessarily originate from these countries, both because of the potentials for Jewish migrations and because only the Western countries permit free exit. Indeed, continued and massive Jewish emigration has drastically reduced the size of Jewish communities in Moslem countries, and virtually exhausted their potential as sources of future *aliya*. On the other hand, the weight of Eastern European Jewry is today roughly one fifth of the total Jewish diaspora, and the persisting limitations on the number of emigration permits and increasing *neshira* (dropping out of immigrants on their way to Israel), make the forecasts of the size of future Jewish emigration from that area quite hazardous.

More specifically, systematic research may attempt:

(a) to underline some of the factors more closely associated with *aliya*, or lack of *aliya*, in order to make the forecasts of future number of immigrants to Israel and of their characteristics closer to an empirically verified reality;

(b) to improve understanding of the process of absorption in Israel of Jewish immigrant groups who are likely to maintain a high degree of communication - often through repeated journeys back and forth - with Jewish people still living in their countries of origin. The information feed-back, based on direct experience of other persons who migrated from the same country, may have a decisive impact on the decision-making process of those who have not yet made up their mind whether to emigrate to Israel or not.

Though yet few in number, at present, Western Jews in Israel may have a decisive impact on the future of *aliya*.

(7) continued:

Jewish Year Book. Vol. 71. 1970. p. 161-187; Antonovsky, A. and Katz, D. "Factors in the Adjustment to Israeli Life of American and Canadian Immigrants". In: *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 12, no. 1. 1970. p. 77-87; Penalosa, F. "Pre-migration Background and Assimilation of Latin American Immigrants in Israel". In: *Jewish Social Studies*. Vol. 34, no. 2. 1972. p. 122-139; Sabatello, E.P. "Haaliya meItalia 1970-1974, tchunoteha uklitatah". In: *Bitfutzoth Hagolah*. Vol. 18, no. 77/78. 1976. p. 127-141; Goldscheider, C. "The Future of American *Aliya*". In: Schmelz, U.O., Glikson, P. and Della Pergola, S. *Papers in Jewish Demography, 1973*. Jerusalem, The Hebrew University, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry; World Union of Jewish Studies; and Association for Jewish Demography and Statistics. 1977. p. 337-345; Sicron, M. "Immigration to Israel from Latin America". In: *Ibid.* p. 347-354; Della Pergola, S. and Tagliacozzo, A. "Gli Italiani in Israele". Roma, La Rassegna Mensile di Israel and Federazione Sionistica Italiana. 1978. p. 153.

2. Basic Characteristics of Western Aliya

a. Size and Origin

It is a well known fact that Jewish migrations to Israel have been very irregular over time in their absolute size, geographical origin, and ratio to the diaspora Jewish populations⁽⁸⁾. Western countries have traditionally constituted a low-*aliya* area, but for a few and short exceptions. *Aliya* from non-Western countries often took the form of massive, dramatic, institutionally-sponsored departures. Western emigration to Israel has been rather the outcome of a set of decisions by individuals or households, even if sometimes the encouragement of Israeli institutions may have played an important role in promoting it. The case of German-speaking Jews is different, and untypical in this respect, since most of them migrated to Palestine under conditions of political hardship.

The number and geographical origin of Western immigrants over the period 1919-1976 is shown in Table 1. During the years of the British Mandate in Palestine, slightly more than 85,000 immigrants came from

Table 1. Jewish Immigrants to Israel from Western Countries, by Countries of Previous Residence, 1919-1976

Country	Immigrants			% change	
	1919- 1948 ^(a)	1948- 1968 ^(b)	1969- 1976 ^(b)	1948-68/ 1919-48	1969-76/ 1948-68
N.	85,235	96,219	115,162		
% of total <i>aliya</i>	19.8	7.5	38.5		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	+12.9	+19.7
Western Europe	5.9	23.0	24.4	+339.6	+26.7
German speaking	70.1	12.9	1.6	-79.1	-85.1
Balkan area	12.7	10.9	0.4	- 0.4	-95.4
Latin America	0.9	26.1	23.2	+3205.0	+ 6.4
English speaking	10.4	27.1	50.4	+194.6	+123.0

(a) M. Sicron. *Immigration to Israel 1948-1953. Statistical Supplement*. Jerusalem, Falk Project for Economic Research in Israel, and Central Bureau of Statistics. Special Series No. 60. 1957. Table A 8.

(b) Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics. *Immigration to Israel 1948-1972. Part I. Annual Data*. Special Series No. 416. 1973; *Part II. Composition by Period of Immigration*. Special Series No. 489. 1975. Id. *Statistical Abstract of Israel*. Id. *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*.

(8) See: Bachi, R. *The Population of Israel*. Jerusalem, The Hebrew University, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, and Prime Minister's Office Demographic Center. CICRED Series for 1974 World Population Year. 1977. p. 428.

Table 2. Jewish Populations in Western Countries, Western Jews in Israel, and Western Immigrants to Israel, by Countries of Birth and/or Residence 1961-1976

Country	Jewish Population		Jewish population in Israel				In Israel per 100 abroad		New immigrants to Israel			
	Thousands	N	By country of birth		Median stay (years)	Enlarged Jewish population (3) + (6)	(7)	(8)	Number	Rate per 10,000 at origin	Per cent non-Jewish immigrants	Per cent Jewish immigrants
			1961	1972								
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	
Total Diaspora	10,375	1,201,911	1,414,368	17.7	21.0	1,046,487	2,460,855	23.7	299,019 (c)	36.0	29.8	2.5
Total Western Countries	7,962	102,730	148,665	44.7	20.9	85,675	234,340	2.9	115,162	18.1	70.1	2.2
Western Europe (a)	680	16,815	27,342	62.6	13.9	13,284	40,626	6.0	28,038	51.5	46.1	9.8
Switzerland	21	895	1,382	54.4	12.7	630	2,012	6.6	1,023	61.8	72.2	9.8
Scandinavia	23	785	1,334	69.3	8.6	410	1,744	7.6	1,252	68.0	74.4	14.1
The Netherlands	30	2,550	3,167	40.8	19.1	1,806	4,973	16.6	1,465	61.0	80.7	15.6
Belgium, Luxembourg	36	1,720	2,595	50.9	20.7	1,455	4,050	11.3	1,367	47.5	79.2	4.2
France	525	4,405	10,104	129.8	22.2	3,351	13,455	2.6	20,959	49.9	38.3	2.5
Italy (a)	35	3,620	1,897	8	22.2	1,997	5,894	16.8	1,627	58.1	48.2	4.9
" (b)	2,540	2,800	10.2	21.8	1,500	4,300	12.3	345	42.3	47.6	4.1	4.1
Spain, Portugal,	10	3,140	4,683	49.1	14.5	3,636	8,498	85.0	1,856	55.9	58.3	11.1
Gibraltar	41	52,700	53,407	1.3	33.5	42,286	95,693	233.4	1,406	54.9	59.0	12.7
German Speaking	32	41,300	41,262	-0.1	33.7	33,791	75,053	234.5	446	59.3	56.1	5.8
Germany, F.R.	9	11,400	12,145	6.5	32.4	8,945	20,640	229.3	479	54.4	59.5	5.6
Austria	11	18,095	15,567	-14.0	25.5	14,210	29,775	270.7	110	22.9	41.8	10.3
Balkan Area	6	7,650	6,562	-14.2	22.9	4,273	10,835	180.6	369	92.3	64.8	4.1
Yugoslavia	5	10,445	9,005	-13.8	32.8	9,937	18,942	378.8	26,719	62.8	59.3	1.3
Greece	532	6,215	22,549	262.8	6.8	7,780	30,329	5.7	14,378	64.2	54.1	0.8
Latin America	280	3,585	12,994	262.5	7.7	4,758	17,752	6.3	3,444	39.1	65.5	0.8
Argentina	110	875	2,950	237.1	5.6	996	3,946	3.6	2,105	97.0	49.0	2.1
Brazil	40	420	2,003	376.9	6.2	680	2,683	6.7	3,816	176.0	57.8	2.3
Uruguay	20	380	1,946	412.1	3.0	416	2,362	11.8	1,192	42.6	88.3	0.9
Chile	35	250	673	169.2	6.3	265	938	2.7	1,784	47.0	80.3	2.1
Mexico	47	705	1,989	181.3	6.0	665	2,648	5.6	58,074	10.8	87.0	1.3
Other countries	6,698	8,905	29,800	234.6	3.9	8,115	37,915	0.6	8,883	26.8	82.0	2.7
English Speaking	414	3,090	7,215	133.5	6.7	2,456	9,671	2.3	38,027	8.2	87.0	0.9
Gr. Britain, Ireland	5,800	3,530	16,105	356.2	3.0	3,490	19,595	0.3	16,9	16.9	90.1	1.3
United States	290	370	1,717	364.1	3.2	563	2,280	0.8	4,821	40.0	93.5	0.9
Canada	123	1,615	3,676	127.6	7.9	1,271	4,947	4.0	2,414	42.5	87.8	1.7
South Africa, Rhodesia	71	300	1,087	262.3	5.6	335	1,422	2.0	183,180	94.9	4.5	2.8
Australia, New Zealand	2,226	579,421	604,400	4.3	22.1	353,242	957,642	43.0	139,630	78.4	0.3	3.4
Europe	124	298,611	316,129	5.5	21.9	339,792	655,921	529.0	28,099	283.3	24.9	0.8
Asia	63	220,149	345,174	56.8	15.0	267,778	612,952	1156.5	15,451	306.6	5.9	0.4
Africa												

(a) Columns (2) - (8) include persons born in Italy in 1945-1949, and immigrated during the same years.

(b) Columns (2) - (8) do not include persons born in Italy in 1945-1949, and immigrated during the same years.

(c) Including unknown birthplace.

Sources: Col. (1) Provisional estimates, Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Col. (2) Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population and Housing Census 1961*, Vol. 22, *Demographic Characteristics of the Population, Part IV, Additional Data from Stages A and B of the Census, Jerusalem, 1964*, Tables 4, 5, Cols. (3), (6) Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Population and Housing 1972*, Vol. 10, *Demographic Characteristics of the Population, Part II, Country of Birth, Period of Immigration and Religion, Data from Stage A of the Census, Jerusalem, 1976*, Table 25, Col. (5) Unpublished detailed data of 1972 census. Cols. (9) - (12) Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Immigration of Israel, 1948-1972, Part II, Composition by Period of Immigration*, Special Series, no. 483, Jerusalem, 1976; and unpublished detailed data.

Western countries - as defined in this paper -, or about 20% of all *aliya* from stated countries. Between 1948 and 1976, about 211,000 persons immigrated to Israel from Western countries, or 13% of total *aliya*. Until the Six Day War, and especially during the years of mass migration following the independence of the State of Israel, the weight of Western *aliya* was very small indeed, representing just 7.5% of all immigrants in the period 1948-1968. More than half of Western *aliya* since the establishment of the State came since 1969 (115,000 immigrants until the end of 1976), contributing substantially to this new migration wave which included also more than 100,000 Jews from the Soviet Union. Western *aliya* has represented some 38% of the total in the years 1969-1976, and it has reached 46% in 1976, because of the recent reduction of immigration from the Soviet Union.

Table 1 also shows considerable differences in the geographical composition of Western *aliya* through the various periods of time considered here. The chronology of *aliya*, and consequently the average length of stay in Israel has been quite different for the various Western origin groups.

The recent rate of *aliya* from Western countries, though generally lower than from non-Western countries, has been far from uniform (see table 2, col. 10). During the years 1969-1976 it averaged 18 new immigrants per 10,000 Jews in the countries of origin, against 79 *olim* per 10,000 Jews from Eastern Europe, 283 from Asia, and 307 from North Africa. Western *aliya* rates ranged between a maximum of 176 new immigrants per 10,000 Jews in Chile, 97 per 10,000 Jews in Uruguay and 92 per 10,000 Jews in Greece, and a minimum of just 8 per 10,000 Jews in the United States. The political circumstances prevailing at times and among certain strata of Jewish communities in some Western countries - especially in Latin America - in the course of the last few years can be described as *quasi-metzukah*, which generated relatively large - and sometimes temporary - Jewish emigration. Substantial differences appear in the rate of *aliya* per 10,000 resident Jews, even within each of the five sub-areas into which we have divided our area of interest.

The data are insufficient for an assessment of the relative weight of each of the various push and pull factors, usually associated with human migrations, to account for such striking differentials. In very broad terms it seems that in recent years factors of political and economic push were relatively weak in Western countries, though by no means negligible. The migratory appeal of the State of Israel, either in a Zionist or broader Jewish ideological framework, is a peculiar factor which has been perceived with different strength among Jews in different countries. The spread of assimilation among diaspora Jewry, however, may weaken such an ideological pull. On the other hand, the pull exerted by certain Western countries themselves on Jewish international migrants is rather strong, and it is visible also with regard to *yeridah* - emigration from Israel.

b. Israel-Diaspora Differentials

Different immigration rates from various countries in the diaspora have brought about a composition of the Jewish population in Israel, by

Table 3. Jewish Populations in the World and in Israel, by Countries of Residence and/or Birth, 1961-1972

Country	Jewish population	Jewish population in Israel			
		By country of birth		Israel-born by country of birth of father	Enlarged Jewish population (3) + (4)
		1972 (a)	1961 (b)	1972 (c)	1972 (c)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
World/ Total	13,062,000	1,932,400	2,686,700	1,272,300	
Israel, %	21.0	37.8	47.4	17.7	
Diaspora, total	10,375,000	1,201,900	1,414,400	1,046,500	2,460,900
Diaspora, %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Western countries	76.7	8.6	10.5	8.2	9.5
Western Europe	6.5	1.4	1.9	1.3	1.7
German speaking	0.4	4.4	3.8	4.0	3.9
Balkan area	0.1	1.5	1.1	1.4	1.2
Latin America	5.1	0.5	1.6	0.7	1.2
English speaking	64.6	0.8	2.1	0.8	1.5
Other countries	23.3	91.4	89.5	91.8	90.5
Europe	21.5	48.2	42.7	33.7	38.9
Asia	1.2	24.9	22.4	32.5	26.7
Africa	0.6	18.3	24.4	25.6	24.9

(a) Provisional estimates, Division of Jewish Demography and Statistics, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

(b) Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics. *Population and Housing Census 1961*. Vol. 22. *Demographic Characteristics of the Population, Part IV, Additional Data from Stages A and B of the Census*. Jerusalem, 1964.

(c) Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics. *Population and Housing Census 1972*. Based on detailed unpublished data.

origin groups, which is completely different from the geographical structure of the Jewish diaspora (a second factor has been differential fertility). According to rough estimates of world Jewish population, in 1972, the Western countries included 75.2% of total diaspora Jewry, while just less than 150,000, or 10.5% of foreign-born Jews in Israel were born in such countries (8.6% in 1961) (see table 3). Moreover, 46.4% of Israelis from Western countries were born in Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia and Greece, which accounted for only 0.7% of the Western diaspora in 1972 (see table 2, cols. 2, 3, 4).

Over the period 1961-1972, the number of Israelis born in Western countries increased by 44.7%, but while Jews from Latin America and English speaking countries more than doubled, those from Western Europe in-

creased by 62.6%, Jews from German speaking countries were stable in numbers, and those from Balkan countries decreased by 14%.

Adding to the foreign-born Western Israelis, the Israel-born whose fathers were born in Western countries, an "enlarged population" of somewhat less than 235,000 persons can be defined out of a total Jewish population of 2,686,700 in 1972. By comparing this enlarged population of persons of a given origin in Israel, with the number of Jews in the various diaspora countries in 1972, a very uneven pattern emerges (see table 2, cols. 6, 7, 8). The number of Jews from German speaking and Balkan countries living in Israel is much higher than that of Jews living in the respective countries of origin, mainly because of the destructive consequences of the Holocaust in those areas. With regard to most other Western countries, Jews in Israel constitute a slight minority as compared with those living in the diaspora, ranging between 11-17% for the Netherlands, Italy, Belgium and Chile, down to a minimum of 0.3% for the United States.

3. Some Occupational Characteristics of Western Jews in Israel

Turning now to a closer inspection of some occupational characteristics of Western immigrants in Israel, we shall examine the three basic processes of occupational selectivity, change, and similarity among *olim* from selected Western countries. We shall use here, mainly, data from the Israel census of 1961⁽⁹⁾, in which a question on occupation abroad was asked along with questions on current occupational characteristics of the population. The interest of such data may seem more historical than actual, especially when considering the chronology of Western *aliya* (see above): most of the immigration to Israel from Western countries has taken place after 1961. Therefore for most of the countries examined

(9) A selective computer tape was prepared for the Institute of Contemporary Jewry out of the copy of Stage B (20% sample) of the Israel Population and Housing Census of 1961 made available by the Central Bureau of Statistics. This special tape includes all members of households in which at least one person was born in a Western country (according to the definition used in this paper), or was born in Israel to a Western-born father. The tape includes some 50,000 records, thereof 20,146 of persons born in Western countries, and 10,941 of Israel-born persons whose father was born in those countries. A set of detailed tabulations was prepared for each country or group of countries included in this project in order to supplement the few basic distributions available from existing publications. A table was prepared for each variable, by sex, age, birthplace (born-abroad; or Israel-born, father born abroad) for each of the countries or group of countries, included in this study. We wish to acknowledge the kind cooperation of Prof. U.O. Schmelz, of Israel Central Bureau of Statistics and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Prof. Dov Friedlander, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Prof. Bernard Lazerwitz, of Bar Ilan University, in making the data available to us.

Table 4. Western Jews in Israel, by Occupational Characteristics and Country of Birth, 1961

Characteristics	Western Europe	German Speaking	Balkan Area	Latin America	English Speaking	Total Western Countries	Total Europe-America	Total Israel (Jews)
	(a)	(a)				(a)		
Labour Force Participation								
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employed	51.7	58.3	49.3	65.0	59.3	56.1	55.4	50.4
Unemployed	5.0	2.6	3.8	4.8	3.1	3.4	2.1	2.8
Not in labour force	43.0	39.0	46.9	29.7	37.6	40.5	42.5	46.8
Males	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employed	72.5	79.6	78.1	78.8	77.5	78.0	69.9	63.8
Unemployed	5.0	3.5	4.8	5.2	3.8	4.1	4.6	3.2
Not in labour force	22.5	16.9	17.1	16.0	18.7	17.9	25.5	23.0
Occupational Status	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employer	2.0	4.9	3.7	0.4	1.8	3.7	3.8	2.5
Self-employed	9.5	17.2	22.2	5.0	9.5	15.5	19.6	16.2
Wage and salary earner	68.9	56.4	63.6	39.7	60.2	58.5	65.1	70.1
Cooperative member	0.5	2.9	1.7	3.8	4.4	2.5	(b)	1.5
Kibbutz member	16.4	14.5	5.6	48.5	21.3	16.2	8.2	6.7
Unpaid family member	2.7	4.1	3.3	2.5	2.7	3.6	3.3	3.0
Economic branch	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	15.1	12.1	6.5	31.3	15.5	13.2	9.3	11.9
Mines, manufacturing	22.7	21.0	26.3	16.4	15.2	21.3	25.6	25.3
Construction	6.8	3.3	6.6	2.4	3.4	4.3	7.2	8.3
Electricity, water, gas	1.2	1.6	2.1	1.2	1.3	1.6	2.0	2.1
Commerce, banking	8.8	13.4	18.6	4.8	7.6	12.5	15.0	12.7
Transport	6.5	7.0	12.1	5.7	6.4	7.6	6.9	6.6
Public services	29.4	32.5	19.7	23.2	40.5	29.9	26.2	25.6
Personal services	9.4	9.3	8.1	14.1	10.0	9.5	7.8	7.3
Occupation	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Scientific, professional	21.3	22.8	11.8	19.5	33.8	21.5	14.9	13.3
Managerial, clerical	19.7	27.6	17.7	16.8	27.3	24.1	22.9	19.3
Sales	4.6	8.3	13.4	2.0	4.3	7.9	10.9	8.7
Agriculture	14.5	10.0	6.7	25.2	12.6	11.3	8.4	12.1
Transport	3.8	4.7	6.0	1.8	1.4	4.3	4.6	4.8
Construction	5.8	2.5	5.4	0.7	2.7	3.3	5.7	7.1
Production	17.9	14.6	28.7	15.5	9.1	17.1	21.8	23.1
Services	12.4	9.4	10.3	18.5	8.7	10.5	10.7	11.6
Occupation Abroad	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Scientific, professional	20.5	23.3	10.2	30.5	42.8	22.8	15.0	12.2
Managerial, clerical	22.6	24.0	20.2	25.2	28.7	23.7	19.8	17.2
Sales	15.7	24.4	24.1	15.4	8.6	21.1	24.0	26.2
Agriculture	4.3	6.8	1.4	4.2	4.1	5.0	2.4	2.2
Transport	2.8	0.6	3.6	1.1	2.1	1.7	1.6	2.2
Construction	3.1	1.6	2.1	1.4	0.5	1.7	2.2	2.5
Production	25.4	15.8	34.7	20.7	11.5	20.4	31.4	33.6
Services	5.5	3.6	3.7	1.4	2.0	3.6	3.6	3.9

(a) Excluding persons born in Italy and Austria in 1945-1949, and immigrated during the same years.

(b) Included with wage and salary earners.

Source: Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics. *Population and Housing Census 1961. Labour Force. Part I. Vol. 9. Labour Force Characteristics (Weekly) and Employed Persons by Economic Branch, Occupation and Employment Status. Data from Stage B of the Census. 1963. Part III. Vol. 24. Additional Data from Stage B of the Census. 1965. Part IV. Vol. 27. Occupation Abroad. 1965. Unpublished tabulations from Stage B of the census.*

here the census reflects the characteristics of relatively small groups of earlier immigrants, which may not be representative of those who have come in more recent years⁽¹⁰⁾. One should also pay attention to the different composition, by duration of stay in Israel and age structure, in 1961, of the various origin groups whose characteristics will be examined. It seems, however, that the available data may provide a useful background for further and more systematic investigation of the occupational distributions for the Jewish population born in the five larger geographical areas dealt with in this paper.

a. Occupational Selectivity

It is a common feature of all human migrations that some population groups are more mobile than others, according to demographic, social, economic and ideological characteristics. This is true also of *aliya*, though at times Jewish migrations may have differed considerably from those of other populations, particularly with regard to the role of economic factors in the decision to migrate and the occupational stratification of migrants⁽¹¹⁾.

The 1961 Israel population census included a question on occupation abroad of foreign-born Jews⁽¹²⁾. Moreover, local data on occupational

(10) It is hoped that in the near future it will be possible to prepare special tabulations of the 1972 census data similar to those of 1961 and to undertake comparisons with the data on Jewish diaspora populations collected in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Another important source for the study of recent immigration to Israel, the current longitudinal Immigrants Absorption Survey, is based on a yearly net sample of about 1,000 individuals. Therefore, it does not lend itself to detailed break-downs of immigrants by single countries of origin, besides those few that constitute the main sources of recent *aliya*. Such an analysis will be possible, perhaps, after extracting and merging the data collected for several consecutive years. On the methodology of the survey see: Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics; Ministry of Immigrant Absorption; Jewish Agency, Aliya and Absorption Department. *Survey on Absorption of Immigrants; Immigrants Arrived in 1969/70-1971/72, Two Years after Their Arrival*. Special Series. No. 524. Jerusalem, 1976. Hebrew introduction.

(11) See: Hersch, L. "International Migration of the Jews". In: Willcox, W.F. and Ferenczi, I. (eds.). *International Migrations*. Vol. 2. *Interpretations*. New York, National Bureau of Economic Research. 1931. p. 471-520. Lestschinski, J. "Jewish Migrations, 1840-1956". In: Finkelstein, L. (ed.). *The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion*. 3rd ed. New York, Harper. 1960. Vol. 2. p. 1536-1596. Schmelz, U.O. "Migrations". In: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem. Vol. 16. 1971. cols. 1518-1529.

(12) Israel, Central Bureau of Statistics. *Population and Housing Census 1961*. Vol. 27. *Labour Force. Part IV. Occupation Abroad*. Jerusalem, 1965. About possible doubts on accuracy and meaning of data on occupation abroad, and reassuring evidence, see: Ben-Porath, Y. *Op. cit.* Note (6). p. 235. For an earlier study of the data see: Schmelz, U.O. "The Israel Population Census of 1961 as a Source of Demographic Data on the Jews in the Diaspora". In: *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 8, no. 1. 1966. p. 49-63.

Table 5. Jewish Immigrants to Israel and Respective Diaspora Populations in Selected Western Countries, by Sex and Occupation Abroad, 1947-1965

Country	Year	Sex	Total	Professional, managerial, clerical	Trade, sales	Blue collar
United States						
Immigrants	1961 (a)	M	100	69	4	26
		F	100	90	2	8
Diaspora popul.	1957 (b)	M	100	63	14	23
		F	100	68	14	18
Canada and Australia						
Immigrants	1961 (a)	M	100	59	7	34
		F	100	81	4	15
Canada						
Diaspora popul.	1961 (c)	M	100	63	14	23
		F	100	63	16	21
Australia						
Diaspora popul.	1947 (d)	M	100	39 ^(d)	26 ^(d)	36
		F	100	28 ^(d)	41 ^(d)	31
South Africa						
Immigrants	1961 (a)	M	100	62	19	19
		F	100	93	4	3
Diaspora popul.	1960 (e)	M	100	55	33	12
		F	100	75	18	7
Argentina						
Immigrants	1961 (a)	M	100	43	15	42
		F	100	78	9	13
Diaspora popul.	1960 (f)	M	100	28	37	35
		F	100	47	22	31
Great Britain						
Immigrants	1961 (a)	M	100	51	16	33
		F	100	74	6	20
Diaspora popul.	1950-52 (g)	M	100	32	58	10
		F	100	72	17	11
Switzerland						
Immigrants	1961 (a)	M	100	57	9	34
Diaspora popul.	1960 (h)	M	100	40	42	18
Austria						
Immigrants	1961 (a)	M	100	41	24	35
		F	100	51	13	36
Diaspora popul.	1961 (i)	M	100	37	46	17
		F	100	47	33	20
Italy						
Immigrants	1961 (a)	M	100	54	16	30
		F	100	52	12	36
Diaspora popul.	1965 (j)	M	100	35	58	7
		F	100	47	40	13

See footnotes on following page.

Table 5, footnotes:

- (a) Occupation abroad of Jews born in indicated countries and enumerated in 1961 Israel Population and Housing Census; unpublished tabulations of Stage B (20% sample) of census.
- (b) United States, Bureau of the Census. Religion Reported by the Civilian Population in the United States: March 1957. In: *Current Population Reports*. Series P-20, no. 79. Feb. 2, 1958.
- (c) Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *1961 Census of Canada*. Vol.3, part 1. *Labour Force: Occupations*. Bull. 3.1-15. *Occupations by Sex, showing Birthplace, Period of Immigration, and Ethnic Group - Canada and Provinces*. 1964.
- (d) Australia, Commonwealth Bureau of Statistics. *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 30th June 1947*. Vol. 1, part 16. *Religion*. 1951. Clerical occupations are included with the trade and sales category.
- (e) South Africa, Department of Statistics. *Population Census, 6th September, 1960. Sample Tabulations*. No. 6. *Religion: All Races*. 1965.
- (f) Schmelz, U.O. and Della Pergola, S. *The Demography of Jews in Argentina and in Other Countries of Latin America* (in Hebrew). Tel Aviv, Hamachon al-shem David Horowitz leheker aratzot mitpatchot beUniversitat Tel Aviv. 1974. Table 47. p. 112-113. Based on special tabulations of Jews from: Argentina, Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos. *Censo Nacional de Poblacion*. 1960.
- (g) Neustatter, H. "Demographic and Other Statistical Aspects of Anglo-Jewry"; Appendix I: Tables XI and XII. p. 254-255. In: Freedman, M. ed. *A Minority in Britain; Social Studies of the Anglo-Jewish Community*. London, Vallentine, Mitchell & Co. 1955. Based on replies obtained from 1,666 Jewish households to a questionnaire of which 12,000 copies were distributed.
- (h) Mayer, K.B. *The Jewish Population of Switzerland*. Paper presented at Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Jerusalem, August 13-19, 1973. Tables 5, 6. p. 11-12. Based on: Switzerland, Eidgenoessisches Statistisches Amt. *Eidgenoessische Volkszaehlung*. 1960.
- (i) Schmelz, U.O. "A Guide to Jewish Population Studies". Table 9. p. 43. In: Schmelz, U.O. and Glikson, P. eds. *Jewish Population Studies, 1961-1968*. Jerusalem, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, The Institute of Contemporary Jewry; and London, Institute of Jewish Affairs. 1970. Based on special tabulations of Jews from: Austria, Statistisches Zentralamt. *Volkszaehlung vom 21. Maerz 1961*.
- (j) Della Pergola, S. *Anatomia dell'ebraismo italiano: caratteristiche demografiche, economiche, sociali, politiche e religiose di una minoranza*. Assisi/Roma, Carucci. 1976. Table 14. p. 86-87.

structure are available for the Jews in nine Western countries with reference to the period 1947-1965, i.e. for the years around the Israel census. This permits an, admittedly rough, comparison between occupational structures of Jewish migrants to Israel versus their whole Diaspora population of origin, the overwhelming majority of whom were non-migrants (see Tables 5 and 6).

With only very few exceptions, comparison of the two distributions, by sex and country shows that *aliya* was more than proportional among Jews employed abroad in professional, managerial, and clerical occupations, and it was even more so among males in blue-collar, including service occupations; on the other hand, Jews in trade and sales occupations were strikingly underrepresented among Western *olim*. Overrepresentation of non-trade white-collar occupations was found for males in 7 out of 8 countries, and for females in all 7 countries with available data; blue-collar males were overrepresented in all 8 countries. Persons employed in trade and sales were underrepresented among *olim* of either sex from each country, and blue-collar females were so in 5 out of 7 countries.

Table 6. Ratios of Occupational Percentages Among Immigrants to Israel and Among Respective Diaspora Populations, by Sex, 1947-1965 (a)

Country	Sex	Professional, managerial, clerical	Trade, sales	Blue collar
United States	M	110	29	113
	F	132	14	44
Canada (b)	M	94	50	148
	F	129	25	71
South Africa	M	113	58	158
	F	124	22	43
Argentina	M	154	41	120
	F	166	41	42
Great Britain	M	159	28	330
	F	103	35	18
Switzerland	M	143	21	189
Austria	M	111	52	206
	F	109	39	180
Italy	M	154	28	429
	F	111	30	277

(a) Source: Table 5. The 1961 census data relate to country of birth, while the diaspora data in Table 5 comprise the whole Jewish population resident in a country in the year indicated.

(b) Immigrants from Canada and Australia as compared with Canada's Jewish population.

The ratio of the occupational percentages of migrants and in the respective Diaspora populations was higher for blue-collar than for non-trade white-collar occupations among males from 7 out of 8 countries, while it was higher for blue-collar than for trade occupations among females in 4 out of the 5 countries for which such a comparison can be made. The consistency of such occupational selectivity patterns is remarkable, in view of the noteworthy structural differences between Jewish labour forces in the eight reported countries.

The attempt of interpretation should focus essentially on the following points:

(a) *Aliya* to Israel is a heterogeneous migration stream, and it includes both ideologically and economically-oriented Jewish migrants,

(b) The higher-than-average educational attainment, usually connected with professional, managerial and clerical occupations, seems also to be associated with more intensive cultural and communal activities within the Jewish communities of Western countries. In particular, the function of Jewish youth movements should be underlined as promoting Zionist feelings, and stimulating white-collar immigration.

(c) Underrepresentation of merchants and salesmen - and probably also of employers in the manufacturing branch - among Western *olim* can be easily understood taking into account the limited opportunities for mobility among persons whose assets cannot be easily disinvested, and whose possibilities for occupational absorption in Israel, without shifting to another economic branch, are rather limited. This contrasts with the usual higher migratory mobility of professionals, managers and clerks due to an easier transferability of personal knowledge and skills from one country to another. One may also wonder whether other socio-psychological factors do operate in connection with occupational characteristics abroad. Since trade is a traditional Jewish economic branch, persons connected with it may have a more conservative outlook, and may refrain from taking the risks of change connected with *aliya*.

(d) Occupational selectivity of immigrants reflects intergenerational occupational mobility trends among Jews in the Diaspora. The younger sections of the Jewish population - among whom the propensity to migrate to Israel is usually higher than average - are also likely to include high percentages of educated persons in white-collar occupations, while trade and blue-collar occupations are becoming less frequent over time.

(e) Overrepresentation of male *olim* who were employed in the blue-collar labour force, characterised by lower education and lower income, can be explained by the normal mechanisms of economically motivated migrations. The local Jewish communities may have been particularly eager, in some cases, to dispose of persons not successfully integrated in the local socio-economic framework. The choice of Israel as an emigration target was obviously facilitated through the intermediary of Jewish (Israeli and local) institutions.

(f) One should not disregard the possibility that subjective designation of occupation abroad among certain Western immigrants may have distorted somewhat the picture of their occupational characteristics

before *aliya*.

More detailed data on occupational selectivity among a group of Western immigrants can be obtained from a countrywide survey of Italians in Israel undertaken in 1975⁽¹³⁾. The occupational background of Jews in Italy is shown in the upper part of Table 7. It was a predominantly white-collar labour force, including a strong trade and sales sector. The tragic consequences of the Holocaust period and steady immigration from the Middle East during the 1950's and 1960's caused a proportional decrease of Jews in the professional, managerial and clerical categories as against an increase of traders and salesmen between 1938 and 1965.

Italian *olim* have been divided into four groups, by period of immigration to Israel. In the first three cohorts, and to some extent also in the most recent one, there was a high proportion of persons who were employed abroad as professionals, managers and clerks, quite a large proportion of blue-collar, including those employed in services, and a very low proportion of traders and salesmen. These data confirm the patterns of occupational selectivity discussed previously. It should be noted that a relatively high percentage of former "farmers" among Italian *olim* in the years 1945-1951 depends, though only in part, on the establishment of a *hachsharah* scheme in Italy before and after World War II, when the pioneer *aliya* was at its peak. Of all Western countries, such a feature is the most prominent among immigrants from the Netherlands⁽¹⁴⁾. It should be noted that the survey of Italians in Israel could not include persons who returned to Italy. Among the latter the incidence of those who had been employed as traders before *aliya* was relatively higher than among Italian Jews permanently settling in Israel.

(13) The study, covered a representative sample of households including at least one individual born in or immigrated from Italy (displaced persons who lived in Italy for brief periods and their children were excluded). The sample covered about one eighth of all Italian Jews in Israel. It was extracted out of a comprehensive master-list set up through a snow-ball technique starting from the files of the Organization of Italian Immigrants in Israel. A questionnaire including more than 200 questions - some of which designed according to the Immigrants Absorption Survey - was administered to a net sample of 272 households including 829 individuals. Of these, 347 were born in Italy, and another 73 were born elsewhere and immigrated from Italy, 319 were born in Israel, and 90 were born in other countries. The survey was supported by a grant of the CNR (Italian National Council for Scientific Research). See: Della Pergola, S. and Tagliacozzo, A. *Gli Italiani in Israele. Op. cit.* A Ph. D. dissertation, based on materials from the survey, is in preparation by A. Tagliacozzo under the supervision of Prof. Moshe Lissak at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, on: "Immigration and Absorption of Italian Jews in Israel".

(14) According to unpublished detailed tabulations of 1961 census. See also: Faigenblat, P. *History of Hachsharah and Immigration from the Netherlands, 1918-1948.* (forthcoming). A *hachsharah* was a model farm set up for agricultural training of prospective migrants intending to settle in a *kibbutz* or in a *moshav* in Palestine/Israel.

b. Occupational Change

Absorption of new immigrants in Israel, as well as into any other society, involves deep changes in some of the pre-existing characteristics of the immigrants themselves, and also, though to a much lesser degree, an adaptation of the whole societal context to the characteristics and needs of the new immigrants. The balance between these two opposed types of change seems to have undergone some evolution in Israel in the course of time.

While occupational structure of the Jews in the diaspora has been heavily concentrated in the tertiary sector⁽¹⁵⁾, a new society of Israel based on a Jewish majority, could not emerge without a massive inflow of the Jews into the primary and secondary sectors of the economy. Initially quite heavy constraints existed for the occupational absorption of new immigrants into the Israel labour force and, in fact, considerable occupational change took place among immigrants arriving before the establishment of the State and in the first years of its independence. Productivization of the Jews was a long standing goal of the Zionist ideology, or at least of some of its leading currents, following a conception according to which the new *yishuv* was to "normalize" the occupational structure of the Jews, which had been distorted by centuries of minority existence in the diaspora. One of the basic Zionist aims being the "ingathering of the exiles", three alternative processes of social change among new immigrants could be envisaged: one, featuring a high degree of dispersion by each origin group into the various economic sectors of the new country; another, characterized by a functional differentiation between origin groups, according to their main economic characteristics abroad; and a third one, leading certain immigrant groups to predominate in the Israeli economy over other ones with similar occupational characteristics abroad.

As a matter of fact, recent research on the social structure of Israel shows the persistence of remarkable differentials in the labour force characteristics of Jews from Europe and America, on the one hand, and from Asia and Africa, on the other⁽¹⁶⁾. However, a more detailed inspection of the characteristics of Western Jews shows very unequal patterns of occupational change in connection with migration to Israel, and reveals that the interplay of ideological motivations and economic constraints may have been quite different among Jews from various countries.

As mentioned above, the 1961 Israel census provides information on occupation abroad of foreign-born Jews, along with occupational character-

(15) See: Kuznets, S. "Economic Structure and Life of the Jews". In: Finkelstein, L. (ed.). *The Jews: Their History Culture and Religion*, 3rd. ed. New York, Harper, 1960. Vol. 2. p. 1597-1666.

(16) See, e.g.: Lissak, M. *Social Mobility in Israel Society*. Jerusalem, Israel Universities Press. 1969. p. 122.; Matras, J. and Weintraub, D. *Ethnic and Other Primordial Differentials in Intergenerational Mobility in Israel*. Jerusalem, Brookdale Institute, Gerontology and Adult Human Development in Israel, American Joint Distribution Committee. 1977; Ben-Porath, Y. *Op. cit.*

Table 7. Jews in Italy, by Occupation, 1938 and 1965; and Italian Immigrants in Israel, by Period of Immigration and Occupation at Various Stages of their Life-Cycle, 1975

	Total	Professional, managerial, clerical	Trade, sales	Blue collar
<i>Jews in Italy</i>				
In 1938 (a)	100	47	43	10
In 1965 (b)	100	39	53	8
<i>Italian Immigrants in Israel (c)</i>				
Immigrated up to 1944				
Father's occupation	100	67	27	5
Immigrant's occupation				
Before aliya	100	69	17	13
1 year after aliya	100	22	7	71
3 years after aliya	100	38	0	62
In 1965	100	72	4	24
In 1975	100	76	4	20
Immigrated 1945-1951				
Father's occupation	100	33	47	20
Immigrant's occupation				
Before aliya	100	51	16	32
1 year after aliya	100	20	0	80
3 years after aliya	100	22	0	78
In 1965	100	48	0	52
In 1975	100	53	3	44
Immigrated 1952-1966				
Father's occupation	100	42	50	8
Immigrant's occupation				
Before aliya	100	68	20	12
1 year after aliya	100	62	0	38
3 years after aliya	100	66	4	30
In 1965	100	64	4	32
In 1975	100	62	0	38
Immigrated 1967-1974				
Father's occupation	100	40	49	12
Immigrant's occupation				
Before aliya	100	59	31	9
1 year after aliya	100	70	3	27
3 years after aliya	100	72	0	27
In 1975	100	69	7	24

(a) R. de Felice. *Gli ebrei in Italia sotto il fascismo*. Torino, Einaudi. 1961. p. 13.

(b) S. Della Pergola. *Anatomia dell'ebraismo italiano*. Roma, Carucci. 1976. p. 86-87.

(c) S. Della Pergola and A. Tagliacozzo. *Gli Italiani in Israele*. Roma, La Rassegna Mensile di Israel and Federazione Sionistica Italiana. 1978, p. 74.

istics at census date. In the following discussion of occupational change in Israel, we shall examine the frequency of "productivization" (former white-collar turning to blue-collar occupations in Israel) versus "tertiarization" (the other way round). On the whole, it would appear that 45.5% of Jewish white-collar immigrants underwent "productivization" (until 1961) while 14.0% of Jewish blue-collar immigrants shifted to white-collar occupations. Among immigrants from Europe and America the respective figures were 37.7%, and 17.7%, and among immigrants from Asia and Africa, 61.1%, and 8.5%. The proportion of those who did not undergo substantial occupational change was 68.8% of all Jewish immigrants (71.0% of those from Europe and America and 64.8% of those from Asia and Africa). "Productivization" thus appears to have been much sharper among the Jewish immigrants from Asia and Africa who had originally lower percentages in white-collar occupations. In fact, among Jews who worked abroad, white-collar accounted for 56.3% of immigrants from Europe and America, against 50.7% of immigrants from Asia and Africa⁽¹⁷⁾.

In comparison, Western Jews underwent even less occupational change, and little "productivization": 67.7% were in white-collar occupations abroad, 70.5% of immigrants did not change substantially their occupational characteristics; 32.1% of former white-collar underwent "productivization", while 24.1% of former blue-collar underwent "tertiarization" (see table 8). We have tried to summarize the various patterns listed above into an index of occupational change, ranging between +1, in case of extreme "productivization" and -1, in case of extreme "tertiarization" of an immigrant group⁽¹⁸⁾. This index was +0.756 for immigrants from Asia and Africa, and +0.361 for immigrants from Europe and America. If, from among the latter, we single out the aggregate of Western Jews, their index reached +0.142, i.e. it was much lower than the average.

Even among Western Jews, however, a wide range of behaviours was found with regard to occupational change connected with *aliya*. A maximum index of +0.880 was computed for Jews from Spain, followed by immigrants from Uruguay, Chile, and the smaller communities in Latin America (+0.760), Brazil (+0.588), Canada and Oceania (+0.539), Italy (+0.486), Argentina, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, Scandinavia (each above a value of +0.400). A few immigrant groups displayed substantial occupational stability in the comparison between their characteristics before *aliya* and in 1961: Germany (+0.007), South Africa (-0.011), Great Britain (-0.041). On the other hand, Jews from five countries showed a predominant pattern of further "tertiarization", through *aliya*, as indicated by the following values of the index of occupational change: Austria (-0.105), Belgium (-0.137), the Netherlands (-0.261), and especially Switzerland (-0.506), and the United States (-0.551). The index of occupational change is connected quite clearly with the index of dissimilarity (Δ in Table 8): the more members of an immigrant group shifted from their occupation abroad, the more were likely

(17) The very dissimilar occupational composition among white-collar immigrants from various countries is disregarded in this preliminary analysis. Moreover, occupational change occurring in Israel within the white-collar category should be investigated in detail.

(18) See note (b) to Table 8.

Table 8. Western Jews in Israel, by Country of Birth and Occupation Abroad and in Israel, 1961

Country of birth	Occupation					Synthetic indexes of occupational change	
	Total	White-collar abroad		Blue-collar abroad		Δ (a)	OC (b)
		White-c. in Israel	Blue-c. in Israel	White-c. in Israel	Blue-c. in Israel		
Total foreign-born Jews	100.0	29.6	24.7	6.5	39.2	0.183	+0.529
Asia-Africa	100.0	19.7	31.0	4.2	45.1	0.269	+0.756
Europe-America	100.0	35.1	21.2	7.8	35.9	0.151	+0.361
Total Western countries	100.0	46.0	21.7	7.8	24.5	0.138	+0.142
Western Europe	100.0	34.0	22.6	7.9	35.5	0.146	+0.373
Switzerland	100.0	60.6	9.1	12.1	18.2	0.121	-0.506
Scandinavia	100.0	32.0	24.0	8.0	36.0	0.160	+0.404
The Netherlands	100.0	55.1	11.0	9.6	24.3	0.080	-0.261
Belgium, Luxemburg	100.0	32.7	16.3	22.4	28.6	0.101	-0.137
France	100.0	35.7	27.7	5.9	30.7	0.219	+0.462
Italy	100.0	38.6	28.9	4.8	27.7	0.292	+0.486
Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar	100.0	4.3	31.4	3.6	60.7	0.279	+0.880
German speaking	100.0	49.5	20.9	9.0	20.6	0.128	-0.012
Germany	100.0	49.6	22.2	8.6	19.6	0.146	+0.007
Austria	100.0	49.1	16.2	10.6	24.0	0.070	-0.105
Balkan area	100.0	38.2	21.6	6.2	34.0	0.155	+0.402
Yugoslavia	100.0	51.1	22.6	3.4	22.9	0.192	+0.408
Greece	100.0	26.6	20.7	8.7	44.0	0.126	+0.452
Latin America	100.0	36.2	34.4	4.2	25.2	0.300	+0.546
Argentina	100.0	38.3	29.1	5.0	27.6	0.250	+0.477
Brazil	100.0	38.7	38.7	3.2	19.4	0.354	+0.588
Other countries	100.0	26.9	51.9	1.9	19.2	0.520	+0.760
English speaking	100.0	61.5	17.6	6.3	14.6	0.113	-0.149
Gr. Britain, Ireland	100.0	54.0	20.2	7.6	18.2	0.126	-0.041
United States	100.0	70.9	10.1	8.2	10.8	0.069	-0.551
Canada, Australia, New Zealand	100.0	54.2	18.7	2.1	25.0	0.187	+0.539
S. Africa, Rhodesia	100.0	64.4	22.9	3.4	9.3	0.195	-0.011

(a) Index of dissimilarity: $\Delta = \frac{1}{2} \sum |a_i - b_i|$, where:

a_i = occupational distribution abroad;

b_i = occupational distribution in Israel.

The index was computed according to four occupational groups: professional, managerial, clerical; trade, sales; agriculture; production and services.

(b) Index of occupational change: $OC = \frac{P - T}{P + T}$, where:

P = per cent shifting from white-collar abroad to blue-collar in Israel, out of total white-collar abroad;

T = per cent shifting from blue-collar abroad to white-collar in Israel, out of total blue-collar abroad.

to undergo "productivization".

If we compare the percentage of persons in white-collar occupations abroad and in Israel among the Jewish immigrants from each of the countries considered here, the following typology emerges:

(a) More than 50% in white-collar occupations abroad, more than 50% in Israel: South Africa, United States, British Isles, Yugoslavia, Canada and Australia, Switzerland, Germany, Netherlands, Austria;

(b) More than 50% abroad, less than 50% in Israel: Brazil, Argentina, Rest of Latin America, Italy, France, Scandinavia;

(c) Less than 50% abroad, more than 50% in Israel: Belgium;

(d) Less than 50% abroad, less than 50% in Israel: Greece, Spain.

From Figure 1 it is quite clear, that Jewish immigrants coming from the most developed countries, in which the social structure of Jewish communities is characterized by the highest percentages of persons in white-collar occupations, and especially of professionals, employers and managers - were generally the least prone to shift to manual occupations in Israel (19). Assuming full opportunity for all sectors of the Jewish immigrant population, the occupational mobility patterns presented here reveal very different degrees of adaptability between immigrant groups.

The wide spectrum of behaviours outlined here seems to depend on a combination of several factors, including:

(a) The intrinsic level of occupational qualifications and skills achieved abroad which may have differed considerably, notwithstanding apparent similarities according to standard occupational classifications;

(b) The higher or lower incidence of members of youth movements and other persons with a pioneer ideological outlook and a *kibbutz* orientation among immigrants from a given country;

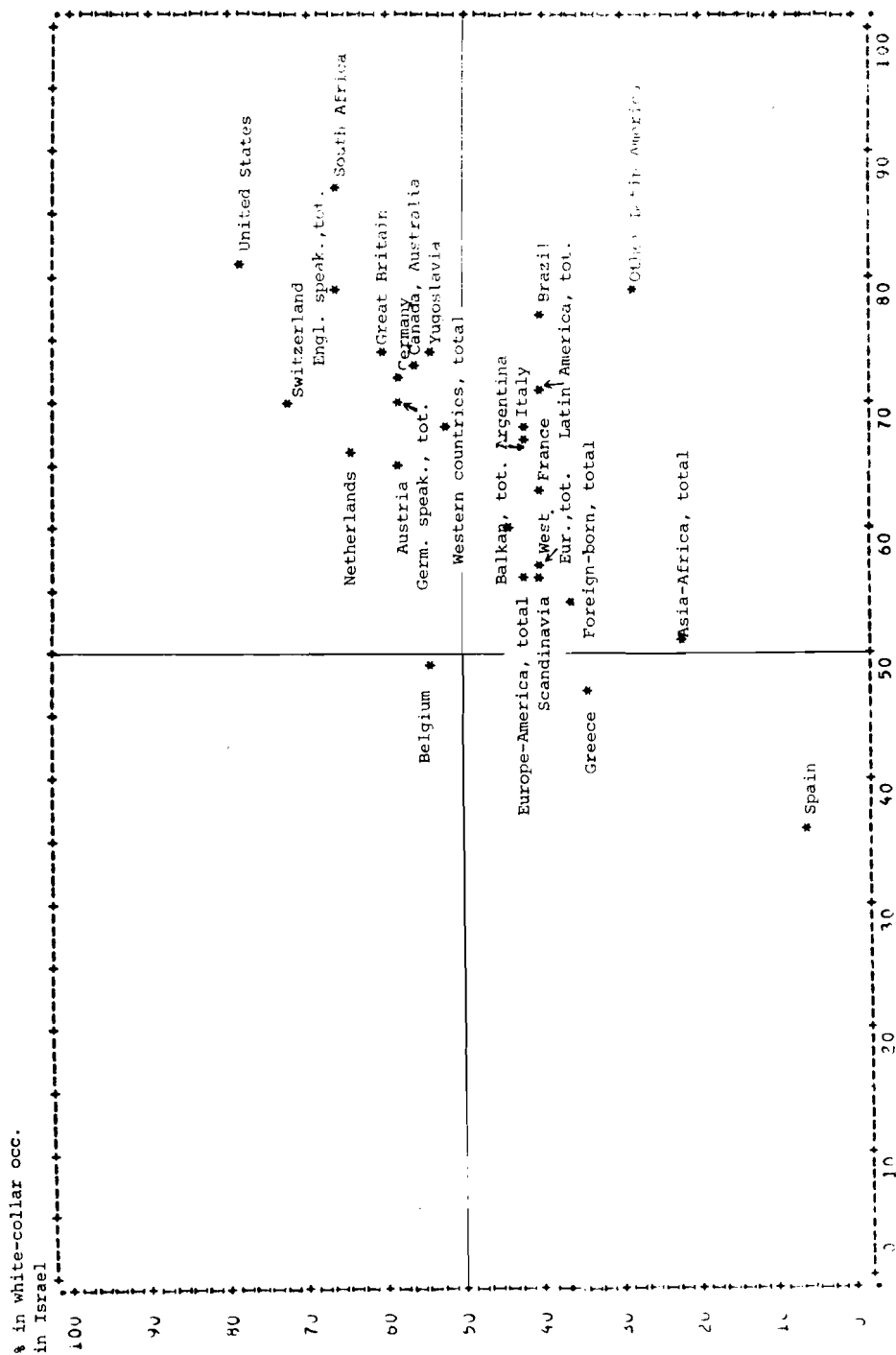
(c) The different prestige ascribed to members of different origin groups by the veteran, absorbing population, which may have contributed to push the ones to stick to their former white-collar occupations or acquire such in Israel and may have caused the others to remain in blue-collar occupations or shift to them in Israel. Such a "prestigious" image may have been extended to Western immigrants.

(d) The conflict between basic national goals in Israel, such as "ingathering of exiles" and developing a competitive economy oriented towards Western markets (20). Immigrants with a Western background, in-

(19) The relationship between the percentages of white-collars abroad and in Israel is expressed by the equation: $y = 0.8952x - 9.7360$.

(20) See also: Cohen, E. "Dispersion of the Population and the Integration of Immigrants as Contradicting Aims". In: *Mizug Galuyot (The Ingathering of Immigrants from Different Countries of Origin in Israel)*. Jerusalem, The Magnes Press. 1969. p. 143-157. (In Hebrew.)

Figure 1. Economically Active Jewish Population Born in Selected Countries, by Percentage in White-collar Occupations Abroad and in Israel, 1961



% in white-collar occ. abroad

cluding the knowledge of internationally important languages, may have experienced less pressures to adapt themselves culturally and occupationally to the evolving patterns of Israeli society than other immigrants.

Since 1961, this picture may have changed quite substantially as a consequence of the larger immigration from Western countries, already mentioned above, and of the considerable structural transformation of the Israeli economy, especially after the Six Day War. In particular, the recent availability of quite a large labour force from the administered territories has been among the factors associated with a steady "tertiarization" of the Jewish labour force in Israel. The percentage of Jewish white-collar workers increased from 41.3% in 1961 to 51.1% in 1975; among Jews born in Israel, the increase was from 49.3% to 59.4%; among those born in Asia and Africa, from 22.7% to 33.1%; and among those from Europe and America, from 48.7% to 57.7%.

In the absence of detailed data on occupational mobility among Western Jews in Israel since 1961, some indications can be gathered from the abovementioned survey of Italians (see Table 7). This is the only available source from which it is possible to follow retrospectively occupational change undergone in Israel by different immigrant cohorts, along with their increasing stay in the country. These data confirm the high degree of initial "productivization" of the two earlier immigrant waves from Italy, i.e. those who arrived up to 1944, and those who arrived between 1945 and 1951. However, by 1965 and even more so by 1975, both these groups of immigrants, but especially the former, had reversed to the predominantly white-collar occupational structure that characterized them in Italy. Of course, they also underwent aging in the meantime. Conversely, immigrants of the later two cohorts of 1951-1966 and 1967-1974 did not undergo such a sharp "productivization" process in connection with their migration to Israel, but they too were showing a growing proportion of white-collar workers with increasing stay in the country. Apart from some structural differences at origin between the four cohorts described here, two main trends can be detected among Italians in Israel:

(a) "Productivization" of the earlier immigrants was a temporary process though it was marked and lasted for a considerable number of years; many of those who had shifted to blue-collar occupations, including agriculture, had left them by the late 1960's (21);

(b) More recently, the limiting constraints which existed in the past for new immigrants wishing to enter the Israeli labour force have been greatly reduced, except for the small proportion of Jewish trade in Israel as compared with the diaspora. In fact not a few immigrants improved their social status through *aliya*.

It seems very likely that the behaviour of recent Italian immigrants reflects more general trends among Western immigrants in Israel.

(21) Earlier age of withdrawal from the labour force by manual workers should be duly taken into account. Moreover, in *kibbutzim* older people are sometimes deliberately shifted from manual to non-manual occupations.

Table 9. Western Jews in Israel, by Country of Birth and Social Class^(a), 1961

Country of birth	N ^(b)	Total	I	II	III	IV
Total foreign-born Jews ^(c)	126,626	100.0	4.7	34.6	19.1	41.6
Total Western countries	10,591	100.0	7.6	44.0	26.5	21.9
Western Europe	1,425	100.0	4.1	40.0	21.6	34.2
Switzerland	85	100.0	4.7	61.2	23.5	10.6
Scandinavia	64	100.0	3.1	45.3	14.1	37.5
The Netherlands	266	100.0	9.0	53.0	24.8	13.2
Belgium, Luxemburg	169	100.0	4.1	47.3	23.7	24.9
France	343	100.0	3.8	39.4	26.5	30.3
Italy	257	100.0	3.1	42.4	24.9	29.6
Spain, Portugal, Gibraltar	241	100.0	0.4	9.9	7.5	82.2
German speaking	5,701	100.0	10.1	46.9	26.1	16.9
Germany	4,401	100.0	9.7	46.8	27.6	15.9
Austria	1,300	100.0	11.1	47.3	21.1	20.5
Balkan area	1,808	100.0	5.7	34.6	24.1	35.6
Yugoslavia	821	100.0	5.0	44.5	23.1	27.4
Greece	987	100.0	6.3	26.3	24.9	42.5
Latin America	736	100.0	2.6	34.6	47.4	15.4
Argentina	436	100.0	2.7	36.5	52.1	11.5
Brazil	110	100.0	0.9	41.8	46.4	10.9
Other countries	190	100.0	3.2	26.3	43.7	26.8
English speaking	921	100.0	6.1	57.6	24.5	11.8
Great Britain, Ireland	315	100.0	5.1	56.5	24.4	14.0
United States	355	100.0	7.1	59.4	23.1	10.4
Canada, Australia, New Zealand	83	100.0	1.2	57.8	33.7	7.2
South Africa, Rhodesia	168	100.0	8.3	55.4	23.2	13.1

(a) I Employers, self-employed professionals and managers.

II Employees in professional, managerial and clerical occupations.

III Employees in trade, self-employed in agriculture, industry and services (including Kibbutz members).

IV Employees in agriculture, industry and services.

(b) Uninflated 20% sample size.

(c) Adapted from: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics. *Population and Housing Census 1961*. Vol. 24. *Labour Force: Part III. Additional Data from Stage B of the Census*. Jerusalem, 1965. Table 22.

c. Occupational Similarity

One of the crucial processes in the framework of demographic and social change in Israel is the emergence of greater similarity between population groups of different geographical and cultural backgrounds. Though the general unifying process is a prominent feature among Jews in the country, and indeed one of the leading ideological postulates within the Jewish society of Israel, in fact ethnic clustering and ecological segregation still persist⁽²²⁾. Moreover, while on a broad scale the integration between Jews from Asia and Africa, on the one hand, and from Europe and America, on the other, is quite evident, the detailed patterns of the process within each of the main groups are less known. We shall compare here occupational affinities which existed in 1961 among Western Jews in Israel.

A very simple classification into four social classes was established for each of the 18 Western countries or groups of countries studied here, by combining the detailed categories obtained from a cross-tabulation of occupation with occupational status (see Table 9):

- (I) Employers, self-employed professionals and managers (upper white-collar);
- (II) Employee professionals and managers, clerks, self-employed traders (middle and lower white-collar);
- (III) Employee traders, self-employed in agriculture, industry or services (mainly upper blue-collar);
- (IV) Employees in agriculture, industry and services (lower blue-collar).

On the whole, Western Jews are over-represented in the first three categories, and underrepresented in the fourth. There are huge social differentials between the countries considered: in class I the range is between 11.1% among Jews from Austria, and 0.4% among Jews from Spain; in class II, between 61.2% among Jews from Switzerland, and 9.9% among those from Spain; in class III, between 52.1% among Jews from Argentina, and 7.5% again among those from Spain; and in class IV, between 82.2% among Jews from Spain, and 10.4% among those from the United States. Such differentials partially correspond to different distributions of each origin group by locality of residence in Israel, i.e. occupational and ecological segregation are in part overlapping.

(22) See, Klaff, V. "The Impact of Ethnic Internal Migration Patterns on Population Distribution in Israel: Observed and Projected". In: *International Migration Review*. Vol. 11, no. 3, fall 1977. p. 300-325. See also: Schmelz, U.O. "Marriages Between Jews of Different Origin and Different Duration of Stay in Israel". In: *A Systematic Analysis of Absorption of Immigrants in Israel*. Project F VII under the supervision of R. Bachi, S.N. Eisenstadt and D. Patinkin. Report submitted to the Ford Foundation by the Israel Foundation Trustees, Jerusalem, 1974. Vol.2. p. 1342-1345.

Table 10. Western Jews in Israel, by Country of Birth and Degree of Social Class Similarity(a), 1961

Rank	Country (b)	Three most similar countries			Three most dissimilar countries		
		1st	2nd	3rd	15th	16th	17th
1	Switzerland	So.Afr. 1.000	U.S.A. 0.999	Netherl. 0.999	O.Lat.Am. 0.344	Greece 0.155	Spain -0.289
2	United States	Switzerl. 0.999	So.Afr. 0.999	Netherl. 0.998	O.Lat.Am. 0.312	Greece 0.117	Spain -0.320
3	South Africa (+ Rhodesia)	Swizerl. 1.000	U.S.A. 0.999	Netherl. 0.999	O.Lat.Am. 0.330	Greece 0.153	Spain -0.286
4	The Netherlands	Switzerl. 0.999	So.Afr. 0.999	U.S.A. 0.998	O.Lat.Am. 0.364	Greece 0.147	Spain -0.307
5	Great Britain (+ Ireland)	Switzerl. 0.997	Netherl. 0.997	So.Afr. 0.997	O.Lat.Am. 0.396	Greece 0.221	Spain -0.234
6	Canada, Australia (+ New Zealand)	Germany 0.991	Netherl. 0.973	Gr.Brit. 0.968	O.Lat.Am. 0.533	Greece 0.152	Spain -0.361
7	Austria	Gr.Brit. 0.985	So.Afr. 0.981	Switzerl. 0.980	O.Lat.Am. 0.323	Greece 0.305	Spain -0.103
8	Germany	Gr.Brit. 0.992	Netherl. 0.991	Can.,Aus. 0.991	O.Lat.Am. 0.484	Greece 0.214	Spain -0.276
9	Belgium (+ Luxemburg)	Yugosla. 0.995	Italy 0.975	Austria 0.962	Greece 0.533	O.Lat.Am. 0.522	Spain 0.096
10	Yugoslavia	Belgium 0.995	Italy 0.990	France 0.970	Argentina 0.531	O.Lat.Am. 0.531	Spain 0.197
11	Scandinavia	Yugosla. 0.922	Italy 0.921	France 0.901	Brazil 0.345	O.Lat.Am. 0.328	Argentina 0.192
12	Italy	France 0.995	Yugosla. 0.990	Belgium 0.975	O.Lat.Am. 0.620	Argentina 0.560	Spain 0.287
13	France	Italy 0.995	Yugosla. 0.970	Belgium 0.950	O.Lat.Am. 0.687	Argentina 0.590	Spain 0.334
14	Brazil	Argentina 0.980	Can.,Aus. 0.888	Germany 0.834	Scandina. 0.345	Greece 0.224	Spain -0.325
15	Argentina	Brazil 0.980	O.Lat.Am. 0.869	Can.,Aus. 0.781	Scandina. 0.192	Greece 0.192	Spain -0.334
16	Greece	Spain 0.847	France 0.755	Scandina. 0.749	Can.,Aus. 0.152	Netherl. 0.147	U.S.A. 0.117
17	Other Latin America	Argentina 0.869	Brazil 0.821	France 0.687	Austria 0.323	U.S.A. 0.312	Spain 0.153
18	Spain (+ Portugal, Gibraltar)	Greece 0.847	Scandina. 0.502	France 0.334	Brazil -0.325	Argentina -0.334	Can.,Aus. -0.361

(a) Pearson correlation coefficient.

(b) Ranked according to decreasing proportion in social classes I + II.

See table 9.

After computing Pearson's correlation by social class, for each pair of countries, Western Jews in Israel may be classified into five groups according to decreasing social standing (see Table 10):

- (a) United States, South Africa, Switzerland, the Netherlands;
- (b) Canada and Oceania, Great Britain, Germany, Austria;
- (c) Scandinavia, Belgium, France, Italy, Yugoslavia;
- (d) Argentina, Brazil, Other Latin America;
- (e) Greece, Spain.

Occupational similarity within each of these five groups is quite remarkable. Existing differentials within the group mainly reflect the social characteristics of Jews in the countries of origin, though, as mentioned above, occupational change has actually occurred in Israel, in greater or smaller measure, among each of the various origin groups.

Systematic and detailed analysis of the typology of similarities and dissimilarities between certain origin groups appears to be a necessary precondition towards possible uses of more complex statistical - mathematical models in the study of *aliya*. It may also assist in the planning of Israeli social services, *inter alia* in the long range policy of population dispersal and in the forecast of future labour force characteristics.