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JEWS ON THE MOVE: IMPLICATIONS FOR AMERICAN JEWRY AND FOR LOCAL COMMUNITIES

Sidney Goldstein

Introduction

THE high mobility levels of American Jews and their increasing dispersion throughout the United States present new challenges to the national Jewish community, as well as to local Jewish communities and to individual Jews. Internal migration has most likely become the major dynamic responsible for the growth or decline of many Jewish communities and for the redistribution of the American-Jewish population across the United States in a pattern quite different from that characterizing American Jewry earlier in the century. Indeed, internal migration and generational change probably constitute the two most important ongoing processes that help to explain many of the other demographic, social, and economic changes that affect the ties of the individual Jew to the larger Jewish community.

The high level of education of American Jews and the kinds of occupations which they are now able to enter often result in movement away from family and place of origin; this also often means movement out of centres of Jewish population concentration. Moreover, many high-level positions require repeated transfers, which may make it more difficult for individuals and families to plant deep roots in any single Jewish community. Such geographic mobility may weaken individual ties by reducing the opportunities to become fully integrated into a particular local community[1] and by increasing opportunities for greater interaction with non-Jews, with resulting higher rates of intermarriage and assimilation.

Steven Cohen[2] offers three possible reasons why the mobile segments of the population may be less affiliated than the stable elements. First, compared to non-movers, the migrants may have been less affiliated in their communities of origin. Second, the act of movement itself may be disruptive of formal and informal ties to family, friends, and local

institutions while the process of reconstitution of such links, if it occurs at all, may take years. Third, the new area of residence may have a 'contextual impact' (a process demographers refer to as adaptation). Contextual factors affecting affiliation, according to Cohen, include the socio-economic composition of the area's population; the maturity of the area's institutions; the density of Jewish population; and the proximity to major Jewish communities and central institutions. Some, like Goldscheider, have argued that weakened ties to the formal Jewish community are replaced by other sources of ethnic and identificational cohesion.[3] Movement into areas of lower density may therefore reflect constraints of economic factors and housing markets but not necessarily a desire to assimilate.

On a more positive note, migration may help to renew the vitality of smaller communities or of formerly declining ones, by contributing to the greater density needed to develop basic Jewish institutions or to maintain existing ones. It may also do so, as Lebowitz has suggested, by bridging the traditional age and affiliation cleavages, thereby providing the 'social cement' needed to hold the community together.[4]

Concurrently, mobility may contribute to the development of a national Jewish society, characterized both by greater population dispersion and by greater population exchange among various localities.[5] Both processes require more effective networking among locations in order to ensure continuing opportunities and stimuli for mobile individuals to maintain their Jewish identity and their ties to the Jewish community, regardless of where they live or how often they move from place to place. Greater dispersion, especially to smaller communities and to more isolated ones, also requires development of means to ensure that such communities are better able through their own facilities or through links to other, larger communities to service the individual social, psychological, economic, health, and religious needs of both their migrant and non-migrant populations.

Data Sources: National and Local

To assess fully the extent of migration and its effect on the American-Jewish community requires national data with information covering both in- and out-migration involving different types of communities. Reliance on individual community surveys provides a one-sided picture; they usually encompass only those living in the community at the time of the survey and therefore provide no information on who and how many have left, where they have gone, or whether they are likely to return. Some insights on out-migration can be gained by asking respondents in a local survey about individual members of the household who have moved away, but this provides only partial coverage of total out-migration since entire households

that have moved are not encompassed by the survey. These limitations of local surveys constitute one of the important arguments in favour of launching a national survey of the Jewish population which, especially when complemented by community surveys, will provide insights on both the national patterns and the ways in which these vary by community type.

Recognizing the need for a national overview, the Council of Jewish Federations undertook in 1970–71 the National Jewish Population Study (NJPS). This was an ambitious, important attempt to conduct a nationwide survey that would be fully representative of the United States Jewish population, including marginal and unaffiliated Jews as well as those closely identified with the organized Jewish community. The wide range of topics encompassed in that survey of over 7,000 households included questions on mobility. These data, together with background information on household members, provided the basis for evaluating the patterns of population movement and redistribution among American Jews in 1970–71.[6]

The high rates of mobility shown by the NJPS data on lifetime and recent migration as well as local residential mobility strongly supported the thesis that Jews were participating in the major currents of population redistribution characterizing Americans as a whole. Observed patterns of redistribution pointed to fewer Jews in the North-East and North-Central regions and more in the South and West; wider dispersion throughout metropolitan areas, associated with substantial decreases in the concentrations in central cities; and greater movement to non-metropolitan areas, to smaller urban places, and to rural locations.

That the trends suggested by these data were likely to be accentuated in ensuing decades was indicated by the socio-economic differentials observed: a) education tended to be positively correlated with rate of migration and with distance of move and b) white-collar employment was positively associated with levels and distance of mobility. Rising age at marriage, a decline in the propensity to marry, increases in marital disruption, and continuing low fertility were also seen as conducive to higher levels of mobility and long-distance mobility in the years ahead.

Overall, the patterns observed in the analysis of the NJPS statistics suggested that Jewish population movement had to be considered a key variable in any assessment of the dynamics of demographic change in the American-Jewish community. Changes of residence had clear, significant implications for the communities of origin and destination as well as for the migrating individual and family. Moreover, as population movement comes to extend over a growing web of metropolitan areas, states, and regions, such movements acquire much broader significance at the national level.

Unfortunately, no national study of the Jewish population has taken place since 1970–71. One is planned for 1990 and migration will be one of its important components. Until then, the absence of new national statistics forces us to rely on the insights provided by community surveys. Since 1980, at least 45 such studies have been initiated.[7] As a result, about three-quarters of the total American-Jewish population has been surveyed. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the dynamics of population change and particularly migration is incomplete for several reasons.

Attention given to migration in local surveys is often minimal and sometimes non-existent. We have not yet fully developed or adopted standardized procedures for asking questions and for tabulating and analysing the survey data. Lack of standardization extends particularly to the types of questions asked about population movement and the ways in which the data collected on movement have been tabulated and analysed. This makes it particularly difficult to utilize in a comparative analysis the information on mobility from the various surveys conducted in recent years. The sampling designs used vary considerably. In many communities, reliance on Federation lists for sampling means that the coverage may be biased in favour of those migrants who are more strongly and/or more easily identified as Jews, more involved in the community, and less likely to be repeat migrants.[8] Moreover, because larger communities are more likely to undertake population surveys, gaps still exist in our knowledge of the situation in medium- and small-sized communities and of the effect of regional location.[9]

For these reasons, an in-depth analysis of the data from a particular community rather than a superficial comparative assessment of data sets from various communities seems the best approach for gaining insight into the levels and patterns of movement characterizing American Jewry in the 1980s. The 1987 survey of the Jewish population of Rhode Island provides such an opportunity.[10] It encompassed both affiliated and unaffiliated Jews and included a considerable range of questions on the geographic mobility of members of the households surveyed and of former household members who had moved away. In addition, information was obtained on key socio-demographic background characteristics and on indicators of integration into the Jewish community. Together, these data form the basis of the analysis which follows.

The first comprehensive assessment of the Rhode Island Jewish community was completed in 1963.[11] That survey encompassed the Greater Providence area and was based on a sample drawn from updated lists of the Jewish households maintained by the local Federation. Recognizing the inadequacy of the 1963 data for planning for the 1990s, the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island undertook a second survey of the State's Jewish population in 1987.[12] That survey

emcompassed the entire State of Rhode Island and was based on a combination of two sampling procedures. Approximately three-quarters of the households were selected through a random sample chosen from the lists of the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island, which, after updating, contained approximately 6,600 households. The balance came from a sample, generated by random digit dialing (RDD), of all households with telephones in Rhode Island. Since fewer than two per cent of the household units in Rhode Island were estimated to be Jewish, 18,000 households had to be contacted in order to identify the several hundred containing Jewish members and to supplement the sample from the Federation list. The RDD sample thus served to ensure coverage of Jewish households not on the Federation roster.

In each household, one person who was aged 21 or older (or aged 18 to 20 if no one who was aged 21 or over was a member of the household) was randomly selected to be the respondent. Each respondent was asked questions about all members of the household and other questions, including attitudinal ones, that related only to the respondent himself/herself. A total of 1,455 households were contacted for interviews. From among these, interviews were obtained with 1,129, yielding a response rate of 78 per cent. These data were weighted to approximate the total Jewish population of Rhode Island. The weighted data will be used in this analysis and all numbers cited in the following discussion will be the weighted statistics, covering 7,224 households encompassing 17,024 persons.

The 1987 survey obtained standard information on country and state of birth as well as residence in 1982, five years before the survey. In addition, several questions were asked about all household members 18 years of age and over with respect to year of most recent move to Rhode Island, the state or country of origin for those who were migrants, year of move to present city or town and the place of origin of that move, and year and origin of move to current residence. For respondents only, information was collected on whether or not a move was planned within the next three years, and, if so, to what destination. Supplementary information was also collected on residences and on migration from Rhode Island of the parents of the respondent and of the children of the respondent and his/her spouse, and whether those who were living out of the State planned to move back to Rhode Island at some future date.

Beyond these questions directed specifically at migration, a host of additional questions obtained information on background characteristics, on religious behaviour and attitudes, and on social and economic involvement in the life of the community. The analysis which follows will be restricted to an assessment of migration into the State of Rhode Island, the smallest state in the Union, covering only about 1,200 square miles. Because of its small size, the State's Jewish population is

organized as a single community under the Jewish Federation of Rhode Island. This paper begins with an overall description of the migration patterns of the population, set against some background information on migration to Rhode Island generally. Following this, attention will focus on how the migrants to the State, classified by duration of residence, differ from non-migrants with respect to socio-economic characteristics. Finally, migrants and non-migrants will be compared on selected behavioural indicators designed to measure integration into the religious and social life of the community.

Migration Patterns: Volume and Direction

The size of Rhode Island's Jewish population, like that of the State's general population, has changed as a combined result of the differences between the number of births and deaths and the balance of in-migrants compared to out-migrants. Between 1970 and 1987, the State as a whole experienced population losses through migration.[13] While the pattern of gain or loss has varied from year to year over this period, it has been estimated that the number of out-migrants from the State exceeded the number of in-migrants by 38,000 persons. Had it not been for the excess of births over deaths in this interval, Rhode Island's 1987 estimated population of 986,000 would have been considerably smaller. In fact, between 1970 and 1980, a small decline (2,600 persons) did occur because natural increase was not sufficiently large to offset the population loss resulting from net out-migration.[14] Recent estimates suggest that, reflecting improved economic conditions, population growth has resumed since 1980, with small gains from migration supplementing the additions from natural increase.

For Providence, where many of Rhode Island Jews have lived, the exodus among the total population has been so heavy over the last several decades that natural increase could only partly compensate for migration losses. The city's population declined from a high of 253,504 in 1940 to 207,498 in 1960 and to 156,804 in 1980; only in 1987, when the population was estimated at 158,700, was there an indication that this long-term decline might have halted. Much of Providence's loss resulted in gains for suburban communities, but beginning in the 1970s, the inner suburbs grew more slowly because of lower rates of migration from Providence and from outside the State.

There is every reason to believe that the migration trend of Rhode Island Jews has paralleled that of the State's total population. The great value that Jews place on higher education has meant that a high percentage of them, as a result of their education, entered the professions. Many young people leave the State to go to college elsewhere in the United States, and a substantial proportion do not return because of the limited employment opportunities in Rhode

Island. The attractiveness of Rhode Island to potential in-migrants may be changing, however, as a result of improved economic conditions in the 1980s. In the 1960s and 1970s, the poorer economic situation probably attracted fewer Jews, just as fewer persons in general moved into the State.

The overall level of out-migration may be intensified by the tendency of older persons to move to warmer climates upon retirement. Together with the low birth rate and high death rate (reflecting a high proportion of aged persons) which characterize Rhode Island Jewry, the substantial out-migration of Jews helps to explain the total decline in the size of the Jewish population over the past quarter century from 20,000 in 1963 to 17,000 in 1987.[15]

To the extent that the 1987 survey focused heavily on the population living in the State at the time of the survey, it is not possible to evaluate fully the net impact of out-migration on Rhode Island's Jewish population. Of necessity, therefore, the analysis must be restricted largely to the migration patterns of those resident in the State in 1987. These data can, however, be augmented by the limited insights into out-migration provided by the information collected about children and parents not living in the respondent's household.

State of Birth

Over the years, Rhode Island's Jewish population has grown not only through the immigration of persons from overseas (eight per cent of Rhode Island's Jews were foreign-born in 1987) but also by the movement to the State of American-born Jews from other parts of the country. Of the native-born Jews living in Rhode Island in 1987, 45 per cent were born in other parts of the United States compared to only 25 per cent of the total American-born population living in Rhode Island in 1980. This large difference represents a substantial change from 1963 when Jews resembled the general American-born persons in Rhode Island, with about one fourth having been born outside the State.

A considerable increase has thus occurred since 1963 in the proportion of Rhode Island's Jewish residents who migrated to Rhode Island from outside the State, even while no change took place in the level of such in-migration for the non-Jewish population. In part, this shifting pattern may stem from the out-migration of a considerable number of Jews born in Rhode Island, thereby resulting in a lower percentage of natives and a higher percentage of in-migrants among those living in the State in 1987. It is likely, however, that Jews have, in fact, recently experienced a higher in-migration rate than the general population, reflecting differentials in the particular types of economic opportunities available. The increase of about 20 points in the percentage of American-born Jews in Rhode Island who were not

natives of the State has significant implications for Rhode Island Jewry, if the degree of identification with the community and involvement in its activities varies between those born in Rhode Island and those moving into the State.

Most of those American-born who had moved to Rhode Island by 1987 came from nearby states, although the distance of move has clearly increased during the last quarter century. The 17 per cent born in other New England states is similar to the 1963 level of 14 per cent. But relatively more of the 1987 residents came from New York and the other Middle Atlantic states than did so in 1963 (19 per cent compared to only 11 per cent). All the other states contributed only eight per cent to Rhode Island's American-born Jewish population, but even this was twice as high as in 1963. The rise in out-of-staters characterized all age groups under 65 years, as did the upsurge in those coming from areas further removed from Rhode Island. The higher mobility and the wider geographic range of state-of-origin is consistent with the greater population movement that seems to have become a feature of the American-Jewish community and which has led to an increasing redistribution of the population across the country.[16]

Recent Migration and Duration of Residence

A major concern with the impact of migration on the community and on individual identification is the extent to which migrants integrate into the community in which they are settling, in this case Rhode Island Jewry. Duration of residence has been suggested as an important variable affecting such integration.[17] To assess the impact of duration of residence, a finer subdivision of the migrant population is therefore desirable. For such purposes, a distinction is drawn between those who moved into the State during the five years (1983–87) preceding the survey (recent migrants), those who did so five to ten years (1978–82) before the survey (intermediate migrants), and finally those who had lived in the State for longer than ten years, subdivided into those who had arrived before 1978 (long-term migrants) and those who had always lived in Rhode Island (non-migrants). In the analysis which follows, attention is given to the characteristics of these various migrant groups. Thereafter, the paper assesses their integration into the community as judged by membership of Jewish organizations and of synagogues and temples. The data in all instances refer to the adult population, 18 years of age and over, and in the case of membership are restricted to those adults who were respondents in the survey.

The majority (65 per cent) of the adult population are migrants to Rhode Island;[18] only about a third of the total were born in the State and have always lived there, so that a minority of the current adult Jewish population have lifetime roots in the area. Since virtually half of

the adult population moved to the State before 1978, however, approximately 85 per cent of all Jewish adults either always lived in the State or did so for more than ten years. The data indicate minimal differences between men and women, although somewhat more men than women have always lived in Rhode Island. This may reflect the greater tendency of women who marry to join their husbands. Of the total adult population, seven per cent were recent migrants, having moved to Rhode Island within five years of the survey, while another eight per cent did so between five and ten years earlier.

The percentage of migrants in the population varied by age group, being closely associated with labour market conditions and stages of the life-cycle. The percentages are higher for younger persons and lowest for those 65 and over, especially males. In the oldest age group, almost half of the men but only 35 per cent of the women had always lived in Rhode Island, and by far the greatest number of migrants had arrived before 1978. Very few (five per cent) were either recent in-migrants or had moved in during 1978–82. By contrast, almost 70 per cent of those under the age of 45 were in-migrants to Rhode Island and 15 per cent were recent migrants; an additional 15 per cent were intermediate migrants. These percentages are similar for men and women. The 45–64 age group closely resembles the younger group in the percentage who had always lived in Rhode Island but has a considerably lower proportion of recent and intermediate migrants to the State. In fact, this age group has the highest percentage of persons who were long-term migrants. The proportion of recent and intermediate migrants is thus inversely related to age, understandably so since older persons have had a longer opportunity to prolong their residence in the State.

Out-migration

As stressed earlier, growth and redistribution are concurrently affected by movement of Jews away from Rhode Island. Information on the children of adult respondents who were living away from their parental home indicates that about six out of ten were living outside the State; a great majority (about 90 per cent) of these had at one time lived in Rhode Island. The available data on age at out-migration indicate that such movement is closely correlated with those points in the life-cycle — obtaining higher education, entering the labour force, and marrying — which usually occur between the ages of 18 and 34. That such out-migration is likely to be permanent is strongly suggested by the fact that 90 per cent of all children living outside the State, including 70 per cent of those under the age of 25, were not expected to return to Rhode Island. These losses through out-migration are compensated for to some degree by in-migrants, but to the extent that

opportunities are greater elsewhere, the net impact on the State's Jewish community has probably been negative.

Similarly, considerable out-migration has occurred among older persons. The number of older persons enumerated in 1987 was substantially below that projected for 1987 on the basis of the 1963 survey results, taking estimated mortality into account.[19] The differential indicates that many persons who would have been 65 and over in 1987 had left the State by then. This conclusion is confirmed by data on residence and out-migration of living parents of the adult respondents. Just over half (51 per cent) were living outside Rhode Island at the time of the survey. Of these, almost one fifth had formerly lived in the State; this percentage reached one fourth for those aged 65–74 — the recently retired cohort. Few of the elderly out-migrants were expected to return.

Future Mobility

The important role of out-migration in affecting the Jewish community is further evidenced by answers to a question on expected mobility in the three years following the survey. One fourth of all respondents reported that it was very likely or somewhat likely that they would move in the near future, and this percentage was especially high for those under the age of 45, for whom it reached 42 per cent. The indicated destination for those who reported a move to be very or somewhat likely confirms earlier observations about out-migration from Rhode Island. Almost one third expected to move to another state, again suggesting a relatively high rate of population turnover. In the oldest age group, 37 per cent of those who expected to move mentioned an out-of-state destination while as many as 31 per cent of those under the age of 45 did so.

Cross-tabulation of previous migration experience with mobility intentions allows evaluation of whether duration of residence affects prospective mobility. Indirectly, such an assessment allows testing the thesis that recent migrants are more likely than long-term residents to make repeat moves. Moreover, it is hypothesized that the greater the probability that a repeat move (out-migration) will be made, the less integrated into the community the individual is likely to be. At this point, only the first hypothesis is tested. Indirect evidence for the latter will be assessed later through analysis of synagogue/temple membership patterns of migrants by duration of residence and plans to move.

The data strongly support the first thesis. For adults who had always lived in Rhode Island, only seven per cent expected to move out of the State in the three years following the survey. Only four per cent of those who had moved in before 1978 and had lived there ever since expected to leave Rhode Island. By contrast, this proportion rises to 15 per cent of those who had moved in between 1978 and 1982 and to a high of 35

per cent of the recent in-migrants (1983–87). Approximately the same pattern of differentials by earlier migration experience characterized those who said they planned to move but did not know the specific destination.

The tendency of recent in-migrants to expect to move out of the State is especially marked among those under the age of 45. None of the recent movers among those aged 45 and over, and well under ten per cent of those under the age of 45 who had lived in Rhode Island since before 1978, expected to leave the State before 1990; in contrast, about four out of every ten recent migrants (42 per cent) in the under-45 age group expected to move to another State by the end of the decade; an additional nine per cent expected to move, but were not sure of their destination. Clearly, the possibility of repeat migration over relatively short intervals is a major feature of the life style of a considerable portion of families and individuals in those stages of the life-cycle associated with family formation, completion of higher education, and establishment of careers.

The fact that more than one third (35 per cent) of all recent migrants and 42 per cent of those under the age of 45 expected an out-of-state move within one to eight years of having settled in Rhode Island lends strong weight to the conclusion that recent migrants have unstable residence patterns. The lower percentage anticipating future moves among those who had come from other states during 1978–82 (15 per cent) and the even lower one (four per cent) among the long-term migrants suggest that many of those who had come to Rhode Island during these earlier periods had already moved away. Given these differentials, recent migration seems likely to be associated with lower levels of community integration — both because of the more limited length of settlement in the community and because of the greater expectation on the part of recent migrants that an early move out of the State will occur.

Socio-economic and Denominational Differentials

Occupation

How do the recent migrants differ from the intermediate and long-term migrants and from the natives with respect to socio-economic characteristics? Attention turns first to occupational composition. With some exceptions for specific age groups, recent male migrants consist disproportionately of professionals, in contrast to earlier migrant groups and to those who have always lived in Rhode Island. Among all adult men, over half (55 per cent) of those moving into the State in 1983–87 were professionals; this percentage declines consistently and sharply to only 25 per cent of those who have always lived in the State. The proportion who occupy managerial positions

varies minimally by migration status for all age groups combined, only between 16 and 18 per cent. By contrast, only 26 per cent of the recent migrants to Rhode Island were engaged in clerical and sales work compared to 42 per cent of those who had always lived there. Blue-collar male workers are characterized by a less regular pattern of difference in relation to migration status. It is worth noting that under three per cent of the recent migrants are blue-collar workers, while 15 per cent of those who had always lived in Rhode Island are in that category.

For men, recent migration is thus characterized by a high proportion of professionals. Compared to other duration categories, fewer of the recent migrants were in the lower white-collar and blue-collar occupations. This strongly suggests that the growing professional character of the Jewish male labour force in Rhode Island is disproportionately a function of the attraction to the State of migrants from elsewhere rather than being attributable solely to the professionalization of the native-born population. If anything, the native-born males are disproportionately concentrated in the lower white-collar and the blue-collar occupations.

Occupational patterns for females are not as clear as those characterizing males. For adult women as a whole, the percentage of professionals is highest (50 per cent) for the intermediate category of migrants and declines with longer duration of residence in the State to a low of 24 per cent among natives. The percentage of professionals among recent migrants (42 per cent) is also above that of long-term migrants and especially the natives, but below that of intermediate movers. Large variation characterizes the three age groups. Whereas in the youngest and in the oldest cohorts, those who came to Rhode Island between 1978 and 1982 have the highest proportion of professionals, among women aged 45–64 the recent migrants have the highest concentration of professionals. The recent migrants also have the highest percentage of managers, while those who migrated before 1978 and those who had always lived in the State have the highest percentage of clerical/sales workers. These greater variations for women may reflect the fact that many have moved to Rhode Island either to marry or in conjunction with the migration of their husbands; in such cases, the move was more closely related to the employment opportunities for the husband than for the wife.

Education

The high level of education characterizing the Jewish population is evidenced by the fact that 77 per cent of all adult Jews in Rhode Island had completed at least a college education, and more than half of these had pursued some graduate studies. Migration status is clearly related

to education. Of the recent migrants, 82 per cent had completed a college education, and 54 per cent had pursued some graduate studies. These percentages declined with longer duration in the State; among those who had always lived in Rhode Island, just under half (48 per cent) had completed a college education and only 24 per cent had pursued graduate studies. Quite consistently, males in every migration status group had more education than females. But for both men and women, those who had most recently moved into the State had the highest percentage with completed college education and with some graduate studies while those who had always lived in Rhode Island were characterized by the lowest levels. The high educational achievements of the recent migrants to the State contribute to the unusually high educational level of the Rhode Island Jewish population as a whole. Together with the differentials in occupation, these differentials by education strongly support the thesis that higher socio-economic achievement is associated with considerably higher mobility rates among Jews.

Denominational Identification

In-migration can be selective not only with respect to traditional demographic variables, such as age, gender, occupation, and education; it may also be selective on variables related more directly to the specific socio-religious structure of the community. For American Jewry, such features include denomination, religious practice, and levels of Jewish education. Within the limits of this paper, it is not possible to evaluate the relation between migration status and all of these relevant and potentially important characteristics. Attention will be restricted to denomination.

In the adult population as a whole, slightly less than half (47 per cent) identify themselves as Conservative Jews, about one third (32 per cent) as Reform, and seven per cent as Orthodox. The balance, 14 per cent, reported themselves as either 'just Jewish', Reconstructionist, Secular, or Traditional, and a very small number (two per cent) as Christian, of some other religion, or of no religion.[20]

That migration status is related to denomination is suggested by the data. Interestingly, those who have always lived in Rhode Island have the lowest percentage of Orthodox and the highest percentage of Conservatives, as well as the lowest proportion who do not identify themselves with any of the three major denominations. The Reform show the least variation among the various migration-status groups but within this narrow range the native-born have the highest percentage. In contrast to those who came to Rhode Island before 1978 or who were natives of the State, more of the migrants who had come since 1978 were Orthodox and Other Jewish and fewer were Reform and

Conservative. Overall, therefore, these data suggest that duration of residence is negatively correlated with being Orthodox, positively correlated with being Conservative and to a lesser extent with being Reform, and again negatively related with being non-denominational.

The higher proportion of Orthodox is particularly noteworthy among migrants under the age of 45 who moved into the State since 1978. They account for just over ten per cent of the recent and intermediate migrants, which is well above the five to seven per cent characterizing the long-term migrants and the natives in the same age cohort. Recent migration has therefore served to invigorate the Orthodox Jewish sub-community within Rhode Island, especially its younger segments.[21]

Community Involvement

The high percentage of migrants among Rhode Island Jews and their distinctive characteristics make it particularly important to ascertain the extent to which they participate in the organized life of the community. Unfortunately, the omnibus character of the survey did not allow in-depth assessment of organization memberships. The questions were necessarily restricted to whether the respondent was a member of any Jewish or non-Jewish organization, agency, or club for social, cultural, political, or recreational activities. If so, the specific number of Jewish and non-Jewish organizations was ascertained. A separate question asked whether the respondent or any member of the household was currently a member of a synagogue or temple or was engaged in any organized religious activity.

For the purpose of measuring integration into the local community, information on synagogue and temple memberships is more useful than that on organization memberships. Affiliation with religious institutions tends to be at the local level, reflecting the motives for membership — attendance at religious services, education of children, participation in auxiliary groups such as men's and women's clubs, and identification with the Jewish community. By contrast, participation in Jewish and non-Jewish organizational life is not necessarily tied to the local area. Many persons may belong to national organizations largely through 'paper membership' rather than active participation. To the extent that such membership is national or regional rather than local, it may not be affected by movement from one community to another.[22] For example, a person who belongs to Hadassah (Women's International Zionist Organization) or to Rotary International in one locality probably continues membership even after moving, regardless of whether she or he is immediately active in the local chapter in the new community of residence. This may be even more true of membership in such national organizations as the American Jewish

Committee or conservation groups like the Sierra Club, which do not have local branches in a number of smaller communities. Unless local organizations can be distinguished from national ones, a full assessment of the impact of migration on organization membership is not feasible. Information obtained on names of Jewish organizations is not adequate without assessment of the existence and vitality of local affiliates.

In the analysis which follows and within the limitations noted above, attention will be given first to membership of Jewish organizations; this will be followed by a somewhat fuller evaluation of membership of synagogues and temples.

Membership of Jewish Organizations

The average number of Jewish organizations to which all adult Jewish men belong is lowest (0.7 organizations per person) for those migrants who moved to the State since 1978 and highest (1.3 average) for those who have always lived in the State. These averages are consistent with the hypothesis that migration interferes with participation in the organized life of the community. However, without controls for age or other key variables, the conclusion that migrant men have levels of participation lower than those of Rhode Island natives is not fully warranted.

Overall, adult Jewish women have much higher levels of participation in Jewish organizations than do men, 1.7 per woman compared to an average of 1.0 for men. For women the lowest level of participation characterizes the most recent migrants, only 0.6 organizations per woman; but for those migrants with longer duration of residence and for those who have always lived in Rhode Island the relation between level of participation and duration of residence in the State is not as clear as for men. None the less, for women who have lived in Rhode Island for at least five years, the average level of participation is well above that of the most recent migrants.

The data by age are less patterned. The youngest group of men shows minimal variation in level of participation by migrant status, varying only between an average of 0.5 and 0.8 organizations and not being consistently related to duration of residence. For the youngest group of women, the average for the most recent migrants, 0.6, is not very different from the 0.8 average characterizing those who had always lived in Rhode Island, but both groups are well below the averages for the intermediary-length migrants (1.4) and for the long-term migrants (1.3). For the middle-aged groups, the recent migrants display the highest average level of participation among men, but the women in this migration-status group have the lowest average (0.6) of all women. In the oldest group, duration of residence tends to

be positively associated with level of organization membership for both men and women.

At this simple level of analysis, the evidence with respect to the relation between migration status and organization membership is therefore mixed, although it points to lower levels of membership on the part of more recent migrants. Multivariate analysis may indicate more clearly whether a relation exists after controls are introduced for key variables which might affect organizational participation. Such evaluation is undertaken through use of multiple classification analysis (Table 1). Education — as an indicator of socio-economic status — and age are controlled as background variables; migration status is introduced as a covariate factor. The analysis is performed separately for men and women because of the differing interaction effects for migration status with gender.

TABLE 1. *Average Number of Memberships of Jewish Organizations, by Migration Status and Sex (MCA Analysis Controlling for Age and Education)*

Migration Status	Males	Females
1983–87	1.06	0.98
1978–82	0.90	1.73
Before 1978	0.86	1.88
Always in RI	1.16	1.52
Unadjusted Total	0.99	1.69

Without any adjustment for background characteristics, men on average belonged to 1.0 Jewish organizations and women to 1.7. This differential does not characterize every migration status group; the impact of duration of residence is quite different for men and women. Recent male migrants, with an average of 1.1 memberships, are surpassed only by the natives of the State (1.2) in average number of affiliations. The two other migrant groups have lower averages (0.9). Although the data presented here cannot provide definitive explanations for this somewhat unexpected pattern, several factors may account for it. Since a substantial proportion of recent male migrants (55 per cent) are professionals, their career networks, their previous affiliations with nation-wide organizations, and their personal life styles may all enhance their likelihood of joining several Jewish organizations. They may also be more visible to the organized community than men with different types of occupations and therefore more easily targeted for recruitment.

The relation between migration status and number of Jewish organizations for women is in the expected direction. Average number of memberships rises with duration of residence, from 1.0 for recent female migrants to 1.9 for long-term migrants. Women who have

always lived in Rhode Island have a somewhat lower average (1.5) but it is still substantially above that of recent migrants. Despite these varying patterns by sex, the data indicate that the average number of memberships of recent migrants is lower than that of men and women who have always lived in the State. Again it is important to recognize that the inability to distinguish between memberships of local and of national organizations makes it impossible to clearly assess the impact of migration on integration into the local community. For such an analysis, a more refined data set needs to be collected and evaluated.

Since, as earlier analysis has shown, recent migrants are also more likely than longer-term migrants to move again, the affiliation pattern observed suggests that those individuals who migrate with some repetition during the course of the life-cycle are less likely to assume as active a role in the organized life of the community as those who develop more stable patterns of residence. This likelihood will be explored with the data on synagogue/temple membership.

Synagogue/Temple Membership

Fuller insights into the impact of migration on local membership may be provided by the survey information on affiliation with temples and synagogues. As noted earlier, to the extent that such membership is undertaken in order to participate in religious and educational activities, it is tied much more to the local scene than is membership of a social, cultural, or other type of organization. Synagogue/temple membership may, therefore, serve as a better indicator of the relation between migration status and integration into the local community. To the extent that such membership in itself reflects identification with Judaism and involves financial costs through membership dues and, often, building pledges, it also serves to index an individual's or family's commitment to integrating into the religious life of the community. If it is true that ties of migrants to Judaism may be weaker, that recency of settlement in the area deters membership, and the expected out-migration argues against large financial 'investments' in local institutions, it can be hypothesized that synagogue/temple membership of migrants, and especially of recent migrants, will be lower than that of natives.

For the population as a whole, 70 per cent of the respondents belonged to households which were affiliated with a synagogue, temple, or some other form of organized religious group. Such a high level of participation did not, however, characterize all migration-status groups. The highest level was reported by those who had always lived in Rhode Island, among whom 75 per cent were temple/synagogue members. By contrast, only 46 per cent of the most recent in-migrants held such membership. This percentage rose consistently with

duration of residence, reaching 71 per cent for those who had arrived before 1978. This clear and sharp pattern of differentials between recent migrants and longer-term migrants and between migrants and non-migrants strongly suggests that migration has a very significant impact on membership in the organized religious life of the community.

Within each group, membership also varied according to migration status. For example, among respondents under the age of 45, eight per cent of those who had always lived in Rhode Island were temple/synagogue members as were 66 per cent of those who had moved into the State before 1978. However, only 45 per cent of those migrating to the State recently, and 58 per cent of those who moved in between 1978 and 1982 reported such memberships. The membership level is higher for each migration-status group among those between the ages of 45 and 64, but the pattern of differentials among migration groups persists, varying between a high of three-quarters of the natives and of those who had migrated to the State before 1978 to only half of the recent migrants. This direct relation persists even for the aged.

Membership in a synagogue/temple may also be related to the family life-cycle, associated with the presence of children whom parents wish to enrol in a Jewish educational programme. Such a relation is confirmed by the lower levels of synagogue/temple membership characteristic of both young households and those with fewer children of school age (six to 17). Only 47 per cent of respondents under the age of 35 reported affiliation with a synagogue/temple. Such a low level of affiliation in part reflects the small proportion (13 per cent) of households with respondents in this age group which include children between the ages of six and 17 years. For those aged 35–44 (59 per cent of whose households included children of school age), the level of synagogue membership rose to 71 per cent. In older age groups, despite fewer school-age children, membership persisted at a level above 73 per cent, suggesting that no substantial cut-back occurred in membership after the children ended their formal Jewish education.

That number of school-age children significantly affects synagogue/temple membership is evidenced when membership level is assessed by number of children aged six to 17 years. For respondents as a whole, this level rises from 67 per cent of those without school-age children to 87 per cent of those with two or more such children. The differentials are even sharper for the younger households, rising from 48 per cent of those with no school-age children in the under-45 age group to 90 per cent of those with two or more.

For all migrant groups, the more school-age children there are in the household, the higher is the level of synagogue/temple membership, but the differential is sharper for recent migrants. For them, the level of affiliation rises from 38 per cent of those with no school-age children to 100 per cent of those with two or more. For those who arrived before

1978, it rose from 68 per cent to 87 per cent. For natives, by contrast, the pattern is less regular, rising from those with no children to those with one child, and then declining for those with two or more.

These patterns suggest that school-age children in a household play a key role in affecting the affiliation of migrant households, and especially so among more recent migrant households with two or more children. Such households may feel considerable pressure to involve their children in Jewish education or youth activities sponsored by synagogues/temples as a way of enhancing contacts with other Jewish young persons. With longer duration in the community, reliance on other formal and informal channels may reduce the need to turn to synagogues/temples, explaining the greater similarity among the longer-term residents in level of affiliation regardless of number of school-age children.

A fuller evaluation of the impact of migration on synagogue/temple membership can be undertaken through use of logistic regression in which the effects of age, education, and number of children between the ages of six and 17 are controlled. Such an analysis points to a slight increase in membership rates with rising age and to virtually no effect of education. The impact of having school-age children is considerable; the odds that a household will have synagogue/temple membership increase by a factor of 1.95 (that is, $e^{.669}$) with each child aged six to 17. Most important for our analysis, with gender, age, education, and presence of children controlled, the odds of belonging to a synagogue/temple rise consistently and sharply with longer duration of residence in the community. If those who are recent migrants are used as the standard of comparison, the results show that the odds of belonging to a synagogue/temple increase by a factor of 1.17 for those who moved into the State during the preceding five-year period, 1978–82. For the long-term migrants they increase by a factor of 1.47, and for natives of Rhode Island by 2.02. Although only the difference for the natives is statistically significant, these data do suggest that duration of residence in the community has a substantial positive impact on participation in the organized life of the community, here indexed by synagogue/temple membership.

It was earlier hypothesized that the greater the likelihood that an individual expected to move out of Rhode Island, the less integrated that person was likely to be into the organized life of the Jewish community; this would be especially true of recent in-migrants. This relation can be explored by assessing whether respondents who expected to move out of the State had lower levels of membership in synagogues/temples than did those who had no such intention; moreover the latter group can be subdivided into those planning no move at all and those expecting to move only within the statewide community. Beyond this, comparisons of the synagogue/temple

membership levels of intended movers and stayers by duration of residence in the State allows fuller evaluation of the combined effects of previous and potential mobility on level of community integration.

Both past and expected future mobility have significant impacts on affiliation levels; in combination, the experience of recent in-migration and expected out-migration is particularly conducive to low levels of integration. Among those respondents who had no intention at all to move in the succeeding three years, 73 per cent held synagogue/temple memberships. This declined to 64 per cent of those planning to move within the State, and to only 52 per cent of those who expected to leave Rhode Island. Moreover, the differentials were even sharper for those who were recent migrants — a group which overall had the lowest level of synagogue/temple membership. Only 54 per cent of those recent migrants who had no plans to move were synagogue/temple members. This declined to 49 per cent of those intending to change residence within the State, and to only 28 per cent of those who planned to move out of Rhode Island by 1990. Clearly, the lowest level of membership characterized those displaying the least tendency to be residentially stable — those who had recently moved and who expected to move again in the near future.

This pattern is repeated in the under-45 age group, which is the most mobile segment of the population but also the one that includes most of those at a stage of the life-cycle when synagogue/temple membership might be particularly motivated by the need to enrol pre-Bar and Bat Mitzvah children (between the ages of eight and 13) in religious education schools. While 68 per cent of the under-45 year group who had no plans to move belong to synagogues/temples, only 45 per cent of those who expected to leave the State do. Again, these proportions are even lower for the recent in-migrants, with 57 per cent of those planning to stay at least three years reporting membership, but only half as many — 28 per cent — of the projected out-migrants doing so.

Overall, therefore, these data on synagogue and temple membership support the hypothesis that migration is associated with lower levels of affiliation with the organized life of the community, especially in the period immediately after first settlement. Moreover, the data on affiliation in relation to expected future movement indicate that expected mobility is also associated with lower synagogue/temple membership rates, especially for those who recently moved into the community. As argued before, synagogue and temple memberships serve as better indicators of the effect of migration on affiliation with the organized local community than do other types of membership. The absence of sharper patterns of differentials by migration status in levels of affiliation with groups other than synagogues/temples may reflect the diverse character of such organizations, with some being purely local and others national in their orientation. The findings for

synagogue/temple membership suggest that both the local communities and the national community face major challenges in better integrating those moving about the country. In particular, how can the more recent migrants be attracted into the organized religious and social life of the local community, especially when they are likely to leave it in the near future? How can their identification with Judaism be maintained as they move about the country? From a national point of view, these patterns raise the question of whether the non-affiliated find other ways, formal or informal, to express their Jewishness.

Conclusion

Several interrelated changes have led to the evolution of a national American-Jewish community. The massive Eastern European immigration, supplemented by refugee movements in the decades following the introduction of immigration controls in the 1920s, transformed American Jewry from an insignificant minority to a significant, complex sub-society, recognized as one of the major religious groups in the nation. However, the decline in immigration led to the increasing 'Americanization' of the Jewish population; growing proportions of Jews are now third-, fourth-, and even fifth-generation Americans.

Concurrently, changes on the larger American scene have allowed greater acceptance and integration of Jews into the American social structure. The wide range of educational, occupational, and residential opportunities for Jews has resulted in increased social and geographic mobility, including high rates of migration across state and regional lines. In the process, the Jewish population has been redistributed within and between metropolitan areas and regions, so that it has generally come to reflect more closely the national pattern of population distribution. Geographically also, therefore, the Jewish population has become much more integrated into the wider American society. In the process, individuals, both movers and stayers, develop familial, social, and economic networks — Jewish and non-Jewish — that span the nation.

From a demographic perspective, we must therefore recognize the concurrent existence of a national and of local communities, and take account of both levels in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the American-Jewish sub-society. In particular, questions need to be asked and answered about the impact of high levels of mobility and greater dispersion across the nation on individual Jewish identification and on the ability of the local community to provide the institutional support needed to enhance such identity. A full assessment of these factors must await availability of national data with sufficient information on mobility and indices of identification and integration. In the meantime, limited insights can be gained by evaluation of information from local

surveys. The 1987 study of the Rhode Island Jewish community has been used here for such an exploratory assessment.

It confirms the relatively high rates of mobility that characterize the Jewish population, whether measured by lifetime movement or by mobility within recent years. Comparison of the data in the 1963 and 1987 surveys of Rhode Island also suggests that recent in-migrants are coming to the State from greater distances within the United States than did earlier ones. The findings of the 1987 study also suggest, although indirectly through use of data on expected mobility, that repeat movement characterizes an important segment of the Jewish population, reflecting the heavy concentration of Jews among the highly-educated and in those professions which increasingly involve working for others as salaried employees, rather than self-employment. The generally direct relation between educational and occupational achievement on the one hand and rate and recency of mobility on the other points to mobility as being an inherent feature of American-Jewish life for decades to come; it is necessary to recognize its importance both locally and nationally. As fertility levels persist at near or below replacement levels, as the number of new immigrants remains low (except for the irregular influx of Soviet Jews with varying degrees of commitment and involvement), and as intermarriage rates remain high, internal migration has assumed greater importance in the demographic dynamics of American Jewry, at both the individual and community levels.

Overall, the analysis of Rhode Island data on membership in Jewish organizations, and especially on affliation with a synagogue or temple, indicates that recent and repeat mobility are associated with lower membership rates. To the extent that such patterns reflect the impact of migration, they suggest that the increasing tendency of Jews to move may well affect their degree of integration into the organized Jewish life of the community. Whether this occurs because of local barriers to such membership — lack of contacts and information, high 'initiation' fees, residence in areas which are not easily accessible to communal institutions and services — remains to be determined. It may well reflect a generally lower desire to affiliate among those who are highly mobile — reflecting in turn their specific combination of socio-economic characteristics. Regardless of reason, such relations to mobility suggest that the lower affiliation rates may, in turn, contribute either to the maintenance or to the increase of high rates of intermarriage and assimilation. To what extent informal interaction with Jews through work, neighbourhood, and friendship patterns serve as a substitute, in the case of migrants, for the formal, institutional ties, remains to be explored.

The Rhode Island data also indicate the positive contributions which population movement makes to smaller and moderate-sized

Jewish communities. Between 1963 and 1987, Rhode Island Jewry declined from about 20,000 to 17,000 (even fewer, if non-Jews in Jewish households are not counted). Some of this decline reflects lower fertility, but much of it represents losses to migration, especially of younger segments of the population. Moreover, the available evidence, limited as it is, suggests that these losses would have been far greater without the in-migration that characterized the period. Of the 1987 population, about 40 per cent came to the State some time after 1960. For many of these, duration of residence exceeded ten years and their affiliation levels closely resembled those of the natives. Migration may thus play a key role in giving smaller or moderate-sized Jewish communities such as that of Rhode Island the population density needed to maintain or even to strengthen the basic institutions essential for enhancing group identification and enrichment. The push and pull forces that lead some to leave, others to enter, and still others both to enter and leave within a relatively short time thus can have diverse effects on both the individuals and the communities of origin and destination.

For reasons cited in the introduction to this paper, findings about the extent and impact of migration based on any single community may be atypical — even though every scholar would like to think that his or her study community represents the country as a whole. Whether the conclusions based here on the Rhode Island survey are also valid for other communities in the United States remains to be fully tested. That they may be supported to a considerable degree is suggested by some evidence from the 1975 and 1985 surveys of Boston's Jewish population. Steven Cohen's analysis of the 1975 Boston Jewish Community Survey reports that both synagogue affiliation and Jewish philanthropic contributions rose dramatically with residential stability.[23] With controls for other key variables, the differentials by duration diminish but persist for synagogue membership; for philanthropic donations, only the most recent settlers continue to have lower levels. Further evidence from the 1975 Boston study indicates that those whose duration of residence in Boston was less than three years had significantly lower levels of Jewish values and personal religious ritual.[24] The differences were not simply a reflection of age and education, but were attributed to the direct consequences of the migration process. However, the effects of migration tended to be short-term, not extending beyond three years.

The more recent 1985 data from Boston suggest that mobility also has a substantial impact on organizational affiliation.[25] Of those who were living in the same locality in the Boston area in both 1975 and 1985, 63 per cent were not affiliated and 18 per cent belonged to two or more organizations. By contrast, of those who had moved to Greater Boston since 1975, 86 per cent were not affiliated and only four per cent

belonged to two or more organizations. These differentials were especially pronounced among the middle-aged: 57 per cent of the non-migrants belonged to no organization compared with 80 per cent of those moving from outside Greater Boston, while 20 per cent of the stable population compared to only one per cent of the movers belonged to two or more organizations.

Full evaluation of these relations requires better data, both locally and nationally, so that one can assess how the positive and negative effects vary by type of movement, by socio-economic composition of the migrant streams, by size of community of origin and destination, and by the type of indices used to measure integration and identification. What is even clearer now than when the migration data from the 1970–71 National Jewish Population Study were first evaluated is that mobility and redistribution are of such magnitude and importance that, in both research and planning, great weight must be attached to the conclusion, already stated in this Journal in June 1982, that changes of residence have great significance for the communities of origin and destination as well as for migrating families and individuals.[26] Moreover, as such movement extends over a growing web of metropolitan areas, states, and regions, it takes on national importance. National and regional institutional networks may then be essential to help maintain the linkage of individual Jews to Judaism as they move from one location to another and to facilitate the linkages among communities, especially smaller ones, so that together they can better meet the needs of both their stable and their mobile populations.

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NOTES

[1] See Basil Zimmer, 'Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 20, no. 2, April 1955, pp. 218–24; Wade Clark Roof, 'Traditional Religion in Contemporary Society: A Theory of Local-Cosmopolitan Plausibility', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 41, no. 2, April 1976, pp. 195–208; and R. Wuthnow and K. Christiano, 'The Effects of Residential Migration on Church Attendance in the United States' in

R. Wuthnow, ed., *The Religious Dimension: New Directions in Quantitative Research*, New York, 1979.

[2] Steven M. Cohen, *American Modernity and Jewish Identity*, New York, 1983, pp. 101–11.

[3] Calvin Goldscheider, *Jewish Continuity and Change*, Bloomington, IN, 1986, pp. 170–84.

[4] Barry D. Lebowitz, 'Migration and Structure of the Contemporary Jewish Community', *Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 2, Fall/Winter 1975, pp. 3–8.

[5] Sidney Goldstein, 'Demography of American Jewry: Implications for a National Community', *Parsippany Papers III*, New York, 1987.

[6] Sidney Goldstein, 'Population Movement and Redistribution Among American Jews', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 24, no. 1, June 1982, pp. 5–23.

[7] Sidney Goldstein, 'A 1990 National Jewish Population Study: Why and How', Occasional Paper 1988–04, Jerusalem, 1988.

[8] Bruce A. Phillips, 'DJN and List Samples in the Southwest: Addendum to Lazerwitz', *Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 7, 1986, pp. 103–09.

[9] Peter B. Friedman and Mark Zober, 'In the Community: Current Jewish Population Studies', *Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 10, Spring 1989, pp. 1–8.

[10] Calvin Goldscheider and Sidney Goldstein, *The Jewish Community of Rhode Island: A Social and Demographic Survey, 1987*, Providence, RI, 1988.

[11] See Sidney Goldstein, *The Greater Providence Jewish Community: A Population Survey*, Providence, RI, 1964 and Sidney Goldstein and Calvin Goldscheider, *Jewish Americans: Three Generations in a Jewish Community*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1968.

[12] Goldscheider and Goldstein, op. cit. in Note 10 above.

[13] See US Bureau of the Census, 'Estimates of the Population of States: 1970 to 1983', *Current Population Reports*, Series P–25, no. 957, Washington, DC, October 1984, p. 13 and US Bureau of the Census, 'State Population and Household Estimates, With Age, Sex, and Components of Change: 1981–87', *Current Population Reports*, Series P–25, no. 1024, Washington, DC, May 1988, p. 11.

[14] US Bureau of the Census, 'Estimates of the Population of States', op. cit., p. 13.

[15] Goldscheider and Goldstein, op. cit. in Note 10 above, pp. 25–31.

[16] See Paul Ritterband, 'The New Geography of Jews in North America', Occasional Paper No. 2, New York, 1986.

[17] See Charles Jaret, 'The Impact of Geographic Mobility on Jewish Community Participation: Disruptive or Supportive?', *Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 4, no. 2, Spring/Summer 1978, pp. 9–20.

[18] Year of arrival refers to the year of the most recent move to Rhode Island. Therefore, some persons who had been born in the State, moved away, and then returned would be classified as in-migrants. Only those who had never left the State are listed as 'always in Rhode Island'.

[19] See Goldstein, *The Greater Providence Jewish Community*, op. cit. in Note 11 above, p. 235.

[20] Christians or those of other religion (such as Buddhists) are persons living in households containing Jews, either because of intermarriage or as non-relations.

[21] See also Jaret, op. cit. in Note 17 above, pp. 14–18.

[22] Cohen notes a similar situation for philanthropic giving. He posits that mobility has much more effect on synagogue membership than on charitable giving because the former is more oriented to the local community. See Cohen, op. cit. in Note 2 above, p. 100.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Goldscheider, op. cit. in Note 3 above, pp. 50–57.

[25] Sherry Israel, *Boston's Jewish Community: The 1985 CJP Demographic Study*, Boston, 1987, p. 41.

[26] Goldstein, 'Population Movement,' op. cit. in Note 6 above, pp. 20–22.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS ON THE JEWS OF SWEDEN

Joseph Zitomersky

JEWS were first allowed to settle in Sweden in the 1770s and in the 1870s they were granted general emancipation. Nowadays, they may be estimated to number about 16,500 individuals; their principal areas of settlement are in Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö (which have their own Jewish communal organizations), while there are smaller groups mainly in Lund, Borås, Norrköping, Kristianstad, Helsingborg, and Örebro. There are three synagogues in Stockholm, two in Gothenburg, and one each in Malmö, Lund, Norrköping, and in a few of the other smaller settlements.[1]

After the Second World War, Sweden granted refuge to several thousand Jews — a number of concentration camp survivors as well as others who fled Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Poland from 1968 to about 1972.

Until comparatively recently, little scholarly attention had been given to the history of the Jews in Sweden. It was only in 1924 that Hugo Valentin's extensive account appeared.[2] (Some years earlier, in 1919, he had published a history of the Young Men's Jewish Association of Stockholm, on the occasion of the centenary of the establishment of that association.[3]) Valentin (1888–1963) was a professional historian and a leading Zionist, and his compilation of many of the important official decrees and regulations concerning the position of the Jews in Sweden was published in the same year as his history of the Jews in that country and served as a companion volume.[4] In the 1930s and 1940s, he published several other books on Jewish matters not directly connected with Sweden — for example, on Zionism and on antisemitism.[5] In 1953, the *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* published his article on the rescue and relief of Jewish victims of Nazism in Scandinavia.[6]

In 1964, the year after his death, Valentin's *Judarna i Sverige* (The Jews in Sweden) was published in Stockholm; it was a revised and abridged version of his 1924 study, with additional material about later

developments. In 1970, an article which he had written in 1948, on the history of the Jews in Sweden, was published in Stockholm in a book on the history of the Jews.[7] It is to Hugo Valentin's pioneering and scholarly research that we owe our basic knowledge of the history of Swedish Jewry — including information about ethnic background, socio-economic status, cultural activities, aspects of organizational structure, and changing relations with the wider society — from its first settlement until the early 1960s.

Other authors, not professional scholars, have also written on aspects of Jewish life in Sweden. Coincidentally, 1924 was the year which saw the publication of Eskil Olán's book on the Jews in Sweden, an informative though uneven treatment of Jewish history and life in Sweden.[8] As in the case of Valentin, Olán had published some years earlier a book which dealt (but only in part) with a subject of Jewish interest — the short-lived settlement of Jews at the end of the eighteenth century in the free port of Marstrand.[9] On the whole, books and articles on Jewish matters by non-academics have been limited in their focus. They have been personal memoirs or secondary reconstructions and descriptions of Jewish individuals or families, or conditions of life at a particular time or place;[10] or a history of a particular community or organization on the occasion of a special anniversary, or on the celebration of some significant event.[11]

The quality of these various publications is not uniform, of course. A number of the fifty-odd biographies and memoirs tend to portray their subjects in unduly favourable terms, while in other cases there are authors who achieve a particularly balanced empirical treatment. An example of the latter is Carl Vilhelm Jacobowsky, whose extensive writings on the Jews in Sweden include two short pieces on the manorial life of Swedish Jews and on the Jews of Gotland. Another example is Bernhard Tarschys, who wrote a history of the Hevra Kaddisha of Stockholm on the occasion of its 150th anniversary.[12] Such studies give detailed information which Hugo Valentin's general histories could not easily encompass. The same is true of two popular books which appeared in 1986 and in 1989. Inga Gottfarb, with the use of archival material and published works as well as interviews, considers the persecution and genocide of Europe's Jews in the 1930s and the 1940s, the reaction of Sweden and of Swedish Jews, and the aftermath. Bertil Neuman looks back nostalgically to the years when an immigrant Jewish family settled in Sweden and ponders on the qualities of life that were lost in the course of achieving some success and integration.[13] These two books reflect the interest which has recently developed in the general position of the Jews in Sweden — their sense of identity, their relations with the wider society, and their response to the plight of their co-religionists in other countries of Europe in the 1930s and the 1940s.

This interest is also reflected in both undergraduate and graduate studies in Swedish universities since the 1960s and in two symposia — one held in October 1986 at Uppsala University on historical perspectives of Jewish life in Scandinavia and the other in December 1989 at Lund University on the identity, integration, and ethnic relations of Jews in Swedish society. Some two dozen papers and reports have been written (but not published) by mainly undergraduate students on a variety of subjects connected with Swedish Jewry. The majority of the studies are concerned with the Jewish situation in Sweden since the 1870s, while David Fischer of Uppsala University deals with Jewish organizational life in Stockholm over a period of two centuries.[14] Many of the students have shown a particular interest in the events of the 1930s and 1940s, the period of the persecution and genocide of European Jews, from the point of view of the effect on Swedish Jews as well as of the reaction of Swedish society and the Swedish authorities. One author has produced four seminar papers at Gothenburg University as part of her preliminary dissertation work on German-Jewish refugee children admitted to Sweden, while others have encompassed a wide range of subjects, including Jewish rural pedlars and the Jewish theatre.[15] Two students at Uppsala University, one at Stockholm University, and one at Lund University, chose the subject of antisemitism in Sweden.[16]

As for published doctoral dissertations, I was able to trace four which are concerned wholly or partly with 'the Jewish question' in Sweden: 1) Tomas Hammar on immigration policy, the control of aliens, and the right of asylum in Sweden from 1900 to 1932, Stockholm University, 1964; 2) Hans Lindberg on Swedish refugee policy under international pressure, 1936–1941, Stockholm University, 1973; 3) Magnus Nyman on opinions in the Swedish press and on discussions about minorities in the period 1772–1786, Uppsala University, 1988; and 4) Heléne Lööw on National Socialism in Sweden from 1924 to 1950, Gothenburg University, 1990. Two other doctoral dissertations have focused more particularly on Swedish Jewry and on questions of Jewish identity: Hans Gordon and Lennart Grosin on the Jewish patterns of adaptation in historical and psychological perspective, Stockholm University, 1973 (reprinted, Gothenburg, 1976), and Julian Ilicki on the changing identity of the younger generation of Polish Jews who came to Sweden in the period 1968–1972, Uppsala University, 1988.

A further four doctoral students at Swedish universities (who had not completed their studies in May 1990) are engaged in historical research which is primarily focused on the Jewish population itself. Two of them, Mirjam Sterner Carlberg and Ingrid Lomfors, are in the Department of History at Gothenburg University and they are both concerned with Jewish refugees — those who settled in Borås at the end

of the Second World War and the German-Jewish refugee children who came to Sweden in 1939. One student at Stockholm University, Anna Besserman, is concerned with the Eastern European Jewish immigrants who came to Sweden from 1860 to 1914, while another at Umeå University, Stephen Fruitman, is preparing a thesis on cultural Zionism in Sweden. The chief rabbi of the Stockholm Jewish community, Morton H. Narrowe, is engaged in writing a doctoral thesis for the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York on the history of Zionism in Sweden from its earliest days until about 1933.

More than 40 scholarly papers, articles, and sections of books dealing with Swedish Jewry have been published in Sweden since the 1960s.[17] Some of the articles have appeared in the semi-annual journal of the Scandinavian Society for Jewish Studies, *Nordisk Judaistik/ Scandinavian Jewish Studies,* which has been published in Åbo, Finland, since its first number appeared in 1975. In the December 1975 issue, Helmut Müssener deals with German-speaking Jewish refugees who came to Sweden after 1933; in the March 1981 number, Bertil Maler commemorates the 250th anniversary of Aaron Isaac's birth. (Aaron Isaac, an engraver from Mecklenburg, was granted permission by King Gustav III in 1775 to settle in Stockholm with his family and is considered to be 'the father of Swedish Jewry'.) In that same March 1981 issue, Morton H. Narrowe reports on Zionism in Sweden, and he also contributes to the August 1984 number with an article entitled 'Blau-Weiss in Stockholm, 1916–1925'. (Blau-Weiss was a Jewish youth club founded in 1916; it was Zionist in orientation.) In the October issue of 1984, Anna Besserman writes (in Swedish) about the Jewish community of Stockholm and the Eastern European Jewish immigrants in the decades before the First World War. In the first issue of 1988, Jaff Schatz examines the ethnic identity of former Jewish Communists of Poland living in refuge in Sweden, while in the second issue of that same year, Stephen Fruitman writes about cultural Zionism in Sweden.

One book, by Steven Koblik, an American historian resident outside Sweden, deserves special mention. It is entitled *The Stones Cry Out. Sweden's Response to the Persecution of the Jews, 1933–1945.* A version of the book first appeared in Swedish translation in Stockholm in 1987, while its more documented form was published in English in New York in the following year. The volume includes a reprint of the author's article, 'No Truck with Himmler. The Politics of Rescue and the Swedish Red Cross Mission, March-May 1945', which had appeared in volume 51 of *Scandia* (1985). In his book, Koblik examines in some detail the attitudes and policies of the Swedish authorities with regard to the persecution of the Jews in the 1930s and 1940s as well as the reaction of the established Lutheran church. He also considers the response of Swedish Jews and their relations with their Gentile fellow-citizens.

Another book which deals in part with the relations between Jewish and non-Jewish Swedes is Sven B. Ek's *'Nöden' i Lund. En etnologisk stadsstudie,* first published in Lund in 1971; a revised edition appeared in 1982. Nöden was a poor district in the town of Lund and in some of the chapters the author described its Jewish residents and their relations with the larger Gentile population there. (The subtitle states that the book is 'a study in urban ethnology'.)

The question of Jewish refugees has been given some attention in the different articles dealing with the Jews in Sweden. The Polish Jews who sought asylum in Sweden since 1968 were the subject of a report by Leo Kantor at a symposium on adult education; his contribution was included in a volume of the symposium's proceedings, published in 1984.[18] In that same year, a book on social work and immigrants was published in Stockholm; it contained an article by Mirjam Sterner Carlberg on social work among refugees and survivors, including Jewish victims of concentration camps who came to Sweden after the Second World War.[19]

Various articles on the Jews in Sweden reveal a particular interest in the question of Jewish ethnic identity. Max Engman and Harald Runblom contributed a paper at the 20th Congress of Scandinavian historians on immigrants in Scandinavia after 1850, part of which gave specific attention to the Jewish population; it was printed in 1987 in a volume of the proceedings of the session of that Congress dealing with the question of national and ethnic minorities in Scandinavia.[20] Swedish scholars in the field of Jewish studies have greatly valued Hugo Valentin's research, and the 1982 volume of *Historisk Tidskrift* includes an article by Grzegorz Flakierski on Jewish identity and the Jewish question in the correspondance between Valentin and Eli Heckscher; the latter was a world-renowned economic historian and a member of the Swedish Jewish community.[21]

In addition, publications on ethnic minorities in Sweden sometimes include sections on the Jews of the country. This is so, for example, in the case of the book by Karl-Olov Arnstberg and Billy Ehn.[22] The authors deal with the subject of the Jews in sections of the first two chapters of their volume. Finally, I might cite my own article in the *Scandinavian Journal of History* (volume 12, no. 3, 1987), 'Assimilation or Particularity? Approaches to the Study of the Jews as an Historical Minority in Sweden'.

As mentioned above, there was a conference at Uppsala University in October 1986 on historical perspectives of Jewish life in Scandinavia. The proceedings were published in 1988,[23] and the volume includes contributions on the following subjects: the history of the Jews in Sweden, by Sven Tägil; the Jewish population of Sweden from 1780 to 1980, an ethno-demographic study, by Joseph Zitomersky; press debates and decisions toward increased tolerance (in admitting Jews

into Sweden), 1775–1782, by Magnus Nyman; antisemitic picture propaganda in the rabid Swedish radical press, 1845–1860, by Lena Johannesson; Jewish contributions to Swedish cultural life around 1900, by Gunnar Broberg; antisemitism in Sweden, 1880–1930, by Mattias Tydén; antisemitism, assimilation, and Jewish 'exceptionalism': discussions among Jewish intellectuals in Sweden at the time of Hitler's accession to power in 1933, presented by Svante Hansson; and Julian Ilicki on identity transformation among younger Polish Jews in Sweden after 1968.

In 1988, a seminar was held in Uppsala on racism and the law in Scandinavia. Heléne Lööw made a contribution on racism and racist organizations in Sweden which partly dealt with antisemitic attitudes and policies towards Swedish Jewry. She also participated in a conference in Copenhagen in October 1989 on Hitler's refugees in Scandinavia and her paper on xenophobia and counter-reaction in 1933–1945 is scheduled to appear in the published proceedings of the conference, edited by Hane-Uwe Petersen.

In December 1989, a symposium took place at Lund University on the subject of 'Jews in Swedish Society: Identity, Integration, and Ethnic Relations'. The four participants were Joseph Zitomersky, who presented a paper on 'Ambiguous Integration: Patterns of Residence, Occupation and Activity of the Jews in Sweden, 1780s–1980s'; Anna Besserman, whose paper was about the views of the Low Church Revival Movement on Jews and Judaism; Julian Ilicki, whose subject was 'Secular Jewish Identity — the Example of the Younger Polish Jews in Sweden'; and Jaff Schatz, whose contribution was entitled 'Ethnicity, Politics, Generations: Reflections Concerning Jewish Strategies of Emancipation'. These four papers are scheduled for publication in Lund in the series sponsored by the Center for the Study of International Conflicts, CESIC Studies in International Conflict.

Finally, the most recent scholarly effort in the field was Julian Ilicki's paper entitled 'The Younger Generation of the Jewish "Post-March 1968" Emigration Wave after Fifteen Years of Residence in Sweden', delivered at a symposium held in London on 24 February 1990. His article will be published in London in a collection of the symposium papers, under the auspices of the Faculty of Law and of the Social Sciences of the Polish University In Exile.

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In the preparation of this paper, I have benefited from the unpublished bibliography compiled by Anna Besserman for the pilot study phase of the research project on 'Jews in Swedish Society, 1800–1950', at the Department of History of Lund University in 1982. I have also had the generous assistance of Anna Besserman (Stockholm

University), Julian Ilicki (Uppsala University), and Jaff Schatz (Lund University) for information about unpublished student papers and research in progress at different Swedish universities. Mirjam Sterner Carlberg, Ingrid Lomfors, and Heléne Lööw (all attached to the Department of History of Gothenburg University) very kindly sent me copies of their respective studies in progress or informed me about the research they were conducting. I would also like to thank my colleagues at Lund University's Department of History: Rune Johansson for helpful suggestions in the preparation of this survey and Yvonne Maria Werner for checking the spelling of the Swedish references. Finally, I must take the sole responsibility for any errors of omission or commission which may have found their way into the present paper.

NOTES

[1] Institute of Jewish Culture, *Judarna i Sverige — en kort presentation* (The Jews in Sweden — a short presentation), Lund, 1986, p. 12, and my own demographic research.

[2] Hugo Valentin, *Judarnas historia i Sverige* (The history of the Jews in Sweden), no. 5 of the Publications of the Jewish Literary Society, Stockholm, 1924. Sweden's Jewish Literary Society sponsored a publication series in the Swedish language of works of fiction and of non-fiction from 1920 to 1932; these included translations of foreign authors.

[3] Hugo Valentin, *Israelitiska Yngliga Föreningen 1819–1919. En historik till 100-årsdagen* (The Young Men's Jewish Association 1819–1919. A history on its 100th anniversary), Stockholm, 1919.

[4] Hugo Valentin, *Urkunder till Judarnas historia i Sverige* (Documents on the History of the Jews in Sweden), no. 6 of the Publications of the Jewish Literary Society, Stockholm, 1924.

[5] For his major works on general Jewish questions, see Hugo Valentin, *Zionism,* Stockholm, 1933; *Antisemitism i historisk och kritisk belysning* (Anti-semitism in an historical and critical light), Stockholm, 1935; *Kampen om Palestina* (The struggle for Palestine), a publication of the Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, 1940; *Judarna under det andra världskriget* (Jews during the Second World War), another publication of the same Institute, Stockholm, 1944; and *Det judiska folkets öde. Forntid — nutid — framtid* (The Jewish People's fate. Past — present — future), Stockholm, 1944.

[6] Hugo Valentin, 'Rescue and Relief Activities in Behalf of the Jewish Victims of Nazism in Scandinavia', in Koppel S. Pinson, ed., *Studies in the Epoch of the Jewish Catastrophe* (*YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science,* volume 8) New York, 1953.

[7] Hugo Valentin, 'Judarnas historia i Sverige' (The history of the Jews in Sweden), in Stefan Hahn, A. Brody, and Wulff Fürstenberg, eds., *Judarnas historia* (The history of the Jews), Stockholm, 1970.

[8] Eskil Olán, *Judarna på svensk mark. Historia om israeliternas invandring till Sverige* (Jews on Swedish soil. The history of the Jewish immigration to Sweden), Stockholm, 1924.

[9] Eskil Olán, *Marstrands historia* (The history of Marstrand), 3rd edn., Gothenburg, 1917.

[10] See, for example, Olof Aschberg's four volumes of memoirs: *En vandrande jude från Glasbruksgatan* (A wandering Jew from Glassworks Street), vol. I, Stockholm, 1947; *Återkomst* (Return), vol. II, Stockholm, 1947; *Gästboken* (The guest book), Stockholm, 1955; and *Gryningen till en ny tid. Ur mina memoarer* (The dawn of a new age), finalized by Ture Nerman, Stockholm, 1961; Moritz Tarschis, 'Zionism i Sverige. Minnen av en sionist från hans 35 åriga verksamhet' (Zionism in Sweden. Recollections of a Zionist from his activities of 35 years), *Judisk Tidskrift*, vol. 15, 1942; M. Ivarsson and Abraham Brody, *Svensk-judiska pionjärer och stamfäder. En person-, släkt- och kulturhistorisk krönika med Norrköping som blickcentrum* (Swedish-Jewish pioneers and earliest forefathers. An individual, family and cultural-historical chronicle, with Norrköping at focus), Jönköping, 1956; and Åke Bonniers, *Bonniers. En släktkrönika, 1778–1941* (The Bonniers. A family chronicle, 1778–1941), Stockholm, 1974.

[11] For example, Wulff Fürstenberg, *Kalmar mosaiska församlings tillkomst och äldsta historia jämte Växjö-och Oskarshamnsförsamlingens tillblivelse* (The founding and earliest history of the Kalmar Mosaic community, including the establishment of the Växjö and Oskarshamn communities), Stockholm, 1980; C. Vilhelm Jacobowsky, *Göteborgs Mosaiska Församling 1780–1955. Minneskrift till 100-års dagen av synagogans invigning 12 oktober 1855* (The Gothenburg Mosaic community 1780–1955. A commemorative publication on the 100th anniversary of the dedication of the synagogue on 12 October 1855), Gothenburg, 1955; Harry Rubinstein *et al., Mosaiska Församlingen i Malmö, 100 År 1871–1971* (The Mosaic community in Malmö, 100 years: 1871–1971), Malmö, 1971; Naima Thankus, *et al., Mosaiska Församlingen i Göteborg. 200 år 1780–1980* (The Mosaic community in Gothenburg, 200 years: 1780–1980), Gothenburg, 1980.

[12] C. Vilhelm Jacobowsky, *Svenskt-judiskt herrgårdsliv* (Swedish Jewish manorial life), Stockholm, 1967, and 'Judarna på Gotland' (The Jews of Gotland), *Gotlandica*, vol. 4, Visby, 1973; Bernhard Tarschys, *Chevra Kaddischa. Israelitiska sjukhjälps- och begravningssällskapet under 150 år* (Hevra Kaddisha. The Jewish Help for the Sick and Burial Society across 150 Years), Stockholm, 1944.

[13] Inga Gottfarb, *Den livsfarliga glömskan* (Life-threatening forgetfulness), Höganäs, 1986; Bertil Neuman, *Något försvann på vägen. En svensk judisk familj — historia, humor och kultur* (Something got lost on the way. A Swedish Jewish family — history, humour and culture), Stockholm, 1989.

[14] David Fischer, 'Judiskt organisationsliv i Stockholm 1776–1984' (Jewish organizational life in Stockholm, 1776–1984), unpublished Licentiat thesis, Uppsala University, Department of Theology, 1986.

[15] The four papers are by Ingrid Lomfors at the Department of History of Gothenburg University and they are all concerned with the Jewish refugee children who came to Sweden from Germany; they were presented between 1987 and 1989. Jerry Lantz and Ing-Marie Nilsson, when at the Department of Ethnology of Stockholm University, were the authors of a 1980 paper on Jewish rural pedlars in Sweden, while Sara Saks of the Department of Theatre and Film of Stockholm University presented a paper in 1981 on the activities of

the Jewish amateur dramatic society in Stockholm in the first half of the twentieth century.

[16] At the Department of History of Uppsala University, Håkan Broman presented two papers: one in 1984, on antisemitism in the Diet in 1815; and another in 1985, about the literary feud concerning the Jews. Also at Uppsala University, Mattias Tydén was the author of a paper on Swedish antisemitism from 1880 to 1930; it appeared in a revised version as no. 8 of Uppsala Multiethnic Papers in 1986. At Stockholm University's Department of History, Monica Algeborg presented a paper (circa 1979) on antisemitism in Sweden in the 1930s and 1940s, while at the Department of History of Lund University, Lars Andersson is presently engaged in preparing a paper on antisemitism in Sweden from 1910 to 1945.

[17] See the bibliographic data compiled by Hilde Rohlén-Wohlgemuth, *Svensk-judisk bibliografi. Facklitteratur 1951–1976. Skönlitteratur 1900–1976* (Swedish Jewish bibliography. Non-fiction: 1951–1976, Fiction: 1900–1976), and *Svensk-judisk bibliografi II. 1977–1986* (Swedish Jewish bibliography II. 1977–1986). The former is no. 1 of the series of Publications of the Scandinavian Society for Jewish Studies, Stockholm, 1977, and the latter is no. 6 of the series, Stockholm, 1987. The same compiler has provided further listings in the June 1979, March 1981, and August 1983 numbers, as well as in the first 1985, and the second 1986 issues of *Nordisk Judaistik/Scandinavian Jewish Studies*. That journal has also printed in its second issue of 1989 a bibliography of Jewish studies in Scandinavia by Björn Dahla and Nils Martola. The Scandinavian Society for Jewish Studies published in 1983 as the third number in its Publications series a compilation by Julian Ilicki of Jewish studies at Scandinavian universities and institutions of higher learning. The Resource Center for Jewish Education and Culture in Scandinavia at Lund in 1976 also published a *Bibliography of Research in Jewish Studies in Scandinavia, 1970–1975*.

[18] Leo Kantor. 'Polska kolonin i Sverige ur differentiella perspektiv' (The Polish colony in Sweden considered from a different perspective), in Jan Wit Wojtowicz, ed., *Vuxenutbildning i utveckling. Problem — trender. Rapport från symposiet 'Socio-pedagogiska aspekter på den Sverige-polska minoritetens bildningsbehov'* (Adult education under development. Problems — Trends. Report of the Symposium 'Socio-Pedagogical Aspects of the Swedish-Polish Minority's Educational Needs'), Linköping, 1984.

[19] Mirjam Sterner Carlberg, 'Socialt arbete bland flyktingar och överlevande', (Social work among refugees and survivors), in Haluk Soydan, ed., *Socialt arbete och invandrare* (Social work and immigrants), Stockholm, 1984.

[20] Max Engman and Harald Runblom, 'Invandrare i Norden efter 1850', (Immigrants in Scandinavia after 1850), in Gunnar Karlsson, ed., *Nationale og Etniske Minoriteter i Norden i 1800- og 1900-tallet. Rapporter til den XX nordiske historikerkongres*, vol. II (National and ethnic minorities in Scandinavia during the 19th and 20th centuries. Reports of the 20th Congress of Scandinavian Historians), no. 19 of the Research Series of the Historical Institute of the University of Iceland, Reykyavik, 1987.

[21] Grzegorz Flakierski, 'Rötter. Den judiska frågan i brevväxlingen mellan Hugo Valentin och Eli Heckscher' (Roots. The Jewish question in the

correspondance between Hugo Valentin and Eli Heckscher), *Historisk Tidskrift*, vol. 102, no. 2, 1982.

[22] Karl-Olov Arnstberg and Billy Ehn, *Etniska minoriteter. I Sverige förr och nu* (Ethnic Minorities in Sweden. Past and present), Lund, 1976, 2nd edn, 1980.

[23] Gunnar Broberg, Harald Runblom and Mattias Tydén, eds., *Judiskt liv i Norden* (Jewish Life in Scandinavia), no. 6 of Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensa, Uppsala, 1988.

ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS

Max Beloff

(Review Article)

DAVID MCDOWALL, *Palestine and Israel: The Uprising and Beyond*, xiii + 322 pp., I. B. Tauris, London, 1989, £14.95.

GERSHON SHAFIR, *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882–1914*, xvi + 288 pp., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, 1989, £25.00 or $44.50.

MR McDOWALL states in his preface that his book, despite its title, was begun before the outbreak in December 1987 of the Intifada (the Palestinian uprising). Nevertheless, by December 1989 (at the time of the writing of this review article), the continuing diplomatic and military impasse and King Hussein's disclaimer of sovereignty over the West Bank have reinforced the general thrust of the author's argument that the conflict is rooted in the relationship between the two peoples, the Jewish and the Arab inhabitants, not only of the areas occupied after the Six-Day War of 1967 but in pre-1967 Israel itself.

Mr McDowall admits that his own sympathies lie with the Palestinians, including those whom he prefers to term 'Palestinian Israelis', but this does not impede what is a serious attempt to understand the origin and nature of the conflict; and he acknowledges the assistance of a number of eminent authorities on the Jewish side. The only perceptible weakness is that he is not fully familiar with the often complex internal history of the Zionist movement — or he would not have referred to the 'Zionist Organization (later named the Jewish Agency)' (p. 21). His lack of immersion in the Israeli side of the story also gives his comments on Israeli positions and attitudes some lack of the immediacy of feeling which characterizes his presentation of the Palestinians' case.

However, the author's thesis is not dependent upon empathy with either side in the conflict but goes rather to its material and demographical heart. He acknowledges the weight of external powers, notably the United States, in shaping the political configuration of the Middle East, and the fact that Israel's Arab neighbours often pursue mutually incompatible policies; but in his view it is idle to think that there are two distinct issues involved: the situation before 1967 and the

problem of the territories occupied after June 1967. The former cannot be treated as a matter of domestic policy and the latter as one of foreign policy. For one thing, there is the importance of the 1948–49 refugees from what was to become the State of Israel and for another, the important role of the Palestinian diaspora. No doubt the very possibility of a rebirth of a Jewish State in its historic home was the product of the increasing persecutions which the Jewish Diaspora had to endure, notably in Eastern Europe, but the shape it took would have been unthinkable without the ancestral and religious commitment. One cannot therefore dismiss, as some Zionists have been prone to do, the importance of the longing to return to the Palestinian refugees and their offspring. Mr McDowall states: 'The belief in "return" is fervently held. It is worth reiterating that this yearning to return is a potent mirror image of Zionist belief and aspiration earlier in the century, and is likely to have the same tenacity. Like the Zionist experience too, this yearning is reinforced by repeated exposure to legal and physical vulnerability' (p. 90).

Powerful arguments of national self-preservation can be adduced by Israelis to reject any prospect of a large-scale Arab return but that is not enough to dismiss the issue out of hand. One could also question the validity of the arguments of the 'Jordan is Palestine' variety, suggesting that so long as the Palestinians have a state, they should not mind it being outside the borders of pre-1948 Palestine. It must be remembered that the Zionists would not accept Uganda as a Jewish National Home.

The Intifada has not so far shown itself capable of dislodging the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and would probably not be able to bring this about even if it went in for more violent forms of resistance. It has not even brought the Israeli government to the negotiating table and is unlikely to do so while a deeply divided Israeli government obscures its divisions by putting forward unacceptable conditions for such negotiations. But it has had two profound effects on Israel itself. Where Israeli Jews are concerned, it has further exacerbated the internal moral conflict that was awakened by the Lebanon war in 1982. And it is a moral conflict which affects both the choice that young Israelis make as to whether to remain in their native country and of Jews outside Israel as to whether to participate in the immigration upon which the country's hopes for economic growth and military security depend. On 'Israeli Palestinians', the Intifada has had the effect of increasing the awareness of their own identity despite their acculturation with the host society (to which Mr McDowall duly draws attention). They are also aware that they have failed to achieve the material equality with the Jewish citizens, to which the ideology of a democratic country such as Israel entitles them. Their loyalty to the State of Israel cannot be taken for granted, since not enough has been done to foster and secure it.

What Mr McDowall cannot foresee is who are to be the political beneficiaries of what is taking place on both sides of the 1949 Armistice lines. Can the largely secular-minded Israeli Palestinians, many of whose leaders and spokesmen have been Christians, swallow Islamic fundamentalism? The success of the fundamentalist candidates in the Jordanian elections of November 1989 may or may not be a pointer in this regard. The development of Israeli opinion is even harder to foresee. The key is demography. In pre-1967 Israel, the differential birth-rate might bring about a stabilization of the Arab population at around 25 per cent, manageable with a great degree of goodwill. But if the occupied territories are taken into account, the picture is much grimmer. Eretz Israel could become, short of an even more massive influx of new Jewish immigrants, a country in which Jews would be a minority and Mr McDowall points out that even before that situation is reached, the psychological impact of the changing balance will have its effect. In such a case, the concession of voting rights becomes almost unthinkable; it is not surprising then that Palestinian Arabs suspect that the determination to hold on to the occupied territories, which spreads widely across the spectrum of Israeli politics, might be accompanied by their expulsion. The author cites figures from public opinion polls which seem to suggest that this would not be unacceptable to many Israelis, and that quite a number would like to see the process extended to Israel proper. Given the international context, this fear of expulsion may be paranoiac, but the outlook is not reassuring.

Mr McDowall's book is clearly and persuasively written, but the same cannot be said so categorically of Dr Shafir's monograph. Dr Shafir's study is a work of very considerable learning, presenting a very subtle and often original interpretation of the facts with which he deals. He is familiar with the history of European expansion and overseas land settlement and with the theories that are used to classify and interpret its manifestations. He has also an intimate acquaintance with the Zionist movement and the history of the *Yishuv* (the Jewish settlement in Palestine) both in the period formally covered by his work (1882–1914) and later on. He is equally familiar with the mass of contemporary documentation and with the controversies about the interpretation of the period in modern Israeli and Zionist literature. As is the case with many young authors, his study still bears many of the marks of a doctoral thesis, with too much space taken up with setting up the scaffolding for the main argument. Given the density of his analysis, Dr Shafir could have done with the extra space to elucidate his own thinking. Nevertheless, the challenge he offers the reader is well worth taking up. The book is abundantly worth the effort it demands from the reader.

In a sense, Dr Shafir's research fills a gap in Mr McDowall's account. Given that we are here, how did we get here? Although

Dr Shafir is primarily dealing with the early phases of the Jewish return to the Holy Land and only incidentally with its repercussions on a Palestinian movement that cannot be traced much earlier than the Young Turk Revolution, his thesis is that the seeds of the conflict were there almost from the beginning and that contrary to some people's belief, the 'Jews were not ignorant of the Palestinian Arabs, but in their assessment of the balance of forces estimated that the Palestinian Arab population could put obstacles in the way of Jewish rebirth in Eretz Israel but ultimately was not capable of arresting the process' (p. 204).

Two elements coalesced to form the barrier between the two peoples manifesting itself in clashes over land use and land rights. One was the Zionist dream of giving Jews a 'normal' way of life — that is to say, creating a society in which Jews would be represented in all strata, in contrast to the warped conditions that oppression and discrimination had created in the Diaspora. The second, and the one to which Dr Shafir attaches most importance, was the determination of the Jews of Eastern Europe (who formed the bulk of the first and second waves of immigration) not to accept anything inferior to European standards of living and thus not to accept the competition of the local population which was willing for various reasons to undercut Jewish wages.

Private (that is, capitalist) colonization could not tolerate such limitations on its economic functioning, so that the Jewish 'conquest of labour' spelled bankruptcy for many of what Dr Shafir calls, I think rather confusingly, 'plantations' — Jewish-owned properties largely worked on by Arab labour. He gives an interesting foretaste of what was to happen after 1948 to the new Oriental immigration by relating the fate of the Yemeni Jews who were brought in the hope that they would accept Arab wages although they were acknowledged as Jews. The circle was squared in another way, by turning the Eastern European workers into settlers, combining active labour on the land with guard duty — the origins of the military underground which was to be a feature of the *Yishuv* until the creation of the State in 1948. Not so much the inheritance of the various brands of socialist thinking current among Eastern European Jews of the period, but economic logic is seen by the author as dictating both the shift towards dense settlement on the land and the adoption of the kibbutz as the most effective form such settlement could take. It is ironical that this was made possible only by the financial subsidy of the World Zionist Movement, whose contributors undoubtedly included many non-socialists, and that what convinced many of its leading figures to support this activity was the study of the way in which the Prussians had gone about colonizing Poznania.

Tiny as was the entire *Yishuv* when development was held up and even set back by the First World War, the events of those years were decisive. For the internal development of the Zionist movement, it meant the primacy of the Labour movement through the Histadrut

(the labour federation) in the whole development out of which the State emerged, and within the Labour movement the primacy of the kibbutzim. Other forms of development were effectively marginalized along with the political parties that represented them. But even more relevant to present problems was the conscious decision that Jews and Arabs should live in a bifurcated economy and therefore fail to attain any symbiosis, economic or cultural. Such a situation has not been uncommon among colonies of settlement even where the collectivist aspect has been missing. The Jewish experience was nevertheless unique, since those who began it, or came to join in it, did so because, however hard it was, it was better than what they had at home. Land settlement was a deliberate national strategy and it was planned, like the later development towns, with national defence much in mind — though this is not a subject on which Dr Shafir is very precise.

As the use of boycotts by the Intifada has reminded us, bifurcation has been less than complete in recent decades when Palestinians from the occupied territories have supplied an important element in the Israeli labour force. The economic aspirations of later generations of native-born Israelis and of new immigrants have rendered even less plausible the original attempt to distinguish between 'idealistic' workers and others more materially-minded. Yet the different attitudes prevailing in the small pre-1914 *Yishuv*, so effectively analysed by Dr Shafir, still dominate the country's politics.

Dr Shafir does not go beyond his brief; he describes the origins of the conflict with the Palestinians and the way in which the dual society of what became Israel was shaped. He does not venture upon the question of what is to be done. However, his own fundamental attitude can be derived from a close study of his text. He is aware that the chosen path of separate development was always called upon to reconcile itself with moral imperatives inherent in basic Jewish attitudes. The pioneers did not come only to escape physical oppression; they also wished to live in an atmosphere which spared them the contempt that went along with the oppression in Eastern Europe; they wished to savour the delights of equality. But could they enjoy this ambience without accepting the right of the other inhabitants of the land to similar treatment? Surely not. Dr Shafir comments (p. 211): 'This promise of equality — whether achieved within Israel or between the Israeli State and a Palestinian State — is still an unfulfilled but not forgotten moral vow'. Perhaps these words of a young Israeli academic may help to dispel Mr McDowall's understandable gloom.

THE ACCULTURATION OF NORTH AFRICAN JEWRY

Ernest Gellner

(Review Article)

SHLOMO DESHEN, *The Mellah Society. Jewish Community Life in Sherifian Morocco*, xiii + 152 pp., University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1989, £9.50 or £13.75 (hardback, £23.95 or $34.50).

JOËLLE ALLOUCHE-BENAYOUN and DORIS BENSIMON, *Juifs d'Algérie hier et aujourd'hui. Mémoires et identités*, 290 pp., Bibliothèque historique Privat, Toulouse, 180 French francs.

SHLOMO DESHEN'S study of Moroccan Jewry explicitly aligns itself with what he calls 'interpretive anthropology', and its sustained recent application to Moroccan society. This viewpoint implies, in his view, 'a picture of a society characterized by a powerful individualistic element and a relatively weak corporative element' (p. 2). Taken literally, the application of such a perspective to Moroccan Jews would seem to be paradoxical in the extreme: their basic condition was obviously (on evidence internal to this study as well as external to it) determined by the membership of the socio-religious category to which they belonged, which imposed very severe restrictions on the deployment of individually chosen strategies. Inside the Jewish community itself, Spanish or indigenous ancestry in turn appears to have been decisive for a person's status and prospects, according to Deshen's own account.

The alleged individualism of the overall society is supported by invoking, in its religious life, the prominence of 'enthusiastic inspiration', as opposed to 'ordered, restrained and formal religiosity' (p. 2). It would be easy to argue this the other way round: it is precisely the unruly possessors of seemingly undisciplined charisma who are obliged to play within institutional rules. Their apparently spontaneous aura is but the reflection of the services they provide for well-defined tribal groups. By contrast, it is the sober carriers of orderly scriptural religiosity who can exemplify genuine individualism, operating in a relatively atomized and anonymous urban society, in which it is at least possible that the message itself, rather than the structural position of the messenger, is what counts.

Deshen is very interesting when he traces the projection of the ecstatic religious style into the Jewish community, notwithstanding the fact that in this milieu, it cannot possibly have the same institutional basis. There could be no tribes in the *mellah*. He documents the use of the reverence evoked by saintly tombs for legal purposes (which certainly echoes Muslim practice), and the fact that the obligatoriness of the associated pilgrimage was a matter of learned dispute. However, the evidence does not make it fully clear whether the dispute centred on the legitimacy of pilgrimage as such, or the extent of a husband's obligation to an ailing wife, yearning for saintly assistance. Deshen is in agreement with the opinion that free-lance religious inspiration dates back to the historical interregnum period known as the 'maraboutic crisis' — a theory which fails to explain why this religious style is just as prominent in other (for example, neighbouring) countries, though they had never known the said 'crisis'. He believes that the individualist-charismatic element has increased over time in Morocco, referring to 'the continued growth of informal charismatic social forces . . . at the expense of . . . formally institutionalized elements' (p. 2). A kind of osmosis from the Muslim to the Jewish world provides him with the explanation of a similar, albeit slower and delayed, trend within Moroccan Judaism. My own guess would be that the charismatic saint cults had always been strong in Morocco, and that all that had happened over time was that they acquired more of an Islamic veneer. Deshen does not discuss the fact that the long-term trend he attributes to Muslim Moroccan society (if indeed it obtains) has certainly gone into reverse in recent times. Moroccan Jewry in Israel, documented by Harvey Goldberg and Moshe Shokeid, seems to have continued along what might be called the old Moroccan trajectory towards saint-worship, at the very time when its erstwhile host society and alleged model has made a U-turn towards unitarian scripturalism.

Deshen does in the end modify his individualist-integrationist thesis (individual manipulation leads to acceptable integration, an almost idyllic picture), based in part on L. Rosen's work, and concedes some merit at least to the rival corporate-oppression thesis (humiliation imposed by category), argued by N. Stillman. The compromise would make the former apply to areas of weak royal power, and the latter to more effectively and centrally governed zones. I continue to have my doubts about all this: the anarchic regions were not therefore *ipso facto* chaotic but, on the contrary, were endowed by well-defined corporate groups, whereas it was royal power which offered some leeway to individual strategies. Perhaps the choice was between laissez-faire and corporatively-managed forms of humiliation.

Whilst it is possible to disagree with the author's general interpretation, one must be deeply grateful to him for the information and stimulus provided by his synoptic picture. The study claims to be

primarily documentary rather than directly ethnographic, though the intellectual inspiration clearly comes from socio-anthropological ideas. But given the self-imposed terms of reference, a major weakness of the study would seem to be its failure to utilize sources in French with any degree of thoroughness. It is indeed strange that the bibliography should fail to refer to the study by Pierre Flamand of the small Jewish communities of the Moroccan south. The relative neglect of this rural aspect is complemented by a similar lack of stress on the change effected by foreign economic and cultural penetration in the nineteenth century. For that, the reader will have to go to Daniel J. Shroeter's *Merchants of Essaouira. Urban Society and Imperialism in Southwestern Morocco, 1844–86* (published in 1988), to which Deshen refers only in its dissertation, rather than book, form.

The overall picture Deshen offers is of a Moroccan Jewish society moving slowly from a staid formal Hispanic version to a more individualist-ecstatic form, under the impact of both the Muslim example and the reaffirmation of autochthonous Jewish traditions. This representation may be valid, quite independently of whether Moroccan Muslim society had really undergone a similar development which would have served as a model.

The study by Allouche-Benayoun and Bensimon of Algerian Jewry is only loosely comparable with Deshen's. For all its concern with a slow trend of change, Deshen's study has a socio-anthropological inspiration and, when placed alongside the other work, looks almost as if it were sketching out an 'ethnographic present'. The Algerian study unambiguously focuses on the dramatic and fundamental social change which took place between 1830 and 1962 (though with some side-glances to what went on before and after). The authors conducted interviews with some thirty Algerian Jews, born in Algeria, and over sixty years of age at the time of the interviews. The dates of the interviews are not precisely specified, but on internal evidence they must have taken place in France in the 1980s. The information gathered is used to offer a kind of reconstruction of a sense of Algerian-Jewish identity and culture, classified by conventional topics (beliefs, folk medicine, marriage, etc.). The handling of the material does not seem to reflect any particular theoretical orientation, and is roughly synchronic except when dealing with such subjects as employment, since in these cases change was rapid and manifest. This as it were oral history or reconstruction material is surrounded by an interesting and protracted historical sketch which blends interview material with documentary history and interpretation.

The general outline of the story is clear and sharply outlined. At the time of the landings in 1830, the Jewish community of Algeria does not seem to have differed radically from that of neighbouring Morocco. A Jewish trading and banking family was involved in the complex

financial-commercial operation, begun in 1793, which by 1830 provided the cause or pretext for the French invasion. Algerian Jewry knew the same distinction between a Hispanic élite and an autochthonous residue which was central to Moroccan urban Jewish communities. (In contrast with Deshen's account, the historical wisdom reported by this volume links the cult of saints with the coming and veneration of Spanish rabbis, rather than with opposition to them.)

However, the subsequent story was altogether different. Deshen's central theme is the Moroccanization, religiously speaking, of Moroccan Judaism. Staid Spanish formalism was giving way to Maghrebin individual spontaneity. In Algeria, as far as the Jews were concerned, the main thread was, indisputably, Frenchification. By 1870, most Algerian Jews (other than those inhabiting Saharan regions not yet conquered by France) had acquired French citizenship, notwithstanding the fact that this gave displeasure to many French officials and citizens located in Algeria, who claimed that it aroused Muslim hostility. The authors of this volume dispute this last allegation.

The Crémieux decree which had incorporated the Jews into the European community was revoked by the Vichy regime, and the revocation continued to obtain for quite a time even after the Allied landings in Algeria in 1942. It is interesting to learn that of the 377 'resistants' who responded to the appeal to assemble on the night of 7–8 November 1942 in order to help the landing Allies, 315 were Jews. Equally remarkable is the affirmation that in March 1943, both the nationalist leader Ferhat Abbas and the most virulent and ferocious of the reforming Islamic fundamentalists, second only to Ben Badis as creator of the scripturalist anti-saint climate of the new Algeria, Sheikh Okbi, conveyed to the reluctant local French authorities (eager to perpetuate Vichy legislation under the Allies) that they were *not* opposed to the restoration of the Décret Crémieux, which had legally assimilated the Jews (but not the Muslims) to the French.

However, General Giraud declared the racial laws invalid, but interpreted this not as a return to the status quo ante, which had made Jews into Frenchmen, but as a levelling out of the conditions of Muslims and Jews, depriving both of equality with the Europeans. In his mind, the legal equality of the two indigenous religious groups went along with economic complementarity, not similarity: the Muslim to the plough, the Jew to his stall. After some delays, the Jews recovered their earlier status and Vichy laws only temporarily survived the Allied presence in Algeria.

The end of it all came with the Algerian War of Independence. Jews were involved on both sides: there is a poignant account of a family in which the son perished at the hands of Muslims in 1956, and the father at the hands of French diehards in 1962. The authors estimate that between one and two hundred Jews were killed in the conflict, apart

from those who fell as soldiers or died as the result of anonymous bombings. In the end, despite the antisemitism of the *pieds-noirs*, the overwhelming majority of Algerian Jews chose to go to France rather than emigrate to Israel or remain in Algeria.

It is hard to believe that there ever really was an Algerian option for the Jews, notwithstanding the pluralist appeals made to them by the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) during the conflict. Independent Algeria, whatever the nature of the perhaps sincere rhetoric of its leaders in the course of the struggle, was in all probability destined for religious homogeneity. Towards the end of the war, extremists of both sides (though the authors do not mention this) deliberately committed unforgivable atrocities with the clear intention of forcing a total polarization of the conflict and of preventing the emergence of any compromise middle position. But in any case, it is hard to imagine the largely *embourgeoisés* and socially-atomized Jews voluntarily enduring the political and economic centralization, the drab standardization, the frequent grey austerity, and the bureaucratic harassment all so characteristic of independent Algeria — apart from the problems which any Jewish community in a Muslim country would have to face during Israeli-Arab conflicts.

The condition of Algerian intellectuals resembles somewhat that of Soviet ones during the 'stagnation' period: a measure of commitment struggling in their souls with a measure of revulsion. Muslims, who have the motivation to endure the harsh conditions — patriotism, identification, knowledge that at the end of the day they are at least full and equal members of the society — often do so only with wry irony, and are not too unhappy if given the occasional opportunity to escape at least for a time. In a certain important way, the new Algeria resembles Israel: political necessity required the birth of a new culture and a new culture was duly born. The languages actually in use were not compatible with the basic idea and inspiration of the new polity. So, a distant modern Arabic had to be imposed on a population to be educated, replacing both the previous administratively operative French and the unwritten, unprestigious local Arabic dialects, often saturated with French words. This painful, impressive, costly but unavoidable piece of cultural engineering was carried out against a back-cloth of severe political, economic, and ideological centralization. It has brought forth a *new* Arab culture. It is hard to imagine a population endowed with an option, but without real hope of full and unambiguous local incorporation at the end of the process, enduring it all voluntarily. But it is all rather hypothetical: the authors show that the entire trend of development of Algerian Jewry in any case clearly pointed to France.

In its appeal to the Jews in 1956, the FLN had addressed the Chief Rabbi of Algeria. This was by then the wrong address, but there was no

longer any correct address. A Jewish committee (which, according to the authors, was an important cultural institution) replied, saying in effect that there was no Jewish community, only a wide range of individual positions, and that no organization or individual had the competence or authority to speak on behalf of Algerian Jews as a totality. One could say that, in the end, the majority of Algerian Jews moved to France and there acted as French citizens, whilst the majority of Moroccan Jews went to Israel and there behaved as Moroccans, using tomb and pilgrimage as the communal focus. The authors note that Sephardi-Ashkenazi relations in Jewish communities in France are less tense than they are in Israel.

The story is well told and the stark issues facing Algerian Jews clearly presented. The sources used, however, are almost exclusively French. I have noticed only one work in English in the bibliography. When dealing with the Franco-Allied intrigues before and after the North African landings, no attempt is made to use available Anglo-Saxon sources. Moreover, nothing could be more relevant to the present study than the exceedingly vivid published account by Lloyd Cabot Briggs and Norina Lami (*No More For Ever*, published in 1964 by the Peabody Museum) of the Jewish community in the Saharan oasis of Mzab and of its mass departure in 1962. It is indeed odd that so pertinent a text should not be cited.

BOOK REVIEWS

LOUIS JACOBS, *Helping With Inquiries. An Autobiography,* xii + 287 pp., Vallentine, Mitchell, London, 1989, n.p.

Rabbi Dr Louis Jacobs was born in 1920 in Manchester, a much-loved only child of kindly and tolerant parents who were traditionally (but not very strictly) observant; they were the children of Eastern European immigrants but sufficiently anglicized for the young boy's mother to be a fan of Gilbert and Sullivan and for his father to watch rugby and cricket matches on the Sabbath. They sent young Louis to a variety of English schools and a succession of *hedarim,* ending at a *heder* which he tells us changed his life. The head of that *heder* suggested to him, after his Bar Mitzvah, that he attend an after-school class at the Manchester Yeshivah and he later became a full-time student there. He confesses that he also 'became an insufferable little prig and religious fanatic' to the extent of burning a book on science, which he had received as a Bar Mitzvah gift, because it accepted the theory of evolution, which he then thought contrary to the Bible. He states that this phase of religious extremism, which greatly distressed his parents, bred in him later 'a hatred of extremism itself bordering on the fanatical' (pp. 23–24).

In due course, Louis Jacobs was ordained and obtained a post as assistant rabbi in London, in the Golders Green synagogue headed by Rabbi Dr Munk. He also became a student at University College London and obtained an honours degree in Semitics. It was then that he had to face the problem of accepting the doctrine of *Torah min Ha-Shamayim* (the Torah is from Heaven) and that every single word of the present text of the Pentateuch was dictated by God to Moses, while the evidence showed that 'the Pentateuch is plainly a composite work produced at different periods in the history of ancient Israel' (p. 77). The students at Jews' College who followed some of University College's courses also had to come to terms with the 'two truths' approach.

In 1948, at the age of 27, Louis Jacobs returned to Manchester on his appointment as rabbi of the Central Synagogue; he now had a wife and two young children. (By a strange coincidence, 1948 was also the year in which Israel Brodie was installed as Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations; in an aside, the author comments (p. 101): 'It is worth noting that no rabbis ever had a say in the appointment of a British Chief Rabbi, even though his authority when he is appointed

may weigh heavily on rabbinic colleagues under his jurisdiction'.) Rabbi Jacobs was generally very happy in his post but he was also seriously uneasy about leading a congregation which was nominally Orthodox and subscribed to a fundamentalist approach. He therefore applied for, and obtained, the position of Minister Preacher to the New West End synagogue in London because the congregation, founded by Sir Samuel Montagu (who became the first Lord Swaythling) combined broadmindedness with a love of tradition. The members included Lord Samuel and other peers, knights, judges, scientists, medical doctors, and industrialists.

Louis Jacobs had continued his university studies and after he had obtained a doctorate (with a thesis on the business life of the Jews in Babylon) he was interested in combining a career as a rabbi with an academic appointment. Some of the members of his congregation believed that he was eminently suited for the position of Principal of Jews' College, whose head was expected to retire in the near future. The difficulty was that Rabbi Jacobs had published in 1957 *We Have Reason to Believe,* in which he accepted Biblical Criticism, and that the book had greatly offended some fundamentalist rabbis, who had drawn the attention of the Chief Rabbi to it. Israel Brodie was the President of Jews' College and as such he had the power of veto in the matter of appointments. However, Louis Jacobs was persuaded by his friends and supporters to take on the post of Moral Tutor and lecturer in Pastoral Theology at the College because they were confident that his piety and scholarly abilities would ensure that when the post of Principal became vacant, the Chief Rabbi would not oppose his appointment. These assumptions proved to be wrong: the Chief Rabbi was adamant and would not yield to the arguments put forward by members of the Executive of the College and by the institution's Vice-President, the then Haham of the Sephardi community. Dr Jacobs in the end resigned from his post as Moral Tutor and Honorary Officers of Jews' College also resigned.

The *Jewish Chronicle* firmly supported Louis Jacobs and the 'Jacobs affair' was the subject of letters to *The Times*. The Jacobs supporters then decided to form the Society for the Study of Jewish Theology and appointed him as Director; the inaugural meeting of the Society was held in September 1962. Study groups and public meetings were organized and Dr Jacobs regularly visited the Jewish societies of British universities, engaging in lively discussions with the students. Meanwhile, his successor at the New West End synagogue decided to accept a post in New York and the pulpit was vacant. Many members of the congregation wished him to return to it and the Honorary Officers of the Synagogue believed that the Chief Rabbi would raise no objection; the synagogue was a United Synagogue establishment and therefore under the jurisdiction of the Chief Rabbi but he himself had inducted

Louis Jacobs as Minister Preacher to that very same congregation some years earlier. But once more, Israel Brodie refused to authorize the appointment, although intermediaries later approached Louis Jacobs to say that they had been instructed to tell him that if he were to sign a declaration that he had been consistently mistaken in his theological views, the Chief Rabbi would withdraw his objections. Not surprisingly, Rabbi Jacobs refused to recant. The Honorary Officers and the members of the board of management of the New West End synagogue who had persisted in supporting him were removed from office by order of the United Synagogue in April 1964, and what the author calls the 'Jacobs Affair, Stage II' was launched. Again, the *Jewish Chronicle* supported Louis Jacobs and the matter was reported in the national press and in publications of the Christian church. (Church of England theologians were then also divided between those who were fundamentalists and those who were liberal.)

More than 300 members of the New West End synagogue met in May 1964 in a London hotel and resolved 'to constitute an independent Orthodox Congregation under the name of the New West End and under the spiritual leadership of Rabbi Jacobs' and the members affirmed their intention 'to work for the return of the United Synagogue to its own traditions of tolerance and the "Progressive Conservatism" referred to in the preamble to its Bye-laws' (pp. 179–80). Within a few months, the splendid building of the former St John's Wood synagogue (which had been sold by the United Synagogue because it had become too small for its growing congregation) was acquired by the supporters of Louis Jacobs. It must have been a source of some amusement to them that Chief Rabbi Brodie, who lived nearby, had been a regular worshipper there and that the seat he had occupied would now be reserved for Rabbi Jacobs. Apparently, a 'zealot' was not amused because he broke into the synagogue in the middle of the night and demolished the seat with a hatchet; Louis Jacobs comments: 'The result is that I now sit on a very comfortable, newly-furbished seat — "fundamentalism" at its best, so to speak' (pp. 183–84).

The third stage of the Jacobs affair occurred in 1983, after members of the London Beth Din (the Ecclesiastical Court) cast doubts upon the validity of marriages and conversions which took place under the auspices of Rabbi Jacobs. Some of his congregants were perturbed and he decided that he must clarify the position in an article for his synagogue's journal, *Forum*. The *Jewish Chronicle* quoted his reasoned assertions that marriages in the New London synagogue and conversions under his direction were 'in full accordance with traditional Jewish law' (p. 217). The Beth Din, however, persisted in its accusations but was censured in a *Jewish Chronicle* leader for 'bringing in a verdict without publicly presenting the evidence on which this judgement was based' (p. 221). Throughout the controversy, the

present Chief Rabbi (now Lord Jakobovits) preserved a complete silence, which could be interpreted as proof that he disagreed with the Beth Din on the matter of Rabbi Jacobs's competence.

The impression that emerges from this instructive and often witty tale is that Louis Jacobs was fortunate in having the unswerving support of a remarkably loyal and determined (as well as financially independent) congregation, to whom his autobiography is dedicated. Of course, if he himself had not possessed a fierce intellectual and spiritual integrity and remarkable personal charisma as well as great scholarship, he would not have been given such staunch support. Towards the end of his autobiography, he tells us that he declined offers of another pulpit and of a university appointment in the United States because he believed that he had a very strong moral obligation to remain as the rabbi of the congregation which had provided him with a pulpit from which he could express his views.

These views he has also expressed in numerous books; and although in retrospect he agrees that he sometimes used intemperate language and uttered words 'better left unsaid', yet he firmly asserts (p. 269): 'To put it as bluntly as possible, fundamentalism is wrong. It is either ignorant and obscurantist or intellectually dishonest to reject the "assured results" of historical investigation into the origins of Judaism'.

JUDITH FREEDMAN

ANNE J. KERSHEN, *Trade Unionism Amongst the Jewish Tailoring Workers of London 1872–1915*, iv + 39 pp., London, 1988, £3.00 plus postage and packing, and HAROLD POLLINS, *Hopeful Travellers: Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain*, vi + 50 pp., London, 1989, £3.00 plus postage and packing. (Both booklets are Research Papers of the London Museum of Jewish Life and are published in association with the Department of History of the University of Leicester. They are available from that Museum at 80 East End Road, London N3 2SY.)

British Jewry was transformed by massive immigration (from the 1880s until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914) not only numerically but also socially and culturally. Surprisingly, while a great many studies were published on Eastern European emigration to America, several decades were to elapse before similar publications appeared about the parallel situation in the United Kingdom. Even the standard histories of the Jews in England by A. M. Hyamson and by Cecil Roth give the subject only brief mention. Perhaps the first detailed, if necessarily tentative, treatment was in some 80 pages of the present reviewer's *Social History of the Jews in England, 1850–1950*. The first book

entirely devoted to the subject was Professor Lloyd P. Gartner's *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870–1914,* first published in 1960, a scholarly and authoritative work not superseded, although since then (and especially in the last decade) there has been an abundant literature on the immigrants.

Two of the more recent studies are short research papers in a series edited by Professor Aubrey Newman of Leicester University. Harold Pollins, in a broadly-based survey, seeks to put the migration to Britain within the framework of migration generally and includes a discussion of where the immigrants settled and what kind of employment they took up. Anne Kershen's paper, while in no way narrow in its scope, concentrates on a specific aspect of Jewish economic activity. Harold Pollins refers to Arieh Tartakover's analysis that Jews generally migrated as families, were helped by Jews already in the country of immigration, and that their intellectual and economic standards tended to be higher than those of most other migrants. But, after examining some special features of Jewish migration and adaptation to the new environment, Mr Pollins concludes that 'a search for a theory of Jewish migration is a chimera' (p. 13). He settles for a classification of Jewish migrants by individual characteristics and motives for, and method of, migration. Statistics for Britain in the latter half of the nineteenth century are complicated by the fact that Britain was a staging-post for another destination, mainly America; and it is impossible to be sure what proportion stayed and what proportion moved on, as the interval between arrival in Britain and departure could vary between days and years.

It is easy to demonstrate the 'push' factors which caused Jews to leave Eastern Europe; for example, at the time of Passover 1891, there was an announcement that Jews were to be expelled from Moscow and elsewhere outside the Pale of Settlement, with the result that about 400,000 were uprooted. As for the 'pull' factor, we are told that 'those who came to Britain arrived in a country experiencing an economic downswing. Clearly they did not come to Britain because of its immediate economic attractiveness' (p. 22). The author analyses the reasons for immigrant Jewish settlement in particular areas and shows that in the smaller towns the newcomers were mainly shopkeepers or sometimes tailors, while in the large concentrations — in London, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Glasgow — they became predominantly industrial workers in the garment trades and were often employed by other Jews.

Bill Williams has argued that it is not true that the range of trades was narrow because of the need to observe the Sabbath and because the immigrants could not find other employment as a result of anti-semitism; many of the newcomers did work on the Sabbath and he claims to have found no evidence of prejudice in such 'English' trades

as engineering. Harold Pollins takes issue with Williams: he in turn cites some evidence to show that some immigrants did try to find employment in breweries, mines, and railways but were rejected because they were Jews; and he adds that while it was certainly true that many immigrants did not observe the Sabbath, 'there is equally much evidence of the immigrants' religiosity' (p. 34). As for Bill Williams's assertion that occupational choice was a function of ghettoized residence, Harold Pollins explains that the Eastern Europeans, after their experience of hostility from non-Jews in their countries of origin, would naturally want to remain in a Jewish environment: 'No matter that the Jewish workshops may have been dreadful; at least the language was familiar, and offensive/racial remarks would not be made' (p. 35).

This Jewish economic environment — or rather, an aspect of it — is the subject of Mrs Kershen's paper. She argues, however, that 'the evolution and organisation of the immigrant Jewish proletariat took place within the wider framework of the English labour movement, even though for reasons of work-organisation and language there was an emergence of independent Jewish trade unions in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth' (p. 1). She charts the rise and fall of some 50 different Jewish tailoring unions between 1872 and 1915, conveniently listed with dates, in an appendix. By 1914, there were only three major Jewish tailors' unions in London, representing some 20 per cent of the Jewish tailoring work-force; and, countering the belief that Jews were harder to organize, she shows that the opposite was the case: 'some 65% of the organised tailoring work force of London was Jewish though in total it represented only 30% of the whole' (p. 3).

The account of the trade unions is set within a description of the organization of the tailoring trade, and its relation of production to wholesaling and retailing, including the relationship of the 450 Jewish tailors in Soho to the West End market of London. The author also contrasts the London trade, with its smaller workshops, with Leeds which had at least part of its production in much larger units. A new feature in 1880 was the introduction to London by an immigrant tailor, Morris Cohen, of the mantle trade — the wholesale production of women's outer garments, to replace the imports from France and Germany.

The reasons for the fragmentation of unions by trade, skill, locality, political affiliation, and even religious adherence, are discussed and the conclusion is that, with limited exceptions, 'the tailors' unions of London lacked stable, pragmatic, and efficient leadership' (p. 20). With the exception of the London Jewish Tailors and Tailoresses Union (which survived until 1938), the future of the London Jewish unionists after 1914 was in the general, not in a Jewish, trade union movement.

Both these studies are extremely clear and useful and it is to be hoped that they will be succeeded by many others in the series; and perhaps these could have a date of publication and some brief information about the authors.

V. D. LIPMAN

ELI LEDERHENDLER, *The Road to Modern Jewish Politics: Political Tradition and Political Reconstruction in the Jewish Community of Tsarist Russia*, xi + 240 pp., Oxford University Press, London and New York, 1989, £27.50.

What exactly is 'modern Jewish politics' and how — and when precisely — did it begin? Professor Lederhendler has set himself the task of answering these questions, in the context of the social and political development of the Jewish communities of nineteenth-century tsarist Russia. The themes he addresses are fundamental, because the emergence of socialism and Zionism as forces which came to motivate Russian Jewry a century ago can be understood only against the back-cloth of that which they displaced.

Even as perceptive an observer as the late Salo Baron dismissed this prehistory in unambiguous terms; he stated in the first volume (p. 28) of *The Jewish Community* (1942): 'Long before the full evolution of its diaspora community, the Jewish people had become a basically non-political entity'. Those who have followed this line of argument have been content to regard Diaspora Jewry — certainly in pre-1881 Russia — as spiritually centred and, as Baron claimed in *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (volume 1, 1952, p. 16), 'emancipated from state and territory'. It is this view which Lederhendler sets out to challenge. The result is a crisp, concise work of scholarship that must, I think, become a yardstick by which the interpretation of its subject-matter is measured henceforth.

This is not a book for beginners. The author himself denies any suggestion that he has attempted to offer 'a definitive history of Russian Jewry in the nineteenth century' (p. 9). It is a pity, however, that the basic components of that history are not included; the interested but uninformed reader must, perforce, turn elsewhere for an explanation, for example, of the origins and *modus operandi* of the Polish-Lithuanian Kahal, the relationship between that Kahal and the jurisdictional milieu in which it operated, and the crucial part played by *shtadlanut* (the intercession of designated representatives with the authorities) in Jewish political life and in the self-defence of Polish and Lithuanian Jewries in the era preceding the abolition of the Polish Four Lands and Lithuanian Councils in 1764.

The burden of Lederhendler's analysis really begins at this point. The abolition of the Councils left the Kahal — as a unit of

self-government — intact but fatally exposed, and undermined into the bargain by an increasing tendency for Jews to appeal to the secular courts. The fragmentation of traditional political leadership was accelerated by the emergence of Hassidic cults, whose adherents were encouraged to challenge rabbinical authority. It was not on narrow religious grounds alone that the Vilna Gaon waged war against these cults. His death in 1797 left the Vilna Kahal no alternative but to appeal to the Gentile authorities against the spread of Hassidic influence. Each side informed against the other, weakening the ideal of Jewish local autonomy still further.

From this point on, the formal abolition of Kahal autonomy was probably only a matter of time. The enactment of that abolition in 1844 was hastened by the impact of ideas generated during, and as a result of, the French Revolution as well as by the fall in status of the Kahal as a result of its collaboration in the conscription of Jews for the army of Tsar Nicholas I. But the abolition left a void; the instruments of Jewish political representation had to be reconstituted in the face of new and harsher realities. Lederhendler is at his best in explaining and exploring the manner by which the *maskilim* (the adherents of the Jewish Enlightenment) offered themselves as a new species of 'interceders', and in tracing the parallel evolution of a new type of rabbinical initiative or — as he puts it — 'shadow government'.

The essential link between the mechanisms of maskilic power and the emergence of 'modern' Jewish politics is to be found — in Lederhendler's view — in the elevation of the concept of 'the voice of the people', implemented primarily through the growth of the maskilic press, and fired with new energy as a result of the distress caused by the famine which afflicted the Pale of Settlement in 1868–69. Throughout the following decade, hopes were raised that full emancipation would come soon, particularly after the guarantees of equality obtained for the Jews of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania in 1878. Once it had become clear, with the pogroms of 1881–82, that such optimistic predictions were without justification, a way was open for the messages of socialism and Zionism to strike home.

Lederhendler's portrayal of the roots of Jewish political action in tsarist Russia strikes me as incomplete. Social and economic forces were at work which he barely acknowledges, while he simply ignores the impact of political change in Russian society at large. As a result, the picture is too narrowly focused; the reader will need to do some homework in order to place it in a much broader context. Nevertheless, within its own terms of reference the book offers a fascinating analysis, rich in its use of source material, the mastery of which is not the least of its virtues.

GEOFFREY ALDERMAN

MICHAEL MARRUS *The Holocaust in History*, xiii + 267 pp., Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1988, £16.95.

The past twenty years have seen an explosion of academic and non-academic books and articles on the Holocaust. It is now very difficult, if not indeed impossible, for the non-specialist to set either the events or even the literature into perspective and context. Professor Marrus has compiled this guide to the literature and to the controversies which these studies have produced. He declares his aim as being the integration of the Holocaust into the general state of historical consciousness, ignoring the so-called 'question' as to whether these events actually occurred, though he does point out the existence of a 'revisionist' school of 'malevolent cranks'; nor does he address himself to a discussion of the 'meaning' of the Holocaust. Instead, he concentrates on a number of basic issues such as the part played by Germany's allies or the vanquished states; the role of public opinion in Nazi Europe; the victims; the nature of Jewish resistance; the bystanders; and the last months of the Reich.

These are the issues which those who teach this subject have over and over to face, to attempt to understand, to attempt to analyse, to help their students in their own attempts at comprehension, and Professor Marrus does his best in this work to give a basis for such attempts. Again and again he pieces together a wide variety of interpretations, and in so doing puts fairly and squarely the arguments of differing schools of historians and researchers. But this is not merely an attempt at providing 'balance', and he has no hesitation in stating clearly his own value judgements. On such topics as the part played by Roosevelt or the reactions of the *Yishuv* (the Jewish settlement in Palestine) to the news as it came out of Europe, he calls the shots as he sees them. And on issues such as the extent of 'resistance' by the Jews of Europe and the part played by the Jewish Councils, he sets forward the various arguments before making clear where he himself stands. This may not be a work of research, but it is a work of judicial synthesis based upon an awe-inspiring mass of reading. His footnotes and bibliography could well stand as works of scholarship in their own right, and indeed he has been responsible for the compilation of fifteen volumes of reprints of articles which are virtually a 'must' for libraries wishing to provide a basis for the teaching of Holocaust Studies.

There is one fundamental question at the end which Professor Marrus is not afraid to cover — the extent to which the Holocaust is to be made the object of academic research, what Yehuda Bauer is quoted (on p. 202) as characterizing 'the growing tendency of immersing tears and suffering in oceans of footnotes, of coming up with a quasi-scientific approach which would be as inhuman as that of those who committed the crime or of those who stood by and watched it indifferently' (*The Holocaust in Historical Perspective*, 1973, p. 5). Alternatively, there is the

danger of vulgarization, the process of what Elie Wiesel described (in his address at the July 1988 Oxford conference on the Holocaust, 'Remembering for the Future') as there being 'no business like Shoah business'. Unhesitatingly, Professor Marrus puts the responsibility for trying to 'teach' and trying to 'understand' the Holocaust onto the shoulders of the historians. They will not necessarily agree amongst themselves on their interpretations, nor is it likely that others will fail to criticise them, but they at least must make the effort. But if they, the historians, are to be trusted, it is important that they themselves should be trained and well-informed. Such training must not be confined to a single country or culture; Professor Marrus shows very clearly the need to put events in Germany within the context of the whole of Europe.

It may be difficult to assimilate the wealth of data in this volume, but the effort to do so will be amply rewarded. The book will justifiably become prescribed reading for several generations of students of the history of the Holocaust.

AUBREY NEWMAN

RINNA SAMUEL, *A History of Israel. The birth, growth and development of today's Jewish state*, viii + 184 pp., Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1989, £14.95.

Rinna Samuel has many qualifications for writing a history of Israel. She is the daughter of Meir Grossman, an important figure in the Zionist movement of the pre-State period, and the sister of David Vital, Zionism's most distinguished historian, while she herself has a long record of valuable service to the Weizmann Institute, one of the country's most important institutions. Since Rinna Samuel also has the command of a pithy and direct English style, appropriate for someone originally trained as a journalist, she raised great expectations with the announcement of her forthcoming book. These expectations are not fulfilled in a volume which in under two hundred pages surveys the history of the Jewish people from Biblical times, the development of the Zionist movement, the founding of the State, and its first forty turbulent years.

The reader coming to the narrative in all ignorance (and perhaps the ideal reader would be a sympathetic Gentile rather than a barmitzvah boy) will certainly be carried along by the sweep of the narrative and the directness of the approach. The book makes no impossible perfectionist claims — failings of the intellectual and other élites both in understanding the country's problems and in moral attitudes are freely admitted — and if one is left with the feeling that both the creation and the survival of the State have elements of the miraculous, that is a position that could be defended. Nor, in a country where taking sides is

part of life, does there seem much evidence of partisanship, though I would personally wonder whether to raise Herzl and Ben-Gurion above everyone else is altogether sound; I find the playing down of Chaim Weizmann's role hard to justify.

The absence of any sustained attention to the physical and demographic conditions in which the enterprise was begun or continued is regrettable. What kind of a country was Palestine during the British Mandate? How has it been transformed? Equally, there is very little attention to the institutions: how did the various strands of influence within the Zionist movement and the subsequent mass immigration produce the situation in which the country seems hemmed in by its institutions rather than liberated by them? It is natural for an Israeli to feel that security is what matters most and to see the State's history as mainly one of warding off its external enemies; but there are also its internal dynamics.

To some extent, the lack of a sociological perspective is compensated for by the splendidly assembled and selected photographs which illustrate the book; but that is not quite enough. Narrative history is fine, but a little more analysis might help the reader to appreciate not only the achievements of the State but also its problems.

MAX BELOFF

JUDITH ROMNEY WEGNER, *Chattel or Person? The Status of Women in the Mishnah,* xii + 267 pp., Oxford University Press, New York and Oxford, 1988, £19.50.

The Mishnah is a compilation of Jewish 'oral law' codified between 160 and 200 C.E. (Common Era). It consists of six major Orders, one of which, *Nashim* (Women) includes five tractates dealing with the law as applied to women — for example, in the context of betrothal, marriage, and divorce. In the Order *Tohorot* (Purities), a tractate deals with the laws and regulations of menstruation. The Mishnah reflects a culture in its entirety: it is not merely a collection of laws, but a system of jurisprudence which, though intimately linked with preceding scriptural law and the succeeding Gemara law, can nevertheless be treated as a self-contained code; this is what Professor Wegner has attempted to do in her study. There is an apparent ambivalence in the Mishnah because women are sometimes treated as autonomous individuals with rights and obligations, while at other times they appear to have the status of property — chattels. The object of this book is to establish what the real status of a woman is in the Mishnah and to resolve any apparent ambiguities so as to construct a model which will allow Mishnaic concepts to be allocated a proper place in contemporary feminist theory.

Not surprisingly for someone trained in the Neusner school of Mishnah Studies, the author applies a structural approach which leads her to propose a 'taxonomy' of women. We have on the one hand the dependent woman (the minor daughter, the wife, and the levirate widow) whose 'biological function' is owned by father, husband, and levir, respectively. On the other hand, we have the autonomous woman — the adult daughter, the divorcee, and the widow — who is the possessor of her own biological function. A strong argument, repeated again and again, is that neither the autonomous woman nor the dependent woman may have any share or part in the public domain: they are both confined to the private domain. A systematic review of the categories of women in the Mishnah readily leads to the conclusion that not all women, all the time, are treated as chattels; this is so only in the case of the dependent woman and even she, in some situations, enjoys the rights of an autonomous person. Again, the oft-repeated assumption that in Mishnaic law women are the property of their husbands is incorrect because any ownership is restricted to the wife's sexual and reproductive function.

With such conclusions, Wegner now sets out to test her views on Mishnaic women against some principal feminist theories — including Simone de Beauvoir's 'Otherness' — and finds them all wanting. However, she is confident that her own analysis will help to consolidate feminist theory and make it progress beyond its 'infant years of feminist research' (p. 197). In a study which aims at great precision, there are some weaknesses. The concept of 'personhood' as referring to someone with 'powers, rights and duties in society' is too weak. Such a definition would also fit the concept of 'role', which could be used to undermine an otherwise convincing taxonomic system. Apart, of course, from the fact that any individualistic notion of a gender-undifferentiated person is a very late conceptualization in human history and would have been somewhat incongruous in a Mishnaic context.

Wegner rightly points out that holiness, a nearness to God, is the ultimate purpose of Mishnaic law. Hence the elaborate emphasis on rituals of purity. Since in the conjugal context there can be no law for the wife which does not also constrain the husband, why is it assumed to be self-evident here that the purpose of the law is to protect the man's ownership of the sexual and reproductive capacity of the woman? Why could the very precise *niddah* (menstruation) laws not be interpreted as either controlling (sanctifying) the sexuality of both husband and wife or, at a more mundane level, as a widely practised system of controlling individual sexuality in order to ensure the survival of the group? (The *niddah* regulations maximize fertility by focusing marital relations on the period of ovulation.)

Professor Wegner is clearly determined to steer, as far as possible, a balanced course between the 'androcentricity' of the Mishnah and the

strictures of feminist theory, but she occasionally lapses into condescension — for example, when she states that the 'Sages did a fairly good job of integrating women into their androcentric system of holiness' (p. 180) — or crude polemic when she describes the wife as 'sex object and brood mare' (p. 96). These are expressions which her own analysis makes untenable. Such reservations apart, she has produced a stimulating and learned treatise for both male and female scholars.

JULIUS CARLEBACH

DAVID WEISBURD, *Jewish Settler Violence. Deviance as Social Reaction* (with a Foreword by Albert J. Reiss, Jr.), xii + 164 pp., Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park and London, 1989, £20.25.

For most Israelis, and indeed for Jews in the Diaspora, the Israeli victory in the Six-Day War of 1967 and the reunification of Jerusalem were little short of miraculous. Although the Israeli government trailed the idea of territories for peace after 1967, no Arab nation was willing to negotiate these terms and the Israelis proceeded to establish settlements on the Golan Heights, Northern Sinai, and the West Bank. The justification for the settlements was ostensibly pragmatic — they served defence purposes and would eventually act as trade-offs in future peace negotiations with the Arabs.

The shock of the Yom Kippur War in 1973 was followed by a period of bitter recrimination within Israeli society. Distaste for an aging and incompetent leadership fuelled the pessimism felt about the country's future. It was in response to this period of public demoralization, so starkly in contrast to the public pride and rejoicing in 1967, that Gush Emunim was formed. Initially conceived as a pressure group within the National Religious Party to stop any move towards territorial concessions, it became an independent movement when it joined forces with secular members of the 'Whole Land of Israel' group to establish a settlement on the Golan Heights in protest at the disengagement agreement reached between Israel and Syria. The members of Gush Emunim feared that the Syrian Accords would act as a blueprint for further territorial concessions in what they called Judea and Samaria, the Biblical title of the West Bank of the Jordan. The Labour government's emphasis on the purely defensive nature of the string of settlements mainly along the sparsely populated Jordan Rift served as further evidence of the secular government's intention of surrendering Israel's sacred birthright for temporal advantage. The violent behaviour of the Israeli settlers towards the indigenous Arab population of the West Bank and Gaza and their justification for such behaviour,

always couched in intemperate language, obscures the original *raison d'être* of the movement — namely to fight the Israeli government of the day should it try to relinquish any part of the conquered territories.

The founding members of Gush Emunim were zealots deeply influenced by modern rabbinical interpretation of the imperatives of Jewish law, most importantly that bearing on the possession of land identified in the Torah. The early days were marked by a simple democratic ethos, which encouraged group participation and decision-making by consensus. The success of the settlements and their number have inevitably resulted in a dilution of the movement's original ideals. Where once settlement was seen as a means of advancing the eventual redemption of the Jewish people, the latter-day settlers are concerned with the quality of life and the high living standards that can be achieved in the now flourishing suburbia of the West Bank.

In the summer of 1981, David Weisburd began a field study of 22 of the settlements associated with the Gush, all but one on the West Bank. Frontier settlement was once the norm in Israel but the subjects of Professor Weisburd's research are significantly different from those of an earlier pioneering era. Indeed, only three settlements out of the 22 were organized along traditionally collectivist lines. All the rest operated as free enterprise economies with residents commuting to outside work. Again in dramatic contrast to the socialist principles that formed the guiding ethos of so many early pioneers, the inhabitants of the West Bank townships are predominantly Orthodox Jews. What differentiates these settlements from other closely-knit religious communities to be found in Israeli towns and throughout the countryside is most obviously their geographic isolation from the bulk of the Israeli population within the Green Line (pre-1967) borders and a compelling belief in the legitimacy and righteousness of their cause. These two factors are crucial in explaining what, to an outsider, appear to be foolhardy acts of provocation against the Arab population of the West Bank and the Israeli authorities as represented by the army and the police.

The isolation of the settlers in the occupied territories is not only one of spatial distance from the main centres of Israeli settlement, but also one of culture in its broadest sense. With the aid of questionnaires and statistical analysis diligently applied, Professor Weisburd presents a profile of the Gush Emunim members which clearly differentiates them from the bulk of the Jewish population of Israel. For example, the settlers are very young compared with the rest of the population; they are native-born, of Ashkenazi stock; and they are well-educated Orthodox Jews, with the majority having attended an institution of higher learning. Most interestingly, although the religious and traditional orientations of the settlers are at first sight consistent in many ways with those of Israel's Sephardim, Professor Weisburd suggests

that the class/culture gap between these middle-class Westerners and the Oriental Jewish communities was too wide for the latter to be attracted to the settlements.

The book is lifted out of the run-of-the-mill excursion into political sociology by the author's explanation of the basis for the settlers' actions. He looks to other fields of sociological research which deal with violence and law-breaking and finds parallel explanations in the context of deviant behaviour and social control. But in an elegant paradox, he turns received theories upside-down by arguing that the members of Gush Emunim must be understood in the terms in which they perceive themselves: it is they who are the guardians of the status quo, while Israeli society is deviating from the authentic norms and values of Jewish religious life. The Palestinians, who are more easily defined as the enemy, have to be controlled in a manner commensurate with their acts of aggression against Gush residents. Thus, the settlers' justice might involve beating an Arab miscreant or smashing the windows in a village street. Deviant behaviour is usually defined as the acts of a minority who flout existing law for material, selfish gain. The essential point is that the settlers claim that their behaviour is not self-seeking, that their acts of retaliation are carried out in order to protect their settlements and to follow and implement the commands of Biblical law, a law which predates the dictates of the modern secular State of Israel.

Professor Weisburd's empirical research is an interesting and useful addition to the general field of political sociology. However, his use of deviance theory both as an explanation and in order to broaden the definitions currently in use in that field never really succeeds. For those not familiar with the research and for those who are more expert, his arguments are suggestive rather than firm and cogent. Nevertheless, his book does raise interesting questions. If the settlers of the West Bank and Gaza are not criminals in the ordinary sense, how is any government of the State of Israel to deal with them? Is it ethically right and proper to arrest and imprison people for their beliefs? What if those beliefs (sincerely held though they might be) clash with the policies of a secular government which has to cope with pressures, including those exerted by the international community, as in this case? The answers demand the wisdom of a Solomon, if they are to satisfy the religious convictions of the settlers and at the same time fulfil universal, but essentially politically-based, ideas of social justice.

DAVID CAPITANCHIK

CHRONICLE

The Autumn 1989 issue of *Hebrew University News,* received in London last February, states that some 19,000 students were enrolled in the academic year 1989–90 at the University's seven faculties, 14 schools, the Center for Pre-Academic Studies, and the School for Overseas Students. More than 3,500 new students have registered. The enrolment at the School for Overseas Students includes 110 from South America (most of them from Argentina), 12 from Hungary, and four from Poland.

'As a result of the dramatic increase in students from the U.S.S.R. — some 80 new students have registered — a new program of science courses taught in Russian has been initiated. The courses are in mathematics, physics and chemistry. Russian language courses were already offered in Jewish history, Israel and the Middle East. . . . Among the new programs being initiated this year: a special program for outstanding students in humanities and social sciences, a specialization in the Institute of Archaeology in Moslem archaeology, a program in the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work on dealing with drugs, and two new courses at the Hebrew University-Hadassah School of Public Health and Community Medicine: an international course in disaster management and a course on prevention of AIDS.

'The School of Pharmacy has opened a retraining course for science graduates who wish to become pharmacists. . . . The School is thus doing its part in response to the shortage of registered pharmacists in Israel. . . . Other new courses and directions are noted in the various departments and schools. The Faculty of Law, for example, will run its first practical workshop on the questioning of witnesses. The School of Education is offering a new speciality in clinical child psychology in its educational psychology trend. "Equal opportunity" is the name of a new rehabilitative teaching program at the Baerwald School of Social Work, which will train social workers to work with people suffering from developmental disabilities. The medical school is placing new emphasis on community and ambulatory medicine this year.'

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Until very recently, Israel's 560 veterinarians had all been trained in foreign institutions. Last summer, the first graduating class of veterinarians (15 men and five women) were awarded their degrees at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The School of Veterinary Medicine was established as part of the Faculty of Agriculture in Rehovot; applicants must have had at least two years of undergraduate study before being admitted for the four-year programme of studies.

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The Autumn 1989 issue of *Hebrew University News* states that the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies was held at the Hebrew University; it was

attended by some 1,500 scholars from a great many countries, including for the first time by participants from the Soviet Union. There were also '14 researchers from Poland, of whom only one was Jewish, testifying to the growing interest in research into the social and intellectual history of Jewish life there. At the previous World Congress of Jewish Studies, in 1985, only two attended from Poland. ... A total of some 900 lectures were delivered in Hebrew, Yiddish, English, Spanish, Portuguese, German, French and Russian. ... Sessions were held within four divisions: the Period of the Bible, the History of the Jewish People, Jewish Thought and Literature, and Languages and Arts'.

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The Seventh International Conference of Historical Geographers was held at the Hebrew University last year. Some 50 historical geographers from more than a dozen countries participated; they included scholars from Australia, China, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland, Singapore, South Africa, South Korea, and Zimbabwe.

*

The Department of Jewish History of the Hebrew University and the Austrian Embassy in Israel sponsored a conference last year on 'Jews and Austrians in the Twentieth Century'. It was attended by scholars from Austria, Israel, and the United States. The topics considered included Nazism in Vienna, a comparison of German and Austrian Jews, and psychoanalysis and Judaism.

*

The Fourth International Research Conference on Jewish Education was held last year at the Hebrew University. Its focus was 'Curriculum in Jewish Education: the Case of the Jewish Values Project'. That Project has been in operation since 1979 'to develop materials for incorporating values instruction into Jewish educational programs. The materials have been utilized in schools abroad, in various languages, and in Israeli educational settings'.

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The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia have entered into an agreement for scientific co-operation and exchange. The Vice-Rector of the Bulgarian University had come to Israel to participate in the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies and was presented with a photocopy of the greetings that were sent from the University of Sofia on the occasion of the Hebrew University's dedication in 1925.

*

A scholarship fund has been established by a Japanese Buddhist religious group, the Shinyo-En, in memory of the founder of the sect; he had been deeply impressed on his visit to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1967 and his followers have decided to make the endowment for the benefit of students of

Japanese at the Hebrew University, which in the academic year 1989–90 had some 120 students enrolled in Japanese language classes and about 400 in courses on Japanese culture.

*

The Winter 1989–90 issue of *Hebrew University News* reports that a professor at Nanjing University, who had been a guest of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace in 1988, 'has notified the Institute that he and a group of other scholars at Nanjing University have established the China Judaic Studies Association — the first organization of its type in China'. He explained that this was because they believe that 'it is the right time to do something for better relations between the Chinese and the Israelis'.

A Chinese newspaper has carried an announcement about the establishment of the Association and stated that its aim was 'to promote the study of Jewish culture, history, religion, philosophy, literature, society and nationhood. The Association said it hoped to establish contacts with other Judaic scholars in China, to hold seminars and public lectures, to publish a periodical, to offer courses at universities, to establish a China Judaic studies foundation, to promote cultural exchanges with scholars all over the world and to organize both domestic and international conferences on Judaic studies in China'.

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In a ceremony in Seoul, representatives of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and of Yonsei University in South Korea signed an agreement for the exchange of students and of academic staff as well as for joint research projects. Yonsei University is the oldest of the Korean universities and one of the most prestigious.

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The Rector of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem has signed co-operation agreements with three Spanish universities: the University of Valladolid is particularly interested in research in arid zones; the officials of the Complutense University of Madrid expressed a desire to develop ties in the field of the exact sciences; and the University of Salamanca has asked for professional support in the re-establishment of a Chair in Hebrew (such a Chair had existed from 1314 until the sixteenth century but it was abolished when its incumbent, a Catholic priest, was tried by the Inquisition).

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The Winter 1989–90 issue of *Hebrew University News* states that 'enrollment in the Hebrew-Arabic ulpan (language program) of the University's Martin Buber Institute for Adult Education continues to grow, despite the disturbances in the territories. . . . There are approximately 280 students learning Hebrew and Arabic . . . , of whom some 180 are Arabs studying Hebrew and the rest Jews studying Arabic. . . . The Arab students in the classes come not only from Jerusalem but also from surroundng towns such as Ramallah, Bethlehem and Beit Jalla'.

*

It was announced last April that the Israeli and the Hungarian academies of science have signed an agreement for the exchange of information and of research staff and for joint projects and conferences.

*

The Institute of Contemporary Jewry of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Organization Department of the World Zionist Organization sponsored a three-day conference entitled 'A New Jewish World? Continuity and Change 1939–89'. Some 35 participants from Britain, Canada, France, Israel, the Soviet Union, and the United States heard lectures on the demographic, economic, religious, and social changes among Jews in various parts of the world since the outbreak of the Second World War, and on religious and cultural attitudes towards Jews as well as Jewish attitudes towards Gentiles. A non-Jewish ethnographer at the Soviet Academy of Sciences said that Soviet Jews now had greater opportunities for Jewish identification and that this could reverse the long-standing trend towards assimilation.

*

The Religious Education Division of the Ministry of Education and Culture in Israel sponsored research on the adjustment of the children of Ethiopian Jewish immigrants after Operation Moses, when there were about 15,000 Ethiopian Jews in the country. The study was carried out in 1986–88 and focused on the network of religious schools (both residential and non-residential) which most of these children attend. It reported that the Israeli educators had little or no knowledge of Ethiopian traditional beliefs and practices, which often clash with those of Israeli society, with the result that the schoolchildren are often confused and disturbed by the dissonance.

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It was reported last April that the Histadrut (the Labour Federation of Israel) has signed an agreement with Ethiopian trade unions.

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It was reported earlier this year that the Jewish community of Spain (which numbers about 15,000) has been given full legal recognition by the terms of a concordat signed by the Spanish Minister of Justice. This means that Judaism will be on an equal footing with Roman Catholicism. Some of the benefits are that Jews who make donations to Jewish institutions will now be able to claim tax concessions, Jewish workers will have the right to make arrangements with their employers for the observance of Jewish religious festivals, and Jewish schoolchildren will be entitled to receive religious education.

*

The massacre of English Jews which took place in March 1190 at Clifford's Tower, in York, was the subject of a solemn act of remembrance in March 1990 in York, in the presence of the Archbishop of York and of senior

churchmen of several Christian denominations as well as of both Orthodox and Reform rabbis. The Lord Mayor of York expressed the hope that 'the blackest episode in York's history' would provide the spur for an era of tolerance and respect for other people and their beliefs.

*

It was reported last April that the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee sent provisions for Passover to Jewish communities in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia; it also supplied bilingual Hebrew-Russian Hagadot and arranged for Western Jews and Israelis to conduct communal sedarim not only in large cities but also in towns in Siberia, Georgia, and Central Asia.

The Lubavitch movement sent lorryloads of wine, matzot, and Passover provisions to Moscow, from where it was to be distributed throughout the country; it also arranged for 60 communal sedarim.

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The Winter 1989–90 issue of *SICSA Report*, a newsletter of the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, lists 21 completed 'research projects' on antisemitism; they include studies of antisemitism in Argentina, Belgium, Cuba, Egypt, France, Romania, the Soviet Union, at the United Nations, and in the United States. Some of the research projects in progress are concerned with antisemitism in Argentina, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Poland, in the Third World, and at the United Nations.

The newsletter also lists some of the papers dealing with antisemitism which were presented at the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies held in 1989 at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. It cites the papers which reported on antisemitism in France, Greece, Poland, and Spain.

The Center has co-operated since 1985 with Yad Vashem in offering courses on teaching the subjects of the Holocaust and antisemitism. Details about the courses and seminars can be obtained from the Director, Seminars for Educators from Abroad, Yad Vashem, POB 3477, Jerusalem 91034, Israel.

*

The French Council of Christian Churches, which was established in 1987 to represent the Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox churches, has issued a declaration condemning racism and antisemitism. It stressed that discrimination against individuals and groups is incompatible with the Christian gospel. This was welcomed by the Chief Rabbi of Paris, the president of the Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France (CRIF), and the Vice-Rector of the Paris mosque.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Books listed here may be reviewed later)

Alexander, Jeffrey C. and Paul Colomy, eds., *Differentiation Theory and Social Change: Comparative and Historical Perspectives*, xv + 510 pp., Columbia University Press, New York, 1990, $46.00.

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