

OCCUPATION AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT IN ANGLO-JEWRY

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THE object of this paper is twofold: first, to investigate the occupational distribution of the Jews of this country, and in particular to draw attention to the important changes of the last hundred years and to observe the more recent trends; second, to throw some light on the social consequences of these changes.

Peddling and hawking were the staple occupations of the Jewish population until the middle of the nineteenth century. 'Peddling [however] declined in London and later in the Provinces because the retail network gradually covered the land.'¹ Other outdoor occupations, such as glaziery, lingered on until the end of the century,² while street-trading has remained to the present day a calling in which many Jews are engaged. The economic group above the outdoor traders was composed mainly of shopkeepers. At the top was the small group of the very rich, who as a rule were concerned with international trade and banking.

The mass immigration which started in the 1880s brought about significant changes. The east European immigrant's staple occupation was tailoring, and the setting for it was the notorious sweat-shop. Other typical immigrant trades were boot and shoe making and furniture making.³ Whatever their calling the great majority of immigrants belonged to the working class. The proletarianization of the Jewish community resulted in widespread trade union and socialist activity. Lloyd Gartner gives a very useful account of the development of Jewish 'movements of protest and improvement' in this country.⁴ Proletarianism, however, was short-lived. As the immigrants consolidated and improved their position, and particularly as the first generation born here became Anglicized, a diversification in occupations took place. Large numbers opened their own businesses or workshops; others entered the professions or became black-coated workers. With the influx of refugees from Nazi Europe before the Second World War, again new businesses and industries were established, as a result of which openings in a great number of skilled and clerical occupations became

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available. The Jewish community was becoming increasingly middle-class.

What picture can we draw of the occupational pattern of Anglo-Jewry in the post-war period? Despite the paucity of statistical data, the few studies that have been carried out, such as those by Barou and Neustatter, suggest the following salient features. First, the total of gainfully occupied persons over the age of 15 is smaller in the Jewish minority than in the general population—46 per cent for the former as against 58 per cent for the latter.⁵ Second, the percentage of persons working on their own account is far greater in the minority than in the general population—the lowest estimate for the minority is 15 per cent compared with 6 per cent in the general population.⁶ Third, although there has been a diversification in occupations and a shift away from the traditionally Jewish trades, it is still true to say that Jews concentrate in certain economic spheres, particularly those connected with the manufacture and distribution of consumer goods.⁷

The first two statements prompt us to ask whether a relatively smaller working population and a larger percentage of self-employed are signs of generally greater Jewish wealth. The smaller working population among Jews appears to be due in large measure to the small percentage of Jewish women who go out to work, particularly when married—11 per cent as against 34 per cent in the general population.⁸ This, it is suggested, is mainly the result of the traditional Jewish view, still prevalent, that the woman's place is in the home. Thus, it is said that 'Jewish working-class men tend to deprive themselves of luxuries rather than allow their wives to share the wage-earning burden'.⁹ To a lesser extent, the smaller percentage of gainfully occupied Jewish persons is due to the relatively greater number of Jewish young people staying on at school after the age of 15, and subsequently entering University.¹⁰ Thus, the I.U.J.F. Survey, 1954-5, estimated that Jewish students made up 2.8 per cent of the total number of full-time University students in Britain, although the Jewish proportion in the general population was only about 1 per cent.¹¹ It is often maintained that this is due to the traditional Jewish respect for learning and the sacrifices Jewish parents are prepared to make for their children. It would not be unreasonable to suggest, however, that the factors we have mentioned so far are not the only explanations for the disparities which exist between Jews and non-Jews in respect of the number of working women on the one hand, and young people continuing with their studies on the other. Without the greater affluence of the minority these differences would of necessity be much smaller.

The large percentage of Jews who work on their own account is a phenomenon which at least partly is a product of circumstances, such as the obstacles the Jewish immigrant often encountered in his efforts to obtain employment, or his religious requirements.¹² These factors

have, however, largely disappeared, for today's standard of religiosity of the majority of Jews in this country is not such as to prevent them from entering any occupation. Again, there is now no difficulty in finding well-paid jobs. Yet the Loan Department of the Jewish Board of Guardians had the following to report in 1955: 'The Committee continue to find that the high wages being offered do not seem to lessen the number of prospective borrowers, who prefer being their own masters, rather than take jobs which might give them more money.'¹³ It may be that this wish for economic independence, even when it does not seem to offer better material prospects than employment, is really the after-effect of historical conditioning. This may well mean that, whereas in the past greater economic independence has invariably led to greater wealth, today the small independent trader or artisan is often merely exposing himself to the fierce competition of the vast commercial enterprises and industrial organizations, without attaining a standard of living higher than that of better-paid workers. Nevertheless, the fact that the Jewish minority has a large percentage of people working on their own account means in effect that it has a large trained reservoir of business men; and those who are likely to undertake big business ventures will be drawn from the ranks of this entrepreneurial class, rather than from the employee group. In the professions the fields most popular, such as medicine, law, and accountancy, are those where the person can establish his own practice, and can expect a higher income than that of the salaried professional man. In these ways it is undoubtedly true to say that the greater size of the self-employed group has had the effect of enhancing the wealth of the community.

Let us now consider the statement dealing with the distribution of Jews in various economic roles. If we first take people in the employee group, we see that the earlier concentration in a few typically Jewish crafts was followed by diversification, but the latter gave way, particularly in recent years, to a drift into the black-coated occupations. This is evident from the post-war reports of the Jewish Board of Guardians and the Sabbath Observance Employment Bureau, the two agencies in London concerned with placing Jews in occupations. While these are specialized bodies, the former dealing primarily with young people and the latter being concerned with the provision of jobs where the Sabbath can be observed, their experiences and observations are valuable as indications of the recent trends in the choice of occupations.¹⁴ Thus, thousands of workers are leaving annually the clothing and furniture trades,¹⁵ and they are not replaced by new Jewish entrants into industry. Hairdressing, electrical engineering, and jewellery are popular occupations, but a very large proportion of Jews in them are becoming clerks, bookkeepers, secretaries, and salesmen.¹⁶ Perhaps even more impressive is the considerable number entering the professions. The girls have a great preference for office work and the showrooms.¹⁷

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One of the principal reasons for this new trend away from the traditional occupations is the fact that parents, who experienced long periods of slackness in the so-called Jewish trades, 'prefer their children to enter business, offices, and the professions, and many are the sacrifices they are prepared to make to achieve this end'.¹⁸ Again, many of them are better off materially than before the war, and they are more concerned about the choice of a good career for their children, often projecting on to the latter their own ambitions and ideas.¹⁹

Turning to the Jewish role in the business and manufacturing world, we find that concentration in certain spheres still exists. Concentration must not be regarded, however, as being synonymous with domination. If we take finance, for example, while Jewish participation in merchant banking is still important, Jews can hardly be found in commercial banking.²⁰ Again, Jewish 'take-over' financiers are active mainly in the fields of the manufacture and distribution of consumer goods, and in the field of property. Israel Cohen in his book on Contemporary Jewry goes in fact so far as to say that 'the part played by Jews in the financial world of Great Britain is comparatively unimportant',²¹ a statement that some may be reluctant to accept. On the other hand, it is generally recognized that Jewish participation in heavy industry is rather insignificant.²² Moreover, even in the manufacture of consumer goods, only certain lines, such as clothing, are to a large extent in Jewish hands, while in such other fields as electrical goods, confectionery, not to mention for example the motor-car industry, Jews are of little importance. Similarly, regarding departmental and chain stores, a wrong impression may be gained as a result of a few large and well-known Jewish concerns.²³ Although it is important to prevent grossly exaggerated ideas of Jewish wealth, this is neither to deny the prominent part played by Jews in industry and commerce, where they have contributed richly to advancing Britain's standards,²⁴ nor to deny the rapid rise of many a pauper immigrant or his descendant to the rank of an economic magnate.

Paul Emden enumerates the qualities that brought success to the destitute immigrants. These newcomers were 'industrious, thrifty, of intellectual keenness and an indomitable self-confidence. All their energies were concentrated on two objects: to develop the industry with which they were associated and to raise themselves in the social scale.'²⁵ As he gained economic independence the competitive spirit of the immigrant increased, and to achieve success he had to be more enterprising and less conservative. He was a self-made man whose motto became the reverse of 'What was good enough for my father is good enough for me'.²⁶ In fact it is not only true to say with Emden that 'the Jews have succeeded in bettering their own status more rapidly than any other group of immigrants',²⁷ but also that in a relatively short period of time they have surpassed the general population in

reaching upper- and middle-class standards, i.e. proportionately to their numbers more of them will be found in the higher-income groups.

In seeking explanations for this rapid 'bourgeoisification', we ought to point to a few characteristic features of the Jewish population. First, the higher proportion of self-employed persons and the stress on education proved definite advantages in enhancing the socio-economic rise. Second, the fact that Jews were often pushed to the periphery of the economy, i.e. into light industry and retail distribution, proved very much of a blessing. For it was comparatively easy to expand quickly and successfully in this type of business where little capital but a great deal of enterprise was needed, qualifications often possessed by Jews. Third, we find the Jewish population to be more thoroughly urbanized: of the total Jewish population in the U.K., 62 per cent live in Greater London, and 80 per cent live in the six largest cities; for the total general population in the U.K., the figures are respectively 16 per cent and 24 per cent.²⁸ Greater urbanization was conducive to the increased number of business men, people in the professions, and those in black-coated occupations, so swelling the ranks of Jews in the middle and upper classes.²⁹ Fourth, the minority status of the Jew gave a further impetus to his aspiration to rise in the social scale. As a result of these factors the Jewish community has had a higher degree of upward social mobility than the rest of the population. Unfortunately, we have no data which would enable us to analyse in a precise manner the differences in social mobility between Jews and non-Jews.

I shall now consider some of the consequences of the socio-economic changes that have occurred in the community. The higher standard of living and the movement towards the upper and middle classes have produced the accepted outward expressions of higher status. These can be observed in connexion with behaviour, dress, the ownership of certain objects which are symbols of high status, and the taking up of appropriate recreational activities. Perhaps the most impressive external sign of upward social mobility has been the great population shift from the older and poorer areas of settlement to the residential suburbs. Jewish society is in fact fast becoming a 'green-belt society'.

The quest for material comforts on the part of Jews who have entered the higher-income groups, and their efforts to lead a style of life associated with the upper classes, has exposed them to sharp and often cynical criticism. It is true that, because of the rapid rise in the social scale, the individual may have lived much of his earlier life in circumstances typical of the lower-income groups; hence the lack of intimate knowledge of the upper-class pattern of living would result in his 'efforts of stylization becoming identified with consumption activities',³⁰ which assume far too great an importance. Brian Glanville maintains that 'a competitive anxiety to spend' is noticeable among Jews, and that 'keeping up with the Cohens is a more taxing business than keeping up

with the Joneses'.³¹ But it is interesting that, as Howard Brotz points out, 'among the mass of Jews there is a widespread phenomenon of one Jew regarding the efforts of another Jew at stylization not as proper at all but as "ostentation"'.³² It must be emphasized, however, that the existence of possession of wealth as a criterion in social stratification, and the great demand for material comforts, are true of the general society in which the Jews live. Furthermore, the stress on education and the esteem in which the educated person is held continue to exist in Jewish society, although it is true that the attribute of wealth has assumed an even greater importance. But the Jew in this sense is not atypical of the environment in which he lives, for Western industrialized society is pervaded with materialism and it encourages aggressive competition for status. In fact, because of his more thorough urbanization and greater adaptability to the changing conditions of a fluid social and economic system, the Jew approaches more nearly the 'ideal-type' individual of Western society, with its stress on achievement and the possession of material wealth.

The high degree of social mobility has had its effects on leadership, and has wrought changes in the pattern of social stratification. Brotz, who maintains that Jewish society is still essentially stratified into two social classes, the old-élite³³ and the rest, admits that a process of incipient differentiation is taking place among the newer immigrants and their descendants.³⁴ This is so in spite of the fact that the lower-income groups, particularly the more refined and educated, do not recognize the newly rich as their superiors, the latter being regarded as lacking in refinement, culture, good taste, etc. Although there is still a high degree of egalitarianism³⁵ among those labelled by Brotz as 'the rest', he discerns, nevertheless, an emergent stratification. It is particularly true that the issue of the newer immigrants, who have acquired wealth or education, have entered into the leadership of most communal organizations.³⁶ Whether it was because of the money of the newly rich or the ability of the new professional man, the old élite had to accept them as their colleagues, and the ordinary membership had to recognize them as their leaders. The present trends in the stratification of the Jewish community seem to point to the merging of the old-élite with the newer wealthy elements and the higher professional men to form the upper class, the majority attaining middle-class standards, and the working class all but disappearing.

There is yet another interesting aspect to the rise of the immigrant in the social scale. This is the way such a rise has affected his relationships with the host society and consequently the attitudes of his own group to this phenomenon. The success of the new immigrant in improving his living conditions often gave rise to antisemitism. As Robb puts it: 'One of the most obvious features of the Jewish community appears to have been the number of individuals who succeeded in

rising from a position of abject poverty to a condition which, in the East End, was regarded as tolerably comfortable, and this success was resented by their Gentile neighbours'.³⁷ The accusations most common in the immediate years after the mass influx of immigrants, that they pushed out the Gentile from his employment by accepting low wages,³⁸ was followed in later years by accusations of unfair methods of competition practised by Jewish business-men.³⁹ This type of indictment was taken up seriously by the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Trades Advisory Council. There has been a general tendency in the community to think in terms of the existence of a corporate responsibility for deeds of individual Jews, and to stress the importance of safeguarding the good name of Anglo-Jewry.⁴⁰ Divergent opinions have been expressed, however, with regard to the more recent activities of well-known Jewish tycoons. Thus, those who criticized the methods of these tycoons have been accused of timidity by the leader of the Jewish Defence Committee, who at a general meeting of the Trades Advisory Council had this to say: 'When I read in the financial columns about the sphere of influence commanded by [Jewish tycoons] I feel not fear but a sense of warmth and identification with these men which makes me proud.'⁴¹ This attitude was severely attacked by some sections of the community, and it was argued for example that 'the blazoning headlines about enormous take-over bids . . . do not really add anything to the Jewish name',⁴² and that even when the Jew was strictly within the law he ought to be moderate in his actions so as to safeguard the welfare and good name of the community as a whole.⁴³

From the above we can discern quite clearly the different reactions aroused by the existence of prejudice against the minority, or the awareness of its possible occurrence. On the one hand there are those minority members who will openly fight any prejudices, and defend the rights and privileges of Jews. To this category belong also the Jews who, experiencing discrimination and non-acceptance by the host society, will strive to outdo the non-Jews through achievement in the economic, political, and cultural fields, and through ostentatious behaviour in the realms of fashion, recreation, place of residence, etc. On the other hand there are those who will advocate the necessity to treat the Gentile in a manner so as to reduce his hostility, and to avoid, for example, eliciting his prejudices by ostentation. Their aim is to eliminate prejudices or situations that can bring them about.

Having sketched the major changes in the economic life of the Jewish community, and having considered some of the social consequences, what conclusions can we reach? There are two main aspects to the impressive success story of the once destitute immigrant group which are of particular interest to the sociologist. First, although egalitarian sentiments still linger on in the community, definite plutocratic tendencies have established themselves. This is seen in the manner in

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which the wealthy and the top professional people are to a very large extent in the effective leadership of the community. It is also seen in the way the upper strata set the standards of values, which those in the income groups below them tend to emulate. Second, although there persists a minority community with distinctive religious and cultural values, and with the social distance from the host society largely maintained, its members have proved in the economic field to have the very qualifications that are essential for successful living in the urban milieu of industrialized society. The Jew in this sense has become the prototype of the twentieth-century man in Western society.

NOTES

¹ Lloyd P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England 1870-1914*, London, 1960, p. 59

² V. D. Lipman, 'Trends in Anglo-Jewish Occupations', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 2, November 1960, p. 202.

³ Gartner, op. cit., pp. 63-99; and Lipman, op. cit., pp. 209-11.

⁴ Gartner, op. cit., chap. IV, pp. 100-114.

⁵ H. Neustatter in *A Minority in Britain*, ed. Maurice Freedman, London, 1955, p. 125.

⁶ Lipman, op. cit., p. 213.

⁷ Neustatter, op. cit., p. 128. See also N. Barou, *The Jews in Work and Trade*, London, 1945, pp. 5-7.

⁸ Neustatter, op. cit., p. 125.

⁹ Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 132.

¹¹ Raymond V. Baron, 'I.U.J.F. Survey, 1954-5', *The Jewish Academy*, London, 1955-6, p. 9.

¹² Lipman, op. cit., p. 202.

¹³ Jewish Board of Guardians, *97th Annual Report*, London, 1955, p. 26.

¹⁴ See *Annual Reports* of the Jewish Board of Guardians, London, sections on Boys' Industrial Dept., also Girls' Welfare and Industrial Committee, for the years 1946-59; and *Annual Reports* of the Sabbath Observance Bureau, London, for the years 1952-6.

¹⁵ See Jewish Board of Guardians *Annual Report*, London, 1959, p. 36.

¹⁶ See *Reports* mentioned in note 14.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ See *Annual Reports* of the Sabbath Observance Bureau, London, 1955, p. 5.

¹⁹ See *Annual Reports* of the Jewish Board of Guardians, London, 1958, p. 35, and 1946, p. 50.

²⁰ Paul H. Emden, *Jews of Britain*, London, 1943, p. 496. See also Israel Cohen, *Contemporary Jewry*, London, 1950, p. 107.

²¹ Cohen, op. cit., p. 107.

²² Bernard Harris, 'The People Who Do Not Worship Today', *Sunday Express*, London, 16 Nov. 1958. See also V. D. Lipman, *Social History of the Jews in England, 1850-1950*, London, 1954, p. 174.

²³ Emden, op. cit., p. 478; Neustatter, op. cit., p. 129.

²⁴ See a series of seven articles entitled 'Advancing Britain's Standards' in *The Jewish Chronicle*, London, between 30 Sept. and 11 Nov. 1960. See also Bernard Harris, op. cit.

²⁵ Emden, op. cit., p. 475.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 476.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 475.

²⁸ Sources: *Annual Abstract of Statistics*, No. 97, London, 1960, pp. 8, 11; *The Registrar General's Annual Estimates of the Population of England and Wales and Local Authority Areas*, London, 1959, p. 8; *The Jewish Year Book*, London, 1959, pp. 44, 101, 110, 114, 117, 135, and 138.

²⁹ For the effects of urbanization see: S. M. Lipset and R. Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, Berkeley, 1959, p. 217; see also W. Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, New York, 1956, pp. 229, 230.

³⁰ Howard M. Brotz, 'An Analysis of Social Stratification within Jewish Society', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, Jan. 1951, p. 159.

³¹ Brian Glanville, 'Anglo-Jewry's North-West Passage' in *The Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, London, 31 Jan. 1958, p. 11.

³² Brotz, op. cit., p. 160.

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³³ The old-élite is composed of 'families which have become the lay leaders of English Jewry before the mass influx from Eastern Europe and have typically a lineage in England which they can trace from the 18th century', *ibid.*, p. 107.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 261. The factors to which the egalitarianism is due are enumerated in Brotz, pp. 261, 262, etc.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 123.

³⁷ James H. Robb, *Working-Class Anti-Semite*, London, 1954, p. 200.

³⁸ See *Report from the Select Committee on Emigration and Immigration (Foreigners)*, London, 1889, pp. ix, xix, 45, 70, 79.

³⁹ See Maurice Freedman (ed.), *A Minority in Britain*, London, 1955, pp. 212-23.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ See 'Methods of Tycoons', *The Jewish Chronicle*, London, 28th Oct., 1960.

⁴² See 'Tycoonism', *The Jewish Post*, London, 18 Nov. 1960.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

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ORT is to step up sharply its vocational training and other economic assistance services in France in the light of large-scale immigration of Jews from North Africa.

Professor William Haber, President of ORT, announced that his organization would soon open a new technical training school in Marseilles, where the recent influx from North Africa has increased the size of the Jewish population from 4,000 to 40,000 in the last seven years. Other ORT schools in Paris, Lyons, and Strasbourg will also increase their activities.

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The Jewish Agency Executive has announced a budget of IL.371 million for 1962 and 1963, instead of IL.278 million adopted before the devaluation which raised the exchange rate from IL.1.80 to IL.3 per dollar, and has pushed up the Agency's pound income derived from funds received from abroad.

The Executive is to spend over IL.77 million on immigration, absorption, and Youth Aliyah, IL.61 million on immigration and housing, and IL.80 million on agricultural settlements.

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A pamphlet by Hans Lamm, 'Der Eichmann Prozess in der Deutschen Oeffentlichen Meinung' (published by Ner Tamid, Frankfurt/Main, 1961) contains several interesting comparisons of the German reaction to the trial on the one hand, and that in Great Britain, the United States, and Switzerland on the other.

A comparison of the results of the Gallup poll in the three last countries with that of EMNID, the German public opinion poll, reveals the following percentage figures on the question 'What would be the correct way to handle the trial?':

	<i>Gr. Britain</i>	<i>U.S.A.</i>	<i>Switzerland</i>	<i>Germany</i>
Trial by an Israel court	44	44	53	28
Trial by a German court	3	6	3	25
Trial by an international court	32	31	36	32
Let him go free	4	1	2	4
No opinion	17	18	6	11

On the question whether it was good or bad to remind the world about the terrors of the concentration camps, the replies were as follows:

	<i>Gr. Britain</i>	<i>U.S.A.</i>	<i>Switzerland</i>	<i>Germany</i>
Good	56	62	70	34
Bad	29	18	19	45
No opinion	15	20	11	21

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Thus it appears that both as regards Israel jurisdiction and, in particular, the usefulness of the trial, German opinion is by far less favourable than that in the other countries. The highest figures both in favour of the trial and of Israel jurisdiction were in Switzerland.

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The Jews had 'too much influence' in the Federal German Republic according to 18 per cent of a representative sample of the West German population questioned in a sociological survey released by EMNID. 15 per cent declared that the Jews had not enough influence; 25 per cent said that the Jews had just the right amount of influence; and 42 per cent had no opinion on the subject. In comparison, the survey showed that 46 per cent of the population questioned felt that the Catholic clergy had too great an influence; 8 per cent said the same about the Protestant clergy; 37 per cent blamed the trade union leaders; and 59 per cent the banks and large industries.

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According to statistics compiled by the Central Welfare Agency of the Jews in Germany, the total membership of the Jewish communities in West Germany, including West Berlin, as of 1 July 1961, was 21,685: 11,690 men and 9,995 women.

The total of 21,685 was distributed by age groups as follows:

0-3	4-6	7-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	over 70
439	524	2,011	488	1,167	2,996	3,812	4,434	3,679	2,165

The total of 21,685 was distributed as follows by Laender or community associations:

Baden	682	Nordstein	2,020
Bavaria	3,577	Rhinland-Pfalz	619
Berlin	5,937	Schleswig-Holstein	91
Bremen	124	Westphalia	1,035
Hamburg	1,393	Württemberg-Hohenzollern	698
Hessen	3,246	Saar	412
Cologne	1,153		
Lower Saxony	698		

Besides Berlin, Hamburg, and Cologne, the larger communities were:

Munich	2,236	Hanover	439
Frankfurt	2,658	Dortmund	403
Düsseldorf	952		

*

A survey of Arab education in Israel made by a Knesset committee found that compulsory elementary education is observed by 95 per cent of boys and 75 per cent of girls. Altogether 51,000 boys and girls attend classes at 167 elementary schools and 141 kindergartens established in each of the 138 Arab villages in Israel. The survey emphasizes the need for raising the level of Arab teachers and cites the fact that some 7 per cent of those employed are not fully qualified. It recommended an increase in capacity among Arab teachers, and that the Minister of Education should provide refresher courses for veteran teachers.

The level of secondary-school education was a cause for concern and the survey urged the Minister of Education to effect special measures to raise standards. The survey also recommended the increased publication of textbooks in all elementary and high-school subjects.

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Since 1948 some 10,000 Jews from Latin American countries have settled in Israel: 5,200 came from Argentina, 1,500 from Brazil, 1,000 from Chile, 500 from Cuba, 30 from Mexico, and the rest from other Latin American countries. At the beginning most of the newcomers came to work in the *kibbutzim*, though later the majority left and settled in the towns. Among the recent arrivals there were a number of people with academic training, mainly medical, and most of them are at present working in the Negev district.